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Hist of sweating etc 1895-2
evidence of the
Hon Wm Mulock
Hon Sydney Fisher
Contract
Sub-contract

160 159 C 18727

A lecture on the Slop-System, especially as it bears upon the Females employed in it
delivered at the Literary & Mechanics' Institute, Bradford Feb 3rd 1892
by Thomas Hughes Esq. Q.C. M.P.
Pamphlet 1895-2
8vo

This slop system is that, whereby in every branch of industry the
Employer is dealing down the wages of the labourer, & introducing
poverty & misery & vice

It is a terrible statement of the cruel arrangements by which
the Employer clothes the greatest part of our population both here
in the colonies. 3 out of 4 of all the garments which are sold
in this city are made in London & other great towns under
a system, which has acquired the name of the Slop-system.

There are 2 sorts of slop work
(1) that made for the great outfitters or dealers in ready made
clothing & sold & worn by the great public
(2) that furnished to Govt. or to the Navy & other Govt. Depts. for
the soldiers & sailors, the Guards & Policemen.

The essence of all slop work lies in this that it is done by
contract, the outfitter or other person who wants the work
done offers it for competition & the contractor who undertakes to
do it at the lowest price (& the contract of. he calls in
a set of men called middlemen or sweaters. & so on he
passes from one another so on. These sweaters compete with
each other as to price & by playing them off against
each other the outfitter gets his profits. The sweater takes

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many less cost: as time divides it into smaller lots: ask he puts out to work people upon the same terms. he sets the work people against each other: and realizes his profit, the latter do not get more of the value of the work they do: but the former, i.e. as a rule, a comparatively a small profit is raised upon the sheets transacted before they get into the hands of the people, who actually make them up.

In 2nd sort of slop work many classes labour. Here the cost, in case of police is spread widely, the costs of arguments in case of army clothing. the Commissioners in case of eg. clothing stand in the place of the master & make their reasonable bargains with the army clothiers as sub-sellers. as the case may be when there arises a different power & takes the profits of middlemen or vendors.

Now the consequences of this contract or sweating system (as it has been well called) are so obvious.

The competition of middlemen & fact of trade having more men & women than it requires. the just profit, will have as its maximum so much as will enable the work people to live: no more. - but they seldom get this -, as there being more than nos. req'd.

And this is the process, by which many of us English of the 19th century are clothed from head to foot: for our shoes that are

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allied industries made under the same system as our coal industry.
But coal does not stop here the shop system is creeping
into every branch of production today. Even agricul-
ture is not free from it. & there are as many fortunes at-
tributable to Kent & Norfolk raising their crops & some
laborers as there are shop sellers in the east end of London.

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allied industries made under the same system as our coal industry.
But coal does not stand here alone as being under regulation in nearly
all every branch of production industry. Even agricul-
ture is not free from it. & there are as many fishermen at this
moment in Newfoundland waiting there orders & same
labour as there are steel workers in the east end of London.

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Here is a method of employment in which five distinct classes of persons are concerned. First of all there is the owl putter or person desiring the work to be done, who offers it for completion Then there is the contractor who undertakes to do it at the lowest price, thirdly is the class of persons called middlemen or emaciers, who contracts with each other for the custom of the contractor, and who in turn ~~hire employees~~ to ~~get~~ ~~either~~ ~~others~~ ~~or~~ ~~or~~ ~~others~~ ~~customers~~ come others to contracts for a share of the work which they have secured and redistribute ~~out upon~~ in smaller lots. If the ~~latter~~ recipients of the latter do the work themselves ~~that~~ subcontracting ends when the fourth class has been reached, if however they ~~further~~ give out a whole or any part of it to be made up ~~by others~~ a fifth set of persons are brought in.

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The following is an account describing Miss Con-
-dellons ab a later date, Mrs Colvin from the Ethel-
-ton Royal Commission on Smuggling 1888-89.
(Miss Lure)

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Out of an ~~abundance~~ almost infinite number of like descriptions the following is chosen as illustrative of the contradictory methods in the treatment of the American Aliens. It is

(etc.)

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Concluding examples on the system of sub contracting in the ready made garment industry

The following is taken from an account given on the methods of carrying out Government Clothing contracts in Canada x

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It must not be ~~assumed~~ complete from the accounts ~~given~~ given that the system of subcontracting ~~has~~ ~~as a rule~~ has always assumed, or even as a general rule does assume, ~~the~~ the extreme a form of subdivision as these accounts might indicate. They ~~have~~ have been ~~chosen~~ selected with a view to exhibiting the practice in ~~its~~ its extreme forms ~~having regard for the most generally practiced modes~~ this ~~formulae may be~~ viewing these forms in a general way the following may be taken as a fairly accurate classification of them

(1) ~~Work given~~
Work contracted for by contractors as designated, the latter ~~supplying cloth~~ under labour ~~for~~ supply of raw material entire work of manufacture

The contractor ~~has~~ then ~~adopting~~ any of the following plans
(1) Allots the ~~entire~~ work of ~~supply~~ contracts to one or more subcontractors
~~(2) Manufactures goods in external offices in his own premises~~
~~(3) Gives out~~
~~(4) Gives out in sections~~
in which ~~case~~ each of the subcontractors named comes to stand in the place of the original "contractor" as to methods of employment he may use.

(2) Goods and the work to be made up in any of the following ways

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(a) by other contractors who may either (1) have shops of their own (a) employ all hands there (b) " part in shops & part in home (c) employ all hands in home (2) work in their homes (a) with hired help (b) without " " only members of family

(b) to work people directly in their homes.

(3) manufacture goods in their own shops or in own premises

Not all of them the method of remuneration may be different. - by piece - by task or by day

Any one of these methods, or any number or all of them may be adopted after one concern, the probable or predominating choice depending on the nature of the work to be done, and the facilities at hand for doing it.

For example in densely populated cities, the practice of sub contracting is likely to be carried out to a further degree than in other places or fewer subcontracts or. Personally settled, the number of shops in which sub contractors employ hands is likely to be relatively large. More particularly for such classes of work, coat & dresses for example, in which an extensive division of labour can be carried on to advantage

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Where division of labour ~~becomes~~ is carried to a very small
importance, and where people are not closely congregated
~~over~~ in particular areas, & the proportion of the work
finding its way directly into homes is much increased.
For example such work as the making of shirts, blouses,
wrappers, the cheaper grades of
~~pants~~ vests is carried on last little in
workshops specially provided for the purpose, but-
finds its way into the actual dwellings of the
work people. And in the country districts, for
example the French villages, round about the
cities of Montreal & Quebec, the New England
villages around Boston, and the suburbs
generally of the most important clothing centres
work is sent out from the wholesale establishments
in special deliveries to the homes of the people, and
when made up is returned either by the workers themselves
collected by agents of the establishments supplying the goods.

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It would appear moreover that the class of work
~~determined by the locality~~ ~~best to determine~~ ~~by the locality~~ of manufacture, rather than
the locality determine the ~~nature~~ method to be adopted, for it is not at all a rare practice
to find in ~~a~~ work intended for industrial establishments
in one city or state, ~~to be~~ the materials ~~cut~~ cut & shaped
~~& made ready~~ in that city or state, being sent
to other towns & villages in the same or other
States, ~~for further~~ to be distributed there to the
homes of workpeople subsequently returned to
the original establishment for sale or ~~& the~~ shipment.
~~The carrying on of labour work in the premises of the contractor~~
~~appears to be a question of special importance~~ ~~the extent of business~~ ~~the continuity of regularity~~
~~employment and the advantages or disadvantages in connection~~
But it is true in the clothing industry alone
that the practice of home ~~work~~ contract has come in
for criticism as furnishing the basis of
the Sweating System. Other industries and
trades there have been which have at different

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times ~~come in~~ been carried on to a considerable extent
in this way. A few examples may be sufficient to
illustrate the nature of these.

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C 18739

~~Hon~~ 171/

London Labour & the London Poor, a book of several hundred pages which, ~~when published in serial form and afterwards in bound form in 1851, and again in 1861~~ first published in serial form in 1851 and afterwards in bound form in 1861 and again in 1862 has been written by one of the Commissioners who conducted investigations for the ~~Morning~~ ~~of the London~~ Morning Chronicle, contains more numerous & more complete accounts than any other records of the time of the nature & extent of home work as it was carried on in England at that time. The following brief extracts are taken from some of the pages ~~of the book~~ in which the following an illustration of the extensive accounts are given of the ~~different trades~~. manner in which the investigation ~~Speaking of the Cabinet trade the writer says~~, effect of home work in certain trades.

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C 18740

1757

The Royal Commission on the Sweating System has among other things following reference to the Cabinet making, and boot & shoe making trades.

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(Intl - Can't say, could be, is permissible
of Communist League recognized
Nuisis — Speaking in intl — by the State)
a method of government
a form of organization

but a condition of confusion (really significant
discontent results)

? How is what renders these conditions favorable

1. Economic factors.
2 Political factors — unorganized
Ignorance — lack skill of (results of
long
Miscellaneous
(a) from nature of products in
(b) the S.S. economy

Peace in intellectual world.
confusing forces — going to root of

Remedies partly aimed at cause — to remove the
" " " effect — to remove dangers,

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Memoranda and Notes (1887-1921)

Numbers 147 - 150

147. Labour - Sweating System - Bibliography C 18742

148. " " " - Massachusetts (1) C 19124

149. " " " - Massachusetts (2) C 19362

150. " " " - Massachusetts (3) C 19556

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147. Labour - Sweating System -
Bibliography

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CANADA

Sources
C 18742
Sources, bibliography

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CANADA

C 18743

The wages of women
(E Lewicay.) Longm 10:25:2
(G Black Longm 10:409
D F. Schloss Longm 12:61
S Webb. Econ Jol 1:635

working women - Can they combine (G.P. Wylde,
Macmil 62:121. (Econ Jol 5:173

women workers of. (Margaret McMillan) Westm 136,
587.

Organizing of. (G Black. Fortn 5:2:695

Lives of the U.S. working girl (E. Fawcett) Atlan 5:26

Employment of married women in factories. W.S. Jevons
Contemp 41:37

Industrial position of (E. Blackwell) Pol. Sci Mo. 23:386

Labour of, in the nail trade (A.H. Bigg) Fortn. 45:829.

Pit perils of the black district Spec 5:9:416.

Pay of, are they fairly paid (L.O. Blake & V.B. Rowlow)
A Matheson Forum 2:201

Wages of Women (MacMil 46:204

Women's wages of (G.W. Elliott. No Am 135:146.

Need they despair (H Kelly) Internat R 13:517

Women in Cigar making. Victoria 14.254

Reformed women vs unreformed women Victoria 14:464

In Collieries. Eng. Illus. M. 15:18

In mines (J. Plummer) Once a week 11:278

Female Blacksmiths - Victoria 19:538

Manufacture of Clothing by (E Fawcett) Victoria 4:350

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18744

C 21 D

Mediterranean - St James 3:472

.. vs Society Victoria 1. 348.

Overworked to — (A. Helmar) Leblanc 15:564

Work of —

Fraser 61.355.9

Nelson 9:561

Ayscough 10.85.0. (also Kay)

Blanchard 25:257

(M Saunders) Pictorial 11:601

Victoria 9:403.

Incidents of. H.M. Commission. Harper 38:665

Incidents - Shipbuilding (E Parkhurst) Melville 17. 308.

Boulard 41:37

National Parks of (E. Wheelwright) Pol. Sc. Quar. 23:338

Nature of, in the West Indies (A.H. Keith) Trans. 42:849.

Out Parts of the Mediterranean Ayer 2:4:1410.

Pay of, see Army Pay (A.P. Wilkie - N.P. Moseley)

Trans 5:201

Voyage of Discovery (Markham) 46:204

Work's Wages of (E.W. Gilbert) Geo Jour 132:176.

Hand Net Industry (T Reid) National R 13:217

Women in Labor Meeting. Victoria 14.254

Employment of Unemployed Victoria 14:164

In Colonies. Sup. Hist. M. 15:18

In Russia (J.P Plummer) Pure & weak 11:278

Women Industries - Victoria 14:239

Manufacture of Clothing in (Estabrook) Victoria 4:350

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J. Lee.				
also Class A, 2: 1907: 1115				
H. White (Labour Pr. 1115)				
(Date)	Title.			
2 different editions H.W. Wolff. from R 41/16				
Immigration 55.5. (S.S. Weekl. Chart 18: 1744				
S. in 1893. Ann. J. Soc. Sc. 31: 143				
in U.S. Yearbook (J. Bu. Manufactures 1898, 27				
Statistics in U.S. 11 98, 27				
in Municipal (F.W. Goodenough Arena 11: 2. 61				
Gunton. Editor. from R. 2: 45: 2.				
Mercantile Weekly Statistics in U.S. 4: 26.				
Home-board. Railway Statistics (Cd 1244) 1902				
Labour Statistics.				
Labour Gazette.				
Labour Statistics.	2 editions Ontario Bureau of Industries 1896			
	J. Addison 1			
	Mr J. Lovell 1, 936			
	Labour Statistics Bureau of (1896 & former from J. 3: 1			

(Signature).

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			J. Soc Arts	36:279
			Lond & M.	3:551
	(W.F Libbey			J. Soc Arts,
			No. 27 Fortn	48:935
				53:552
		Sat R.	69:547,	723
	S.S. Coulmet.		Spec	60,1698
	Lieut Capt. of Gouverneur, (16th. A'E. Leffingston)		Hester	136 :273, 504
	In Sup. Sailors Fr. (B. Potter.			19th Cent, 24. 801
			Spec	61:1120
	in London.	AA.	Baumann	National 12:145
	Portable Remedies for (AA Baumann			National, 12:289
	Refut. of the Lords reform (B. Potter)			19th Cent 27:855
			Spec	61:298
	Two reports on Mem R.			2:433
	Monetario Inderbinen			
	an important factor in Prod. (Prin Kropotkin)			19th Cent 24:543

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Press Mark.	Name of Author, or other Heading of Work wanted. Title.	Place.	Date.	Size.
	Sweating in the post & Clothing contracts J. Macdonald. Lab. R. 11:471			

(Date) (Signature).

(Number of the Reader's Seat).

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B & L (29[illegible])—1321k—300,000-3-09

Sources.

C 18748

Re disputes between employers & employees, re home work
consult Reports on Strikes & Lockouts, published by the Labour Department.
(see Repts for 1891 pp 146, 281, 282;
Repts for 1892 pp. 84, 181;
Repts for 1893 pp. 75. 76, 110,
And the Labour Gazette Sept 1894, p 284 & Sept 1895. p 284
Oct 1894 p 316; Nov. 1895 p 348. December 1895 p 381.

—

Evidence before Labour Commission
re home work.
Labour Gen. Groups C Vol II pp 109-188
128-142
160-168.

Vol III pp. 537-547
673-707

Re women's underclothes, consult
Reports on the Employment of women (Sess (no 2) - 1894, XXIII
No 1893)
especially pp. 36-43; 60, 61; 71-74; 79-82; 91-92; 94-95; 237;
265; 269; 271; 272-274; 276; 277 278.

—

Re Results of the struggle against sweating in the above trades in
other places, some details given in Repts of Labour Department on Strikes & Lockouts
(cf. Rep 1891 p 144.; Repts 1893 p 72; also Labour Gazette (cf.
Febry 1894 p 56; March 1895 pp 80 81, 92, April 1895 pp 112, 124;
May 1895 pp 143, 144, 156,
Report C — 7406 on Alien Immigration.

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CANADA

Sources

C 18749

Factory - Workshops Acts of 1891 & 1895 has provision regarding "out workers".

The Labour Gazette for January ~~last~~ 1896 contains on p 16 a summary of recent orders issued by the Home Office on the subject in pursuance with the Act of 1895.

An (unofficial) digest entitled "the Laws relating to Factories & Workshops" by Messrs Abraham & Mr W. L. Mavies (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode 1896, price 5s)

The clauses compelling contractors to get all the work done in his own workshops - re contracts of War Office, Post Office, Metropolitan Police, London Stores & other govt. services — detailed given in evidence before the L.S. Committee, Vol I, pp 969-983, 1007-1015;
Vol II, pp 3-27; and also in
Returns of the forms issued by the War Office, Admiralty & other depts of the Govt etc. P.P. 189 of 1892

As to Admiralty contracts for locks, see Labour Gazette Feby 1894 p 95

The London County Council inserts in their clothing contracts a clause forbidding the contractor under heavy penalty to give out work to be done in the homes of the work people

"The proceedings of the Council on the question of the payment of fair wages" etc, a paper published by the Council, No 219 (Stamford, 26-27 Coch-lan St, St Clearing X, Poultry &c.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

London, Board of Trade 1896

C 18750

Sources.

No post contracts since 1895.

No post contracts — no clauses in Scots & County Council Contracts affecting home-work (P. King's Son - Westminster 2 & 14 King St. ")

(i) Copies of 4 contracts entered into by H.M. Stationery Office etc. [C-8323 of 1897] 4d

(ii) Reports from Select Committee on post contracts

(Fair wages Resolution) H.C. 277 of 1896 1s 10d [H.C. 277, 1896]

(iii) " " " H.C. 334 of 1897 3s [H.C. 334, 1897]

(iv) Labour Gazettes December 1895 p. 370

As to London County Council

the minutes of the Council for the following dates, deal with the matter.

No 2 Jany 28, 1896 — p 57

3 Febry 4, 1896 (see pp. 88-94 & 111, 112)

5 Febry 18, 1896 (~~March 3, 1896,~~ p 153

7 March 3, 1896 — p 237

9 March 17, 1896 — p 290

10 March 24, 1896 — p 323

12 April 21, 1896 — p 389

21 July 7, 1896 — p 765 (This does not indicate going there all the

" 11 April 6, 1897 — p. 369 minutes of London C.C. This minute chiefly brought to notice that there was no

" 13 May 11, 1897 — p 491 (Mr Eden Stamford (of Charing Cross) 6d each 26 Cockspur St. London S.W.

" 15 May 25, 1897 — p 584 sell publications of L.C.C.)

" 17 June 1, 1897 — p 634

" 33 November 30, 1897 — p 1,282 In this there is very little about home-work but mostly on "fair wages" clauses"

Evidence before S.S. Committee, are of Reports ~~etc~~

In 5th Report P.P. 169 of 1890 there is pp. IV etc an abstract of the evidence, including the evidence printed in Vols I & II

? No unofficial & informal. See post Nos (1896 of Shoe & Leather Record, (Publ at No 42 Finsbury Pavement London E.C. 2d monthly

but not sure of this or the Boot & Shoe Trade Journal. publ at Nos 9-10. St Bride's Av London E.C. price 2d monthly.

or Monthly Reports of Boot & Shoe Operatives (Genl Secy. Mr W. Inskip 17 Silver St Leicester

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CANADA

Sources.

C 18751

Govt Contracts after Feb 13, 1891 — another instance of the War Office insisting on current wages being paid in hosiery contracts
Labor Commissioner Evid. Group C Vol 11, p. 1265 (58) 1,657

As to conditions of labour in public contracts in Belgium see
Revue du Travail, March 1896. pp. 250-253
April 1896 pp. 352-355
Labor Gazette May 1896 p. 475
June 1896, p. 180
July 1896 p. 213
Aug. 1896 p. 245
Jany 1897 p. 9
Febry 1897 p. 146, 149.

As to conditions of labour in public contracts in Holland see
Revue du Travail April 1896 pp. 366, 367
in Germany F.O. annual series 1896 No 1752

The Odd Fellows have a fair wages clause
Daily Chronicle 28 May 1896

The Hearts of Oak (see Webb p. 44 n. K.) passed a fair wages clause in 1892
noted by three Scholars (private K) in Chronicle in August 1892

A fair wages resolution has been carried in the House of Assembly of Victoria (Australia) & acted on; & the principle is carried out by local governing bodies throughout the colony, other than Melbourne
Daily Chronicle June 13, 1896 interviews with W. A. Trennick (?) a Victorian Labor member. See also Daily Chronicle Sept 26, 1896

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CANADA

C 18752

Sources.

Govt Contracts (Fair Wages Resolution) Report etc PP. 277 of 1896

Fair Wages Clause in contract by Wimbledon Guardians — June 1/1/97
Office cutting "Municipal Employment")

Rochdale policy & working of fair wages clause, Rochdale Observer 2/1/97
Office cutting, Bd of Trade, London, "Municipal employment."

Canadian Act respecting the liability of H.M. & Public Companies for labor
used in the Construction of Public works 51 & 52 Vic c5
see L 659, 1897

Fair wages Clause of Brisbane Municipality — Journal of Department
of Labor. 1895 p 965

See note sur le minimum de salaire dans les travaux publics
published by Office du Travail (French) in 1897.

See re a New York law compelling employment of citizens only
& 8 hours day, & payment of prevailing wages on municipal works
see Report of U. S. Bureau of Statistics of Labor 13th Rept Vol I
pp. 515 etc. Vol II p 934.

Catalogue (brief) of London Board of Trade

Report & Return made in 1893 (Parlty Papers No. 435 of 1893)
re Verbal Sanitary desires, contracts in the
War Office, Metropolitan Police & Custom House, clothing

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Sources. Mr. Sydney Buxton's bill for the Amendment of the Factory Acts
No 61 of 1891 – 2½d – has clauses aiming at home work.
practically none of his proposals were carried into law.

Factory Act of 1891 (see 27 of 54 & 55 Vic c 75) The Lords Committee (1890) following the precedent of a Factory Act of Victoria, recommend the enactment of a clause, re compulsory ~~[illegible]~~ registration by employers of names of employees working in homes. This was embodied in Factory Act of 1891 & in 1892. was the only one of the Committees Reports which had been carried into law. "Of 20 reports by the Secy of State, rendered ~~[illegible]~~ inoperative

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CANADA

points to look up.

C 18754

Information in Labour Gazette as to old & new system of hours in the war office & admiralty

Recent decrees of French Govt in Bulletin de l'Office du Travail, (France)
Mr Schloss says there are declenchment the result of a
Report furnished by Mr Kenyon. — Look up these decrees
and get Kenyons Report in duplicate. —

School Board at Portsmouth & Colchester have adopted a fair wages (clause

London School Board,
" County Council. —

The Metropolitan Board of Works which the London County Council
replaced had a proviso (penalty £500) against sub contracting.
Find out how prices to regulate in every case the market
was down. & Army contracts etc in L.G.G. .

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Write re.

C 18755

Bradford Yks Typographical Assocn, started a cont: re fair Contracts 1899 (Mss. Jos Burns)
Watford, Xlean social Union, Constitn.
Leeds - Commerce League.
Warsall Padlock Society - later market of Women into factories. pay v high good wages - friendly. (there use of machinery, Sebelows.)
Scottish Wholesale Society - Sebelows holds they Chance of use of machinery Machinery combated until sweated Goods - pay good wages.
Report to Manchester Corporation showing that contracting led to scandals in re underground work. - About May or June '97.
Report of Committee appointed by Nottingham City Council to consider advisability of establishing municipal workshops for clothing. Oct 1898.
Congress of Fr. Unions at Breslau. Nov '98 - Fair w. Wages formed.
A clear letter before 1890 re municipal contracts in Edinburgh.
Mr. Cutler of Sheffield is spoken of as having served on a small local committee re sweating from c 1890.
5 Lords Cttee XXXII (24708)
Bristol Board of Guardians - a long report presented by the Property, Clothing & Shoemaking Committee - re made up clothing June 1898.

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funeral points. (Foreign)

In France - introduction of electricity into homes & formation of home industries under new conditions

Stat in Victoria 1884, requiring registration of home workers.

* Berne, Soziale Praxis 1/9/98 b 1282
Lucerne " " 8/9/98. b 1282 } letters nos. extracts by Keufer

In Australia since 1896: before, a minimum rate of wages in all post contracts

minimum wages adopted in municipal contracts in Brussels 1896
" " " " " " . Antwerp. Dec 1896

* Re minimum wages & hours at Louvain (Brabant) & Middelgem (Belgium) see Soziale Praxis, 9/9/97 b 1222 — their labor has made them unpopular.

Belgium Office, are publishing volumes on Home industries, (close of 1899) — pt Chêne

Minimum wages in Holland, see Labr Commission. for 1896 Holland

Le Moniteur des Syndicats Ouvriers, — 11 Avril 1897 b 11, article re contracts in Belgium

L'Association Ouvrière" No 5-6. 5th yr. Dec 1897, organ de la Chambre consultative des Associations Ouvrières du Bassin de France — 27 Boulevard St Quentin, has article on Keufer's Report

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CANADA

C 18757

Asst Relations ses. Villes de Bruxelles Travaux Publics
Minimum de salaire. Enquête mai 1896. Rapport
présenté au conseil communal au nom de la Commission
d'Enquête par M. le Bourgmestre, président (2 Vols) 1896

Abus Renvoi du Travail. March 1896 | Feby 1897 | March 1898
Apr " | May " | Dec 1898.
May " | June " |
June " | July " |
Oct " | Aug " |
Dec " |

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C 18758

Lords etc

London County Council

notice of proceedings Dec 8th 1892, h. 20. + (2nd accident ?)
(see 19)

Minutes of proceedings. No 42

Lords meeting Mon. Tues. 13th Dec 1892. — pp 1194, 4: 6.7.8.

" " Fri. 16th Dec 1892 No. 43

Minutes for 27th May 1892. No 17. f 478, ~~479~~ 482

~~In the House of Lords Tuesday~~

In H of L. Ld. Stephen M.P. on Tues. Feby 14th

moved for a Select Committee to enquire what classes of Govt workmen are paid below current rates

Return to an order of the Hon the H of L. dated 13 Feb. 92

Return "of the Forces raised by the War Office, Admiralty, Board of Works, and other departments of the Government, in compliance with the terms of the Resolution of the House of 13th February 1891"

~~Return~~ to (Mr. S. Buxton) 1892.

(19)

Lord Aberdeen moved in H of L. 1898 for a return of fac inspectors of empl. of work done & moved in homes.

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CANADA

Lords etc

London County Council

C 18758

Minutes of proceedings Dec 8th 1892, p. 20. + (not attached ?)
(Jan 19)
Minutes of proceedings. No 42
heavy rainfall under pen. Tues. 13th Dec 1892. — pp 1194, 5: 6.7.8.
" " Fri. 16th Dec 1892 No. 43
Minutes pen 27th May 1892. No 17. p 478, ~~479~~ 482
~~to 14th Feby~~

In H of S. Col. Stephen M.P. on Tues. Feby 14th ——

moved for a select Committee to enquire what classes of Govt workmen are paid below current rates

Return to an order of the Hon the H of C. dated 13 Feb. 92
Return "of the Forces raised by the War Office, Admiralty, Board of Works, and other departments of the Government, in compliance with the terms of the Resolution of the House of 13th February 1891"
~~14 Feb~~ (Mr. S. Bourne)
1892.

(137)

Lord Aberdeen moved in H of L. 1898 for a return of the instructions of Govt. of work done & moneys in hours.

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C 18759

1002/4

See page 277 of Rept of Chief Factory Inspector for 1893. - relative work. re licenses for workshops.

See Report relating to underground establishments for the Provision of Labour and to hours of labour enforced there.

1. Annl Rept of H. M. Chief Inspectors for 1897 & 72.

Blue book on Women Trades about 96 - inquiry conducted by Miss Abraham, Miss Lees Dennant, others

3rd Interim Report of the Home Office Committee on Homework Trades p 13. recommends no 12 a register re certificate of women

See James MacDonald - Homes Standard Society of Authors. 4 & London S.W. 1?]

Mrs. Haggs Article on fair-building.

Book of Contemporary Reviews, London. Dec 1897

This article is condemned in Public Opinion for Dec 16, 1897 vol XXIII no. 26

under Heading "Swearing" in England - & p 812-813

the Misrepresentations of the Women's Industrial Council.

Also in Public Opinion, same date: no. & p 812, 813:

is condemnation of article in the Westminster Review

by Margaret H. Irwin.

and on p 814 is 'a Consumers League'

condemnation of article by A.C.W. in the

Church Standard, Philadelphia

notorious overcrowding problem in London

effect of the law on such a problem.

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C 18760

write A. Ottley. 145 Pitsmoor Rd
Secy. Fed. Centre Y. Comd. Sheffield.

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C 18761

Please to all.

Wells. - Names from works.
get publicity "Names vs. the Admiralty"

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C 18762

Persons to see.

Mr. Ames.
Toynbee Hall.
Canon Barnett.
" Pole.
Despatch.
Mrs. Tennant 33 Bruton St. (off Bond St or Grafton St.)
Miss Heather Bigge.
Miss Hicks = Mrs James, 22 Rochester Sq. Camden Town
re tailors misbehaving shops
Duke of York's Cromwell Rd
James Macdonald. Secy, London Trades Council
2 White Friars St.
Moses & Co. - Cor of Minories & Aldgate.

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Look up.

C 18763

Women's International Council 1899. - Mrs Ballenden read paper.
Factory Bill before H of C. 1890 (introduced 1890.), & Caldwell includes much that is done in homes.

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C 18764

British Museum.

English Women's Year Book 1899. Industrial Section, Arts & Crafts work
by Miss J.H. MacDonald.
bibliography p. 93.

(not in bib) Hughes Thomas — Lecture on "Sloyd System" 1892

In .... Fraser's Magazine. Labour & the Poor.

" .... History of Working Tailors Association — No 3. Fraction
Christian Socialism.

" .... Five Years in the Land of Refuge.
by Mrs. Jules Lechevalier St André
London 1874

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CANADA

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C 18765

The children's Labour Question – articles reprinted from Daily Mail
The Daily News Office (6d)
Bouverie St. 1899

Women's Liberal Federation
Resolutn in favour of home work bill 1899. (Set Report.

Farrar, Lord - '92 London. City Council – Market Price & Fancy Price

Reports of Trade Union Congress 1890-93

Board of Trade - First Report of Society for promoting working-men's associations, including report of Co-operative Conference 1852.

Blanc & small Chain Makers – 1888 (No. 385)

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C 18766

Brussels.-

Congrès International de législation du travail, tenu a Bruxelles du 27 au 30 septembre 1897. Rapports et compte rendu analytique des séances publics par le bureau de la commission d'organization. Brussels 1898 8vo

IP. Weissenbruch, imprimeur du Roi.
45- Rue des Poinçons, 45

Rapport présenté au Conseil communal de Bruxelles au nom de la Commission d'enquête sur le minimum de salaire dans les chahiers des charges des adjudications publiques et discussion au Conseil 1896. (2707. Brux.

Lucien
1 Le Foyer - Le minimum de salaire en Belgique
(Brod. Gard et Bière 1897) ou la Réforme social
Paris

Le Conseil superieur de Belgique 2 session 1893-94
Premiere partie, minimum de salaire, Bruxelles
Weissenbruch 1894

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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C 18767

Palais des Beaux Arts
(Mont Place Royal

Bruxelles.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 18768

Look up Trades
Co-operation.

Report of Society for the Protection of destitute needlewomen
1845 (referred to by J. Shaw. Appeal on behalf of poor cambrygan
Seamstresses)

Look up
Labour & the Poor. Fraser's Magazine. Jany 1850

Morning Chronicle 1849. & 1850
Nov 15 / 1849
Nov. 23 / 1849. (see article "Labour & the Poor"
Dec. 1849

6 Nov 1849
13 " 1849
23 " 1849
14 Dec 1849

Thomas Carlyle in a pamphlet beginning "Reminiscences on Black West Indies Loan White Ireland, refers to these articles in the Morning Chronicle

~~Look up Edinburgh Review - by Knight - pamphlet on the Seamstresses about 1830~~

See Times Jany 16 - 1856 (article Answers: Work for others

See Chambers's Edinburgh Journal - article on Seamstresses 1838. or 1837.
article added to the minority of Devlin

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CANADA

C 18769

The Cottage Industries of Ireland with an account of the work of the Hereford Industrial Fund, by Mrs. Ernest Hart. being a paper read before the Society of Arts on Wed., May 11th 1887. price 6d. London. Hamilton Adams & Co. 32 Paternoster Row E.C. 1887

Cottage Industries & what they can do for Ireland being a verbatim report of an address given by Mrs Ernest Hart at the Club House, Bedford Park, May 30 1885. - price 6d London. Smith Elder & Co. 15 Waterloo Place S.W. 1885.

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	Morley's Underworld — with illustrations 4 vols. London 1861-62 (no more published) a portion of this is a duplicate of Underdell of 1851			
	Mayhew's London Labour + the London Poor. Cheap ed. London 1865. 8vo			

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Subject: Sweating.

Supplementary topics. C 18771

Clothing Trade. London. City Council

Contracts — govt. London School Board

public employment, Manufacturers. Sanitation

Fair wages Resolt. Nationality—

Factory — Home.

Home work, " Wages. Prison Labor

Hours, Women's work. Poverty

Labor. Sweating. Tenement Home

Labor Laws " (N.Y.L.H.) Unemployed.

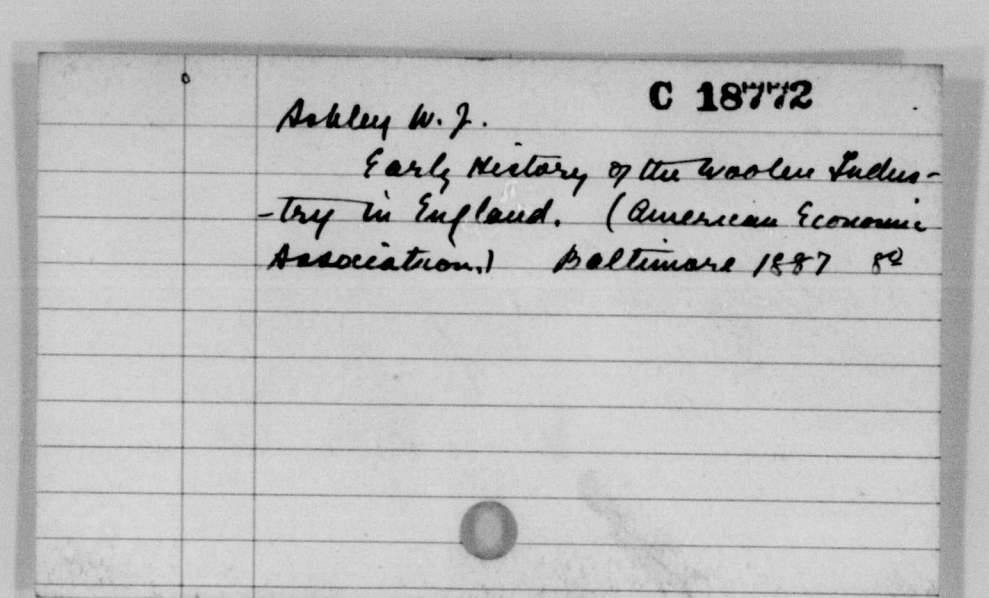
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C 18772

Ashley W. J.

Early History of the Woolen Industry in England. (American Economic Association.) Baltimore 1887 8°

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 18773

Ashley W. J.
Methods of Industrial Peace
Economic Review pp. 297-317

Eng.

C 18774

Ashley W. J.
Cooperative Production in England.
Art. in The Nation Sept 14, 1899. pp 203-204
Vol LXIX No. 1785

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume C 27

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B

Banks, Louis Albert C 18775
White Slaves. The Oppression
of the Worthy Poor.
Boston 1892.

France. Barbaret C 18776
(Le travail en France) Monographies
professionelle 7 Vol.
Paris. Berger-Levrault 1886 C24

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France -

Beurseit. Charles C 18777

Les Ouvriers : l'aiguelle a Paris

Paris 1893.

Engl.

Black, Clementina, Mrs. C 18778

Mr Bonnamarners Keeper : A proposal that employers should combine & deal only with employers who pay their workers fairly, by Clementina Black, being the substance of an article published in Longmans Magazine of August 1887, 8vo

June 1888, 8vo

(Lib Lon. School)

Booth, Chas. C 18779

Labour and Life of the People.

2nd Ed. London 1889.

Exhec Vol I. part II - 53

Spec 61:1120 ff. art in 14th Rep. Bur. 24. 169. 301 Tailoring Trade - Potter, Beatrice

ff. art in Economic Journal. Vol. 1891, p. 460 Women's Work - Clara Collett

Sweating - Chas Booth

- Vol II pp. 252 Tailoring.

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CANADA

France.

Bonnevay C 18780

Les ouvriers Lyonnaises travaillant à domicile Lucien et Léonède

Bretano, Lujo C 18781

Hours Wages and Production, translated by Mrs. Wm Arnold.

S. Sc. 1894

Bretano & C 18782

The Relations of Labor to the Laws of Today New York 1891 8vo

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18783

Brooks, J. Graham.
The Consumer's League. Its Economic Basis on which it rests.
Boston 1897.

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Ler.

Brooks, J.G.
Insolvency System in Germany - art in
Journal of Social Science, No XXX, Oct 1892

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France
Duret.

Duret. C 18785

De la noiderè by classes laborieuses
en France et en Angleterre
Paris 1866.

C 18786

Bulley, Miss A: Whitley, Miss Margaret: Lady Meikle
Women's Work.
Methuen & Co, London 1894.

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CANADA

C

Cairnes. C 18787

Principles of Political Economy

Exposes comparative adv.

Campbell, Helen C 18783

Women Wage Earners.

Boston. Roberts Bros.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18789

Chain: hair

Women at work; Chain making in the Black Country, by the Special Commissioner of the Wolverhampton Weekly News (Reprinted from the Wolverhampton Weekly News, 24 February 6, 1875) Gateshead 1877. 8°

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume C 27

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18790

A slender account of moneys mark
in Chain district, contains little information
save of a general sort and is rather
sensational.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Engl.

Chain : hail

C 18791

Chains and slavery : a visit to the starving strikers of Bradley Heath. reprinted from the "Sunday Chronicle" of Nov. 7, 1886. Manchester 1886, 8o
(Webb. Coll.)

Engl.

Chain : hail.

C 18793

A plea for the striking hailmakers of Bromsgrove and district, being a reprint (revised) of four articles published in the "Sunday Chronicle" by Thomas Harris ("Special Commissioner" of the "Sunday Chronicle"), Manchester 1891, 8o
(Webb. Coll)

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Eng.

C 18791

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Chains and Slavery : a visit to the starving strikers of Bradley Heath, reprinted from the "Sunday Chronicle" of Nov. 7, 1886. Manchester 1886, 8°
(Webb. Coll.)

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C 18792

general & international, in one part. description
of homes of workers, mass meeting when on strike
etc.

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Volume C 27

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CANADA

Engl. | Chem. & Geol. | C 18793

A plea for the striking nailmakers of Bromsgrove and district, being a reprint (revised) of four articles published in the "Sunday Chronicle" by Thomas Harris ("Special Commissioner" of the "Sunday Chronicle", Manchester, 1891, 8°
(Webb. Coll.)

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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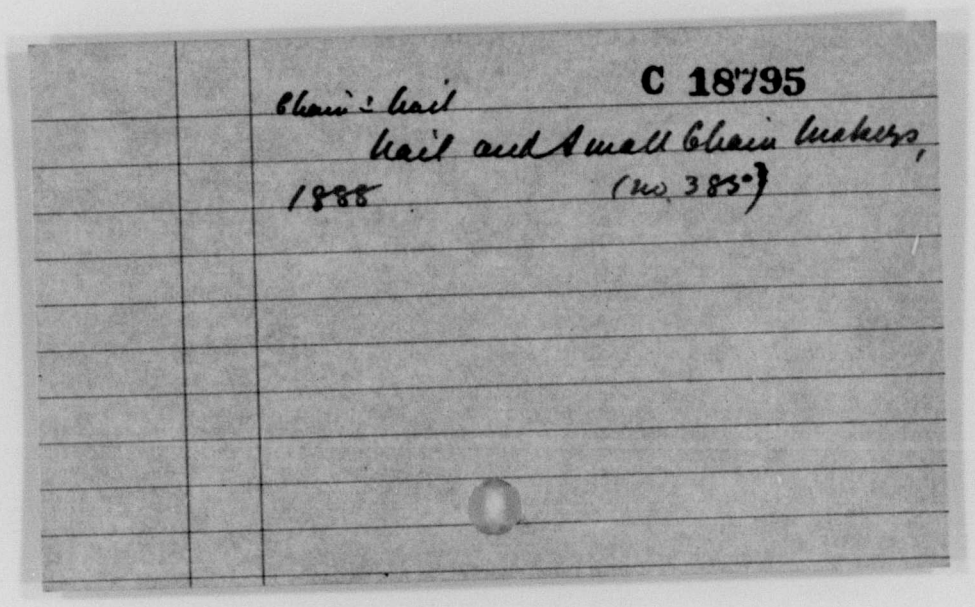
PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18794

additional, descriptions of homes and streets.

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CANADA


Chain : hail
C 18795
hail and Small Chain makers,
1888 (No 385)

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume C 27

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C 18796

Child-labor

Child labor and the Half-time system by Margaret McMillan, 1896 (Clarion Pamphlet no 15)

Mr Grey of the Children & Catherine M. John Conway 3rd Ed. —Clarion Office

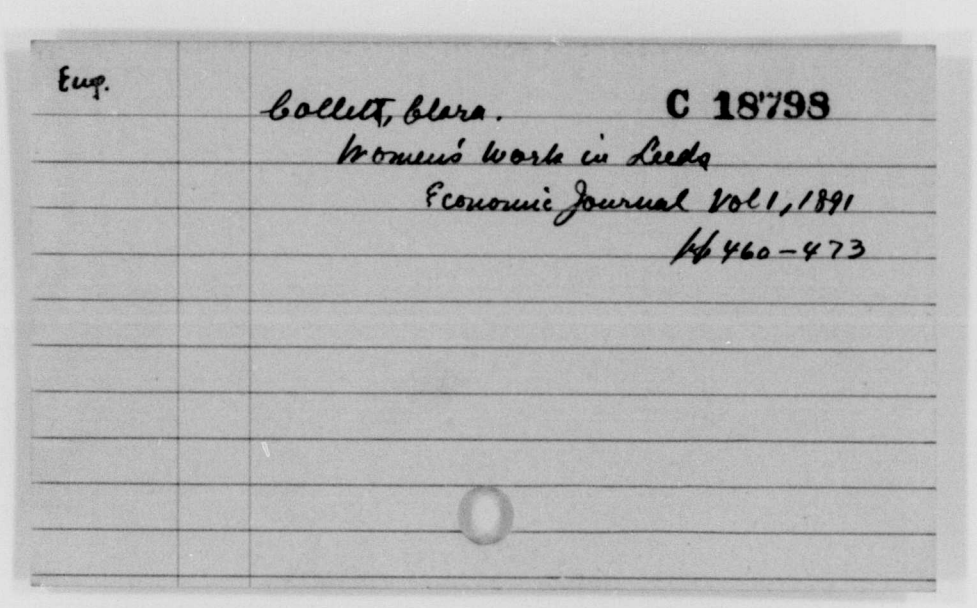
C 18797

Consumer's-duty.

"Good Citizenship", London 1899 contains Essay "Economic Duty of the Consumer".

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA



Emp.

Collett, Clara. C 18798

Women's Work in Leeds

Economic Journal Vol 1, 1891

pp 460-473

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Volume C 27

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CANADA

Emp.

Consumers league. C 18799

Mr Consumers League: A proposal that buyers should combine to deal only with employers who pay their workers fairly, by Clementina Black., being the substance of an article published in Longman's Magazine of August 1887.

June 1888. 8p

(Pol. Econ. School.)

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18800

A concise statement of the principle of the League and of the beginnings of the movement in London.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume C 27

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Eng. ✓ C 18801

Consumers league. Cooperation.

An experiment in the best Commerce.

Fraubs. 160 - Wholesale Dry Goods Merchants.

U.S. ✓ C 18802

Consumers' League.

Investigation of hours and other conditions in the Mercantile establishments of Boston, with a Report of the work of the League from March to November 1898

Appendix. Report of Hours and other conditions in the Smaller Mercantile Establishments of Boston. Presented by W. L. Mackenzie King.

✓ C 18803

Consumers League, The Brooks J. Graham, The Consumers' League, The Economic Basis on which it rests. - Boston 1887.

C 18804

Cooperative

First Report of Society for promoting Workingmens Associations including report of Cooperative Conference. 1852. 8°

(Br. of Th. Lib)

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Exp. | ✓ | Cooperation. C 18805
Co-operative Production - Collection of pamphlets - published by Labor Co-partnership Assoc. 15 Southampton Row. W.C. 1899.

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Eng. ✓

Cooperation. **C 18806**

Cooperative Production in England.

by Ashley W.J.

Art in The Nation. Sept. 14/99. pp 203-204.

Vol LXIX pp 178-5

Methods of Industrial Peace. Ashley, W.J.

Economic Review pp. 297-317

Eng ✓

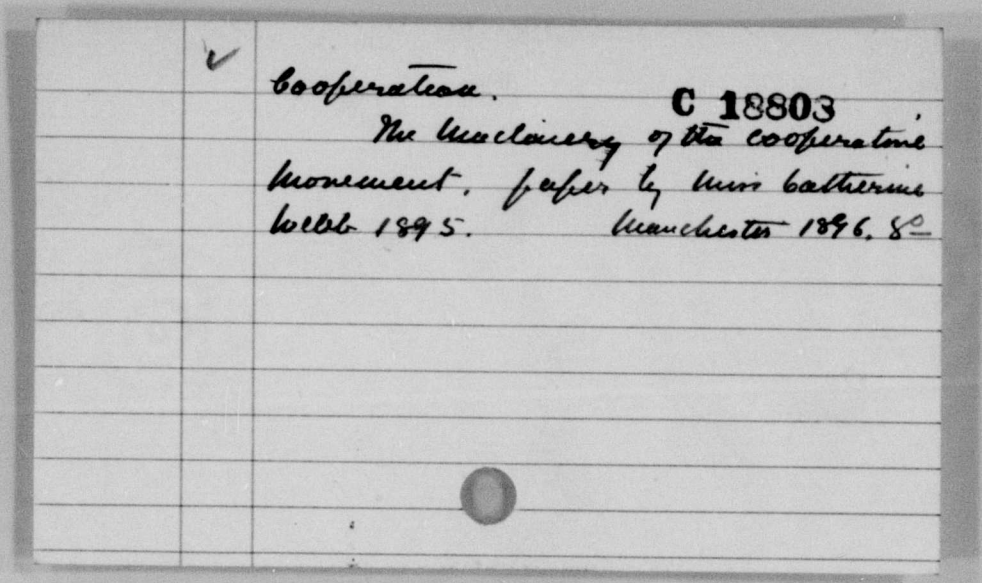
Cooperation. **C 18807**

Reports of the Women's Cooperative Guild.

16th Annl. - '98-99. Manchester — 1899. 8vo

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cooperation.

C 18803

The Machinery of the cooperative movement. paper by Miss Catherine Webb 1895. Manchester 1896. 8vo

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U.S.

Clothing Trade. (Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America) C 18809

Reports of the New York Board of Mediation and Arbitration for 1894. p 26

p 261 re. "Strike of Cloak Makers in New York

Eng.

Clothing trade C 18810

The Tailors - A tragedy for modern weather; in three acts, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket, London 1778. 8vo 643 e.8(2)

Eng.

Clothing Tr.

Moses E. and Son C 18811

The growth of an important branch of British industry. The ready-made clothing system,

London 1860 8o

8244 b.29.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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Eng.

C 18812

Clothing Co.

May J. — A declaration of the estate of clothing now used within this realm of England. London 1613, 4°

C 18813

Cunningham, W.

The Growth of English Industry and Commerce, Vol I. Early, Middle Ages. (1890); Vol II., Modern Times (1892) [Each volume contains a full bibliography] Cambridge 1890-92 8°

C 18814

Cunningham W.

The Path Towards Knowledge.

f. 72 re moral question of drawing profits from Smuggling

f. 66 — re state interference when prohibitive

C 18815

Cunningham, W.

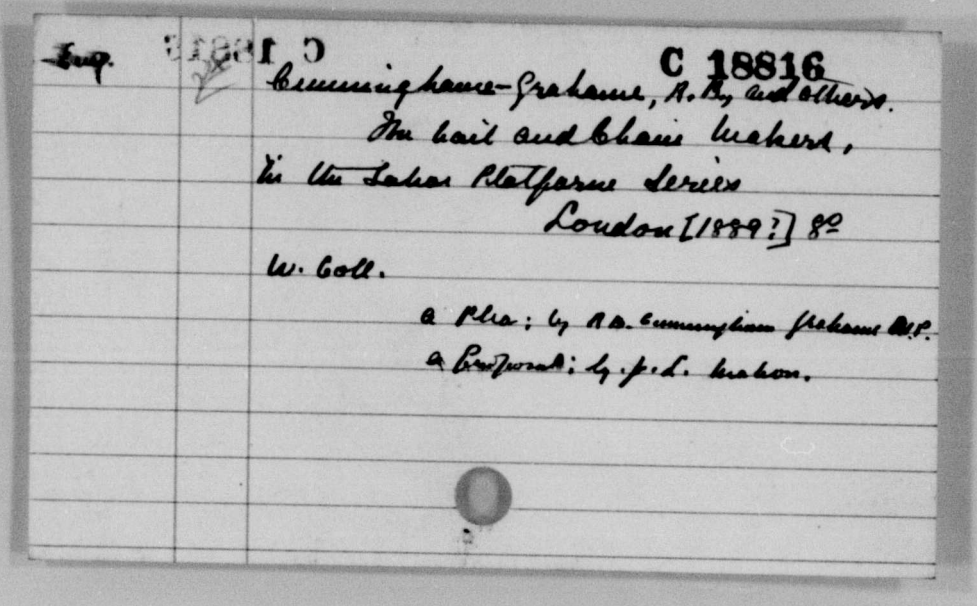
Economic Aspects of ~~modern~~ Western Civilization.

(chap on Smuggling. Utopian.

f. 207. Monopoly helps down Smuggling.

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CANADA


Eng. C 1881 C 18816
Cunninghame-Graham, R. B., and others.
The hail and chain brakers,
in the Labor Platform Series
London [1889?] 8°
W. Coll.
a Plea; by R.B. Cunninghame Grahame M.P.
a Rejoinder: by J.J.L. Mahon.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18817

Mr Parsons very general, sensational, few facts.
Mr Carter a short proposal for cooperative workshops subsidized by the Government.

Imp.

Contracts, Tenements' C 18818
Wesley J. W.

Contract reforms its necessity shown in respect to the shoemaker, soldier, sailor etc.

London 1856. 8°

8226 a.10

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18819

See description under author's name.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES

CANADA

C 18820

Govt Contracts (Fair W. Resol^{n}
Hansard Debates. Febry 1891

C 18821

Eng

Contracts. (Govt) Fair wages Resolut^{n}
Fair wages and sub-letting. Forms of Contracts issued by Government Departments in compliance with the terms of the Resolution of the House of Commons 13th Febry 1891.
London 1891

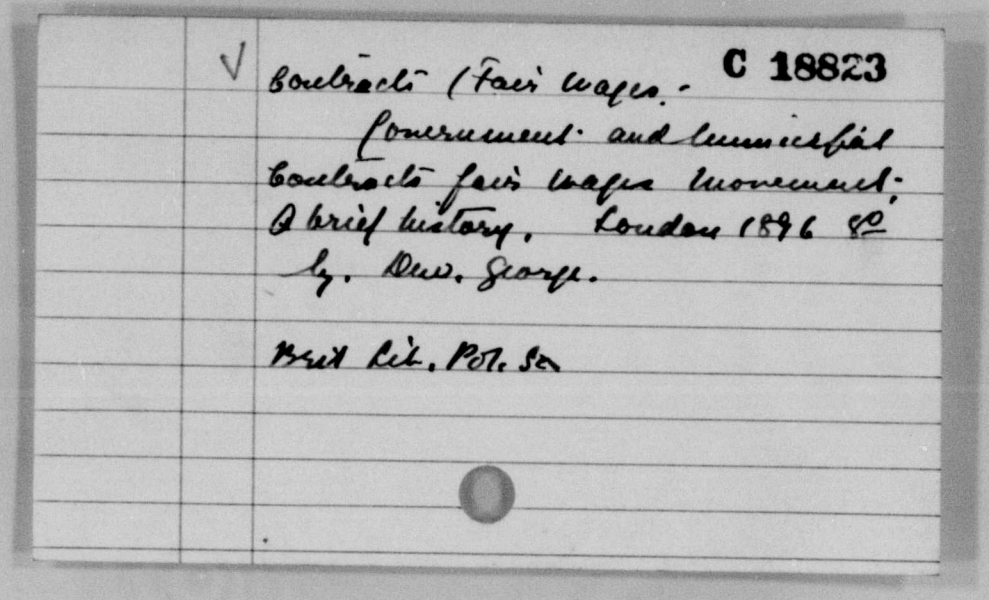
C 18822

L

Contracts, Urban Sanitary districts (Engd)
Urban Sanitary Districts (Conditions of Contracts). Return to an order of the H. of C. Return "showing, in respect of each Urban Sanitary District, whether the Contracts entered into by the Authority for the execution of works specify as the wages to be paid by the Contractor, or other Conditions any Conditions with respect to the Persons employed by him; and, if so, what are the conditions so specified"
(435) London 1893.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Eng. | 1st | C 18824

Contracts Govt. (Fair wages Resolution)
Report from the Select Committee on Government Contracts (Fair Wages Resolution): together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, appendix and index.
(277) London 1896.

Eng. | V | C 18825

Contracts Govt. (Fair wages Resolution)
Report from the Select Committee on Government Contracts (Fair Wages Resolution); together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence Appendix, and index
No 339. London 1897
X Report read.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18826

Boot Coubrach (Fair Wages Resolⁿ)
Summary of Report of Select Committee.
The "Times" July 21, & 22, 1897.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Emp: U.S.

C 18827

Contracts (Labor). Fair wages. L.G.C. 1911.
Wages under Contracts for Public
Works. - Art in Labour Bulletin of the
Dept. of Labour May Oct 1897. p. 1-18.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18828

This article gives an outline sketch of Fair Wages Resolution (H. of C., Sep) - steps leading to passage of - and an outline sketch of steps resulting in direct employment of artisans by the D.C.C. the extent - nature - of work in progress up to 1897. - it contains no original material.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Contracts, Public (Emp) **C 18829**

Fair Wages Resolution.

Art. in The Labour Gazette, London, Aug 1897
(par. only) Nos 8 - Vol V. p. 228

Wages in Government Contracts

Paragraph in The Labor Gazette
London Oct. 1896
Nos 10 Vol IV p 308

Contracts, Govt (Emp) **C 18830**

Government Contracts (Fair wages Resolution)

Report of the House of Commons Select Committee

Article in The Labor Gazette, London Nov. 1897
Nos 11, Vol V p 326.

Contracts, Public (Emp) **C 18831**

"Fair Wages" in Public Contracts. Conditions imposed in Quebec Sanitary Contracts.

Art. in The Labour Gazette, London April 1897
Nos 10, Vol VI p 99

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C 18832

L Contracts, Local Authorities (Scotland)

Local Authority (Scotland) (Conditions of Contracts). Return to an order of the Hon. the H. of C. Return "showing in respect of each Local Authority in Scotland whether the Contracts entered into by the Local Authority for the Execution of Works specify any conditions as to the wages to be paid by the Contractor, or other conditions with respect to the Persons employed by him; and, if so, what are the conditions so specified" (377) London 1898

C 18833

V Contracts, Public (Scot.)

Fair Wages in Public Contracts, conditions imposed by local authorities in Scotland.

Arb. in the Labour Gazette, London April 1899.
1904 - Vol VII. p. 99

C 18834

Eng.

(Contracts (Forms), Fair Wages Resolution.

Conditions of Contract for Printing and Publishing, Parliamentary Stationery 1898 to 1902
London 1898

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

Emp. ✓ C 18835

Contracts, Public. (Fair Wages Resolr.)

The Application and Operation of the Fair Wages Resolution as applied to Public Printing Contracts in Ireland. Non-Union employers: vindication of the fair wages resolution, practical condemnation of sweating and excessive hours of labor. The Contract cancelled.

Plumbers & Typographical Assocs., Belfast 1898. Vs pp. 20

✓ C 18836

Contracts; Urban Sanitary Districts. (Emp.)

Urban Sanitary Districts (Conditions of Contracts.) Return to an order of the H. of C. Return "showing in respect of each Urban Sanitary District, whether the Contracts entered into by the Authority for the execution of works, specify any Conditions as to the wages to be paid by the Contractor, or other Conditions with respect to the Persons employed by him; and, if so, what are the Conditions so specified (in accordance with Circular of Local Government Board, dated 4th July 1893)." London 1898

✓ C 18837

Contracts. (Fair W. Resolns.)

Municipal Trading: Conditions of contracts with Local Authorities, — the Employers Parliy Council. 1898. pp.

Emp.: U.S. ✓ C 18838

Contracts (Public)
Fair Wages Resolr

The Maintenance of the Standard of Living — art. in Labor Bulletin of Mass. No. 9. Jany 1899 pp 19-22.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18839

This article states favourable underlying fair wages resolutions, mentions L. School Bd., L.C.C. + Fair W. Resolns, + cites extracts from one or two urban districts contracts wh insert clauses, - no original material, + very short.

C 18840

Diffl: c.	✓	Contracts; clauses. Fair wages (different Countries)

1st Annual Report of Board of Trade on Labor Statistics in different Countries

London, 1899.

(contains an account of minimum wage clauses in contracts in diffl' countries)

C 18841

France		Contracts - fair wages.

Rapport tendant à rechercher les meilleurs moyens de parer aux funestes conséquences du système actuel des adjudications - by Keufer A. (pour la Federation Française des travailleurs du livre) Paris 1896 8vo

also published also in "Septième Congrès National tenu a Marseille du 9 au 15 Septembre 1895, Paris 1895.

(Association Ouvrière) 11 Rue Bailet

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CANADA

C 18839

This article states principle underlying fair wages Resolns, mentions L. School Bd., L.C.C. = Fair W. Resolns, = cites extracts from one or two urban districts contracts wh. meet clauses, - no original material, = very short.

O

C 18840

diffl. c. | ✓ | Extracts; clauses fair wages (different countries)

1st Annual Report of Board of Trade on Labor Statistics in different Countries

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(contains an account of minimum wage clauses in contracts in diffl. countries)

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C 18841

France | | Contracts - fair wages.

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also published at p 94. in "Septième Congrès National tenu a Marseille du 9 au 15 Septembre 1895, Paris 1895.

(Associations Ouvrières) Wilson Badet

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CANADA

France.

C 18842

Boulbrach. (Publis) (Fait W. Resolr)
L'Office du Travail
Minimum de salaire dans les travaux publics - 1 Vol. 8e de 129 p. (1897)

Belgium.

C 18843

Boulbrach. (Fait W.)
Ville de Bruxelles Travaux Publics
minimum de salaire. Enquête Mai 1896. Rapport présenté au Conseil communal au nom de la Commission d'Enquête par M. L. Bourgomestre président (2 Vols.) 1896

Belgium

C 18844

Boulbrach. (Fait W)
Revue du Travail March 1896
April ..
May ..
June ..
Oct ..
Dec. ..
Feby 1897
May ..
June ..
July ..
Aug ..
March 1898
Dec ..

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Canada,	D	Contracts Govt. Fair W. R. Sweating. (public Contracts) House of Commons Debates, Hansard - 4th session - 8th Parlt. Vol XXX II. 693	C 18845

Can.	D V	Contracts Govt. (Fair W.) Sweating. (Govt. Contracts) Report to the Honourable the Postmaster General on the methods adopted in the carrying out of Government Clothing Contracts by W. L. Mackenzie King. Ottawa 1899.	C 18846 [Fair W. Clause]

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Eng		Contracts Public Employment Prefabrication for a National Printing Office - 3 Aug 1848, 2pp. - by Hansard, J. London 1848. for. 1859 c 8/1	C 18848

Victoria		Contract Public Employment Statement of Facts in reference to the Masons (employed on the Melbourne and Sandhurst Railway) and the Railway Contractors. Fitzroy (Victoria) 1860. — by Williams J.	C 18849

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Eng.	✓	C 18852 Contracts Fair. Report of the Select Committee, appt. [illegible] Committee of the London Society of Compositors, on the Origin of the Claims of Messrs. Spottiswoode's Hands, [illegible] with the subsequent proceedings thereon. 1836-54., London 1854

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		Government Printing Contracts. (Fair W.R.) Report of Select Committee of House of Commons to inquire whether the present system of issuing invitations for tenders and of making Contracts for Government Printing and Binding sufficiently secures compliance with the terms & spirit of the Resol^n of the H of C. of the 13th day of February, & of letters Circ and of 20, what improvements of the system are called for. June 1896. [230] price 1.5 11d

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Wages Policy. Published by the
Fabian Society, July 1898 BL

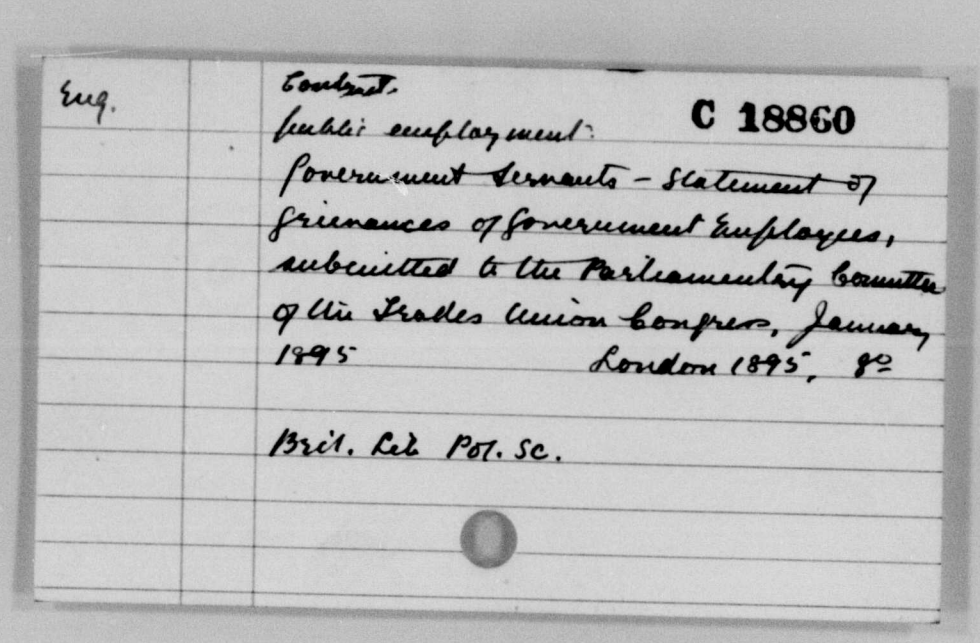
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	V	C 18859 Fair Wages Movement in the Economic Services of the London County Council. by Sidney Webb. London 1894, 8vo

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Government Servants - Statement of grievances of Government Employees, submitted to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, January 1895 London 1895. 8°

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C 18861

Boulracts (Public Employment)

Report of New York Bureau of Statistics of Labor 13th Rept. Vol I. pp. 515-44
Vol II p. 434

Re. employing citizens only.
& the obj
Excerpt of preceding map.

Eng.

C 18862

Boulracts (Govt)

Government Boulracts with Foreigners, Ret. of, for 1895-96.
London 1896

Eng.

C 18863

Contracts. (Govt.)

Reports on Contracts given out by Public Authorities to Associations of workmen by, Labor Department of Board of Trade. London 1896.
[C-8233 of 1896]

Diff. C.

C 18864

Contracts (Govt.)

Report by D. F. Schloss with regard to the general question of Co-operative Contracts for Public Authorities, and the Workmen's Associations by which such Contracts have been carried out.
1897

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Contract
Public employment

C 18865

Public Departments, Attendants,
Treasury Minute as to Conditions of
Service, Remuneration etc.
1896

Eng.

Contracts (cont)

C 18866

Government Departments. Contracts
made in the United Kingdom for
manufactured articles during
1896-7. London 1897

Eng.

Contracts
Sub-contracting

C 18867

Employers' Liability, Past and Prospec-
tive Legislation, with special reference
to "Contracting Out" etc. Reprinted
from the Econ
London 1896 4to
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Public Employment.

C 18868

Public work directs performed -
Article in Public Opinion — April 8, 1897
from
Article by Sylvester Baxter. in
Review of Reviews. New York, April
1897

Commons, J.R.
Contracts (Municipal)

C 18869

The Day Labor and Contract System
on Municipal Works. Arb. & Commons, J.R.
in Yale Review, Feb. 1897

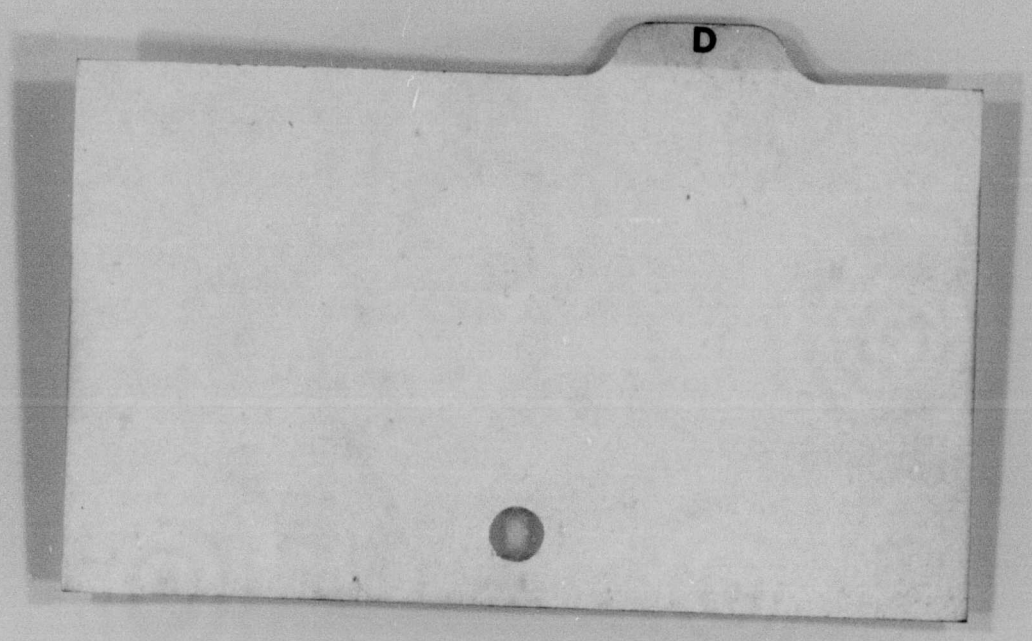
Contracts, - public & private. (wages)

C 18870

Rates of wages paid under public
and private contract
Art. in Bulletin of the Department
of Labor, & Stewart, E. Hon. Washington 1896

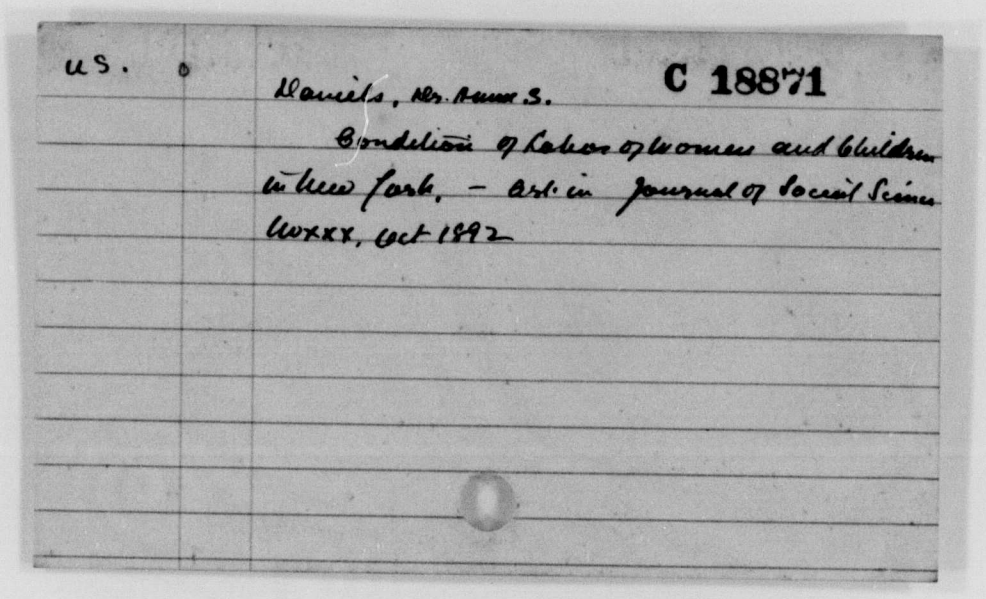
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Davenport. H.J.
Outlines of Economic Theory.
Part II.

Part II. Synopsis.

C 18873

Eng 2½

Davis W.J.
Minimum Rate of Wage for
Brass-Workers
Birmingham, 1892. 8vo
W. Coll.

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No good for this purpose.
Nothing from.

C 18874

V. Demoulins.
Anglo-Saxon superiority

C 18875

f. 190 re influence on homes home training
also re indefinance ch.

Dewlin. Jld.
Contracts - fair wages.
Dewlin Jld. - Contract reform;
its necessity shown in respect to the
shoemaker, soldier, sailor etc"
London 1856, 8vo

C 18876

8226. a. 10.
"being a refutation of the arguments against the
system so long practised and still carried
on, of permitting the large and in many
may instances - tant contracts of boots &
shoes for the Army, Navy etc to be (over)

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18877

taken up by parties who are wholly ignorant of the manufacture and thus of the allegations and results of the work proving badly executed; badly meaning! and so much public money badly expended!!!

a pamphlet of 32 pages, content expressed in title, contains information re method of contracting & bad results in shoes used by soldiers in Crimea, wishes a decision made to be laid into the hands of masters

De Rousiers, Paul C 18878

The Labor Question in Britain

translated by F. L. D. Herbertson.

London 1896

Lee. V.

Lewlis, James D. C 18879

The Shoemaker, (in The Guide to trades). London 1839. 8vo

The Shoemaker. Part II.; being the duties of the shop. London 1841. 8vo

These two books (1st of 20, 2nd of 160 pages) form an account of the trade method of Upper. &c. They are chiefly devoted to giving detailed cost of each stage of work but thereon a needs light on [illegible] method of Upper. at the time.

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CANADA

for description see bottom of other C 18883

V

Dew. George C 18881

Government and municipal contracts fair wages movement. A brief history. London 1896. 8°

Brit. Lib. Pol. Sc.

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Newlin, James D. C 18879.
The shoemaker, (in The Guide to trades). London 1839. 8°
The shoemaker. Part II.: being the duties of the shop. London 1841. 8°
These two books (1st of 20, 2nd of 160 pages) form an account of the trade method of Uffa:- ch. They are chiefly devoted to giving detailed order of each stage of work but there are [illegible] words left on [illegible] method of Uffa. at this time.

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New, George C 18881

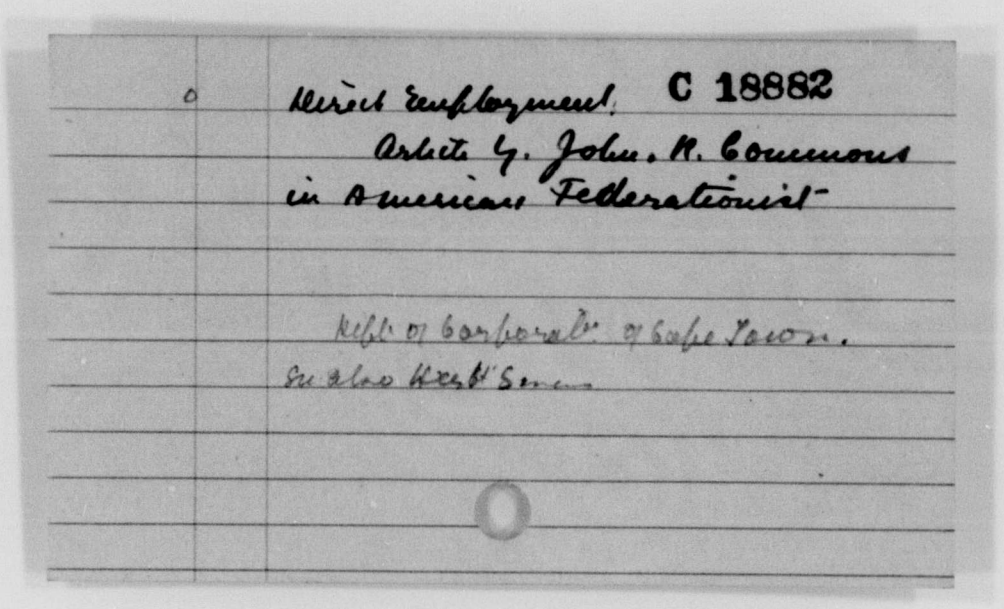
Government and municipal contracts fair wages movement. A brief history. London 1896. 8vo

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C 18883

d Draper, Geoffrey
Unemployed

f 15-5-6
f 221

Eng. d Denman, Earl of. C 18884

The Smeaton System. The Draft Reports prepared by the Earl of Denman, K.B., etc. With Preface by Tom Mann and Ben Tillett London 1891. 4°

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Empl ✓

C 18885

Employers' Parliamentary Council
Re Free Labour Protection Association
Report of Proceedings 1897. 8vo
Re Labour Protection Association
Report of Proceedings 1898 8vo
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Report of Proceedings 1899. 8vo.

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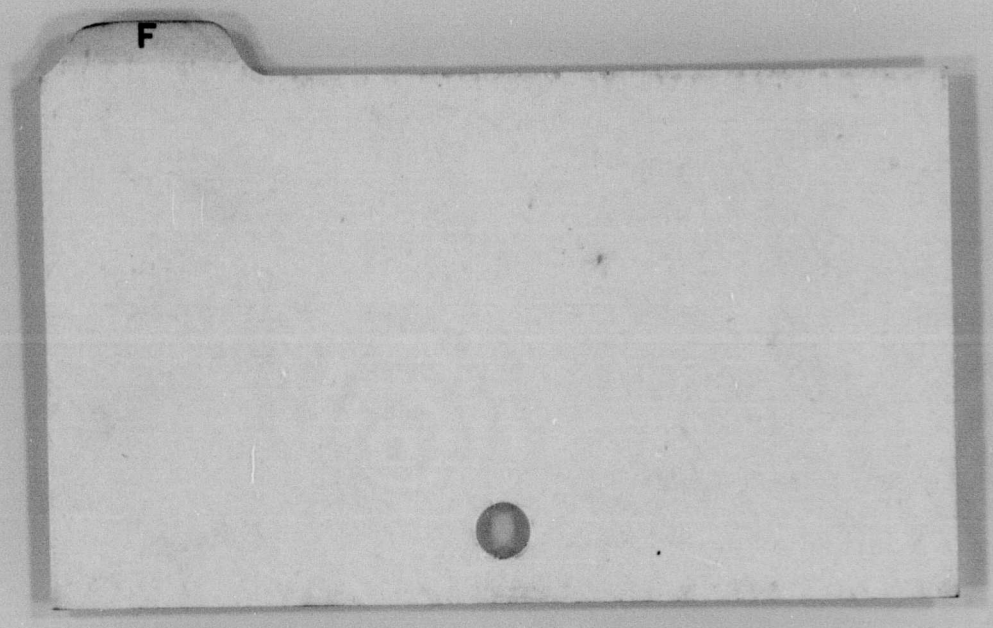
Engells. Fred

Conditions of the working classes in England in 1844, translated by Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky

1892

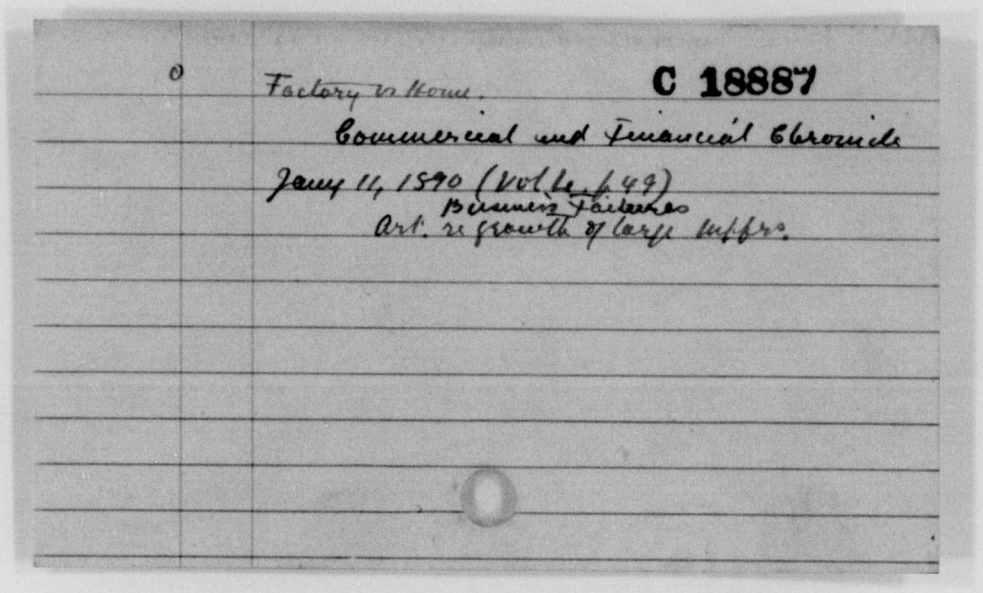
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Factory in Home.

C 18887

Commercial and Financial Chronicle

Jany 14, 1890 (Vol 50, p 49)

Bemmis, Fairbanks

Art. re growth of large suffrs.

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Eng.

C 18883

Farrar, Lord

Wages under the Coomley Council,
Market price and fancy price
pamphlet

Ger.

Friedrichowitz, E. C 18883

Die Lehren der Arbeiterbewegung
in der Herrenbekleidung
Zeitschr. ges. Staatsw.
43 Heft 3.

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George John E. C 18890
Coal miners.
in B. J. C.

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C 18891

Pôhre, Paul

Three months in a Workshop

Seven Sonnets 89 5.

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Eng.

Galton

The Tailoring Trade.

C 18893

Eng.

Fullerridge J.R.

The decision of the Remedy. An essay on the present state of the working classes including a true description of the degraded character of our railway laborers London 1852 12mo

8275. a. 61 (10)

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Eng.

Fuy. M.A.

The Case of the Journeymen Bakers! being a Lecture on the evils of night work and long hours of labor.

London 1848 8°

8276 aa. 41/2.

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H

C 18895

Hadley
Economics.

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Hansard.
Debates of House of Commons, = Lords.
" " " " = Annals Canada
" Debates in Congress.

Enf. C 18897

Hansard, L. J.
Proposition for a National Printing
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London 1848. fol.
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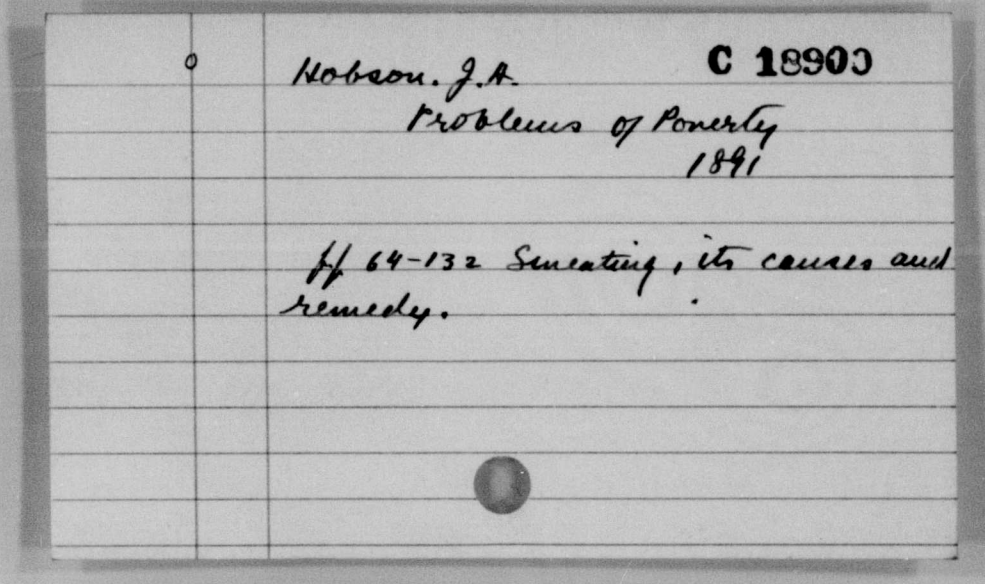
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Tenement House Workers in Boston - art in Journal of Social Science No-XXX Oct 1892.

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Hogg. Mrs.
Fur Pulling. - article in Mus.
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Travail.

Home Work. C 18902

Musée Social. Série A, circulaire
N° 14, l'industrie de la couture et de
la confection à Paris, Paris, 5 rue
Las-Bases, Le 30 Juin 1897. fol. p241
292.

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		Circular, proposing amendment of Factory Acts of 1878, & 1890. so as to make home workers come under Act, to require licence &c. - Amalgamated Society of Tailors - re Factories and Workshops Act 1894. fol. London.	

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C 18904

Circular.

Powers to bring home work under bill
to require licenses, employers to keep register
to make owners of homes responsible if work
carried on there without licenses —

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Home Work. (Bill for Regulation of)

Bill for the better Regulation of Home Work promoted by the London Womens Industrial Council & Liverpool Council for Women Trades. - Memorandum re. 1899. pp 51.

Bill for the better regulation of Home Industries (Ex 62 & 63 Vict.

Circular re. W. In. Co. July '98

How to deal with Home Work - Schamfeld re bill. by W. T. C. re 1899.

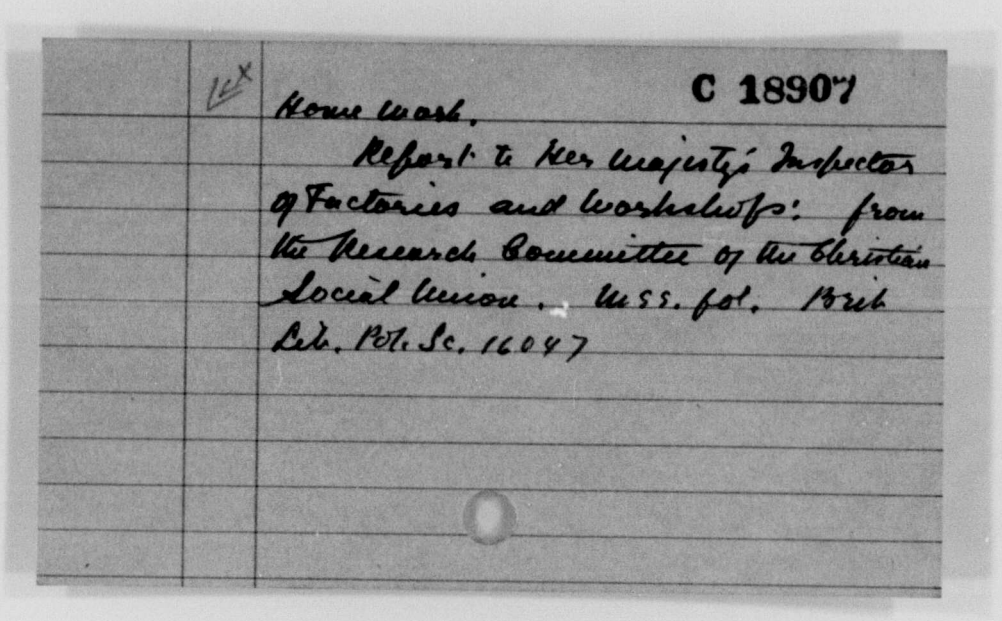
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Home Work.

Re Home as Workshop — Address by Lord Avebury at Small Hall. St Martins Town Hall. June 29th

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C 18907

Home work.

Report to Her Majesty's Inspector of Factories and Workshops: from the Research Committee of the Christian Social Union. MSS. fol. Brit Lib. Pol. Sc. 1604?

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C 18908

A short account of home work and wages of women employed in the making of artificial flowers.

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C 18909

Home work.: Regulation of Industry.

Congrès International de législation du Travail. tenu a Bruxelles du 27 au 30 Septembre 1897. Rapports et compte rendu analytique des séances publiés par le bureau de la commission d'organisation

Bruxelles 1898 8°

(P Weissenbruch, imprimeur du Roi 45. rue du Poinçon 45)

Germany
Austria

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Home work.

Staats- und Socialwissenschaften. Hausindustrie und Heimarbeit in Deutschland und Oesterreich. I. Bd: Süddeutschland und Schlesien
II. Bd: Die Hausindustrie der Frauen in Berlin
III Bd: Mittel- und Norddeutschland. Oesterreich.
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[Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik. LXX-XIV-LXXXVII] Leipzig. 1899. XX u 506; XII u. 616; VII u 550, VIII u 2775. 8°
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France:		Home-work.	C 18912
		L'Office du Travail:- La Petite Industrie (salaries, durée du travail)	
		Tome I. L'alimentation à Paris	
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Schmiedland E.

Kleingewerbe and Hausin-
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Schmiedland. E. - Vorbericht über
eine gesetzliche Regelung der Heim-
-arbeit. Vienna 1896. 8°

Eng.

C 18915

Hours.

Guy W.A. - The case of the Journey-
-men Bakers; being a lecture on the
evils of night-work and long hours
of labor.

London ~~1848.~~ 8°

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Eng.

Hours of Labor.

C 18916

Return showing the Average Number of Hours worked as a week's work in the chief Trade Centres & the following Industries in the Years 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1890.

Includes Clothing trades.

Eng.

Hours,

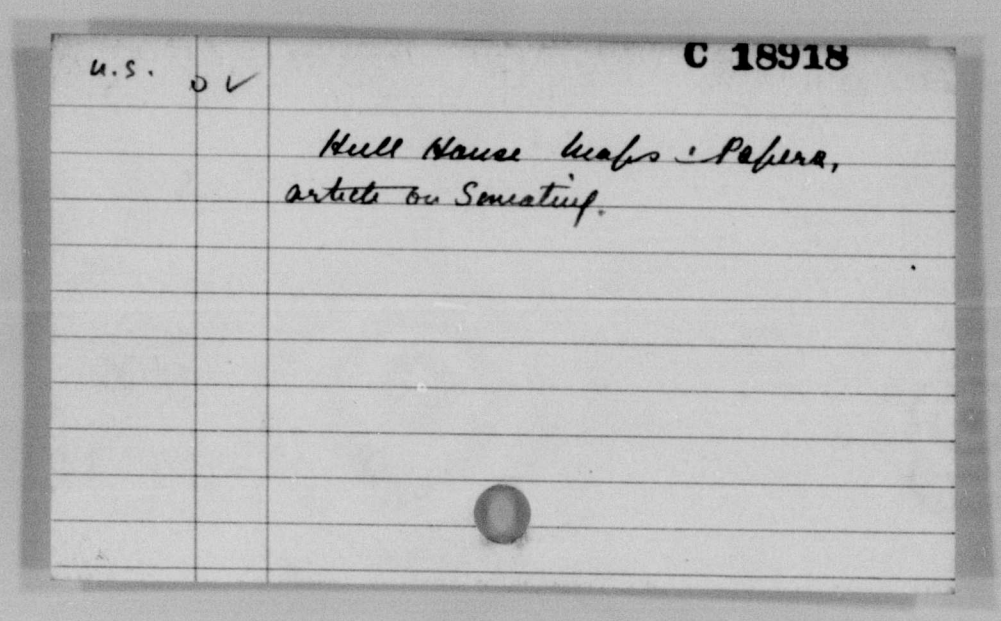
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Shops. Report from Committee on Shop Hours Regulation; with Evidence and Index 1886. - 20 long hrs or

Report of Committee; with Evidence & Index. 1892 effect of long hours

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Report of Select Committee on Emigration and Immigration 1889.

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✓ Irvine, Margaret M.

The Conditions of Women's Work in Laundries. - Inquiry for Women's Protective & Provident League of Glasgow. - pol. 1893.

Women's Employment in Shops. - Inquiry for National Federal Council of Scotland for Women's Trades, Glasgow 1896 pol.

Home Work amongst Women.

I. Shirt making, Shirt finishing, & kindred Trades

II. Miscellaneous minor Trades.

Glasgow. 1897
pol.

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The conditions of women's work
in laundries etc. Glascow 1899 for
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Women's Industries in Scotland.
In Proceedings of Philosophical Society of Scotland
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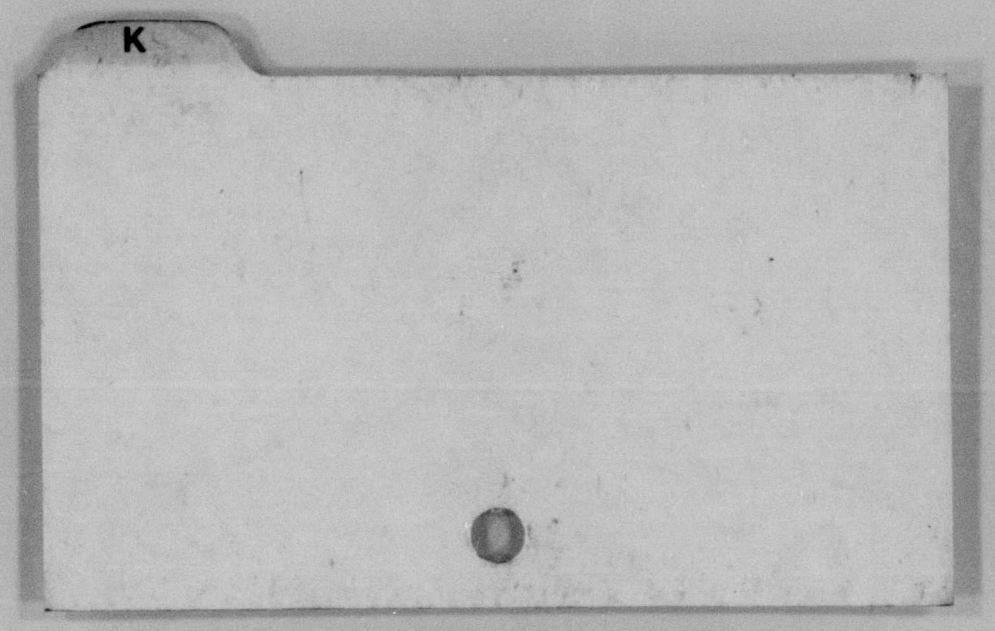
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Jones. B.
Cooperative Production.

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France.

C 18925

Keufer, A.

Rapport-Tendant à rechercher les meilleurs moyens de parer aux funestes conséquences du système actuel des adjudications [pour la Fédération Française des travailleurs du tabac] Paris 1896. 8°

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The Scope and Method of
Political Economy, 2nd Ed. revised.
London 1897.

0 Kidd, Benj. C 18927
Social Evolution

Chaps VIII. Socialism, Causes Operating

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Alton Locke

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Can. 0

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Report of Commission on the relations of Labor and Capital in Canada.

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Royal Commission on Labor, appointed 21st April 1891, Five Reports.

London 1894

(Very important Report)

Final Report

part V. — group C — Clothing

group A — Merchant Tailor

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Royal Commission on Labor.

Foreign Reports. June 1892

Vol I. The United States

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Vol II. Colonies, Sweated Clothing

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"Labor Laws" - Revised Ed.
2nd Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor 1896.
Washington 1896

U.S. | 0 ✓

Labor Laws. **C 18934**

Third Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor.
Analysis and Index
Washington 1893

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

U.S. Labor Legislation C 18935

Factory Legislation in Illinois.

by Mrs. Florence Kelly

(Presumably in Rept. 7th Annual Conv. Factory Inspect. of St. Chicago Sept. '93

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

✓ Lawrence F.W. **C 18936**

Local variations in wages.

London 1899, 4°

Laycock, F.H., LL.B. **C 18937**

Good Trade and a living wage.

London S.S. 1896.

✓ Living wage **C 18938**

A living wage. - Aldrazd M.

London 1894. 8°

✓ Living wage. **C 18939**

The living wage, and the law of supply and demand. A letter to the colliers, by Robert Blatchford (Nunquam.) & Certain Pamphlets no 2. 1895 8°

✓ Living wage. **C 18940**

State arbitration and the Living wage, with an account of the New Zealand Law and its results. Pub^d by the Fabian Society, London 1898. (Fabian Tract no. 83)

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

✓ London County Council C 18941

The proceedings of the Council on the question of fair wages and the observance of the hours and conditions of labour that are generally accepted by the Trade Union, 1894. (no219)

✓ London County Council. C 18942

Reports of the Special Committee on the Works Department together with the minutes of evidence and appendices 1896-7. (no332) fol.

✓ London County Council C 18943

List of Rates of Wages and Hours of Labour - 24 Oct 1899 - P.S. King & Son 1899. no80

✓ London County Council C 18944

Instructions for tenders.

Eng. London County Council C 18945

Ferrar, Lord

Wages under the County Council Market price and fair price

Pamphlet.

Eng. ✓ London School Board. C 18946

Circular to the members of the London School Board, Printing Contracts. & Jas. Bladen, Oct 1899

✓ Regulations enforced by School Board for London with respect to Contracts, London Local & Compensations 1890

Eng. London School Board. C 18947

London Trades Council, Nov. Report of the deputation to the London School Board relative to the Printing Contract, October 1886,

London 1886 8vo

Brit Lib. Pol. Science.

✓ London School Board C 18948

Form of Contract issued by Board. [W. 111]

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

✓ London School Board. C 18949

Works department. Extract from minutes of the Board and Works Committee with reference to the value of wages paid by the Board and their contractors. [W. 171]

✓ London School Board. C 18950

No 13 School Board for London
Annual Report of the School Board for London for the year 1898-99. 1899
5o London pp 1-161 + XVI

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18951

This Report at pages 30-34 reviews succinctly the different steps taken by the Board in regard to fair wages & direct employment — also a reference to both at page 133.

C 18952

Enf | V

London Society of Compositors.
General Election. circulars — 1892
County Council Election " — 1895
Regulations enforced by School Board for London relative to contracts, 1890
Report of Select Committee appointed by H.C. of C. on the Origin & Working of Messrs Houghton & Woodis Houses 1896-97
Fair Contracts. Correspondence re Expulsion (1854
Houghton & Woodis & London School Board 1889-
Court Party Cards — Debate in H of C. Aug 18, 1894
" " " " 1896 Report of Select Com of H of C. on 1898

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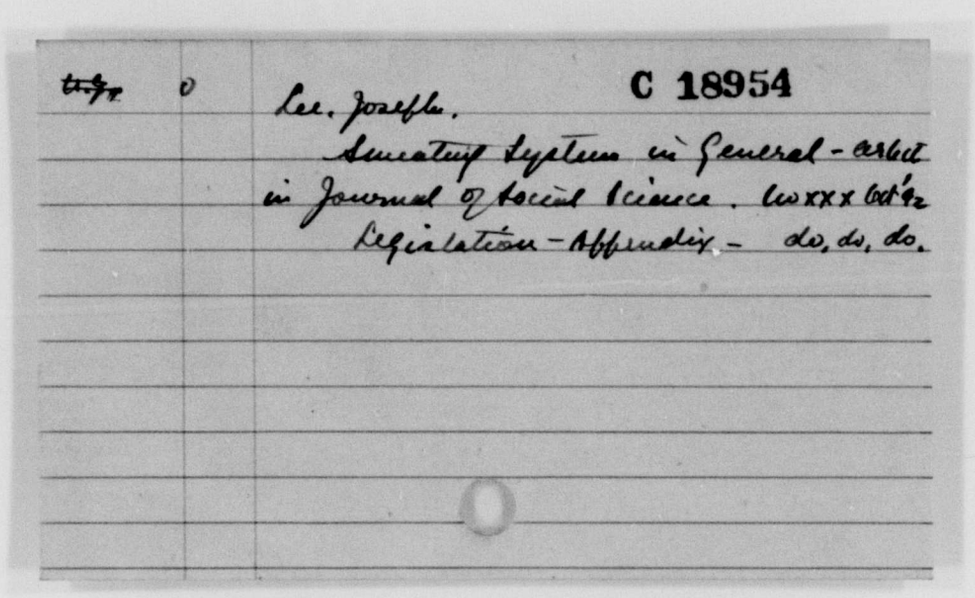
C 18953

O V Le Bon, Gustave.
Psychology of Peoples.

Re evolution, evolution ch.

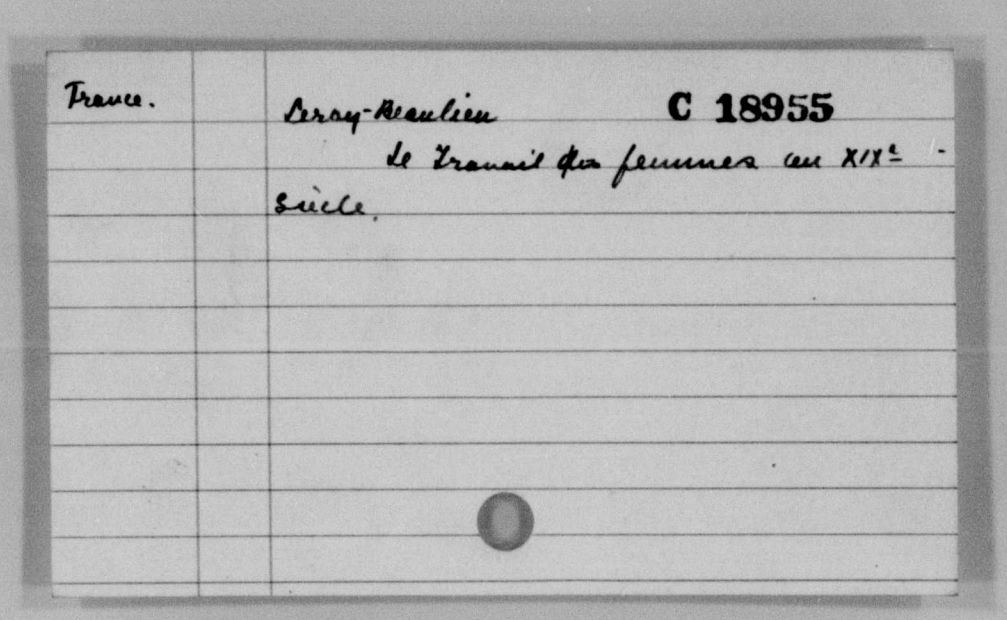
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CANADA

U.S. 0

manufactures, growth of. C 18956

Reports of Bureau of Labor Statistics, Massachusetts. — Statistics of manufacture.

1886—96

contains statistics re industry

U.S. 0

manufactures, growth of. C 18957

Fifth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics. Febry 1874

Contains Condition of Textile Mfgr. in Mass.

U.S. 0

manufactures, growth of. C 18958

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics for Labor.

March 1882

especially re.

re history of industry.

U.S. 0.

manufactures, growth of. C 18959

Report of Commissioner of Labor in the U.S.

Washington 1891

has statistics re. American Industry

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Marshall. Alf. **C 18960**
Economics of Industry.

(Principles. 7th Ed.
p 596. re effect of female labour. re bargaining
641 re contraction
634 - struggle for wages
510 - Economists' wages fund principle

Eng. **C 18961**
May J.
A declaration of the estate of clothing now used within this realme of England. London 1613 4°

Eng. **C 18962**
Mayhew H.
Labour and the Poor, Report of.
Speech ... at a meeting of the Tailors of London, on the Sweating or Domestic System. London 1850 8°
Manchester Lib.

Eng. **C 18963**
McLaren, Mrs. C.
The Sweating System, a summary of the Evidence given before the Committee of the House of Lords.
London 8°
W. Coll.

U.S. **C 18964**
Mitchell
The Labor movement, its Problems of today.

Mill J. S. **C. 18965**
Principles of Political Economy.

re differn wages - p 475; Vol I.
p 487-488 - re parasitism

Eng. **C 18966**
Moses & and Son.
The growth of an important branch of British Industry. The ready-made clothing system.
London 1860. 8°
$ 244. b. 29

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18967

This little pamphlet is an advertisement of the prices of shoes &c in which they claim to have been the first to begin the manufacture of ready made clothing & that in 1860, 10% of people purchase ready made goods.

C 18968

✓ Municipalization.

Municipal Socialism, by W. C. Craft. (Reprinted from "The Liberty Annual: 1892") Pub'd by Liberty & Property Defence League 1892 4°

Municipal Trading: Conditions of Contracts with local authorities - The Employers Liability Council 1898. pam.

C 18969

✓ Municipalization.

The Municipalization of the Bath Supply. Fabian Tract No. 90. July 99. 8°

The Municipal Pawnshops. - do. No. 9 Dec '99

Municipal Cheap Lodging Houses do. No 92. May 99

The Fabian Municipal Programme (Fabian Tracts Nos. 30 to 37) containing

Municipal Tramways

Municipalities of the Future

" " " London

C 18970

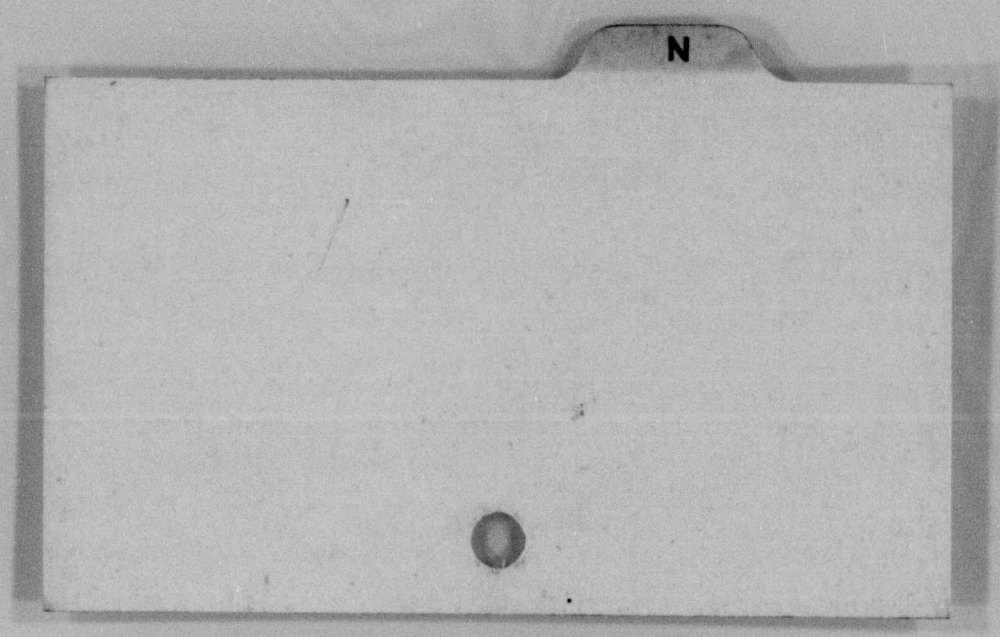
✓ Municipalization

The Dangers of Municipal Trading. Speech of the Earl of Wemyss & others. - Pub'd by Liberty & Property Defence League 1899. 8°

Fair Play versus Monopoly. - Reasons why the Lancashire Electric Power Co ought to be allowed to supply the public within the Co's of Lancaster & Cheshire with cheap electrical power or current. London 1899.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18971

Nationality -
Immigration of Asiatic Foreigners,
19th Century. June 1888.

The Economic Review Oct 92 (?)

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume C 27

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Eng | | Nationality C 18972 C 18973

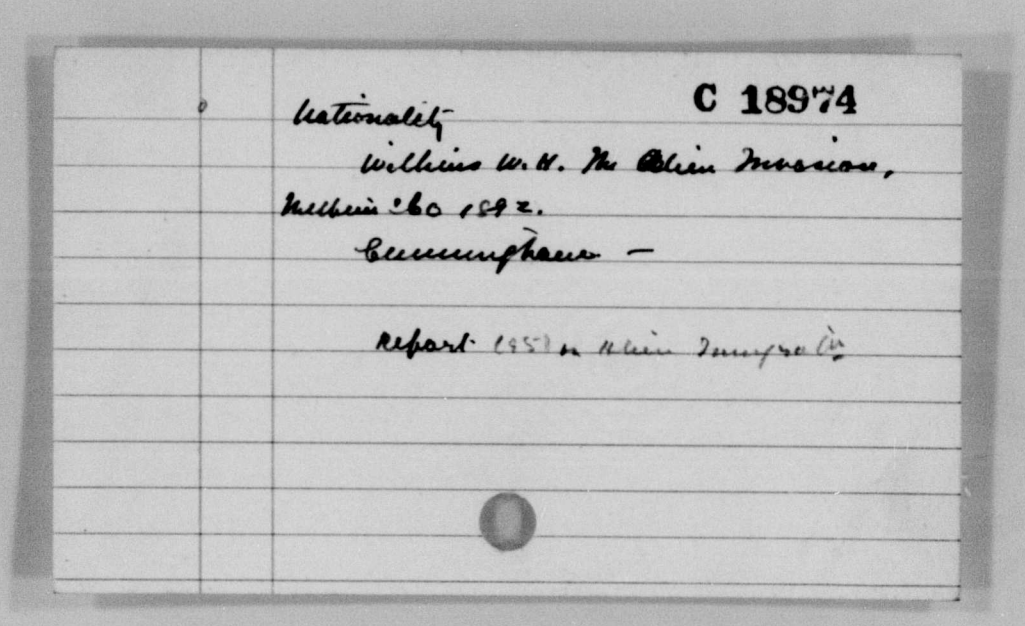
w London contemporary.

Eng. | | Nationality C 18973

Report from the Aliens. - about the anti-alien resolution of the Cardiff Trades Union Congress.
London 1896. 8vo
Brit. Lib Pol. Science.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA


C 18974

Nationality

Williams W. H. Mc Clain Mission,

Nelson 60 1892.

Cunningham —

Report (1951) on Klein Immigration

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES

CANADA

C 18975

Nationality

Report on Emigrate - from Eastern Europe. By Board of Trade '95 (?)

re Jews etc.

U.S. V

Nationality
Maps & Charts.

C 18976

The Slums of Great Cities.
Special Report. United States
Bureau of Labor

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18977

Nicholson, J. Shields.
Effects of machinery on wages.
Annals Economici, 1892

C 18978

✓ Lunqueam [R. Blatchford]
The living wage.
London 1894 8vo
Brit. Lib Pol. Science.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

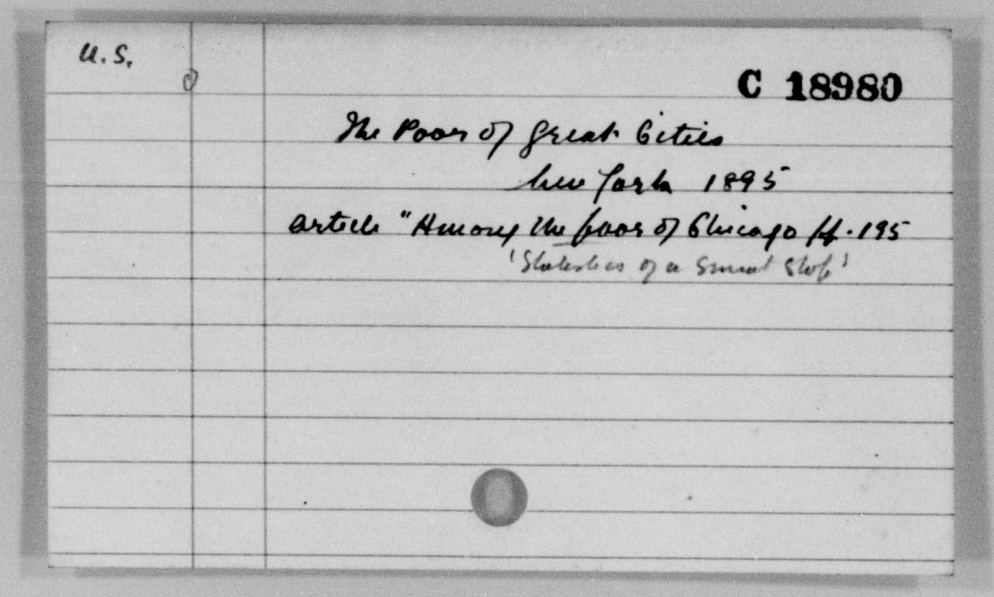
O

V Aldrayd M. C 18979
A living wage
London 1894 8°
Brit. Lib Pol. Science

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA




U.S.

C 18980

The Poor of Great Cities
New York 1895
Article "Among the Poor of Chicago pp. 195
'Sketches of a Social Class'

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Eng. C 18981

Poverty, causes of.

The miseries of the miserable, or, an essay towards laying open the decay of the present woolen trade, and the unhappy condition of the poor Wiltshire manufacturers. By a gentleman of Wilts. 1739

Manchester Library.

Eng. C 18982

Poverty; relief of.

Report of the proceedings at a public meeting held at the London Tavern 24th Febry, 1818, to take into consideration the best means of alleviating the condition of the distressed miners in different parts of the kingdom.

8276 ee. 60.

Eng. C 18983

Prison labor.

Prison made goods. Report of Home Office Committee on the importation into the United Kingdom of Foreign-Prison made goods.

1896.

X C 18984

Potter, Afterwards Webb (Beatrice)

How best to do away with the Sweating System. Paper read at the 24th Annual Congress of Cooperative Societies held at Rochdale, June 1892

Manchester (Cooperative Ltd) 1892. 8°

HC 16.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Eng. d

Potter, afterwards Webb, (Beatrice) **C 18985**
Sweating System. (re. House of Lords Report)

The Lords and the Sweating System
Article in nineteenth Century, May 1890
by Potter, afterwards Webb (Beatrice)
27 : 885

Spec. 61 : 298

Eng. d

Potter, afterwards Webb. (Beatrice) **C 18986**
Clothing Trade.

The Tailoring Trade, by Potter, afterwards Webb. Beatrice. in Life and Labour of the People. Vol I, 1889. 8vo

also in nineteenth century 24. 161, 301

Spec 61 : 1820

Ref. remark of Burnett in Refer on S.S. in Eng.
London. 1887 p 6 — with 1st Vol 1st ed. above p. 222-23

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Eng.

Preston. W. C. **C 18987.**

The Bitter Cry of Outcast London
An inquiry into the condition
of the Abject poor.

London, 1883.

C 18983

Public Work.
A Labor Policy for Public Authorities
Fabian Tract No. 37. Oct 1894. 8p

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Q

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

R

C 18983

Reports. (Continued)

Publications of Bureau of Statistics of Labour for
years 1870+, Bull. Dept of Mines on Conners of Labour
Bulletin. published by Bureau.

C 18990

France.

Reybaud.

Les ouvriers qui ~~vivent~~ de l'industrie des coton

Les ouvriers qui vivent de l'industrie de la soie 1858.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

US.

Riis. Jacob H. C 18991

How the Other Half Lives.

New York 1890.

Chap XI. The Sweaters of Jewtown.

C 18992

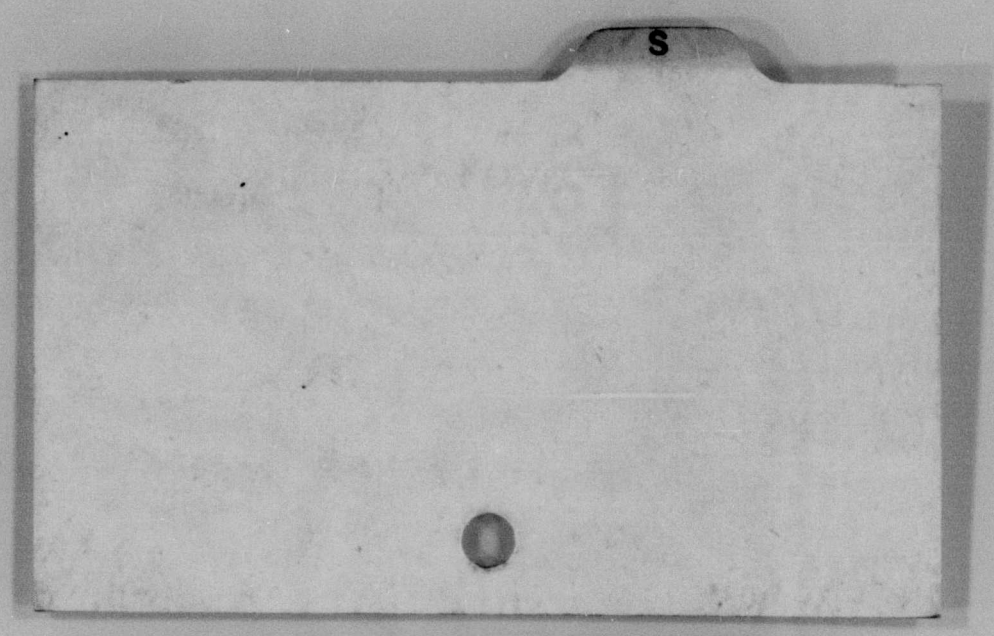
Ritchie

Principles of State Interference

p 119 re interference with free combination.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA



C 18993

Scheloss. Daniel Frederick.
Methods of Industrial Remuneration. 3rd ed. revised & enlarged
London 1898. 8°
pp XIX. 446.
See also 2nd Ed. which has chapt. on Sweating
or Proposals omitted in last Ed. "Public Authorities & sub-contract"
Index p. 197

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18994

Schloss. D. F.
Sweating System in the United Kingdom - Journal of Stat. Soc. No 30. Oct 1892
Chamb J. 65:225
J. Soc. Arts. 36:279
Lond & Hand 3:581
Fortnightly 48:835
53:532
Nat. R. 69:557, 723
(see Prima 1895) K
State promotion of Industrial Peace - Economic Journal No 10. Vol III. p.218
(see Booth, Life - Labour)

Schloss D.F. C 18995
Why workmen dislike piece-work.
Economic Review, Vol I. 1891
pp 311-326
Article in James Encyclopedia - on Sweating
1893

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Austria
Ger

Schwiedland, E. C 18996

Kleingewerbe und Hausindustrie in Österreich 2 vols. Leipzig 1894 8vo

Austria
Ger.

Schwiedland E. C 18997

Vorbericht über eine gesetzliche Regelung der Heimarbeit,
Vienna 1896 8o

Eng.

Shaw. Wm (Travelling Fs.) C 18998

Letter to the Right Honorable the Lords Spiritual & Temporal, and to the Members of the House of Commons, earnest appeal on behalf of our poor countrymen & countrywomen. London 1847
8o

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 18999

This pamphlet of 40 pages is merely a collection of letters addressed to different departments of the government re. the Irish contracts and the abuses which arise from the practice of sub-contracting. It contains statistics giving amounts earned at the time and is especially valuable as showing the method in which government work was being done by contract and because of the evidence it affords as to fair wages &c. Also those contracting out very common at that time. The author is himself a clothing suffer-er & thoroughly reliable authority.

Eng. | IX[x]

C 19000

Shaw W.

An affectionate pleading for England's oppressed female workers.

London 1850 8°

8275 b.26/6

", respectfully addressed to my Queen, the government, the aristocracy, the clergy and the governing classes in general-

London 1850. 8°

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19001

This pamphlet of 20 pages gives an account of a mass meeting of slop workers (1000 to 1200) held in London in December 1849 and contains much statistical information as to the economic conditions of these people their earnings etc. at the time, and gives a good idea of the state of trade of home work at the time.

C 19002

Sup. | ✓

Sharrocks P. (Book of Others)

How contagion and infection are spread, through the sweating system in the tailoring trade; being a report of a conference of trades unionists of South Lancashire,*

Manchester 1877. 8vo

827s. ee.3/5

* held in Cotton Waste dealers' Exchange, Manchester on Febry 28, 1877. Report of deputation that waited on the Home Secy on the subject, compiled from Report of investigation Committee. by Peter Sharrocks Secy. Manchester 1877. 8vo

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19003

A pamphlet of 20 pages: in part I of gives considerable evidence re. extent of home work at the time, and authoritative statement re. spread of contagion. in Part II gives a detailed report of home work in Manchester with comments on and supplementary reports from other towns: Part III tells of the deputation which waited on the Home Secy regarding the grievances urged most strongly throughout are the evils of home work, the danger of spreading contagion, and remedy, registration and inspection of homes under Workshops Act. The Times has much information, & is especially useful as showing conditions at home workers, and the movement up to date from the evils of contagious infection.

C 19004

Shanley, W. J.

An Eight Hours day; the case against trade unions & legislative interference. The Labour News Co. Pub. Co 17 Johnstons Ct., Fleet St. 1898

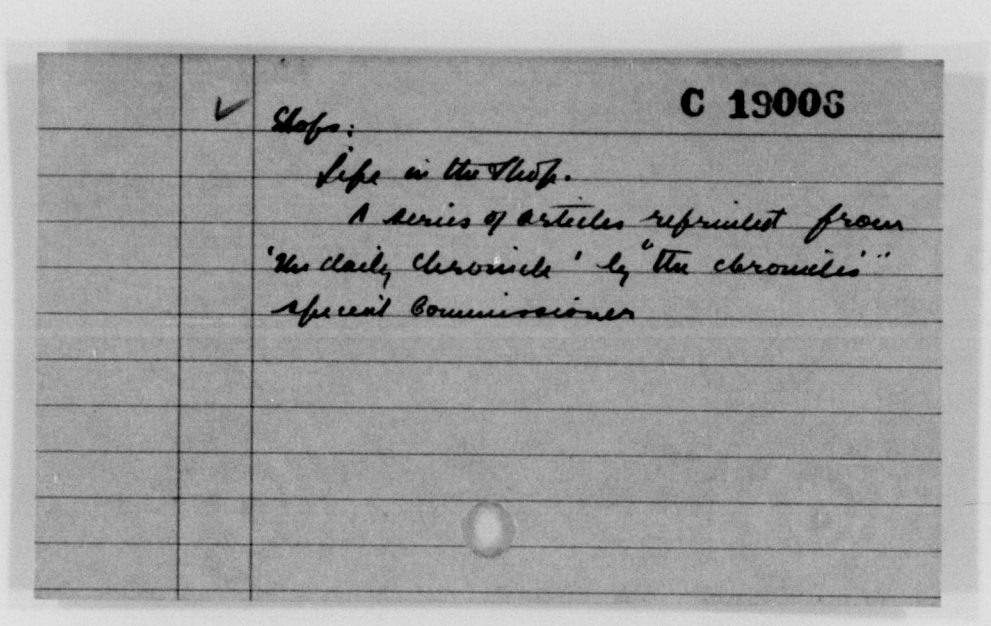
C 19005

Shops.

Shop Life and its Reforms. Fabian Tract No. 80 1897 8°

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA


C 19006

Shafts:

Life in the Shafts.

A series of articles reprinted from
"The daily Chronicle" by "The chronicler"
Special Commissioner

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19007

Shennell, Arthur.
Life in West London.
London 1897
espec. c. VIII, part II The Tailoring Trade.

C 19008

Smart W.
On Women's Wages.
Glascow 1892 8vo
Brit Ass Adv. Sc.
published in Philosophical Society of Glascow, proceedings.
just contained in volume "Studies in Economics"

C 19009

Smart. W.
Studies in Economics.
Mac M. & Co. 1895. 8vo
Espec Chapt IX. Studies in Wages

C 19010

Smith, Adam
The Wealth of Nations.
re unfounded of fallacy of "local principle" in
See also Newbury's Letters re Intl Tr.
Bl. ch. 8vo p. 75 re price of clothing

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Sources – General. C 19011

Coulé's Index

Quarterly Journal of Economics – Recent Publications

King P.S. & Son – Catalogues.

Dictionary of Political Economy – Palgrave.

Encyclopedia of Social Reform – Bliss. – S.S. Territory Stevens.

Reports of Factory Inspectors.
esp. Intl. Assn. of Fac. Inspec. in America

Archiv für Sociale Gesetzgebung und Statistik, 1897
Elfter Band, Ueretten & Mentor Hoff.
Arbeit on literature of S.S.

Spencer, Herbert, C 19012
principles of Sociology.
3rd Edit. Revised & Enlarged
New York 1893.

1 State action C 19013
The State and its functions in New-Zealand. Fabian Tract No. 74, 1896 8vo

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

State interference.
The Liberal Review. C 19014
Resumé of for individualistic attitude of economic & social questions.

Stewart; Ethelbert
Contracts (public) C 19015
Rates of wages under Public and Private Contract, by Ethelbert Stewart, in Bulletin of the Department of Labor. Washington. Nov. 1896.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Eng.	✓	Sweating. Slop Shops and Slop Workers. (anonymous) 2nd Edit. London. 1850. 8vo.

C 19016

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19017

This pamphlet of 28 pages was written with the purpose of extending information brought to light in articles of the Morning Chronicle and a large part of it is made up of quotations from these articles. It has also reference to mass meetings of female workers, a full account of which is given in Shaw's "An affectionate Pleading" — It (sic) also contains interesting facts re. growth of slop shops' & description of what is meant by sweating, also draws attention to Government contracts and puts forth (sic) considerations (sic) Shaw.

Eng.

Sweating C 19018

Labour and the Poor, Report of Speech ... at a meeting of the Tailors of London, on the Sweating or Domestic System, London 1850 8vo

Manchester Lib.

Eng V.C

Sweating. C 19019

A Present day Pamphlet. Condition of the Labouring Poor considered with suggestions for their amelioration, Physical and moral, by XPIETΦEPOΣ, London 1851 8vo

Brit Mus. 8275. b. 26.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 13020

This pamphlet of 40 pages gives a general description of the hardships of the times, makes a suggestion as to public work being done by committees to see that fair wages & conditions obtain, and condemns contract system. Considers some means of remedying condition of the Laboring Poor.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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Eng.

V

Sweating.

C 13021

Description of a Sweaters' Home

Circular, reprint from the Moscow Sentinel of 25th September 1869 (Webb. 6011)

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19022

A short sensational description, of no value save in its resemblance to such descriptions today.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 10023

Sweating (& Sanitation)

Houses of low-paid laborers in the city of Boston
First Annl Rept. 1870, art iii. — Wages when
Tenement houses or homes of the rich.
Second Annl Rept. 1871. art iii, Wages when
The sanitary condition of workmen's people
in their homes & employment. art iii Fifth
Ann Rep. Mass. Bur. Labor III,

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Eng. | ✓ | C 19024

Sweating
Sharrocks P. - How contagion and infection are spread, through the sweating system in the tailoring trade; being a report of a conference of trade unionists of South Lancashire. Manchester 1877 8vo

8275.ee.3/5

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

See under 'Shamrocks'

C 19025

Eng. | U[illegible]

Sweating.

C 19026

An Appeal to the Operatives Tailors in Scotland ~~1878~~, by a Fellow Workman, 1878. 8°

(Webb. Coll[n])

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 13027

is an appeal to John Taylor's humour, of which a few facts are given, also an account of reforms achieved through its influence, - rather general but stimulating - the work of a philosopher Tailor.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Eng. ✓ C 19028

Sweating system.

Report on the Sweating System in East London, by Burnett, Chief Labor Correspondent of Board of Trade.
London 1887.

Return (with) Report to the Board of Trade on the Sweating System at the East End of London, by the Labor Correspondent of the Board.
London 1888
(14) pp 2-20.

Eng. ✓ C 13029

Sweating System.

Report to the Board of Trade on the Sweating System in Leeds, by the Labor Correspondent of the Board. (Burnett.)
London 1888
[C-5513] pp. 2-6

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Eng

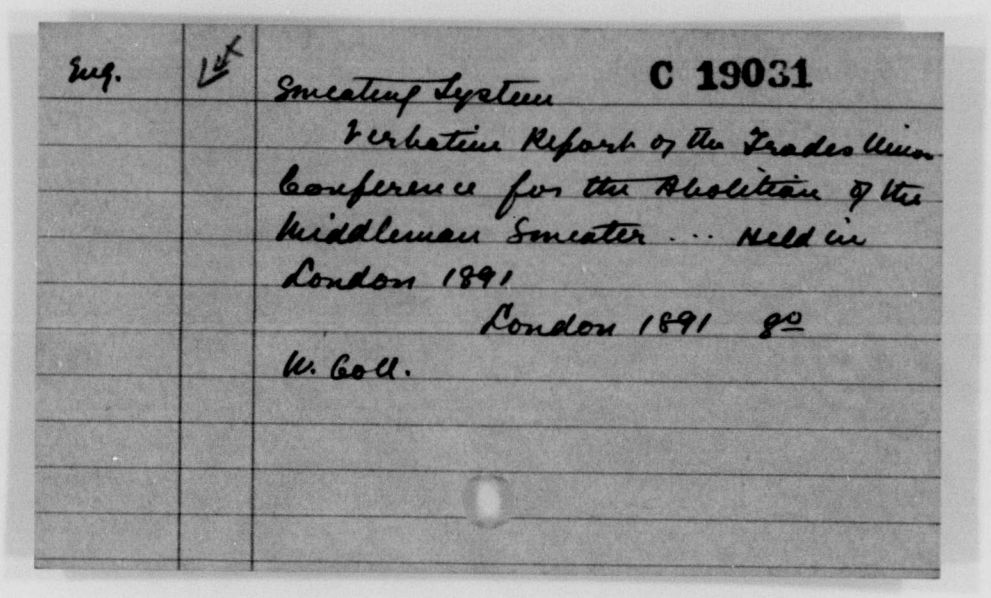
~~Booth. Chas.~~
Sweating.

C 19030

Sweating, by Charles Booth.
article in Labour & Life of the People
2nd edit^n London 1889.
Vol I part II - 83.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA


Eng. | V.K.

Sweating System C 19031

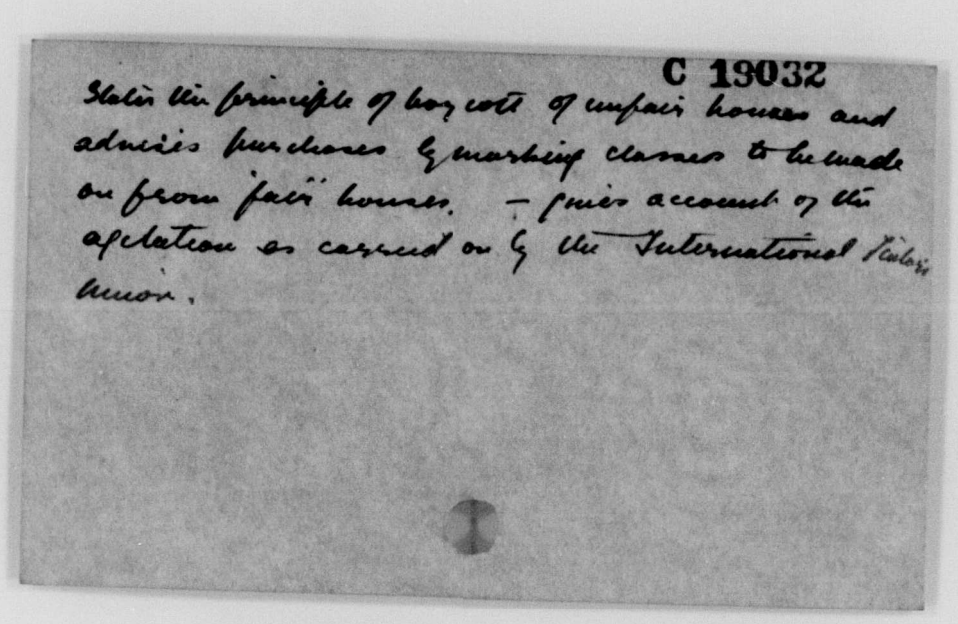
Verbatim Report of the Trades Union Conference for the Abolition of the Middleman Sweater ... Held in London 1891

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W. Coll.

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C 19032

Statin the principle of boycott of unfair houses and advises purchases & marking claims to be made on from fair houses. — fuller account of the agitation as carried on by the International Typographical Union.

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Sweating.

C 19033

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-Manchester 1892 - by Potter. Offl. Labb. (Textiles)

The Tailoring Trade - by Potter, offl. Labb.
Textiles, in Lefs & Labour of the People,
Vol 1, 1884,
Also in Nineteenth Century 24, 161. 301
: Spec 61: 1020

Sweating.

C 19034

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No XXX. Oct 1892.

1. Sweating System in Germany. J. J. Brooks
2. " " in the United Kingdom. M.F. Sellers
3. Condition of Labor of Women & Children in New York. Lab. Hour & Manl.
4. Sweating System in Mass. - H. J. Wadlin.
5. Tenement House workers in Boston. W.H. Hicks
6. Sweating System in General - Joseph Lee
7. Legislation - Appendix - Joseph Lee.

a Separate pamphlet in envelope

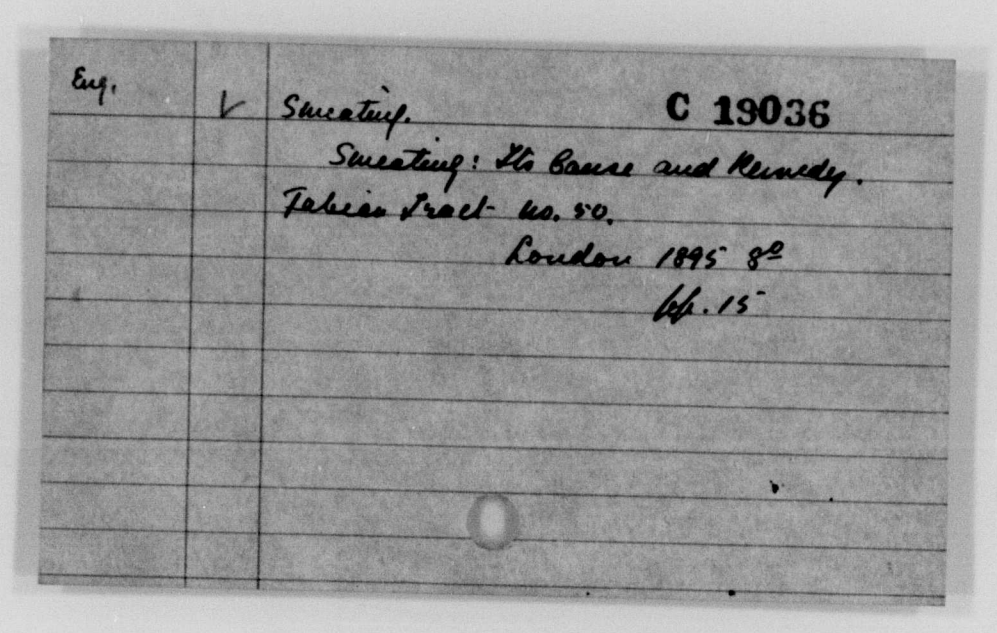
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C 19035

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Fabian Tract- No. 50.
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bb 64-132 - in Hobson J.A. Problems
of Poverty 1891

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Eug.

Smeaton -
Baumann A.A.

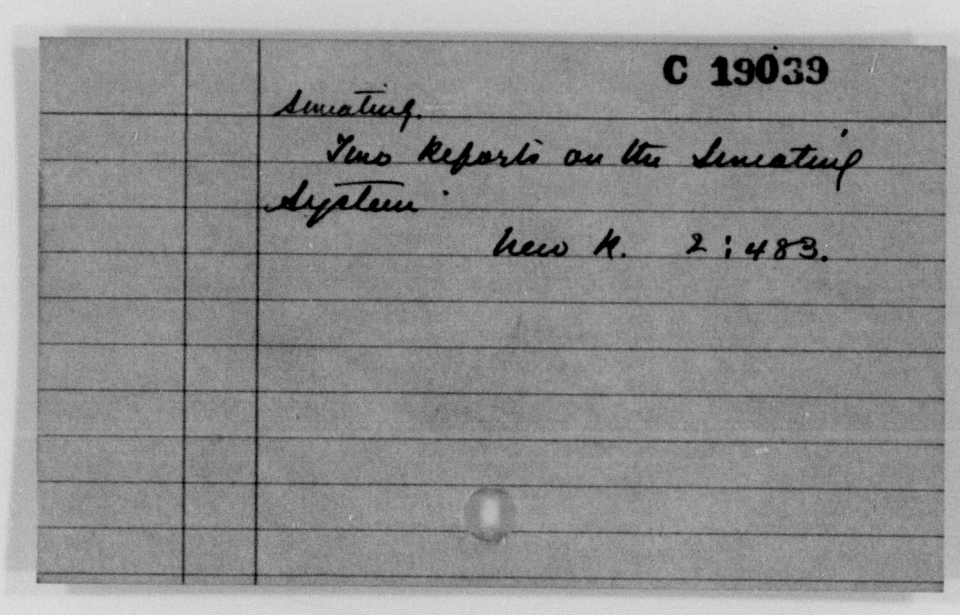
C 19038

The Smeaton System in London
National R: 145

Possible Remedies for the Smeaton
System.
National 12: 289

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C 19039

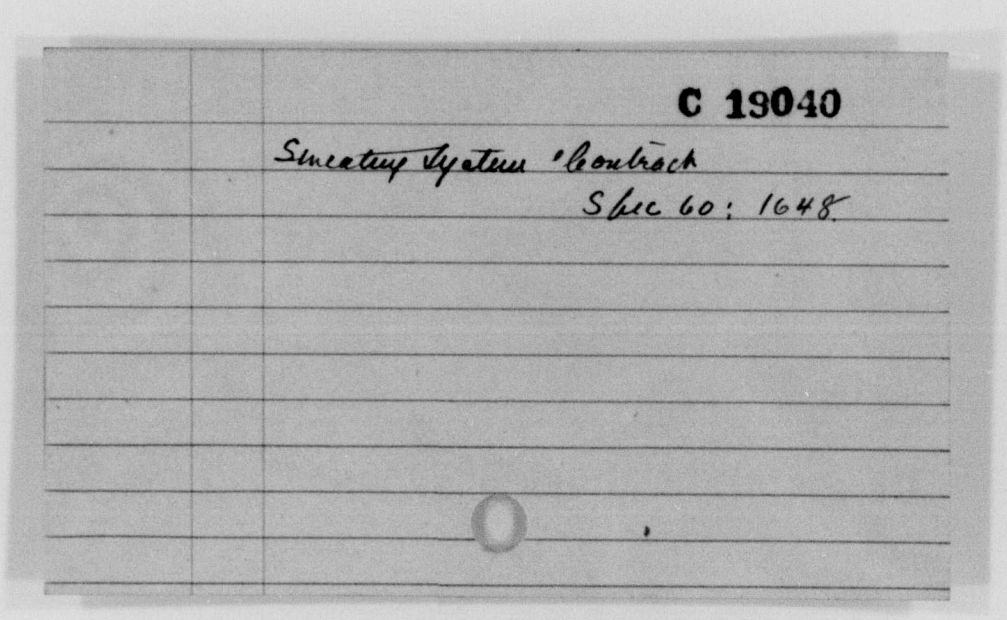
Smeating.

Two Reports on the Smeating System.

Hew K. 2:483.

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C 19040

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Sec 60: 1648.

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Eng.

C 19041

Sweating - H of L. Report

Five Reports from Lords' Committee on the Sweating System in the United Kingdom: with Evidence, Appendices, and Index. 1888-90.
8 vols

Eng.

C 19042

Sweating System. (House of Lords Report)

Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System, together with an Appendix, and Proceedings of the Committee.
London, 1890,
8vo 169.

Vol 5th Report: I-III - XLVI
Appendix I XLVII - XLVIII
Proceedings of the Committee I XLVIII - CXLII

Eng.

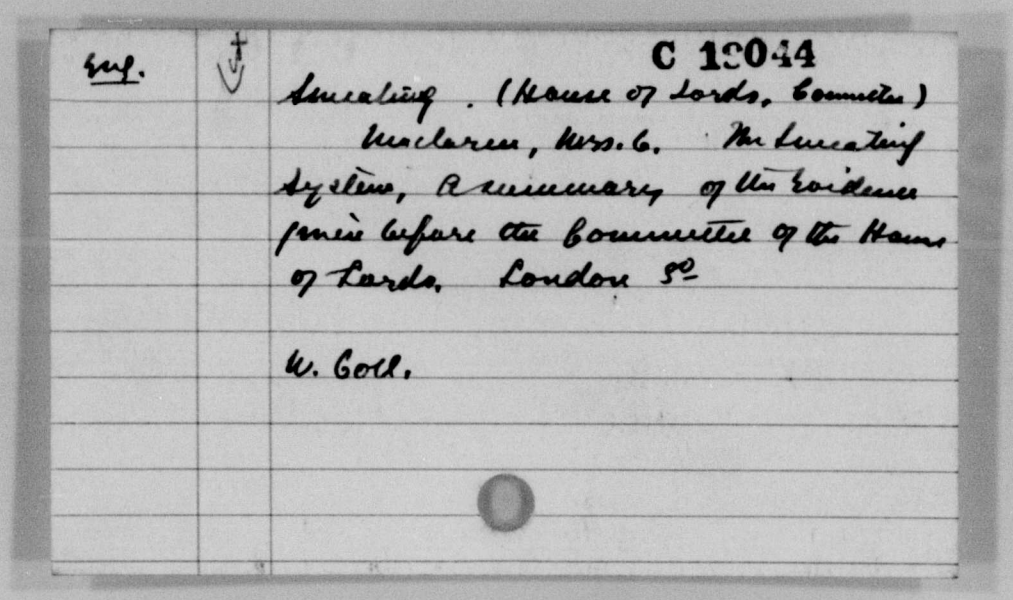
C 19043

Sweating (Re House of Lords Report)

Report on Sweating [H of L 62 of 1890]
A summary of the evidence, published by the Women's Liberal Federation.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19045

A good summary with short and direct comments. Special stress put upon condition of female labour.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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Eng. C 19046

Sweating (House of Lords Report)

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Spec 61 1298.

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Sweating (House of Lords Rpt)

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Sweating System in the United Kingdom - Journal of Soc. Sc. No. 30, Oct 1892

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Libbington, C N d'E

Side Lights of the Commission on Sweating. 136:273, 504

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Sweating.

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Weber A. Das Sweating System in der Konfection und die Vorschläge der Kommission fur Arbeiterstatistik - Archiv. Soz. Gesety. 10 Heft 4

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Aurore, rue Montmartre 142

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(Sweating) Chicago

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Hartford 1892.

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C 19056

Sweating -

The Sweating System in Massachusetts by H.G. Wadlin - paper read Sept 2, 1892 at Saratoga, published in Journal of Social Science No XXX, Oct 1892.

Information given to Committee of Mass. - March 15/92 by H.G. Wadlin, published p. 227-236 H of R.R. 1892. - based on information collected during fall of 1890. by Bureau of Statistics, - of which 6 condemned. Statement sent to Com. Rumsel, March 1891, and transmitted to Legislature.

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Hartford Sept '92

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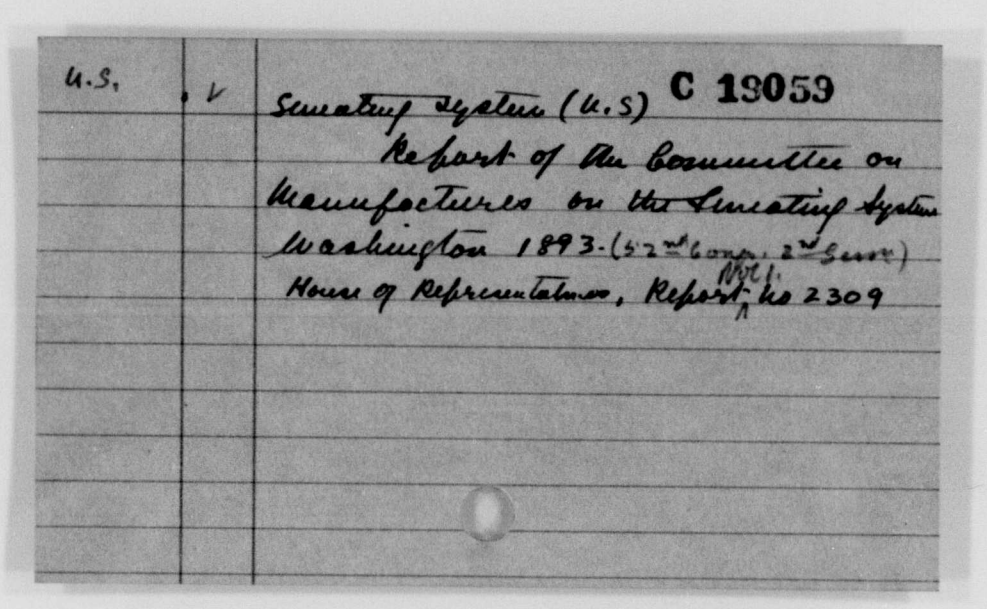
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Sweating C 19060

The Sweating System, by
McKay of New York.
In Refft 7th Ann. Conv. Fac. Insp. p.
Sept '93

U.S. C 19061

Sweating

The Sweating System of Massachusetts
by Mrs. Griffin –
in Refft. 7th Ann. Conv. Fac. Insps. p 109+
Chicago Sept 1893

U.S. C 19062

Sweating

Labor Legislation

Need of Uniformity in Labor
Legislation, by Mrs Kelley
in Proceedings 8th Ann. Conv. Fac. Ins p 21+
Philadelphia Sept. 94

U.S. C 19063

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A Plan to Abolish the Sweating
System. by Francey of New York.
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Philadelphia Sept. 94
(a good article)

U.S. C 19064

Sweating.

The Sweating System as New York has
found it – Cunningham - New York.
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Providence, Sept. 95

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has drawn largely from this.

U.S. C 19065

The Sweating System
White – article in U.S. Bulletin of Labor
Washington, May 1896.

U.S. C 19066

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The Sweaters of Jewstown – Chap IX in
How the Other Half Lives. by Riis, Jacob A.

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Secretary.

Article on L. in Mail

House Leaders Papers.

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U.S. C 19068

Tenement House -

Unclean Workrooms in Tenement Houses, or "Tenement House Workshops, their uncleanliness"; by Inspector Isaac S. Mullen of Mass.

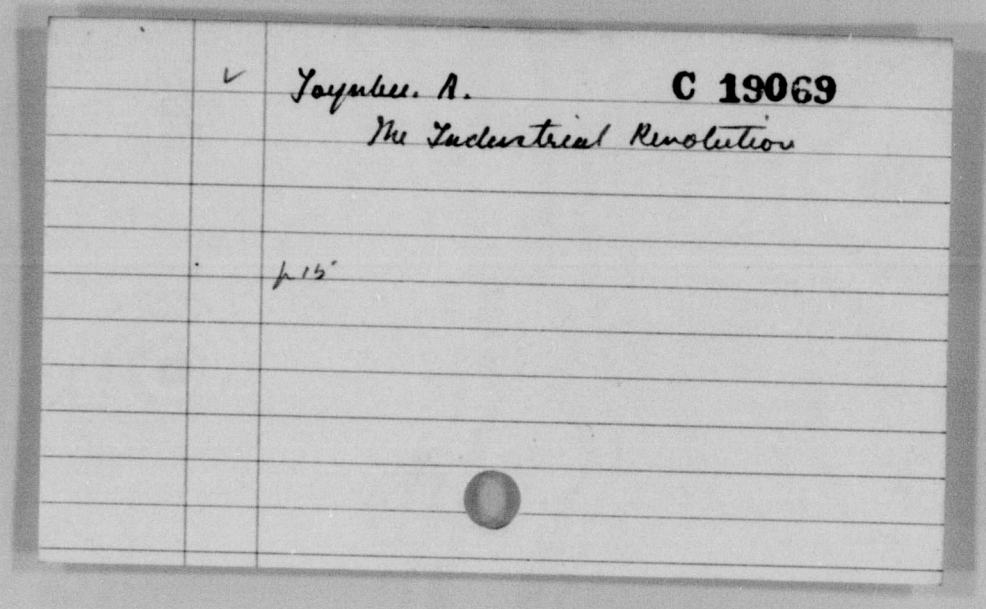
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Cleveland Aug '91

(practically worthless)

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Loyalties, Arnold.
Life by Montague, C.F.
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also written by Loyalties referred to
Gives principle of Communist League.
also above p 41, & 42.

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Circulars re, constitution &c.

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Reports of the Annual Congresses.
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✓ Scottish Trade Union Congress
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The Programme of the I.L.P. and the Unemployed. by Tom Mann Clarion Pamphlet. No6.

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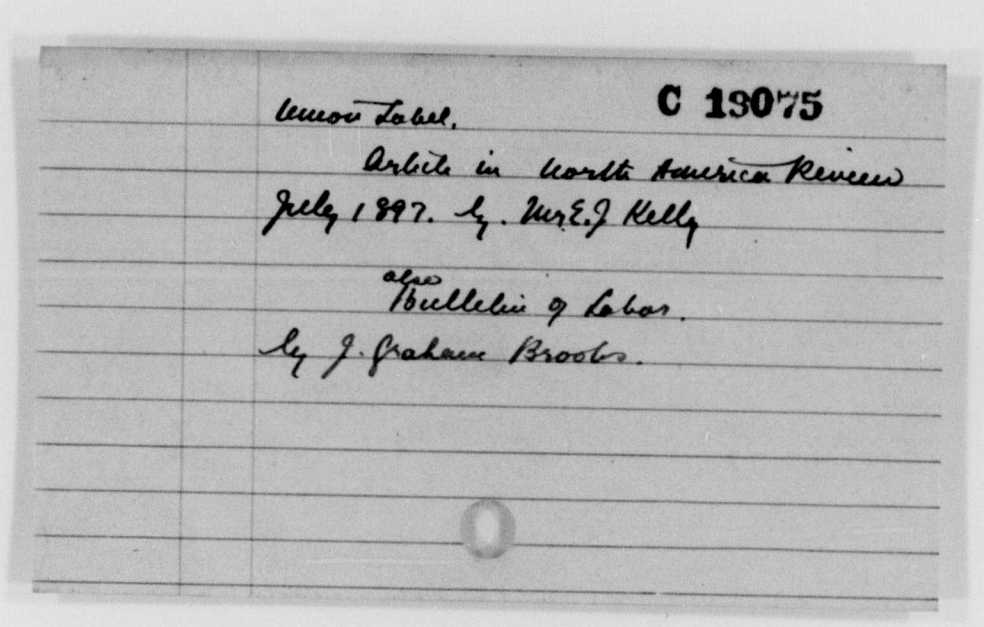
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July 1897. by Mr E.J Kelly

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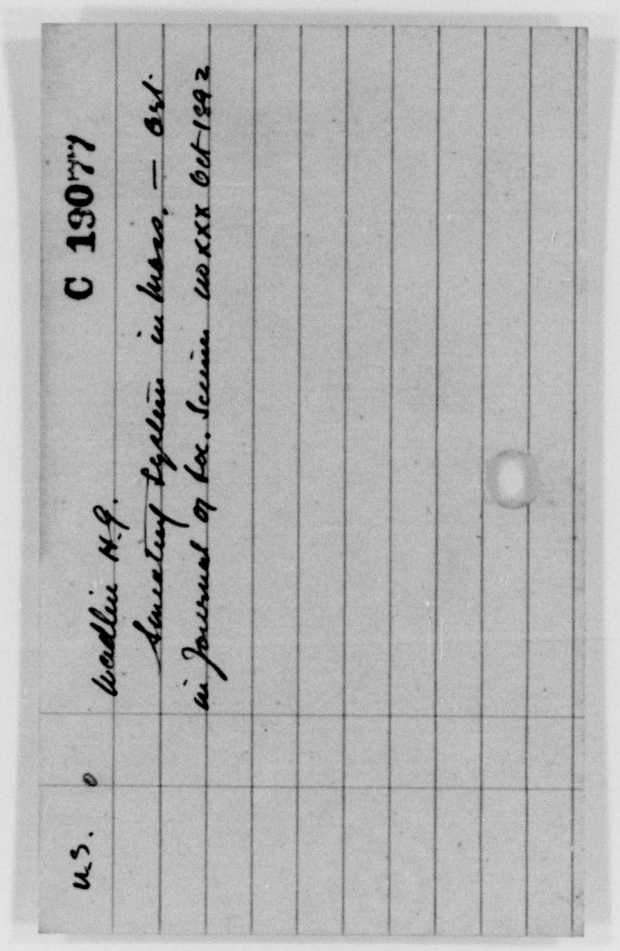
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Jeans. J.S.

On the Recent movement of Labour in different countries in reference to wages, hours of work and efficiency.

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C 19084

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C 19085

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Work and Wages of Men Women and Children.

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Industrial Remuneration Conference. 1885.

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Labor in the Longest Reign 1837-97
(Richards London 1897. 8°
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Webb, Sidney & Potter (asst.) Webb (Beatrice)
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(Longmans, Green & Co) London. 1898. 8°

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Women & Children Acts
Regulation of the Hours of Labor
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C 19090

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Weber A.
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Williams T.

Statement of Facts in reference to the Masons (employed on the Melbourne and Sandhurst Railway) and the Railway Contractors. Fifty Days [Victoria] 1860 8vo

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✓ The Women's Industrial News.

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Organ of the Women's Industrial Council.

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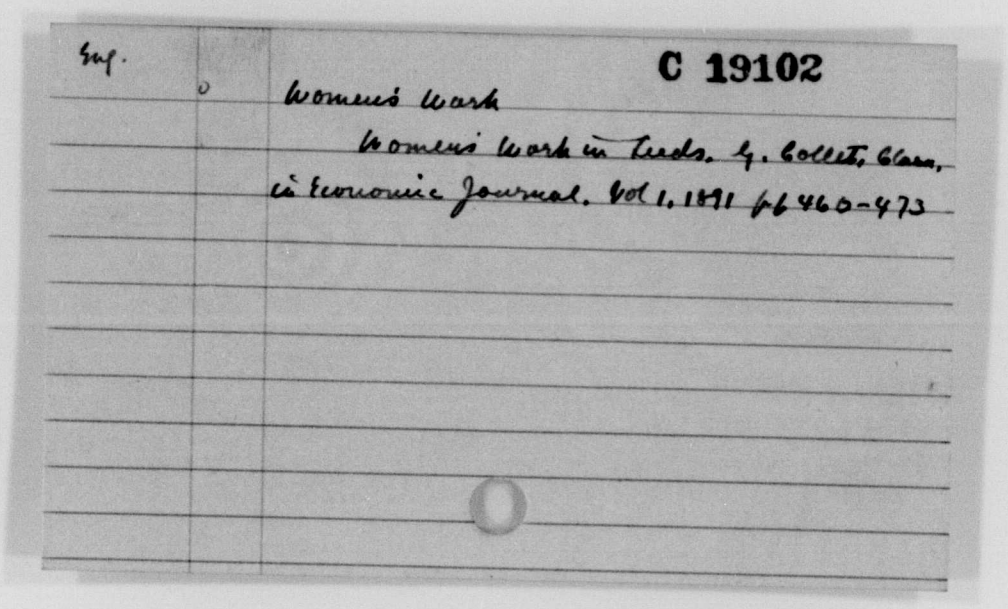
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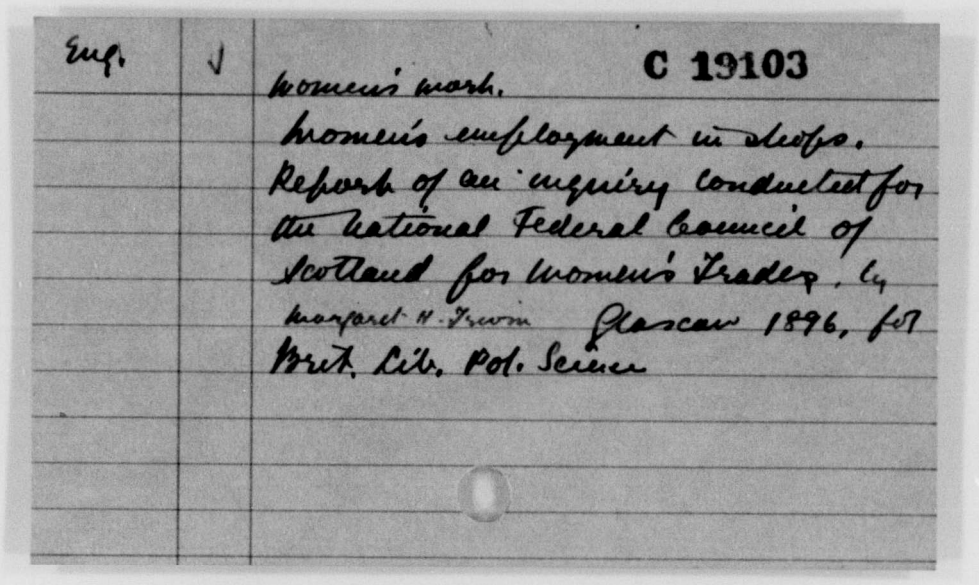
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Women's employment in shops.
Reports of an inquiry conducted for the National Federal Council of Scotland for Women's Trades. by Margaret H. Irwin Glascow 1896, 67
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Home work amongst women Glascow 1897. — by Irwin, Margaret M.

I. Shirtmaking, Shirt finishing & kindred Trades

II. Miscellaneous Minor Trades.

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Women's work. Report of investigations into the conditions of. Women's Co operative Guild. Manchester, 1896 8vo

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Home work amongst women. Report of an inquiry conducted for the Glascow council for women's Trades. Glascow (1895) fol.

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Trade Unions

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Women's work.

How women work: Issued by the Women's Trade Union Association Nos I and II. London 1873 8vo

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✓ for I

II in the group C. Labor Commission

* being extracts from evidence given before Group C. of the Labor Commission in regard to women working in Rope-making & other trades in London.

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Condition of working women in Foreign Countries.

London 1871

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Report on "Home Industries of women in London." * - by the Investigating Committee of Women's Industrial Council. 1897. 8vo

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C 19103

Women's work.

Working women in large cities 4th Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor.

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C 19113

Women's Work.

Result of Canvass amongst Bona Fide Laundresses in favour of factory acts being applied to Laundries 1891. fol. (Brit Lib Pol. Sc. 16047)

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very relevant & concise gaining a page of useful information.

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Women and the Factory Acts.

Mrs. Sidney Webb. Fabian Tract No 67. 1896 8°

C 19113

Women's work,

Women's Work. - Methuen & Co, London 1894

Butler, Miss A; Whitley, Miss Maynard; Lady Dilke.

C 19116

Women's work.

The Industrial Training of Women. Occasional Paper. No 15 New series - G. N. Barnquest. Charity Organization Society - April '99 8°

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The alleged differences in the rate of wages of men & women. - Ludwig Webb

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United States, c
Chautauqua Press 1895.

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Outlines of Practical Sociology

f. 133. Wages under pub. & private control

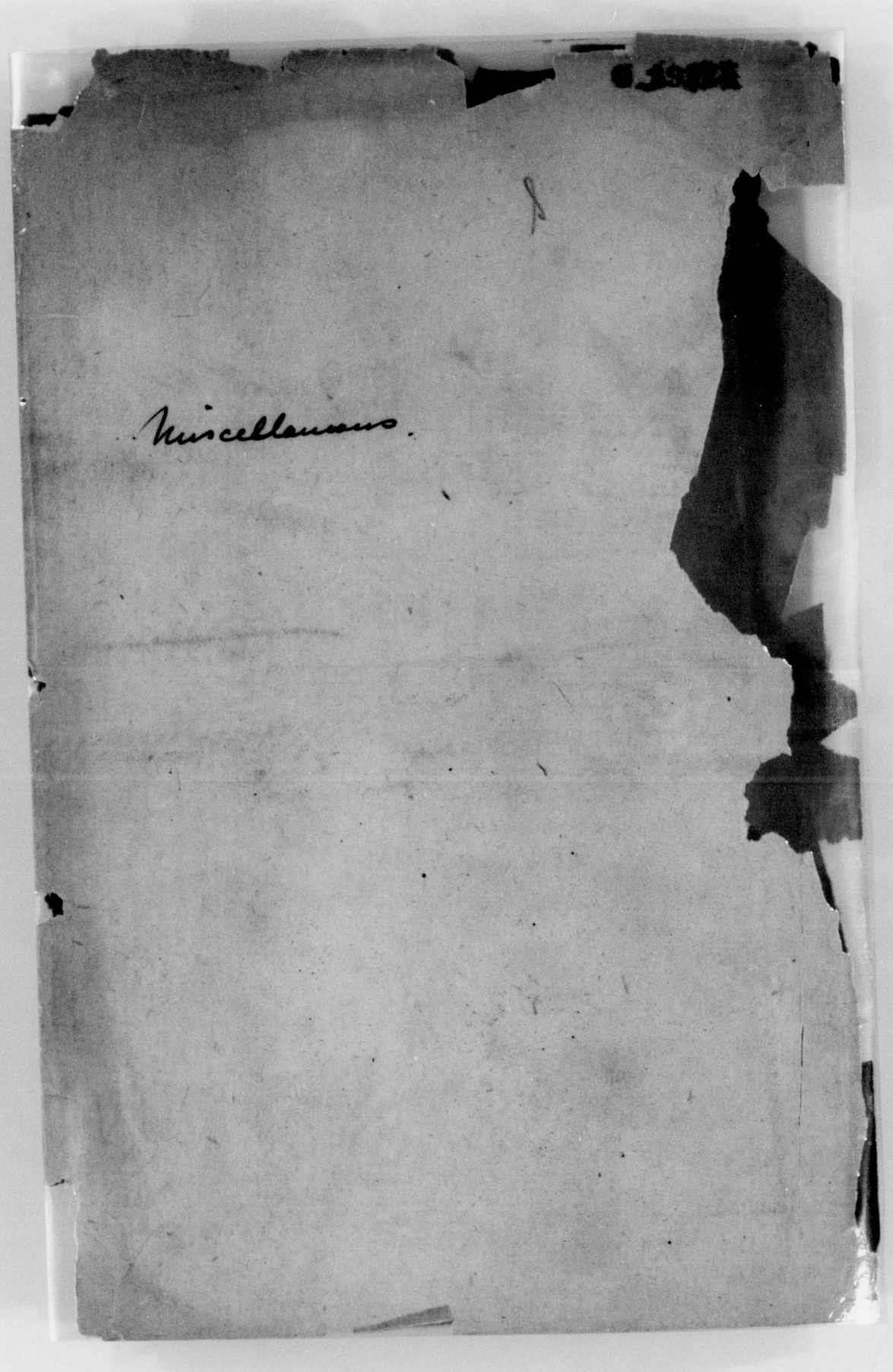
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148. Labour - Sweating System -
Massachusetts (1)

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Miscellaneous.

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Govt work—notes.

C 19125

Sept 95. Mrs O'Kelly & Mr Leon. Fac Mrs b 65.
In Phelàd — Inventg Jmn — Sept 94

In a much crowded & very disorderly basement room are found coats being made for the U.S. Express Co. & for the P.O. employees. (letter carriers) Wages ranged from $4 a week the men paid to the women finishers to $7, $8 & $12 as paid to the dressers, the operator & all round man, respectively. — 14 people live at this place in 7 rooms

Note There is the army, nolens volens, Post office & many others - a very large field. Write Smith A. Whitfield, Esq, 1st Asst Post Master Genl Cincinnati. (Forward)

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CANADA

Clothing Industry

Growth and development of.

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CANADA

Record of Grounds of Modernity

C 19127

Swaney to Mass. Wadlin 1892 Ind. Sc. Sc. 693 b 88.

The contract system was in vogue in Boston as early as 1863; & while at that time nearly all the wholesale houses had their own workshops, yet many of them were in the habit of contracting a portion of their work. Since 1863 work under this system has slowly increased, & standing materially after the Boston fire of 1873, which, depriving many wholesalers of their own establishments gave to the contractors an opportunity wh they at once improved.

Repeated 16 of R R. b 230

Grounds of Modernity

C 19128

Wadlin, Secty in Mass. 1892 Ind. Sc. Sc. 92 b 88.

The system as conducted at the present time, is intricate & complex, wholesaler, retailer contractor & employee (illegible) In genl, the wholesalers furnish the material, wh is cut & trimmed in their own workshops. (finished & by machine); this part of the work being done by persons in their own employ, and under proper sanitary conditions as regd by the provns of the Factory Inspection Act. The goods are then sent out to contractors to be made up. Certain classes of garments eg. coats may be given to men. Some to Boston contractors; others eg. pants to Boston & Maine contractors. For the manner in wh the contractor conducts his business, as to the conditions under wh the work is performed, or respecting the prices he pays to his employees, the wholesaler disclaims responsibility & knowledge.

Repeated in 16 of R R. b 231

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C 19129

present conditions of suffering

Sweat in Mass.- Madly in bad 6.99.
Repeated in Hopkins Jan 22/01

Before as to the contract work performed in shops in Boston, it is subject to provisions of Factory Inspection Act. & generally, whether in Boston or elsewhere the character of the work done in shops is not particularly ~~bad~~ criticised.

The contract work sent to Maine is either entirely executed in shops or as is frequently the case partly in shops & afterwards finished at farm houses, the women of the families there adding their income

The Maine work ~~is~~ usually a different style from what is done in Boston

There are contractors in New York who take the uncut material from the wholesaler, cut & trim it in their shops, and then sublet the making to tailors in tenement houses. the work being performed in the family living rooms. As a rule the Boston Contractors appears to conduct most of their work in shops, but the practice of sending out work to be finished in tenements is common. & under the pressure of New York competition, the tendency seems to be towards the industrial conditions obtaining there, especially with the increase there of immigration of the same sort of labor that is already so largely centred in New York.

work where done.

C 19130

"The tenement house work in Boston differs from that of New York as, while all the work on the garment is frequently done in the tenement house in New York, only the finishing is done in the tenements in Boston"
evidence of Commissioner Lennon.

Meanwhile the cost of work sent to New York to be made appears to be increasing, as for obvious reasons prices rule lower there

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C 19131

Clothing Trade
Present Condition of
Suffer.

Headlam J of S.S. Oct 92 - p 93

The tenement Home work in Boston differs from that of N.Y. in that while the work on the garment is all done in the ten. Home in N.Y. they only do the finishing in the ten. in Boston. While this may be better for tailors who work in shops in Boston, it is no better for the community as many of these tenements are very unclean

Statement made to Bureau by one formerly in N.Y. now in Boston in Business. Enquired into by Headlam

Hoffbk p 233
Jol Soc Sc Oct 93.

C 19132

Present Condition of
Suffer.

Headlam in Hoffbk p. 233
Jol Soc Sc. Oct 92 p92

Statement from a person now in Boston formerly in N.Y.

re establishment of a fixed days work.

"The labor in these tenement homes or shops is divided into "teams" or "sets" which consist of 3 men i.e. machine man paid 3.00
heater " 2.50
finisher " 1.50
7.00

They are given 24 coats & these 24 must be finished before they are entitled to a days pay. Now if they finish these in 24 hrs work & work 10 hrs per day or 108 hrs labor per week they will receive 108 coats which will entitle them to 4½ days pay. Statistics receive 13.50 heater 11.25 & finisher 6.75. Had they only worked 10 hrs per day or 60 per week they would have made only 60 coats or enough to entitle them to 2½ days pay for the week. Statistics 7.50. Heater 6.25. Finisher 3.75 total 17.50. The price paid to tailors for making 60 coats or 29 cents a coat. In this way they must needs work as many hrs as they can in order to live — In Boston in the shops some already work in "sets" & piece work is nearest approach he has as yet met to New York Method.

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Clothing Industry
Sweaters - prison conditions

Hy White. Leeb Bull. May 96
L·360-1

C 19133

High rents contribute their share of responsibility for the sweating system. If rents were cheap there would be a distinct advantage in working in separate rooms or shops. This is invariably the result, for in localities where rents are lower, the shops are larger and the evils not so acute. The saving in rent is an important item. To combine a kitchen, bedroom, and workshop, to utilize a garret or a loft over a

360

stable, saves rent even though it sacrifices the health of the worker and the products of such shops spread sickness and death among the consumers.

Clothing Ind.
prison conditions
& machines

Hy White. Bull Lab. - May 96
L360

C 19134

The use of machinery in the making of garments has not figured largely in displacing labor and reducing the standard of skill formerly required, but rather the subdivision of labor, especially in the cheaper grades of work. This has made the garment-making industry an easy refuge for immigrants, and enables them to work in small shops which in many other industries would be inadequate to compete with larger and better-equipped factories. This class of workers, therefore, become wholly dependent upon the knowledge that they have acquired of one small part of the trade, and are incapable of advancement through individual effort.

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Clothing Trades
Sweating System

Clothing
Hay White. Bull Lab. Dec 96
C 19135
p 362

developed at the same time.

In order to fully comprehend this subject, it is necessary to know the extent and status of the industries in which the sweating evil prevails. Although the sweating system exists in a number of occupations, it is the garment-making industry (comprising men's clothing, ladies' cloak and suit, undergarment, and shirt-making branches) that has given it its real significance. The manufacture of clothing and cloaks at wholesale is the most concentrated of all the garment-making branches, and is confined mainly to the following large cities in the order of their rank, viz: New York and vicinity (including Brooklyn and Newark), Chicago, Philadelphia, Rochester, Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, Syracuse, Cleveland, St. Louis, Utica, and Milwaukee. One hundred thousand people, in round numbers, are engaged in this industry in these cities, of whom fully 40,000 are in the vicinity of New York City. By including the shirt and undergarment branches, there are at least 60,000 persons employed at garment making in New York and vicinity, and about 70 per cent of these work in small shops and on contract work. In the ladies' cloak and suit trade the seasons of work are short, and work is usually rushed. The frequent interruptions caused by strikes in this branch have induced many of the wholesale firms to conduct large shops of their own. This is considered to be an improvement.

* same estimate given by Commissioners in our 9th Ann. Rep. Mass. Bu. Sept 96

The clothing & cloak cutters & trimmers number about 6000 & are credited with being the most intelligent & skilled workmen in the trs. They are employed directly by the firms, usually on the premises, & their conditions is in this marked contrast to that of the other branches.

Clothing industry
except in
Mass.

Hay White Bull Lab. C 19136
May 96
p 369.

The factory-inspection department of Massachusetts reported for 1895 the inspection of 5,069 manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments in which 13,892 children were employed (302 of these being between 13 and 14 years of age), and 232,317 adult males and 157,122 adult females, making a total of 403,331. Orders were issued to 2,905 workshops.

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C 19137

Clothing Industry
Extent in Pennsylvania

Hy White Bull Labor p 369
May 96

The Pennsylvania inspection department reports the following work done from December 1, 1893, to November 30, 1894:

Deputy inspectors on outside work	11
Inspections made	4,234
Males employed where inspections have been made	175,791
Females employed where inspections have been made	84,945
Persons between 13 and 16 years of age employed where inspections have been made	22,397
Children under 13 years of age found employed and discharged	21
Total employed in establishments that have been inspected	260,736
Sweat-shop inspections	648
Persons employed in sweat shops where inspections have been made	2,914
Orders given	2,516
Orders complied with	1,480

C 19138

Clothing Industry -
Extent of in Illinois

Hy White Bull Labor May 96
p 389.-0

The Illinois report for the year 1894 shows by statistical tables the inspection of 3,440 factories and workshops, employing 97,600 men, 24,335 women, and 8,130 children, a total of 130,065 employees. In 1893 there were inspected 2,362 factories and workshops, employing 52,480 men, 17,288 women, and 6,456 children, a total of 76,224 employees. This shows an increase of 1,078 factories and workshops inspected, employing 45,120 men, 7,047 women, and 1,674 children more than in 1893. Of the 3,440 places inspected in 1894, 1,437 were sweat shops, employing 4,461 men, 5,921 women, and 721 children, an increase over 1893 of 733 shops, 2,250 men, 2,304 women, and 121 children.

The number 3,440 does not indicate the number of inspections made, because some places have been inspected monthly and others semi-monthly. On the other hand, no account is made in the tables of the many places visited but not found working at any time during the year.

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Clothing Ind
Present Condtn of

C 19139

Hey White. Bull Labr May 26
p. 320

Nature of uniformity in factory laws of diff states interferes with efficiency of laws enacted. — as an inducement to firm for runaways to remove to states where more leniency exists sweat shops are there spreading to localities where they were never known

C 19140

Clothing Ind
changes in condtn of
an object

Hey White Bull Labr May 26 p 368

Since the enactment of the law prohibiting suffery in homes other than by members of the family in New York in 1892 & up to January 1894 (1½ Yrs)
There were erected 54 factory bldgs. on sites formerly occupied by tenements swarming with people engaged in the suffr. of clothing. Were new factory bldgs were built expressly to accomodate the clothing trade under the new condtns. They contain 483 separate shops & have legal space for 15,477 sweated people. Besides this, 371 tenements, formerly used for both working & living purposes, were cleared entirely of workers not members of the families living therein & these tenements are now used for domestic purposes only. There were also 88 tenement bldgs. which were cleared of residents & remodelled into shop bldgs. — These changes improved the condtn of 17,147 persons who suffer. clothing in N.Y. city

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Clothing Industry
present Condition of.

C 19141

Hy White. p. 363. Bull Lab.
May 96

The contractors in turn sub-contract the button hole making & finishing or felling "to them
--- until the limit of human endurance is reached. This system it seems has been
introduced into the <u>coat system</u>, an arrangement in the coat making trade, by which the
contractor & employees engage in a sort of cooperative, under which the contractor agrees
with his employees to solicit work from the warehouses at a figure perhaps re-
fused by another, provided they (a set of hands - 4 or 5) are willing to do a certain task
for a "day's work" for so much wages. even this it takes 2 or 3 days to do the
specified day's work" This "set" can work as many hours in a day as it
chooses, the only limit being that of endurance. — This is the very height
of the sweating system

Piece work which is the rule in the next trade, cloak & shirt making
trades, has been brought also to the same level thro the contract
method of work.

(all this is to be found in articles by Cunningham, Sept 95 in Quarterly Journal of Economics p. 37)

Clothing Industry
present condition of

C 19142

Hy White. p 363 Bull Lab May 96

It is often asked, Why do not the wholesale manufacturers conduct their own large shops just as the cutting of the clothing is done? The manufacturers themselves frankly acknowledge that that would cost them more, even though the contractor makes a profit, and, besides, under the present system the trouble and expense of supervision are avoided. This really means that the wholesale merchant under the contract system shirks all responsibility for the conditions under which the employees work. Moreover, large shops would become more amenable to the State factory laws, and it would then be impossible to impose conditions of work so near the very life line.

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Clothing Industry
Present Condition No 1

C 19143

Hy White C. 364. Publ Lab Aug/96

It is usually supposed that only cheap and common clothing is made in sweat shops and in homes, but such is not the fact, because cheap clothing is generally manufactured on a large scale so that the work can be systematically divided into many divisions—in some cases as many as 12—in order that it may be turned out very quickly; but the well-made garments require the long, continuous, and careful work that the workers at home or in small shops can give.

Clothing Industry
Growth of.

C 19144

Hy White. Lab Bull? Aug 96
C 361

The sweat shop as we know it, if stripped of some of its obnoxious features, represents in a degree the small shop of the master and journeymen, conducted in connection with the household, before the advent of the factory system. In the small towns and villages of eastern and southern Europe this system still continues, particularly in the tailoring trade. The similarity is heightened by the fact that nearly all of the sweaters and sweat-shop workers, and many of the clothing and cloak manufacturers, are natives of eastern Europe, and it is thus that this most undesirable form of industry, the sweating system, became so easy of development and was engrafted on our manufacturing system. In comparison with the more primitive workshop, the sweat shop differs materially. In the former the employer was also the dealer, and the contracting of work did not exist. As the shopkeeper or master depended for patronage upon his immediate neighbors, the keen competition of modern business enterprise was not a factor, and the present leveling struggle for employment was unknown. Neither were the social contrasts so great. The workers labored more leisurely, their wages were naturally lower, and their wants were but few.

The opportunities for cheap labor afforded by the sweat shop were in time taken advantage of by those manufacturers who evidently eased their conscience under the plea of necessity, and apparently it was nobody's business how the work was done as long as a certain price was agreed upon with the sweater who begged for the work.

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C 19145

American enterprise, always alert to introduce the newest productive methods, is credited with first making an extensive use of the labor-cheapening sweating system. Immediately after the close of the civil war a large immigration followed, coming largely from the countries of eastern and southern Europe. An excessive demand also at that time existed for clothing, due to the revival in trade, and the limited capacity of the shops induced the making of garments in homes and by contract. This is how, in all probability, the sweating system received its first impulse. The wholesale manufacture and selling of clothing was then in its infancy. England, Ireland, France, and Germany followed the undertaking, and with it came the sweat shop to the large cities having favorable surroundings for its development.

In Europe the excess of ready-made over custom work is not so large as in this country, and although considerable custom work is made in homes, very little outside help is employed. This distinction is important. Merely working at home on some article of manufacture is not in itself so objectionable. The combination of living apartment and

See p 362 top of add

C 19146

Legislation in New York 1893.

Hy White in Bull Lab. May 96 p. 365.

Laws of N.Y. Factory Laws 1893.

1. No room or apartment in any tenement or dwelling house shall be used, except by the immediate members of the family living therein, for the manufacture of coats, vests, trousers, knee pants, overalls, cloaks, hats, caps, suspenders, jerseys, blouses, waists, waistbands, underwear, neckwear, furs, fur trimmings, fur garments, shirts, purses, feathers, artificial flowers, cigarettes, or cigars. 2 No person, firm or corporation shall hire or employ any person to work in any room or apartment, in any rear building or building in the rear of a tenement or dwelling house at making in whole or in part any of the articles mentioned in this section, without first obtaining a written permit from the factory inspector, his assistant, or one of his deputies, stating the maximum number of persons allowed to be employed therein. Such permit shall not be granted until an inspection of such premises is made by the factory inspector, his assistant, or one of his deputies, and may be revoked by the factory inspector at any time the health of the community or of those so employed may require it. It shall be framed and posted in a conspicuous place in the room or in one of the rooms to which it relates. 3 Every person, firm, company or corporation, contracting for the manufacture of any of the articles mentioned in this section, or giving out the incomplete material from which they or any of them are to be made, or to be wholly or partially finished, shall keep a written register of the names and addresses of all persons to whom such work is given to be made, or with whom they may have contracted to do the same. Such register shall be produced for inspection and a copy thereof shall be furnished on demand made by the factory inspector, his assistant, or one of his deputies.

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7 No person shall knowingly sell or expose for sale any of the articles mentioned in this section which were made in any dwelling house, tenement house, or building in the rear of a tenement or dwelling house, without the permit required by this section; and any officer appointed to enforce the provisions of this act who shall find any of such articles made in violation of the provisions hereof, shall conspicuously affix to such article a label containing the words "tenement made" printed in small pica capital letters on a tag not less than two inches in length; and such officer shall notify the person owning or alleged to own such articles that he so labeled them. No person shall remove or deface any tag or label so affixed. When any article mentioned in this section is found by the factory inspector, his assistant, or any of his deputies, to be made under unclean or unhealthy conditions, he shall affix thereto the label prescribed by this section, and shall immediately notify the local board of health whose duty it shall be to disinfect the same and thereupon remove such label.

The above provisions prohibit not only the manufacture of garments in living apartments (except by the immediate members of the family) and unsanitary workshops, but seek to interfere with the sale of such goods by making it necessary to have a label attached and by forbidding their sale until properly disinfected and the label removed.

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Clothing industry
Growth of

C 19149

Sept 95 Cunningham to Ark. 9th Ann Conv. Fact Insp. 1-38

The piece-work which prevails in the next-panto. cloaks & skirts making trades has been brought also to the same plate of affairs thro' the contract-method of work. For the past 20 yrs this system of labor has characterized the wealthy garment making industry, & it reached its worst stages about 3 yrs ago

Clothing industries
Growth of.

C 19150

Sept 95 Cunningham to Ark. 9th Ann Convn. Fact Insp. 1-38

New York city is by far the largest mfrg centre of garments in the country & even in the world. The large foreign popln, the overcrowding, the divisn of work by wh it becomes so easy to enter in this labor market, has naturally evoked the S.S. estimate 60.000 hands in N.Y. Brooklyn city mfrs of garments

During the past 3 yrs (92-95) the 24 inspectors inspected thoroughly 15.054 separate shops, prosecuted 151 cases of violatn secured 115 convictns fines $2.500

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Clothing Industry
change in development of

C 19151

Sept 9th. 9th Ann Conv. Tac Mss. b 40

Mrs. Kelly desired to know if any changes had been effected in sweat-shops thro' the introdn of steam power.

Mr Cunningham (of New York) replied, that he had no knowledge the introdn
of steam power in the sweat-shops of New York.

Clothing Dr
growth of Modern Ind

C 19152

Sept 93 Mrs Kelly. in Ann. 7th Conv. Tac Mss b 9.

This characteristic of Illinois that the enormous influx of the state have grown up so suddenly that the working class has had little time for study of the situation, so that thousands of children have come to be employed under a reckless ness now outgrown in other communities & under conditions which would not be tolerated in Mass. & New York — And many a corporation. who in its New York factories guards its machinery, discharges its deliberate boys & girls & obeys the 10 hour law, all in compliance with the N.Y. code, has been working unlimited hours with women & young children in Illinois, unrestrained by any law whatever.

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CANADA

C 19153

Clothing tr. Conditions of. Minimum

Sept 97. Report from Minimum Wage Bd re

Up to the present year almost all of the work in the clothing trades done in tenement houses. — Minimum wage statute & procured a temporary change but condition working back to old rut again

The pants and underwear workers' condition, however, is by far the worst. A number of these poor creatures are compelled to work in dark basements and cellars for the pitiful sum of five and eight and one-quarter cents for from ten to twelve hours work. Under the law, all that this department can do for them, is to prevent overcrowding and see that the walls are lime washed or painted annually.

C 19154

Clothing industry Minimum wage & present conditions of.

Sept 96. Art by Miss O'Reilly 9th Ann Rep Bd Lab

Re investigation in Pennsylvania June - Sept 99.

Going into the country, the condition was, of course, very materially changed. — Many distributing agencies operate through Berks, Bucks and Montgomery counties for the clothing manufacturers. The work is taken into the homes of the farmers .... In the extreme western section of the state there are but few employed in this way, while the central counties give employment to many of the cigar making industries. Fortunately their conditions are more favorable because of their less crowded quarters & fairly better wages (?K) coupled with comparatively cheap house rents.

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Clothing industry
importance of.

Hon. R. B. Bennett

C 19155

In value of product the suffer of clothing is probably the first in the country. No returns from the last census year from cities of over 20,000 population alone, aggregating nearly $500,000,000; white from its nature the returns from smaller cities, village shops or household work (more difficult to collect there) would add a large % there in the case of any other important suffer. The no. of those directly employed in this suffer is greater in proportion to value of the product than in other cases. Which in its intimate bearing upon the health & comfort of our people is even more prominent.

C 19156

Hon. R. B. Bennett

Clothing Industry
Importance of.

This largely centred in cities. Of the aggregate product for the census year some $ 150,000,000 is represented from 44 annually

58 ——— Chicago "
42 ——— Phila "
31 ——— Boston "
Over 10 ——— in Cincinnati "
Baltimore "
Brooklyn "
San Francisco "
Rochester. "

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C 19157

Importance of clothing industry

Report confined to clothing industry because.

1. clothing industry involved so large a proportion of the entire system as practically to engross the attention of anyone investigating it.

2. the conduct of the employées in the sweating branches of the clothing business was more serious than in other lines of so-called sweating

3. the clothing industry the dangers to the public welfare of the sweating system are more serious, the apparent possibilities of effective remedial action greater than in any other occupation involved in our inquiry.

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C 92158

8

Sweating System

Miscellaneous Abuses.

[redacted]

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C 19159

Sept 95. Miss O'Reilly 9 to Mrs Leon. Tac re Labour

5.9.
Liberals.

Vancouver, Immigrty. Sept 94.

Mes are told "Yah, it will be good wages if we did not have to tip the cutter on whoever had charge of the distribution of work" — the claim being that anywhere from $1 to $2 is expected as a bonus for the patronage. — cites some instances.

1 in

C 19160

Liberals.
contractors - sweating wages

Sept 97. Art by J. J. Griffin. 11 Mr Labour to Mr

6.73

here is another distressing incident that has forcibly manifested itself during the past two years, to which I shall as briefly as possible refer. One is the increasing decampment of contractors with the wages of their employees. The clothing dealer makes the best contract that he can with the one who engages to do his work, and, as the manner in which this contract is fulfilled is something which does not pass under his eye, he does not have, as he otherwise might, appeals made to his sense of humanity, that would lead him to check the dishonesty which is practised upon the poor unfortunate victims who make his clothing. It is a very easy matter for a dishonest contractor, to divert the work of another to himself by underbidding him, and when he finds after exacting an amount of work from his help that reaches the limit of human endurance, that he cannot make a profit, he will by one excuse or another hold back from week to week a large part of the wages due them until it reaches a considerable amount. Then on securing payment from the clothing merchant, for several lots of work returned, he receives another lot and leaves for parts unknown. His help, whose wages if received in full, would no more than barely sustain life, are left in want and suffering without any redress. This could be obviated by the dealers requiring a sufficient bond from their contractors to provide against such cases, or a law might be enacted allowing labor to place a lien on the clothing left in their possess as is now done in the erection of buildings. Public attention should called to this feature through the agency of the press and organiza directly affected.

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ORGANIZED

JULY 1st, 1896

C 19161

United Garment Workers of America.

NO. 140 מאָנטרעאַל טיילאָר יוניאָן

יוניטעד גארמענט ווארקערס אף אמעריקא.

LOCAL UNION, No. 140, MONTREAL, Can.

Secretary's Office,

72 St Norbert St

Montreal, September 189

			men	girls
M. Feldstein	531	Lagauchetiere St	5	3-4
V. Glazer	396	" "	5	5-6
Glazer	398	" "	5	5-4
A. Decker	479	" "	5	5-4
N. Gallub	401	" "	3	4
Silverman	477	Dorchester "	4	4
M. Adler	588	" "	4	4
S. Feldstein	259	Radeny St	5	4
Weinroch	361	Radeny St.	5	5
Mendelsohn	738 a	St Lawrence St	6	4
J. Asher	170	St Lawrence St	12	7&8
G. Frank	127	St George St	7	6
J. Levine	85	St James	6	5
C. Gold	367	St James St	7	8
J. Gradman	28	St Justine	5	5
Hyams	13	Latour St	5	5
M. Blumenberg	438	St Dominick St.	7	8
Shoney & Co	1866	Notre Dame St	6	5
Glass	80	St Henry	6	5
S. Kuropsky	5	Inconnu Wheeler place	6	6
Kargel	161	Fortification Lane	4	5
S. Hilman	17	St Justin St	3	3
V. Solomon	148	Hyppolite St	5	3
Tenall & Co				
Blumenthal	St Catherine St			

These are the addresses of the Montreal boxes.

C 19161

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Contractors &c

Trade Apprentices 4th 1½ cts
Tailors 12 "
Girls 3-5

Pressers 8 to 12 cents
(Men sometimes make $18 to $20)

Men work 8 A.M. to 9 P.M.
there is only short
busy season

Others 10 cents a week

This is exceptional work

Other shops pressers earn each
9, 10 & 11 cents.

Men usually get 9-12 a week

Apprentices 4th 10, 12 cts each
Tailors 10, 12 "

Girls from 3-5 in all ~~shops~~

The contractors often pay better
than inside, compare with
rates inside

(Hands and rather work
for contractors
than in factory

4 or 5 shops - burning
others in house —— 2nd burning tax
and greater duty.

Custom tailors make themselves
These contractors make only ready
made clothing..

ORGANIZED Factory Department Workers of America
C 19161

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19163

Legislation

Classification of.

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CANADA

C 19164

Legislation
clothing &c

Of laws re clothing. — same as laws governing the supply of food products & protection health of the operatives of the culinary & baking trades, as natural as the quarantine laws, for reduction of contagious diseases, sanitary laws. building & plumbing inspection etc — law re sanitary arrangement of bake shops passed in May Jan. 1896 Minnesota same one much earlier — re baking, attention first called to this in my 1895 & 1896 by committee of Hope. — Legislation in 1900 (for these Legislation — see p 13, 9th Ann Dept Lab Rpt p 13. Chapter 9 / with diff titles.

C 19165

Remedies
Legislation

Sept 94 9th Ann Bur. Lab Rpt p. 78.

Note re legislation which contemplates continuance of present structures as Radical change.

Mrs Kelley says all laws having in view the regulation of the system and prove ineffective, & also urged inspectors to seek for legislation for sts to stat suppress — also elsewhere

Mr Feaney of N. Y. (p 80) favored a law to abolish S.S. docility by prohibiting the ownership of raw material from having the goods to be made into garments in tenement houses. — only of health

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C 19166

Legislation.

re Uniformity.

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Legis
need of uniformity

C 19167

Recommendation of Factory Inspectors in matter of employment of females during certain hours
is found on pp 99 Embodied proceedings of 5th Int Conf at Berne 1906.

A good paper by Miss Kelley p.121
9th Ann. Conv. Fac Insp Sec. 194

Legis
need of uniformity

Sept 94 Miss Kelley in Ann 8 Conv. Fac Insp p.123

From all this it must be seen so far as our limited observation has gone we have reason to believe that the urging of uniform legis^n is not so totally necessary from the point of view of the employer as is usually assumed. (the two great evil effects of Mass Ml. Lab
Hours that dull season — work-bread ones,
shifts can make up short time)

We see as a matter of fact today, Hours carried on under a working day of 9 to 16 hours in bakeries of Berlin. 8 & 10 hrs the to common bakeries of Chicago.

66 hrs working-week in the cotton spinning of Manchester
56 " — — — — — — — — — Eng
58 ——————————— mass
60 ——————————— new York.

From the point of view of the wage earning class, uniformity can be desirable only when it is on the plane of the most advanced legis^n

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C 19169

There is one case in which uniformity of legislᵗⁿ is absolutely essential.
That is where all the conditᵒⁿˢ in a trade or series of related trades are so bad that thoroughgoing legislative enforcement in one place results in banishing the trade to other places, where the bad conditᵒⁿˢ are undisturbed (Cf Mass & N.Y. K) & the profits of the exploiters are such that they can & do undersell the law abiding traders of the more progressive place; this phase of the need of uniformity will be fully treated in a paper devoted to the problemˢ of ten-hour laws.

In what Mrs Kelly says later she seems to imply that of other states had had similar bills to follow the lead of Penn and have been strengthened since

b. 24.

C 19170

It would have strengthened our positⁿ greatly before the people & employers & the city if bills had been vigorously pushed forward adoptⁿ for a legal reduction of the working day, in the great competing States. N.Y. Penn. N. Jersey, Mass. & Minnesota. - for whatever the actual facts, as known by the body of the reductⁿ of the hrs of labor, the feeling is very strong still among employers. that the sufferers of shoes in Mass. of garments in N.Y. & of leathers & woodenwares in other states are benefited to the prejudice of the Illinois sufferers, by the 8 hr length of their working day. This likely to have weight with supreme ct

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legisn
difficulty in uniformity

C 19171

Great problem. peculiar to U.S. as re Emp.

Here the one hand the Fedl govt by constitn is prevented from legislating on certain lines. except re interstate commerce & on other the states are so numerous & constitns so complicated & diff in each K

legisn
need of uniformity

Sept 94

C 19172

The enforcement of these inadequate regulative laws in Mass. Newyork & Illinois spreads the 'sweating' system in other States for want of uniformity of legisn

In Resolutn by Mess Stevens & Sir Wm Cox. Fac Sept 6 97

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C 19173

Re Legislation
effect of lack of
uniformity

Re Labour Bureau Can. May 96
p. 370.

The lack of uniformity in the factory laws of the different States interferes very seriously with the efficiency of the laws enacted; and as an inducement is given for sweaters to remove to States where more leniency exists, sweat shops are thus spreading to localities where they were never known. As a means of securing uniform legislation throughout the country, the inspectors of thirteen States and two provinces of Canada have formed the International Association of Factory Inspectors, which has held nine annual conventions. In matters of factory legislation their opinions based upon expert knowledge are of much consequence.

1896

effect of uniformity on other points.

C 19174

Legislation effect of.

Legislation seems to have hastened certain changes which had begun in the natural course of evolution eg. from homes to factories in N.J. after 1892.

K.

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Legislation
Re enforcement of
& effect of inspection

Key W hite. Health Exhibition May 06
L 36 7.

C 19175

Sanitary rules at their best can deal only with one phase of the subject, and can not lessen the tasks of the sweating classes. Neither can the health officials, in addition to other duties, hope to maintain supervision over the evasive sweater. It is only by those who have made factory conditions, particularly in the tenement districts, a study that sanitary rules can be properly enforced and the spread of disease prevented. The evil is so extensive and so difficult to reach that the ordinary factory inspectors, whose duties are not alone to investigate the sweating evil, are plainly unable to cope with the abuses. Legislation preventing the employment of minors, restricting the hours of labor of women and children, and specifying the amount of air space required for each person employed all tends to make the sweat shops as such less profitable. All of the manufacturing States have legislated in this direction, but there is a most remarkable laxity in enforcing these laws or providing for their enforcement. A large, populous State has a force of factory inspectors not as large as the force required to police a city ward, and yet the duties of each inspector are as important and more arduous certainly than those of a policeman.

C 19176

As the factory inspectors' work is still regarded as experimental, large and quick results are expected, and public criticism is based upon the impression made on the whole vast factory system of the State. To fully extirpate all the workshop evils, very careful and close inspection is required. Besides, the prosecutions for violations are made very troublesome, owing to the difficulty of obtaining sufficient evidence. The employees of a sweat shop, usually through intimidation and ignorant fear, when giving testimony endeavor to shield the employer, even where a flagrant infringement of the law is apparent. The ease with which a sweater can change his abode, thus necessitating a new inspection, is another great obstacle. As the tenement shop is the cheapest method of manufacturing, it is the fittest under the sharp competition which originated it, and consequently the tendency is irresistibly that way. The well-regulated clothing workshop, being at a disadvantage, often gives way to the combination of dwelling and workshop, which neither deserves the name of the one nor is suited to the other. Thus the factory inspectors are called upon to stem this tide—not alone to introduce reforms. To judge what really has been accomplished in this respect, we can only deal with New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Pennsylvania, the only States that have made a serious attempt at suppressing the sweat-shop evil.

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Register
effect of inspection
in New York

C 19177
Bkg wheeler Bull Labor May 96
1368

The State of New York has 24 deputy inspectors (9 of whom are women), a chief, and an assistant to inspect the 65,840 factories in the State. Of these factories 25,400 are located in the vicinity of New York City, and the subfactory-inspection department of New York City has 14 inspectors attached (7 being women).

Register
effect of the New York
re enforcement etc

Bkg wheeler . Bull. Labor May 96
1368 C 19178

96

From the forthcoming Tenth Annual Report of the Factory Inspectors of New York is taken the following list of prosecutions in New York City for violations of the law regulating the manufacture of clothing in tenement workshops during the year 1895:

PROSECUTIONS FOR VIOLATIONS OF THE LAW REGULATING THE MANUFACTURE OF CLOTHING IN TENEMENT WORKSHOPS, NEW YORK CITY, 1895.

Offense.	Cases.	Fines.
Working in tenement houses	46	$875
Employing children under 14 years of age	20	330
Having unclean water-closets	9	325
Having insufficient water-closets	5	140
Employing children without certificates	3	80
Working in rear buildings without permit	2	50
Employing illiterate children	1	30
Overcrowding	1	20
Obscene writing in water-closets	1	20
Total	88	1,870

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Legislation re W.C.; effect of re enforcement

Hey Wheeler. Mail & Labour May 96

C 19179

L 368

The report for the State for 1894 shows that 10,425 notifications were issued requiring changes to be made in or about the places visited, of which the following represent the most important:

Factories ordered to stop overworking minors	188
Children under 14 years of age ordered discharged	182
Illiterate children under 16 years of age ordered discharged	238
Elevators and hoistways ordered guarded	587
Fire escapes ordered erected	262
Machines ordered protected	1,320
Separate toilet rooms for women ordered	1,148
Factories ordered renovated	638
Running water for workrooms ordered provided	75
Buildings condemned as unsafe	52
Ordered to cease making clothing in sweat shops	718
Overcrowding ordered stopped	53
Better ventilation ordered	118

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C 19180

s-Lord's 90
Memoranda 4.

ettlement of Cliff's
Allied Cr's
(Cutlery)
2 LXXXVIII

"The Cutlery Trades.

Uttley, 24701.

"137. Mr. Uttley, Secretary of the Sheffield Federated Trades Council, and General Secretary of the File Cutters' Association, a file-maker by trade, represented before us all the hardware trades of the town. A considerable proportion of the work is executed by 'outworkers,' generally in their own homes and by members of the same family. They get the articles from the manufacturer or warehouse and return them. There does not appear to be any fixed statement of prices or rate of pay. In many instances several trades are carried on under the same roof by 'little masters' or contractors, who pay rent for their 'side,' that is the portion of the building in which they work, including 'power.' The 'little master,' who is a practical man, and generally works himself, puts out the work as piecework to the hands he employs. The 'little master' may get the contract direct from the merchant, but sometimes another agent intervenes, called the factor, or 'little merchant.' He goes direct to the large merchant, takes the orders, and gives them out to the 'little master.' The latter has no capital of his own, and is dependent on his weekly receipts. He applies for work to the factor, who perhaps tells him that there is no order for him. After seeking it in vain elsewhere, he is obliged to return to the factor, who then screws the price down to the lowest point. The small master or sweater has no resource but to accept his terms, and the men who work for him are in turn sweated unmercifully, so that the second middleman may secure some share of profit. The goods produced in this way enter of course into competition with those which are made in the ordinary course of trade by 'firms of fair standing,' where fair wages are paid. Thus, as Mr. Uttley stated, the prices are reduced in the market to such an extent that it is exceedingly difficult for a profit to be made, and the standard of quality is deteriorated all round. Such is the general outline of a system which undoubtedly affects in a very injurious degree the interests of the working classes in Sheffield.

24717.

24720.

"138. The number of men who work at their own homes, especially in the file and knife trades, appears to be large, although, as might be anticipated, there are no trustworthy statistics available on the subject. The condition of these out-workers is not in any way

24741.

superior to that of the sweated class in any other industry. Th

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clothing Industry
Development

March 92. Hon Rt Sir J

C 19181

Extract of Address of Hochstadter N.Y.

Of the large factories I think there are now where there was one before - they are so few that they cut no figure, they are neither increasing or decreasing. Practically there are none - we had one burned out last year & there are one or two others. There is one on Grand st - Mr Bonthal - the man who runs that tells me he has as much office done outside as he has done in his factory!

The general system is almost exclusively confined to men employed in the office of clothing &. It is & always has been since I have been in the business that goes back 20 years - there has been no increase in the factories ever since I can recollect the system has been to give out the work at piece prices or to give it out to somebody who had a shop & who had others to do the work for him

clothing Industry
& Ps
Growth of

Sept 95. 9th Ann Labor Rep't p 74. C 19182

Framingham N.Y. prove that the laws of the state had been rigorously enforced in Mass & Ct. but the work formerly done in small shops of the large cities of these states is now being done for even less money in the farm houses of Maine Vermont & Pa N.H. & is transplanted even as far as Ohio, Virginia & Delaware. Ct & this year Philadelphia & Baltimore got its share of the migrating sweaters of New York city. Jersey City & Newark & other New Jersey towns have also lost & their population being considerably increased from that source.

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clothing to
developed 07.

March 92. H of R R. L. 19. **C 19183**

The increased demand for articles of clothing, ready made, has increased in fully as large a proportn as the increased amt of labor. L.20 There are a great many more people engaged in that kind of work = there is a good deal more work done, & the demand for it has increased as fast as the supply of labor

Mr Horwood - The public buys more shop made clothing

Hochdaetter - I wd guess that 75% of the clothing worn by men = boys in this city is ready made. Mr Mendelson says it wd be 90%. I think the proportn of ready-made clothing worn today is very much increased over what it was ten years ago. My judgmt is 75% of what is worn now is ready made = some less me it is more than that.

Mr Horwood - I think the average wd be the same because the clothing offered today is far superior to the article which was offered ten years ago (note this line of development K)

Hocks - My judgment is that the increase in the % of ready made clothing owed a sudden impulse 10 yrs ago, because of the better class offered, & better work began to be done

C 19184

better goods began to be made & better class of goods are being made now. I think I may say the increase has been steady. Ten years ago there was a sudden change whilst today 75% is ready made in this city. (Perhaps the increase of communicatn has let a large no. of people into these facilities.) note other causes K.

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Clothing industry development.

C 19185

Future - Under the sweating system will be done away with in the natural course of industl operatn, that the machinery used will be highly efficient, but very costly, so much so that middle class cannot afford to buy it & that the suffers. who use it will be able to undersell all others - eg. the speaks of a new pressing iron, supplied with gasoline etc. do pressing very rapidly - Note too. in the cutting a machine does 40 yds) at a time (find out the nature of machine etc) this no longer profitable to have cutting done at home. - will it be so with pressing. & sewing, to what extent in each case, will not felling or finishing remain? (15) Feb 97.

Clothing industry
as present condtn
of industry

1892. Hopkins p 237 C 19186

One of the objects of the bill in questn (S 1705) is the practical removal of any form of work upon wearing apparel from dwelling or tenement houses & compelling the same to be done in regular factories .. the fact remains that the suffer of clothing in our large cities is largely done by regularly established factories today, but some portions of the work (more particly needlework or hand work in its diffl forms being but a mere fractn of the total work required in completing a garment) is done by individl seamstresses in their own homes, not because it can be done so much cheaper (???), but from the extreme difficulty of getting sufficient employees to do all of this work in large suffering centres who can leave their homes at regular hours to go into the factories to perform work of this kind. Thousands of respectable women living in the city of Boston, N.Y. Chicago & other large cities are enabled to earn moderate wages while at the same time attg to their household duties, & in many cases their entire maintenance & support

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CANADA

C 19187

~~to be~~ is determined from needlemark who they are enabled to do in their own homes, while it would not be possible for them. under any circumstance to leave the children & families ago to the factories & do this work. allowing these people of this form of maintenance & a low estimate places the figure at 5,000 women that would be subjects of charity in this city of Boston alone. ~~Effect~~ 3rd Sec of S bill 1705 would prohibit any form of this work being done in any dwelling occupied by 2 or more families. This would also apply to large sections of the manufacturing districts of Maine, New Hampshire & Mass. in country towns, where a large amt. of the thoroughly well-made, clean clothing is suffd. under the best possible conditions, but still suffered in dwellings where more than 2 families occupying the same bldg.

Proportion of people in clothing trades in cities

Hopkins. b 237 C 19188

According to most reliable statistics gathered from U.S. census of 1890, not 20% of the people residing in the districts complained of who are charged with all the evils that a reckless distortion of imaginary conditions conveys to the minds of many people — are in any way even remotely connected with the affairs of clothing.

(This is a good %.)

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Clothing Ind.
Grounds of Ch. charges.

Acadien. Jol. Soc Sc 1892 C 19189

Scarcely 30 yrs have passed since the boot & shoe industry afforded like opportunities. The industry has now become highly organized. & is perhaps the most complete exemplificat.n of the suppression of the domestic by the factory system.

Within the memory of men still young, the women of Eastern Mass. were extensively employed in their own homes in the labor incident to shoe prodn. while men were wholly employed in small isolated shops adjacent to their houses. The industry has now almost entirely left the home & entered the factory & the women who are employed in it have followed the work. The clothing industry ~~is~~ is undergoing similar changes which are not yet complete. It has always furnished employmt to women in their homes. & while the work of the industry from the home to the factory has made gt progress it has not yet entirely changed the system under wh the industry is conducted.

In 1875 out of 30.916 women in all industries furnished with work in their homes in Mass. 9.326 or about 30% of whole no. were in the clothing

C 19190

industry. In 1885. the total no. of women in all industries furnished with work at their homes had declined to 18.333. a loss of nearly ½ the no. found employed in them may in 1875. But the no. employed in the clothing industry alone aggregated 8.383 = nearly 46% of whole no.

It is still possible for the farmer's wife in Maine, or the women in the shore towns along Cape Cod. to earn a little money by furnishing cheap clothing for the Boston mfrs or contractor. Her work regarded as helpful & the employmt secondary to housekeeping, undertaken as an aid but not as an absolute necessity to the support of the family & ∴ willingly done for small wages. The industl system is exactly the same as that under wh clothing is finished in the tenement houses of the city, but the status of the workers is not the same, ∴ they can hardly be said to be "sweated".

Speaks of no. of Jewish immigrants who have come into Tenements and are employed by contractors, of contractors in tenements. helpless to help self. domestic & the so far as clothing industry is conducted in factories it is subject to the same influences as other factory industries. The factory work is generally of a better grade

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C 19191

Sweating in Mass not yet past germinal stage - no manufactured (reports of N.Y. or London exp - Kind of labour which permits it not so prevalent. & methods diff in Boston

b. 101

C 19192

Clothing industry
Changes in — Mass

Jnl Soc Sc Oct 92. Appendix Board of Trade Labour
1890 b. 141

(Act of 91)

By the last section, tenement house workshops in the sense of rooms occupied (Sec 1) have practically not existed in Boston since Dec '91 & the amount of clothing so made in New York for Boston has decreased, more being done in Boston & more done in mains. (& South N.Y. contracts K.) Some New York dealers have in order to meet law, moved from dirty rooms to dirty shops — Yet Boston clothing firms will refuse to receive their work, on report & suggestion of the inspectors.

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Condition of Industry
Investment work

Dr Hamel Jour. Soc Sc Oct 92
p 95 C 19193

Skilled kinds of work done in these homes. — Hair nets, wire bonnet frames, neckties, artificial flowers, covering moulds with cloth for dress trimmings tobacco stripping & cigar making

Clothing Ind.
Changes in ground of.

C 19194 Hoff R Ch 6 10.

The conditions of, have been lately revolutionized

25 years ago, (1867) it was so exclusively custom & family made that probably less than 25% was "ready made", i.e. suffered in advance of indiv. demand.

By 1880 the proportion of ready made clothing had increased to probably 40% of all men's wear used in the city

By 1890 the proportion (since increased) had risen above 60%; while the "ready made" system had involved a large & increasing proportion of women's wear, leaving at present of the great variety of under & outside clothing, of both sexes & all ages, only outside dresses of women still in general specially made for the individual.

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Clothing trade changes in

C 19195 Hoffman & Co.

(a)

In accordance with the development the system of suppr. has been altered & developed.

Home left to the care of the man, in the main a household undertaking, by wh. the women of the family provided its clothing, & in wh. the neighborhood seamstress assisted & the village tailor cooperated as an expert, the work of the larger establishments was mainly custom work, the gr. part of wh was done on the premises under the close supervision of the dealer, who sold directly to the consuming public; & to a large extent this is still the case with what is known as custom work (find out to what extent - among suppress. this small. note union back shop. women in homes etc &)

Clothing trade changes in.

(a) C 19196 Hoffman & Co.

The ready made bus. was at first carried on under same plan (see (a)), its economies involving at first not so much a change of this system as the saving of expert judgment by making the garments in specified assortments, instead of adapting each to a special wearer & in the subdivision of labor & comparative cheapness of expert skill in each branch made possible by this change

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C 19197

Clothing Ind'y.
Changes in ~~wages~~ Organizing & meeting (c) Hopkins. p 7v.

The difference in labor conditions between the customs & ready-made business soon developed a specialization in the methods of the latter, which has come to be known as the "sweating" system, & which giving opportunity for one or more middlemen between the wholesale "manufacturer" (so called) & the actual operative, has facilitated the cheapening of wages & the degradation of the labor engaged in it, & the growth of a serious menace to the general health of the country (note 2 forms of deleterious dress clothes - low wages - also significant place of middle man in sweating system. K.)

Clothing Industry.
changes in present conditions (d) C 19198 Hopkins p 8

The materials are cut, & then for each garment bunched together on the premises of the manufacturer, who expects to mark the finished product as his own. They are then distributed in large lots, frequently thousands of garments each, to special jobbers, who are known as "contractors", each of whom has his own place of business and generally his own factory, & who, though he naturally & frequently works largely for the same & a limited no. of parties from year to year, is at the same time free to make contracts with any one, & is rather a specialist in some particular line of work eg. coats, cloaks, pantaloons, or overcoats or special grades or styles of these. - than the special employé of any particular firm or firms. He may, & frequently does, live in a different city from that in which the goods are cut, the contractors for certain classes of work in certain cities offering such inducements as attract work from other cities. In this way the work as well as the marketing of clothing involves most complex questions of interstate commerce, the most marked feature of which is the extent to which goods nominally "manufactured

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CANADA

(d) contd:

C 19199

the other parts of the city are really made up in N.Y. Phil. or Baltimore Locality of the first named city, & special lines are distributed in the rural districts of each of the Eastern & Middle & many of the other States.

With his ignorance as to the contractor, the receiving ready cut. cloth, manufacturer & other wholesaler of these manufactured practically ceases. his ignorance of the actual conditions of labor suffer being frequently as carefully guarded as this generally claimed; & responsibility being zealously disclaimed on his part.

As a result of such a large fraction - probably 1/2 - of the goods thus destined for making are made up by the employees of the contractor in factories and under conditions which - tho' varying largely, according to the class of labor employed, local factory laws & their enforcement etc - are not such as to call for special comment. (note there seems a difference in Can. more particularly. etc)

Quite large in sub contract work

This to a very large fraction - so nearly 1/2 as to be so regarded - the work is sub contracted from the first contractor. Being financially responsible & having a business "rating" he is enabled to secure

(d) contd:

C 19200

work from firms who deal only with such, & he in turn has facilities for satisfying himself as to the integrity & responsibility of others less fortunate with whom wholesale suppliers refuse to deal. A great part of the work which the original contractor receives is given out to sub contractors each of whom employ hands - generally less than 20 (note in Can., the wholesaler is usually the 1st contractor or rather 1st contractor don't come in. K. note as a class. —) As to these sub contractors & to the exception that a tolerable workshop is provided or that their work is done under tolerable conditions From them in the 1st place, must be exacted the profits of the first contractor, while the sub contractors compensation must be exacted in turn from employees who will work for less wages, (? Shorey. K) than those employed in the larger shops. & under conditions generally inconsistent with comfort & cleanliness.

A typical tenement sweat shop described p. 11. (note this)

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CANADA

(d) contd

C 19201

This, however, is not the bottom step. To some extent from the first contractors, to a larger extent from these tenement sweaters, and to a considerable extent from each other, the heads of single families - inhabiting one or more rooms, & generally accommodating either another family as subtenants or a no. of lodgers or boarders - secure lots of work to be made up at a price who permits the one from whom they secure it to "sweat" a profit from them. By this class known as the "tenement home workers" is probably made nearly one fourth of our ready made clothing & a larger proportion of the branch known as "children's" clothes. Even in the custom catering tr. while there is little room left for the middleman, yet a consid. portion of it is handled by comparatively well paid operatives who are allowed to do part of their work at home

follow description of worst type of tenement home workers.

C 19202

Clothing Industry
Chapter IX.

Country home workers.-

In the country districts but a very small proportion - probably less than 5% - is affected as to this branch it is carried on under generally healthy, the varied conditions. The special feature is that it is largely done as evening or occasional work by wives & daughters of rural people, not as a means of subsistence, but for individual pin money, or to eke out an income, at rates of compensation below those at which those who do it did subsist themselves if they depended upon it for a livelihood

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1892

Refl of H.G. Madlen. (6 pp from 1940.

changes in value of products of contract system.

in mass.

Establishment no.	Val. of Annual Product	value of same &c. made under Contract system	% of same &c. made under contract system
1	1.250.000	1.250.000	100
2	350.		100
3	200		100
4	500		100
5	562	— — —	75
6	200		100
7			100
8			100
9			100
10			100
11			5
12			100
13			100
14			~~100~~
15	— — —	— — —	100
16			100
17			100
18			100
19			100
20			100
21			
22			100
23			100
24			100
25			100
26			100
27			100
28			100
29			100
30			100
31			100
32			100
33			~~100~~
34	— — —	— — —	100
35			100
36			100
37			100
38			100
39			100
40	— — —	— — —	100
41			50
42			10
43			
total.	18.020.950	16.033.853	88.97

See p. 228. for figs.

It appears from foregoing table that the annual output of the 43 establishments investigated in Boston is 18.020.950 (= 78% of annual output of Boston) of this amount 88.97% of a product value of $16.033.853 is made under the contract system. — It does not follow however that every part of the work is done in that way. An enquiry was made of each establishment as to whether all the work of the article ~~was~~ suffered or only part of it was done by contract & the replies to this inquiry indicate that the contract system, in the main applies to all the work except the cutting & trimming, which are usually done in the establishment.

Note only 3 establishments in which no work is done by the contract system.

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CANADA

C 19205

Meeting in Mass. Hadley 1926. re.
Jos Sec

Strikes & lockouts
prevailed condit'ns of
Industries & effects of strikes & lockouts.
— also re wages

Respecting the capital reqr'd to carry on the work of 33 Boston contractors

1 reported amt necessary $20.000
1 " " " 10.000
1 " " " $6.000
2 — — — 5.000
2 — — — 2.000
2 — — — 1.500
1 — — — 1.200
6 ——————— 1.000

17 less than 1.000 from which it would appear that the financial burden of the contractors business is largely sustained by the manufacturers furnishing him with work

repeated in Hopkins. 6 230

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C 19206

SWEATERS' CONDITION BETTER.

Favorable Results Shown by the Church Association's Study.

A special sweat-shop inspection is now in progress by the Church Association for the Interests of Labor, under the immediate direction of Rev. F. J. C. Moran, and is likely, so far as can be learned from the experience of two of the inspectors, to reveal a better state of affairs in the east side shops than has existed for some time. This inspection was begun with the particular purpose in view of finding out the sanitary conditions of the shops, whether the conditions in the tenement houses are better, and how much work is done outside the shops.

At the latest of a series of meetings of the association, held late in December, volunteers to serve as special inspectors were asked for, and enough appeared to cover pretty thoroughly the worst districts in the city. Each inspector took a list of shops in a particular district and undertook to visit them and to send in a report before February 3, when some amendments to the factory-inspection laws will be proposed.

Two of these inspectors visited in one afternoon of this week twelve of the shops assigned. These were on Houston and Delancey Streets, not far from the East River. Half of them were in the Tenth Ward, the most crowded district in the world, and nearly all of them were small, employing only a few workers. Moses Zucker's shop, No. 308 East Houston Street, was found on the ground floor of a building in the rear of a tenement house. It employed eight persons, who said they worked from seven o'clock in the morning to six in the evening. The room, thirty feet by eighteen in area and nine feet high, was hot, but the walls were clean, and there were three large windows in each end. The proprietor showed his license with some pride, explaining that he was always careful to observe the factory inspection laws, and that he did not allow any work to be done by his employees in their homes.

Just above the Zucker shop another proprietor, Max Bomson, presided over a force of twelve men and women who worked under practically the same conditions as those in the first shop. In a top-floor rear-tenement shop at No. 436 East Houston Street, 30x25x9 feet, Jacob Sonnenblich showed the inspectors that the walls had been recently whitewashed, and that his twelve workmen were well fed and given sufficient light. A factory building at No. 305 Delancey Street was tenanted on one floor by David Greenblatt, who acted as "boss" to twenty-five women and fifteen men. The workroom was a long one, sixty feet or more in length and thirty feet wide. Most of the workers sat near the front or rear windows, and the working hours here were stated to be from 7 A. M. to 7 P. M. As with nearly all the others, the sanitation was fairly adequate, the room being kept too warm, but clean. In no shop was there unlawful crowding, more than the 250 cubic feet of space to a worker being allowed in each case.

Only two children were seen in the shops visited, and both of these were apparently over fifteen years of age. There seemed to be few of the conventional stooped, pale, and consumptive workers in the shops, the majority being young men, seemingly well fed, and healthy-looking girls. There was a general readiness to answer the questions of the inspectors, though it could not be known whether or not these answers were truthful. The most encouraging feature of the tour, according to the visitors, was the observed fact that the bosses are used to the visits of inspectors, and put no obstacle in the way of investigation.

N. York Post Jany 27, 1906

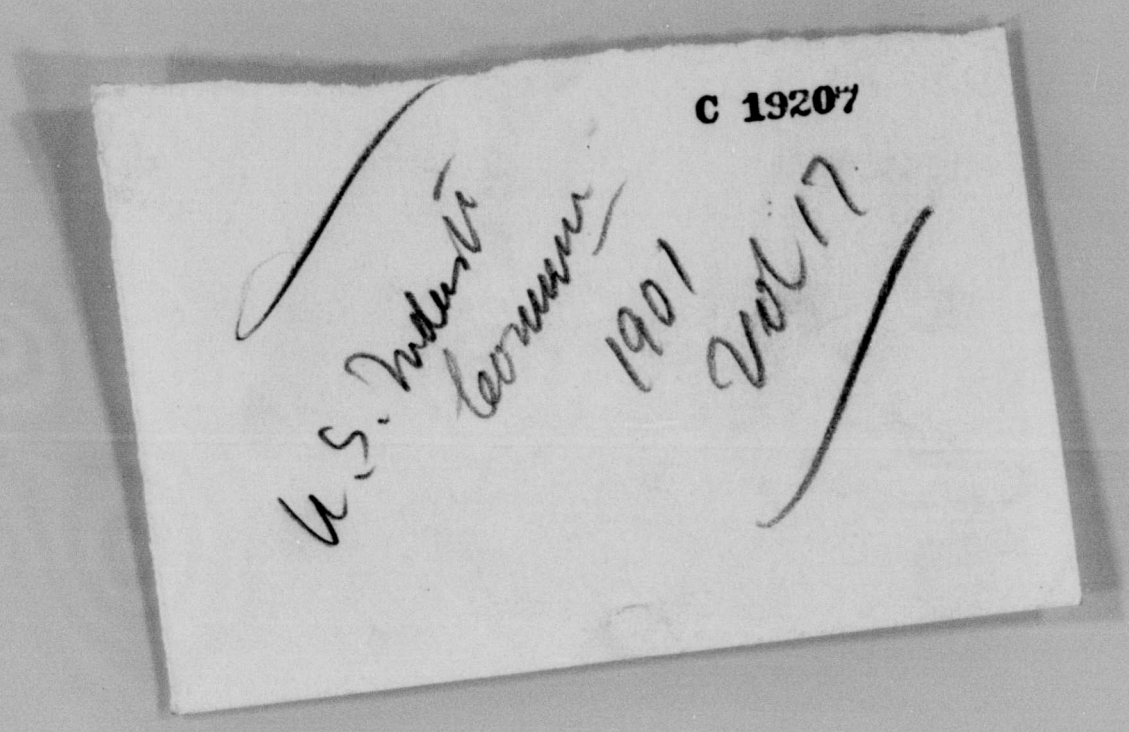
Religious Notices.

NEW CHURCH.

CH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM, East 35th St. between Park and Lexington Aves. The

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C 19208

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	Perils of the Nation, Appeal to the Legislature. P Title.	8°	Sessions 1844	

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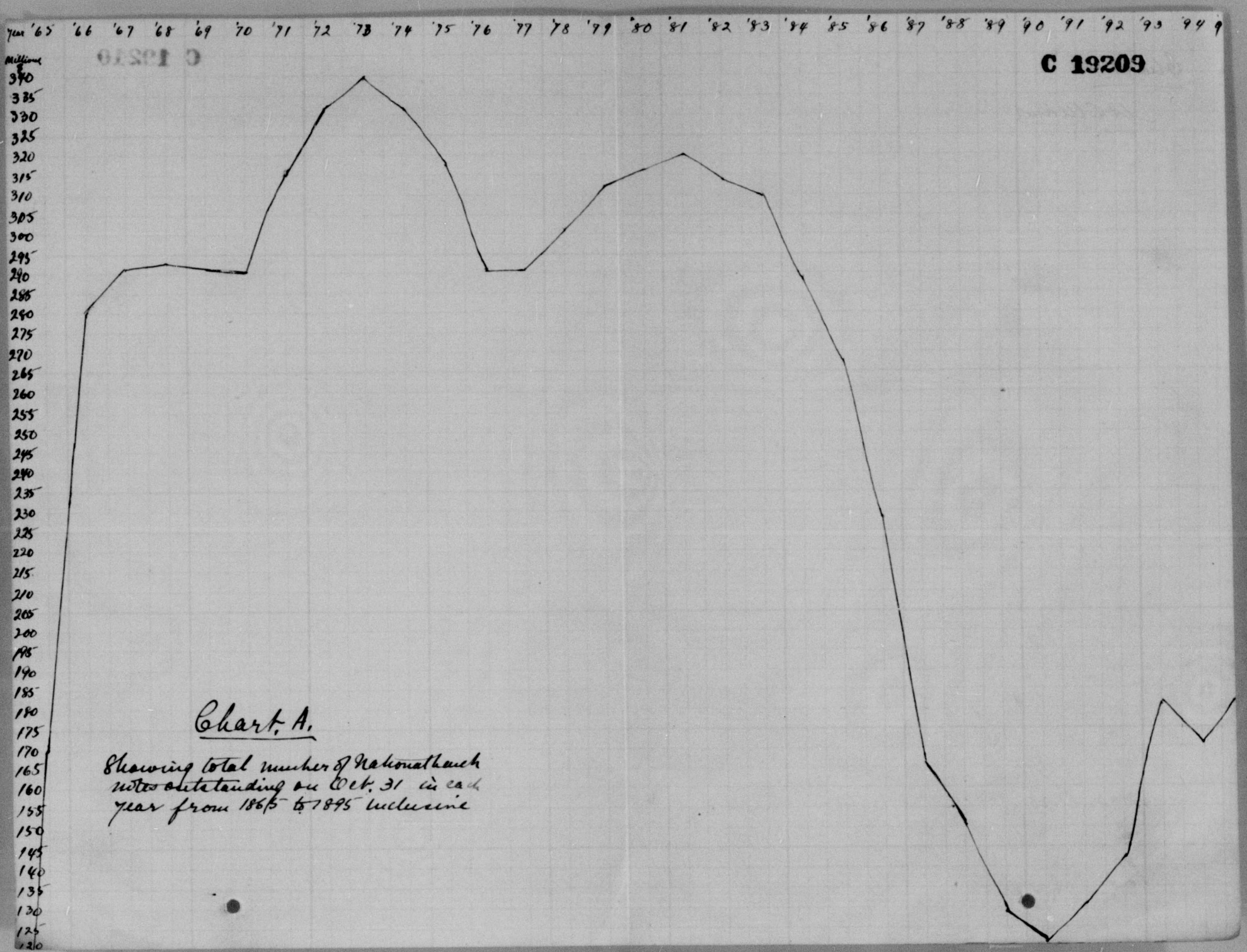
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C 19209

Chart A.

Showing total number of National Bank notes outstanding on Oct. 31 in each year from 1865 to 1895 inclusive

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C 19210

Chart. A1

M.L. Mackenzie

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C 19211

Sept 97

Legislation in Mass.

J. Griffiths re Act. 11th Can C.F. re L. 71

discussed. I have used the word regulation, because as yet none of these laws have or can eradicate the system. When the statute in Massachusetts was first enacted it was more or less experimental, and it was hardly expected to supply a complete and adequate system for its suppression, and now, after six years of its enforcement, while there is no question but what this law has a permanent place in our legislation, and its wholesome effects are manifest and have justified its enactment, yet it is apparent that all the desired reforms have not been accomplished. Also, in view of the judicial interpretation which some provisions of this law have received and the defects disclosed by the efforts made for its enforcement, its revision and amendment appear to be necessary, to the end, that it may more effectually reach the evils intended to be corrected. As some of these defects exist in the laws of states other than Massachusetts a brief reference to them may be important to the inspectors who are called upon to enforce them. A portion of the Massachusetts statute reads: "Whenever any house, room or place used as a dwelling, is also used for the purpose of carrying on any process of making, altering, repairing or finishing (for sale) any ready made coats, vests, trousers, overcoats or any wearing apparel of any description whatsoever (intended for sale), in shall within the meaning of this act be deemed a workshop." The words, for sale and intended for sale, both used in this section are the main point at issue. While not a probable nor plausible contention, still it could be claimed that the goods were made up to be given away or otherwise disposed of without bartering, and it would be a most difficult thing for an inspector to prove any intention upon the part of the maker or merchant for whom they were made of selling them. However ridiculous this must seem, it has been used against the government, by counsel for the defense who refused to submit evidence of any kind involving the introduction of testimony, except to stand upon this point as a question of common law. His point was sustained by the court, who finished his remarks by stating that should the government prove its case beyond preadventure the law leaves us in doubt, as we have no means of knowing that the goods are intended for sale. I believe with the exception of Pennsylvania you will find those words in one form or another, in the statutes of the other states. A better remedy for this defect cannot be supplied than that of Chief Wade's, embodied in his annual report as follows; In what is known as the liquor law, in the earliest prosecutions there were considerable successful evasions of the statute as respected sales of liquor. Unless money was actually seen to be passed upon the delivery of liquor, and all evidence of a complete sale and delivery was presented at the trial, the defense that the transaction was not a sale of liquor within the meaning of the law, but that it was quite as probable that it was a gift, prevailed in many cases. The law was rapidly being brought into disrepute, and the ends of justice defeated.

(Photo archives remarked K.)

C 19212

L 71

After considerable experience of that sort in our courts the legislature amended the law so that delivery of the liquor in such cases was "prima facie" evidence of a sale, and that placed the burden of proof where it belonged. The defendant may show, if he can, that the delivery of the liquor was a gift, and the prosecution is therefore no longer required to prove that it was a sale; except, of course, that it may offer testimony tending to show a sale, in rebuttal of that given by the defense. Now, why should the prosecution in these so-called tenement-house-clothing cases be required to prove that the garments in question are "intended for sale"? Why should it not be "prima facie" evidence of such, if these articles of wearing apparel so found are proven to be the property of the individual, firm or contractor delivering them to the occupants of the inspected places? What violation of private rights would there be, what hardships imposed upon any party, if the words "intended for sale" were stricken from the law?

Another feature of this section is the word "ready made." While it no doubt may be properly used as a trade expression, as a distinction from "custom made," it is very faulty in its literary construction, as ready made clothing cannot be made, and the use of the word will not hold in law.

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Another part of this section reads: "And every person so occupying or having control of any such workshop shall, within fourteen days from the time of beginning work in such workshop, notify the chief of the district police, or the special inspector appointed for that purpose, of the location of such workshop, the nature of the work carried on, and the number of persons therein employed. Now to prove a violation of this part of the section it must be clearly shown that work has been performed there for fourteen consecutive days. If a party controlling such a workshop should work ten days, for instance, and discontinue for one day, and then recommence work, he could not be convicted of a violation of the statute, and might, under that method, continue for an indefinite time without sending any notice

. It also apparently allows the continuance of such a tenement house workshop (which was never the intent of the law), provided that all goods made therein are tagged tenement made. While the necessity of tagging the goods has been sufficient to abolish such workshops where the goods of any large or honorable clothing firm was being made, it might not deter many of the smaller and unscrupulous ones, who cater to a class of trade that cares not how or where the clothing is made, provided it is only sold cheap enough. This part of the law could be entirely dispensed with, without any friction to any but the tenement house sweater. No doubt the intention of the legislature and the friends of the law in framing it, was to abolish all tenement house work except that done by private families, and therefor it would be more explicit if instead of saying,

"Whenever any house, room or place used as a dwelling is also used for the purpose of making," etc., it said positively "That no house, room or place used as a dwelling," etc., shall be used to make clothing except by private families or members thereof.

In pointing out these defects in the Massachusetts law, do not for a moment think that it is inferior to the laws of other states. With all the faults that it may contain it stands superior to all in this one respect. It effectually deals with the most dangerous, degrading and menacing evil of the sweating system, while as yet no other state law does, viz.: private families making wearing apparel in their homes without any restriction. The danger to the public from this source is tenfold as compared to the danger from workshops. It will not be necessary for me to repeat the frightful and disgusting details, so oft exposed at these conventions and spread over the country by the press, pulpit and organizations of labor directly affected, where mothers, living in apartments not fit to house animals, keep vigil at the sick bed of their beloved child or children, suffering with diphtheria, scarlet fever or other contagious and infectious diseases, meanwhile stitching away on clothing to be worn by the public, in order that the miserable pittance that they receive for their labor may partly supply nourishment and medicine so necessary to them, and all the time perfectly ignorant of the fact that they are endangering the lives and health of others. Through the license section of the law, while we do not claim perfection and entire protection against this evil, (for any law can be violated) yet we do claim that we have reduced this danger to a minimum. You inspectors of the various states whose duties pertain to this question must realize and experience this great deficiency in your law, and while it may be said that the inspector is appointed not to make laws, but only to enforce them, yet it must be conceded that he, by the very nature of his business, can best discover the weakness of the law. Therefore, any recommendations that he submits should at least be carefully considered, and when any law proves ineffective, not because of any lack of disposition or attempt to enforce it, but simply because the law itself, as interpreted by the courts, do not reach the difficulty, then if its insufficiencies can be remedied by further legislation it should be done.

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C 19215

legis in Mass.
effected. - & driving smaller
to other states.

Sept 97. Asst Secy Labour v. Can. Soc. Rep. 675-

Sweating in N. York

No tag enables us to mark a great and increasing difficulties of our department in this state after Mass. adopted a similar method

It was so effective in Massachusetts that the big Boston sweaters immediately changed the base of their operations to the state of New York, and our department found an enormous business taking root in our state, so as to defeat the improvement of the law in Massachusetts. Nothing could illustrate better how necessary it is to have close communication between the factory departments of the various states.

C 19216

Legis in Mass effected.

March 02.

Hof R. # 63

Mr Coffinell. (Presdt of the Journeymen Tailors Union —) ... Since the State Legislature (& Senate) on the matter in Mass. it has almost entirely ceased to exist in Boston

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legis effect of the Mass. act of unfortunately very little legis re country

Sffb'04 Mrs Kelly on Act & the Coor Fac Mfg p 21

Throughout the history of legis on behalf of the wage earning class, a favorite argt used by employers against each successive proposed measure has been that unless the law can be made to affect all employers at once, it must work a hardship & shd not be enacted till it can be made universal. (In Eng this was the outcry when 10 hr bill became law. Jd Eng leads. - So too in Mass & Ills

This argt was most vehemently urged when Mass. reduced the working week for women & minors to 60 hrs & limited the working age of kids It was predicted that cotton mfg suffers in U. S. & Canada, not subject to such restrict, and shortly bankrupt the laws abiding employers of Mass. But we all know how utterly real economic diffs the measure made. Machinery was speeded somewhat higher, employees came fresher to their work, former matched closer & no less time wasted - the end of it was the employees had more leisure & the employers as large a product as before.

There was one unlooked for result: people who wanted to have their children go to work early & who were ready to sacrifice the blessing of leisure for themselves, gravitated to those states in wh there were restrictns; and as there are not a desirable sort of people the home bred to see born & Rhode Is. in self defence follows closely after Mass. (first outlaws K.)

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Legislation in Mass

Sept 93. Griffin to Sec. of Com. Fac. Mass 4104.

C 19219

The law in Mass, is not a law on the sweating system, but a law on some of the evils of this system. viz.

1. filthy & diseased breeding tenement house workshops
2. excessive hours of labor of women & minors
3. the employment of children
4. the spreading of infectious & contagious diseases among the public from clothing made in these workshops

C 19220

Legislation in Mass effect of

Sept 93. Griffin to Sec. of Com. Fac. Mass 4110.

The present law in mass has abolished all tenement house workshops wherein others employed than family. The only tenement-house employment that remains in the state is confined to private families engaged principally in the finishing of trousers & in 95 out of every 100 of these families the work is done by one member of the family. Generally the wife & mother (??? 4) The hours are regulated by & because when they have to procure to obtain work

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C 19221

Legst in Mss.

Sept 93. Griffen in Act: 7 Geo. Tac Tec 2 fol 10.

The law of 1892 has been amended by placing a fine of not less than 50 nor more than $100 upon any person, contractor firm or corporation giving out work of any description whatsoever, intended for sale, to be made, in whole or in part, by any private family or member thereof dwelling in any tenement unless they hold a license.

Reports to this amendment, the fine was enforced on the poor person doing the work & this was taken advan of by some unscrupulous contractors who sub-send work to unlicensed places & let the poor, ignorant victim run the risk of being prosecuted.

The amendment by placing the responsibility on the proper parties & its rigid enforcement, has completely stopped this leakage in the law & has made the license more effective. It has done more it has

C 19222

weeded out the dirty & filthy places where clothing was finished, with more almost as numerous as the clean ones & thus lessened the supply of finishers. This has indirectly advanced the prices for this class of work. Before the license was enacted it was an every day occurrence to find women receiving only 4 & 5 cts a pair for finishing trousers while now the lowest prices are said to be 8 to 10 cts a pair. The contractors when busy ~~were~~ have been pushed for licensed finishers & were obliged to bid higher for their labor in order to secure them - but these prices are disgraceful when you consider it takes 2 to 3 hours to finish a pair of trousers

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C 19223

legislation re hours
Letter inspection
effect of

Sept 97. ans'd by Mr Greffin 6th Ann Gov. Factory Rep. p 89

§ Sec 1. of act July 1. 91 — the employment of any person other than members of the same family in a dwelling, constituted such dwelling a workshop &c.: all the acts relating to the ~~same~~ inspection of workshops & factories cld be brought to bear upon these.

Among these acts were 2 of considerable value (1) demanding separate closets for sexes
(2) ten hours law

In nearly every case these law have contained only one water closet, on refusing the owners or landlord to supply another he almost invariably refused to do so, but instead notified the occupant to vacate the premises, who was thus debarred towards the abolition of the workshop — The employer was compelled to post time tables wh allowed the women & minors to work only 10 hrs a day. Where formerly they had worked often 14 & 15 hrs.

C 19224

legislation re hours

re tag effect (1.91).

Sept 97 Ans'd by Greffin 6th A.G.F.R. p 88

The most powerful lever wh tended towards abolition of ~~the~~ s.s. was sec 4 of law of 91 "Whosoever, knowingly or wilfully &c. - made in ten hour shop or workshop as in sec 1. shall affix to garment a tag or label not less than 2 inches in length & in width on wh shall be legibly written the name of the State & the city or town where such garment or garments were made." — The press & public legislation had aroused in that a merchant to attempt to sell any goods bearing such a tag meant a loss on price of goods & loss of patronage: The only recourse left was to withdraw his garments from these unhealthy ten hour workrooms & refuse to send any more, wh I am pleased to state they did without any exception (did they send to New York? K.F.), where them about the sweater, with a notice to move from his landlord (no privy) & further work

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C 19225

refused (merchants he was compelled to retire from business or secure a clean healthy workshop (Griffin and Lamb as helpers the law had imposed out S. in Mass in 1911)) The value of the tag did not stop here, however, Habbled with equal force to all goods which were discovered being sold in N.Y. tenth houses, for it made no difference where made the tag it was absolutely necessary to tag them when they were shelved into this state exposed for sale. Here again the merchant followed out the same rule with the Union Contractor. as with the Boston mfr refuse them any more work (????)

The beneficial effect this had in keeping some of the work in Boston which was previously done in New York, was such that the leading refreem of 2 organizers of clothing workers have stated that their trade flourished better since the adoption of this law than for any 7 previous years.

C 19226

In 90

While the spirit of the law July 91. the tag was intended to convey the idea that all goods on which it was placed were made in tenth houses still the wording of it made it only necessary to have the name of the city or town & State printed on it, which did signify but little to the buying public. (note how these words agree with amending effect stated by Griffin K)
- law was amended in 92 to have the words "Tenement made" plainly printed on the tag so public could not be misled.

- You will agree with me. that the law & amendment is now in 91 is fully competent to deal efficiently with a large no. at least of the evils with characterize the S. Sy. & which it was intended to embrace. Also that there is no room in here for the existence of the tenth house workshop.

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C 19227

Legst. in Mass.

Law at first June 91 applied only to ready made coats, vests, trowsers, & overcoats only. — Law was amended 92 to cover wearing apparel of every descriptn whatsoever.

C 19228

Legst. in Mass. re licensing

Sessl 92. 4th & 5th Griffin 6th Amendt. Act 1892

It was found that the sweating & overcrowding of people who worked in their homes without strangers. - condetn might be bad etc — Chief Insp. Wheeler advocated the licensing of these places & on the 11 June 92 the law was amended so as to compel them to procure a license under a penalty if they did not. — Condetns of license are

1. absolute cleanliness
2. not to make goods in sleeping apartments
3. notice in case of removal or infectious disease
4. no persons other than members of family to be employed.

So this compels them to keep clean, or they lose their license & consequently their work. Also furnishes a complete record of them.

The license has made a substantl improvement, not only in their condetn both in their homes, thro' owners & landlords being obliged

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C 19229

~~t~~ to renovate these bldgs. The Inspector sees landlord as to necessary cleaning repairs etc, & told him tenants required them to get licence or they would report. As the majority of these people are dependent on their work for a living self interest taught the landlord that if their work was stopped, he would most likely lose, not only part of rent due, but rent while place vacant - some cases landlords would not comply etc

C 19230

Sept 97. - Griffin 6th Ann. Conv. Trades Labour Congress

Legislation in Mass.

Law passed July 1. 1891

Amended 1894 (1) existence & occupation of filthy houses etc

(2) menace to public health of these conditions

(3) the importation into State of clothing or articles made in whole or part under unhealthy conditions

1890.

Other units in the U.S. against which no law exists i.e. Low wages & the task system (what about other laws)

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C 19231

Legis. in Mass. cases?

Subject Mr. Justice McKay. 6 Ann Cor. Fac Inc 681

a delegate from other of these named places in N.Y. where clothes were being made for Boston firms – the testimony of that committee together with that of some of the Inspectors from Mass sent to N.Y. for the purpose of investigating for themselves, I think were the means of placing on the Statute books of Mass "an act to prevent the manufacture of certain unhealthy places."

C 19232 Hy White. Bull Labor May 96 p 366

Legis. in Mass

to N.Y. Laws 1893.

in N.Y. there must be fumigated etc

The Massachusetts law is similar in its provisions, but permits goods made in violation of the law to be sold upon the following conditions:

Whoever knowingly sells or exposes for sale any ready-made coats, vests, trousers or overcoats which have been made in a tenement house used as a workshop, as specified in section forty-four of this act, shall have affixed to each of said garments a tag or label not less than two inches in length and one inch in width, upon which shall be legibly printed or written the words "tenement made" and the name of the State and the town or city where said garment or garments were made.

No person shall sell or expose for sale any of said garments without a tag or label as aforesaid affixed thereto, nor sell or expose for sale any of said garments with a false or fraudulent tag or label, nor willfully remove, alter or destroy any such tag or label upon any of said garments when exposed for sale.

Note that act found in Mass in 91

N.Y. Laws: a reenactment.

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C 19233

Child and female labor.

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Child Labor

C 19234

a good paper on — in 8th Rept of 5th Connect of Inbor Asst
Of Fac Inspectors. Cleveland 91 — by Fanny B Ames of
Mass. — effects of etc, read. p. 16 – 22

7th Conn. p. 45 & 53 Mass Statements etc. on Child Labor.

Good synopsis of Laws on 8th Connect. p 334
p 9-18, 93-96 — Paper by Mrs Stevens etc. 10th Ann Conn
(re p 24 11th Conn
Jas McCrosky.

female labor.

C 19235

Mass Maine 1st Rept. 1870.

In regular course of Inspn 1890 found in 30 workshops in East Boston
Churches, mostly in dwelling houses. about 350 persons employed
nearly all women. Mass.
5th Rept of Inspectors Bardwell to Chief made Jan 91.

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~~Sweated~~ etc
~~Sweated~~ labor
Female Labor.

Hull House Jnl. Soc Sc Oct 9 2 C 19236
p. 74 & 75

Hull House Oct 9 92

In 7 mos, Hull House visited 153 families in each of wh women earned whole or part of income in rooms occupied as family living rooms.

77 women suffer clothing } both trades work being done in living rooms.
76 laundresses }

Among the 77 women suffering in not one instance was the work interrupted because of the illness in the family 17 deaths suspended the work temporarily

Social condition of
17 widows —
3 deserted by husbands
1 single
56 married — of wh 9 support the entire family including husbands of
whom 4 are habitual drunkards
1 ill
4 lazy will not work

10 women assist growing children in support of family
14 " work at same trade as their husbands or from sickness

Of 33 husbands who do not work at home, 1 a painter
2 laborers
remainder laborers, peddlers, boot blacks & other work'd labor.

Child Labor
Note too Social influence of family

Hull House Jnl Soc Sc p. 73 Oct 9 2
C 19237

Here child labor includes all children in the family from 3 to 14 — their hrs of labor limited only by their mothers, by the amt of work on hand & their physical strength — children who have no childhood. — whom law makes no effort to protect.

Illus. East Side tenements N.Y.

Mothers assures one that the baby of 3 yrs washes the whole after-noon unless it is being cared. p. 76.

(Note strong objection here to allowing home work at all)

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C 19238

Child Labour — note two social inquiries

Jean in Mtl.

Mr Hamil. Jol. Soc. Sc. 1.78. Oct 92

Whenever children are members of families manufacturing, they invariably assist either directly or indirectly. Indirectly they also often have almost the entire care of the younger children or carry the heavy bundles of clothing to & from the factory.

In 77 families we found 4 children between 14 & 16 assisting their mothers at home
31 " " 10 & 14
23 " " 3 & 10 (one 3 years of age)

(24 children 14 & 18 worked in factories during the day. — they earned total wages of $0.50
2 earn 1/2 income of family
6 " 1/3
1 " 2/3
9 " 1/4

Re children at home, mothers are all very positive that the assistance of the little ones is a decided financial help. 10 children the mothers knew added $19.50 to the family funds.
1 earns 1/2 of the income
2 " 2/3
3 children in one family earn 2/3
1 child earns 1/2
3 " an earn 1/4

C 19239

One case under - 3 kids 6, 8, 12 yrs.
Mother makes babies layette dresses complete
" " button holes & fine work
12 yr girl runs sewing machine, substituting the seams & stitching — been working for her mother 6 yrs.
8 " " cuts embroidery, does some basting & sews buttons — working for her mother 4 years.
6 " " half idiot, picks out lint & needles.

children between 8 & 10 usually sew on buttons, fell long seams & do coarse sewing all day most of the day & into the night. — when nature will bear no more the child is brought to the dispensary for medicine, & mothers amazed to learn that he only need more fresh air, less work, less tea & coffee. & more sleep. & actually tell us they cannot spare the child's labor, & must have medicine.

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female labor
child labor.
see also nationality.

U of T. R of V11.

C 19240

In contractors shops - women labor is neither exceptionally prevalent nor poorly compensated & child labor is little used - probably not more than in the same localities & in other callings & need be used without question.

In tenement house sweat shops - the proportn of female labor seems to be much larger proportn than in the first contractors shops & child labor is generally used.

In tenement home workers - the women are more numerous than men & the children are as numerous as either.

C 19241

Child labor

Sept 93. Mass Statistics. Art 7 in Econ. Fact Imp. of Man

The census of 1880. Gives No. of wage earning children 1.118,258 = 1 child in every 16, probably in 1893 not less than 2 mills. children under 16 yrs of age in workshops & factories

& dangers:
death, mutilation, permanent ill health, & vitiated morals

In the clothing trs. girls are contracting diseases from running machines by foot power - diseases that mean a life long martyrdom & the loss of the crown of woman's life, the power to bear healthy children.

~~The key of the child labor question~~

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CANADA

C 19242

Social and moral effects.

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CANADA

Social influences
influence of tenements

C 19243

- Unclean workrooms in Tenement Houses" paper on
by Isaac S Mullin of Mass in 5th Comment - Factory Inspectors
p 42.

Social influences
factory work influences of

C 19244

a good paper on effects of factory work on the life of women
& children. by Mary E. Hally of Mass. in Proceedings of
5th Ann Comment of ~~Factor~~ Interst Factory Inspectors.
Cleveland 91 p. 26+

Note this side has to be considered in advocating factory as against
home work. & in development of system

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Special influences

C 19245

Good statement of bad effects of over work etc p 44./6th Rpt
Comments. Fac Inspec - 92

Re Tenement House work:
Social influence

Mrs Hamil. Jnl. Soc Sc Oct 92
p. 84. C 19247

How far tenement-house work (as distinguished from tenement home life) as now carried on is deteriorating the race of people engaged in it.?

— Mrs Hamil says from isolated cases she knows would say that the life in tenement houses if + manufacturing in tenement rooms, if continued, will eventually bring forth ignorant brutal unhealthy men & women: this must be when a woman, in addition to the duties of wife & mother, is forced to join with the husband as bread winner

(Note while it may be impossible to remedy this. Yet it is a result of the system) The children beginning as young as 3 yrs, either assist directly in toiling or have the care of the household during a period when they should be in school & at exercise in the open air, so necessary as to the proper development of mind & body.

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C 19245

Special influences

Good statement of bad effects of over work etc p 44./6th Am

Comment re Fac Inspec - 92

C 19246

Social influences
re Factory Labor
effect of re women Operatives

paper by Mary E Halley of Mass. p. 22+ Abroceeder

6th Comment re Fac Insp. Hartford 92.

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Re Tenement House work:
Social influence

Mrs Daniels. Jnl. Soc Sc Oct 92
p. 84.

C 19247

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(note what it may be impossible to remedy this. Yet it is a result of the system) The children begining as young as 7 yrs, either assist directly in toiling or have the care of the household during a period when they should be in school, or at exercise in the open air, so necessary to the proper development of mind & body.

Re Tenement House work:

C 19248

Mrs Daniels

Are the children becoming stunted, thus showing the effects of overwork of the parents?

Under 3 years of age, the children present marked symptoms of the disease called "rachitis" due to mal-nutrition, from underfeeding and bad sanitary surroundings

From 3 to 14 or 16 children are bright
" 16 yrs & over their occupation are those of unskilled labor.
(note need of manual training)

Children are denied the right to an educat (K.)
for their parents compel them to work as soon as they are able to speak

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C 19249

Social influences

It is self-evident that the prosperity of a community depends upon the increased productive and consumptive power of the people, and that the impoverishment of a particular class of toilers is a disease of the body politic which must be cured by such remedies as are available.

C 19250

S.S.
social results

long hrs of confinement
health injured
intellect & educative ferment lost
no recreation

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CANADA

C 19251

SS. Social effects

Sept 92. Insp. McKay — 6 cts Amm Coow. Tac Inst
to 62.

an evil hardly less terrible — the moral blight wh falls upon the men & women, boys & girls, who work side by side the late long hour & nearly naked in summer.

C 19252

Legislation Moral conditions

Sept 97. Insp. Mulvey 4 cts Coow. Tac Inst to 75

New York

By recent provisions in the law, dressmaking and places for making all kinds of female apparel, have been brought under the regulation of our department. The close connection of sham "dressmaking" establishments with the vice of prostitution among the dwellings of the poor, the last and worst feature of that social evil—will be at once clearly seen. The importance of this new power cannot be over-estimated. The law was constantly violated in the most disgraceful and flagrant manner, one instance coming to our notice where 105 human beings were huddled together in a space which, according to the factory law, no more than forty people could be employed therein, while the sanitary conditions were far below the standard of the average sweatshop. But now, even the private homes are constantly inspected, for it is the "home work" which furnishes the best opportunity to evade the law and the inspector. But a most striking

improvement, both from a moral as well as a sanitary point of view can be reported in this respect.

p. 76

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C 19253

Clothing Industry

Distribution of —

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Clothing Industry
Miscellaneous Offs
re sweating.

C 19254

1
92

The sweating system in the Mfgr of clothing has obtained some foothold in the leading Mfgrs of our state (Missouri), but not to such an extent as to invite the wretchedness & squalor of similar establishments in the East - but owing to the fact that such shops are usually conducted in the apartments of a family, the proprietors enjoy an immunity from inspection upon the plea that his shop is his residence & cannot be entered. - Much the larger part of the clothing Mfgrd outside the regular clothing factories is done by individuals who convey the work to their own apartments & work alone. The prices pd while small are greater than those in the east

Papers on Factory Inspection in Missouri by Mr Jas Hugh McAnerney Chief
6 92 6th Ann Report - Fac Inspec Dept 92

Clothing Industry
Miscellaneous Offs.

MG 26 K K 6 23 2 C 19255

1892

(From Statement of Mfgrs re 1909)

Many large Mfgrs & wholesale dealers in the eastern cities N.Y. Bos Pa & Baltimore, have extensive trade relations with dealers in the west & South. They also have active competitors in the wholesale trade in Mfgrs in all the large cities of the W. - Chic, St Louis, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Omaha & other large western cities, & naturally & decidedly is known to exist as a most important factor in the handling of the wholesale trade of these sections. - Large amts of Eastern capital are invested in western enterprises of this kind, and at the same time an intense rivalry between diff[t] wholesale centres of the W. & E. whereby to some extent local prejudices are fostered in favor of encouraging the Mfgr. & distribution of goods Mfgrd in western centres in competition with Eastern. — A certain unfounded prejudice exists in many western distributing centres (more) in re. merchandise of every description Mfgrd in the East .... a wholesale merchant of Chicago or Cincinnati, may have

This is all indirect evidence of clothing Mfgrs in East

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C 19256

for years found it to his advantage to have some portions of his work stuffed in Boston, N.Y. or Philadel ----- we are prepared to furnish evidence that contracts are frequently made with Eastern stuffers, in both N.Y. & Boston & probably with those of other Eastern cities, for large quantities of the highest grade of clothing, (made under the best possible conditions, to be sold in Western trade centres, with the distinct understanding that no trade labels, marks, or stamps, are to be attached to any of this merchandise to show that it was not stuffed in western markets where it is sold.

In analagous case, we are prepared to furnish evidence showing that thousands of cases of boots & shoes are stuffed in New Eng & N.Y. & distributed through the wholesale houses of Chic. Cinc. St Louis & other western cities

The boot & shoe industry furnishes an interesting & almost exact parallel through out in its history organization, distribution & factory system etc etc

C 19257

Distribution of clothing workers in South Boston

Ways House No 149 Ward 15
1891

In South Boston was unable to find any tenements where person except family were making clothes — one tenement 2 women were making overalls. — In other tenements there had been women making ~~in~~ or coarse shirts. In my opinion, the making of clothing is not carried on to any great extent in South Boston

Dept of State Mss. Edw. J Brown to Chief made Feb 91

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Distributeurs of clothing

Mass House No 149, p 7.
1891 **C 19258**

One Boston firm were having goods stuffed in Williamsburg N.Y. — 1891

From reliable information it was ascertained that goods were made & shipped to Boston from tenement houses in Boston.

to one firm Feby 1890. Jan 91 — 37 cases shipped, average no of suits to case 250 = 9.250 suits
Jan " Dec 90 — 59 " " " " " " = 250 = 14.750 "
April " Jan 91 — 62 " " " " " " = 250 = 15.500 "
May " Jan 91 — 95 " " " " " " = 250 = 23.750 "
July " Jan 91 — 23 " " " " " " = 250 = 5.750 "
July " Jan 91 — 6 " " " " " " = 250 = 1.500 "
(From one expressman)

total 6 firms Feby 1890 to Jan 21, 91 — 282 cases = 70.500 suits

this no. being made in tenement house workshops, & covering a period of 11 months. — This statement was obtained from record

From same source it was ascertained that 276 cases was about the average shipped to Boston in 1888 & 1889 — this and make no. of cases shipped for 3 years 828 & suits 207.000

There are at least 6 expressmen who handle goods for Boston firms & part from whom above information obtained handles about 1/3 — this fair to presume that the other 2/3 or about 550 cases, are handled by the 5 other expressmen during a period of 11 mos.

Report of Mass Factory Inspectors to Chief Wade Jan. 1891. (see page 1 in condition on reg.

C 19259

re Statement of no of suits of clothes in a case — this refers in part to childrens' suits of 2 pieces, coat & (or pants) pants, of which there were about 200 cases.

Also note the no. of pairs of mens pants to a case average 250, mens each coats the same, of which there were about 62 cases of both

no 149 p 15

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Blocking
Re distribution
Canvassers

Mass Hansard No 149. p 44

C 19260

I am convinced that of the clothing sent over to New York for repair - that the bulk of it is made in tenement houses; but whether vermin has been found in any of the clothing after it reached Boston, or whether any case of sickness has resulted from wearing it, I have been unable to ascertain

I learned that from trans portation agents that freight in large quantities comes over their lines for the Boston clothing dealers

Encl of Inspector Bardwell to Chief Wade Jan 21st

Clothing
Distribution
in New York tenements

3.

Mass. Hansard No 149 p 10

C 19261

The most direct & important information

A Pole engaged in custom tailoring in his own shop gave information to the Inspector

He had been working in a shop in Boston & was discharged on the report of clothing for Boston firms until the agents for the New York tenement-house class of work - required help to work 14 & 16 hrs day. - came on & underbid him & other reputable employers. until they were practically driven out of that line of business. It is his belief that 3/4 of the clothing dealt in by Boston firms is sent here & sent on to the New York middlemen who are mostly Polish Jews.

They have shops in which button holing is done & where goods are given out to tenement house operatives & afterwards inspected pressed & packed for reshipment to Boston. He says there is not much work done in the shops of Boston wholesalers except to piece up orders & remnant clothing that comes from N.Y. —

Encl of Inspector H. J. Bardwell to Chief Wade Jan 21

— only a small % is done by Boston firms & with N.Y.

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Mass. House Rep. 149.69
1891

C 19262

Mass tribunal re clothing in Mass -

One of the oldest large dealers in the business stated that he was one of the first to establish workshops in wh. to suffer his clothing, others followed, until all of the large dealers had their own shops; but today only a small part of the clothing sold in Boston is made here. He charges that the workmen themselves thro' their strikes & discontent are largely responsible for the shops being comparatively idle. He did not believe that the best dealers sold clothing made in tenement houses.

The confidential clerk of perhaps the largest concern in Boston assured me that but a small part of their goods were made in N.Y. & that in shops. That all of their nice work was done in Boston: admitted the fact of tenement house clothing but thought the gr. part of it was worn in N.Y. & insisted that to suffer it be prohibited by law. This gentleman, as well as others questioned believed that relatively there was as much tenement-house work done in Boston as in New York. & under nearly as unwholesome conditions

A partner in another large house stated that they send a great deal of clothing to Manufacturers in New Hampshire where it is distributed among the farmers to be made up. They also buy largely in N.Y. & are compelled by competition to buy where they can

C 19263

2. Mass House Rep. 149.69

get goods the cheapest, but do not believe that they receive any infected goods (note this is Miss Dodd's sister-in-law of Story K.)

The head cutter of another establishment said that they send most of their nice clothing to New York to be made up, because they get better workmanship at the same prices than they could pay in Boston, & it is done in clean & well ventilated shops (contrast with above ↗ K) I think (adds the informant) that the gr. part of their goods are made outside of Boston & I have known them to sell some very low priced clothing.

I visited a few retail stores on Hanover St. & in one obtained an acknowledgment that tenement house made goods were sold in his store, tho said he purchased them thro' the regular channels & knew of no way of buying direct from tenement houses. Showed me fair looking boys suits 2.50 & men 4.50 This dealer thinks 1/2 his sales are from the better sort of goods made in Boston Never found vermin on any clothing from N.Y.

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Clothing Manufacturers of Montreal & Toronto Industry

C. 19264

1912 Rept of Dr. Wadlin

Not all the work done under the contract system is done in tenement houses. The part done in tenements in Boston is principally confined to the finishing process. So far as relates to men's clothing. Some low grade work also some children's clothing is entirely made up in families. In New York however the practice prevails of making the entire garment into in families afterwards. For this reason it is alleged that a considerable portion of the work done in that city for the Boston market is the product of tenement house labor. The kind of work sent to N.Y. appears to be increasing, while that now sent there, and under conditions formerly prevailing, have been done in Boston. i.e. the work sent to N.Y. in recent years has been almost entirely withdrawn from Boston contractors, that sent to Maine, New Hampshire being principally a different class and portion affected by New York competition. This statement repeated in Jol. Soc. Sc. Oct 92

C 19265

Clothing Manufacturers Q.

1892 Rept of Dr. Wadlin

See table p 229 Hol R R. '92 showing proportion of the product made under the contract system in ~~Boston~~ Boston & elsewhere

It appears that of the total product affected by contract work aggregating in 16.033.853 in value (=89.97% of total product of 43 estabs in Boston which product of 18.020.952 which latter is 78% of total output of Boston)

47.88%	= product value of	7.676.815	was made by contract in City of Boston
16.72%	-----	2.681.289	" " " - - - - - of New York
26.94%	———	4.319.626	" " " " State of Maine
4.96%	---	794.540	- - — — — New Hampshire
3.49%	---	559.333	— ——— other parts of Mass.
0.01	— — — —	2.250	- — — — State of New Jersey.

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clothing
Sweatshops
outfit in Boston.

The Sweating system in Massachusetts. C 19266

H. G. Wadlin (Journal of Soc. Sc. No XXX. Oct, 1892)
p. 86 – 102

~~In Massachusetts principally confined to the clothing trade of Boston.~~
~~where an influx of unskilled foreign labor has in recent years (1892) been congregated~~
~~in the tenement house districts.~~

Aggregate outfit of the clothing industry in Boston approximates $25,000,000 annually
of this at least 90% is produced either wholly or in part under the contract system
which affords a basis for "sweating system" In gent clothing trimming are done
directly by the manufacturers – only the finishing "being done under contract.
Each of total product affected by contract work about 48% (nearly ½) is made by
contract work in the city of Boston; 16.72% (⅙) in the city of New York; 26.99% (over ¼)
in state of Maine; 4.96% in New Hampshire; 3.49% in State of Massachusetts outside of Boston
and small amt in state of New Jersey.

clothing
Sweatshops
outfit in Boston

Hof L R p. 227 C 19267
1892 Repl of H. G. Wadlin

The aggreg annual product of the clothing industry in city of Boston
as shown by the decennial census of 1885 (look at census for growth ?) amount
to $23.073.273 — 43 establishments have an annual aggreg
product = $18. 020.950 = 78% of annual product of Boston
Hof L R. p. 227

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Clothing Industry
Sterbenz Bill Q.

H of R Rb. IV. C 19268

Generally speaking in each of the important centres where clothing suffer is carried on 3/4 or more of the goods made there are manufactured for sale outside of the State, & in those where it condition are most serious the % of the whole suffer disposed of in other States is still higher

Quarterly Can. of Manufactures. Dec. Han.

Clothing Industry
Sterbenz Bill, Q

H of R Rb IV
C 19269

The Suffer = marketing of clothing involves most complex questions of interstate commerce, the most marked feature of wh is the extent to wh goods nominally "manufactured" in other parts of the city were really made at in New York, Phil. or Baltimore, notably at Bkln, & special lines are distributed in the usual distribution of each of the eastern & middle & many of the other states.

(note industry literally covers the land. K)

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C 19270

Clothing Trades Resolutions 9.

Hon Rt Mr Lapointe

Note that the goods made up at the city of the wholesale "Mfgrs" are in larger proportn of the better & medium, as compared with the medium & poorer grades; that the better grades are in general wholly or partly made in the larger shops, while the poorer grades & the finishing of the better ones are more generally made in the smaller shops or tenement home work — to which last is largely done the finishing of all grades of ~~made~~ goods, esp: children's wear; also that it is generally speaking, the poorer & cheaper grades of goods that, after being cut in the city, are most largely exported to be made up in other cities or in the country; and that in the country districts but a very small proportn — probably much less than 5% of the total trade is manufactured (vide Montreal, &c. &c.) While as to this last branch, from the best information & committee believes that it is carried on under generally healthy, than varied conditions

Clothing Trades Resolutions 9

Hon Rt Mr Lapointe

C 19271

By the class known as "tenement home workers" — (as distinct from shop & factory) is probably made nearly 1/4 of our ready made clothing & a larger proportn of the branch known as "children's clothes. — In custom work too, part done at home by comparatively few operatives

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Hopkins 871

C 19272

Clothing Ins' resolutions of

Freely 75% of the goods suffrd in Boston are intended for sale & sold outside of Mass. Whitehouse to New York City, the most competent critics agree that from 85 to 90% of all ready-made goods manufactured there are suffrd for sale outside N.Y. state It is also agreed on every hand that a consid. proportn of the goods made in N.Y. city are made from materials cut & prepared elsewhere & shipped into the city for making. There is no distinctn. in quality or class of product between that sold in the state of suffrs & that disposed of outside

C 19273

Clothing resolutions of

Sept 97. Insp McKay. 6 Allen Cons. Tac Mfrs- 601.

In a few of the places visited by me recently I was surprised to find that clothes were made in them for 5th Ave. firms, presumably for the wear of our best society".

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C 19274

Clothing distributed No 07

92. 6 Hon Gov. Fac Jos.

Clothing was being made for Boston tailors in small lots
in July. in Sept 92. Jos L. MacKay. 481.

C 19275

Clothing to
distributed of
clothing

Sept 93. Griffin in Act. 7 Gov. Fac Jos/ 110.

The present law in Mass has abolished all tenement sweating shops where
more than 4 family — only tenement employment wh remains in state
is confined to private families engaged principally in the finishing of
trousers & vests 95 out of every 100 of these families the work is done by only
one member of family generally wife. (???)

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C 19276

Clothing Ind.
Sweatshops &
Labour & Sweating

Sept 44. Mrs Francey re Act & Comm Con Tac Nat L 107

In State of New York, 80% of all the clothing in the city is robbed & handled by jobbers. Since the passage of our anti-sweating laws the astute promoters & profiteers by the S.S. have sent some of their victims across the North River over to the State of New Jersey, & there the evil goes merrily on as can be testified by the New Jersey Inspectors. More of them have moved into the State of Connecticut, about an hours ride from the city of N.Y. where the business centralizes, & still others have settled in Pennsylvania in small towns & also in the city of Philadelphia, in order to escape the supervision of the New York Inspectors. — A feature of the sweating is the parcelling out of bundles of goods in the farming districts of Maine, Vermont & New Hampshire, and also in the interior of the Old Bay State, to be made up by farmers wives & daughters, sometimes for 'pin money' but always so cheaply that even the inmate of the asylum

C 19277

does in N.Y. city and bleeds them his prime to work at such pitiful prices. These goods are distributed regularly by wagons (Cf. Montreal) who follow certain routes & leave the unsewed materials at the farmers houses, returning at stated intervals to gather up the finished articles & pay for the work done (perhaps in tin pots or other household utensils.

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Clothing Industry
distributors Q.

Sept 96 Miss O'Reilly 9 Ste Cecr. Fac Insp p. 61. C 19278

In Pennsylvania

The result of a close investigation June – Sept 94 revealed the fact that at least 90% of the work (sweating) was being done in Philadelphia where sweating constituted the chief kind of sweatshop. The Russian Jewish element contributed most largest in nos. – a fair % of Italians & scattering of other nationalities, but a few Americans.

The territory is limited to Broad St. on the east, there being but a very few custom workers on the west side.

555 places visited south of Market St: 466

In the northern section are located 93 houses, 50 of the more regular workshops & the other tenement house workrooms

Clothing distributors of Clothing

March 92 Hopkins & Co C 19279

Evid of Mrs Mendelson. Wholesale Clothiers N.Y.

Most of our work is done N.Y.C. surrounding & Brooklyn & Williamsburg – I scarcely think any of the work is made outside that vicinity

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Clothing 2nd distributer of

March 92. Hof Kk. 613. C 19280

Ender of Hekter & Hochstadter —

our work is xallered thro N. Y. Belg. Long Is. Slaten Is. & its vicinity & farther removed. we have some of it done in Maine. — I should think more than one half is done in the country & suburbs from city (as rubber special lines — summer overcoats, smoking jackets, summer clothing) the larger proportion of that ~~one half~~ also is done in New York city & vicinity as we have no places like Williamsburgh & Brooklyn. — not including Brooklyn in city ~~districts~~ I should say city distributed not including more than 25% of it. Of the Slaten Is has most. Some done in Maine no work is done at Boston. Syracuse or Rochester so far as I know

Clothing 2nd distributer of work

March 92. Hof Kk. 611. C 19281

Ender of L. M. Hornthal. N.Y.

Most of our work is actually done in N.Y. State. in N.Y. the suburbs Long Is. — the country districts & Hempstead. Only a small proportion is done in the country districts as distinguished from the city (note & cf note for Montreal re demolo part K). In the city districts it might be $1/100,000 worth a year — New Jersey and be larger we suffer very largely at Newark & the other large cities. a very small amt is done in the country districts of New Jersey not $50.000 worth. — we have had some work done up as far as Maine, in comparatively small quantities The amt done in the city districts I should say is about the same & not increasing.

p 12 .... The lowest grades of clothing I think are made in Baltimore I think that Baltimore undersells N.Y. in the matter of cheap clothing. — I think the lowest priced goods come from Baltimore. Houses in Baltimore have selling houses in N.Y. but more COD large quantity of cheap clothing made & sold in Balt. Ente

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C 19282

A. H. Sonneborn is the largest firm in Baltimore. — The firm of Scheffler & Co of Plainfield N. J. also have an office in N.Y. Snedeker & Boynton, N.Y.: - H. L. Nehemias & Co & Henry Morgenthau, Rosenberg & Co. are in N.Y.

Mrs Hochschilder - His, Other firms in N.Y. — Teichmann, Fisher & Co. Hammerslough, Saks & Co; Baumburg, Braus, Sauer & Co; Wm & Brown & Co. Rogers, Peet & Co. & Abraham Bros.

Other leading Specialists besides Alf Benj & Co. — Bierman, Heidelberg & Co. - Steinhart, Heidelberg & Co.

In Women's Cloaks - Friedlander & Co. Blumenthal Bros & Co. & S Rothschild Bros & Co.

Children's clothing — N.J. Schloss & Co. Koch & Hanchhaus & Otto Lauchter & Simon

Manufacturers only — Present & Co. & Myers & Wallach.

Clothing & Headwear N.Y. March 22. Buyers 22

Mrs Hochschilder -

C 19283

Re principal centres of clothing manufacturing in this country in order of importance — New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Rochester, Cincinatti, Cleveland, and St Louis.

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Clothing Wkrs.
Westchester Co.

March 42. Hoffbkhi22 C 19284

Ind. of Eugene S. Meyenberg

Probably 40% our work is done in N.Y. city, rest is done - in Williamsburg & Brooklyn. probably 40% - & balance in outlying districts in city. - many of in Maine, - manufact in States Ds. - suburban districts of N.Y. - Men cotton goods made in Miami - about same class in States Ds. heavier goods principally made in N.Y. Goods made in N.Y. city principally overcoats made by men with women helpers who live in the city. Goods in Williamsburg are a few coats & pants & vests. in which the larger proportion of the labor are women. & Goods made out in the city are made by women altogether - the heavier work & work wh requires more skill is done in N.Y. - better workers

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C 19285

Clothing Industry.

Method of Manufacture.—

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CANADA

Neilson of Miller

March 9 2 Hon R.R. pp

C 19286

Evid. of Mr. H.S. Mendelson, of Banner Bros. wholesale clothiers 56 & 567 Broadway NY.—

We have the medium & better grades of men's clothing & sell from 1 to 1½ millions & more & upwards of goods a year — directly, no portion of that is manufactured by us. all our manufacturing is done thro' contracts, the contractors are individual dealers, they receive so much for the garments they make for us. They come & take a lot of clothing for which they receive so much per garment. Some of these persons take with a large amt & some small amts, we employed some hundreds of these contractors some do a small amt of work — 6 or 8 coats a week others a large amt a large majority of these contractors' trans. amt to more than 6 or 8 coats the amt contracted for by us with one individ. and not reaching $100,000

C 19287

I do not think it will reach $50,000 — yet I don't know amt. The greater part of the goods we make is made by those who each make for us $5,000 worth of goods a year. I am inclined to think that the bulk of those who deliver more than $10,000 worth of finished goods. I do not think it will apply in case of $25,000 (very few at least. It is made by men who employ other people. we do not consider them contractors. Most of the work is done in N.J. & surroundings & Williamsburg & Brooklyn. — When I state we have no contracts with these people I mean we practically make new contracts each time, & many comes in & we give him 100 or 200 coats. We always make a bargain with him (it is not covered by a single trade agreement) These contractors work for other houses too, This business of the middlemen or contractors is a separate and well known business and the principle is well known to the trade generally

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C 19283

it. the business is a business of itself, & carried on
independently by any particular firm whenever the opportunity
67. offers. In the contracts with these gentlemen who undertake
the work, the question of where the work is to be done is not
gone into. We only know the addresses of these people who
have our work & that is about all. - We presume the work
is done exactly at the places of these addresses. - We have
never raised the quest[n] nor looked into it
P.S. The goods are returned to us finished & ready for sale - we
send them out cut & trimmed. — We dont call these
men contractors, we call them workmen. We know that they
reemploy other people - We know nothing of the conditions
69 of the places in which the work is done
— goods are shrunk & pressed before cut & sent out.

Press Copy. Condition of
employment
Work done
Employment of Contract
work

Meeting in Mass. C 19289
1892 Jan 1-8 & 9c

33 Boston Contracts
The work performed by contractors ~~cost~~ covered all grades of mens & boys'
clothing.

Reference H of R & L p 230

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bondieg
suffr.
Contract system

Headlam Jo & Soc Sc p 9 #
1892 Hoffkdsp. 234

C 19290

The Contract system is of advantage to the wholesaler in that it enables him as a rule to have his goods made cheaper than he cld suffr. them himself on acct of saving in rent, salaries of superintd etc. Besides this he is not obliged to buy his material so early as he wd if he were to make it up in his own workshops, for the reason that by apportioning it among sevl contractors the full stock necessary for the fall or spring trade can be turned out in a short time. This obviates the necessity of locking up capital in material affords him more time to decide on styles etc & also gives him better opportunity to find the lowest market for the purchase of material

- The objectionable feature of the ~~contract~~ system when unregulated is that under competition unscrupulous contractors having taken work at the lowest prices, resort to every means to realize a profit. Expenses must be reduced in every possible way. Sweating house labor, often recently imported, alien to our customs & contentedly living upon a plane inferior to the American std, is seeking employment & by using it, all std rates are avoided. In these houses are found employed either directly or thro a subcontractor, persons of both sexes frequently entirely ignorant of our language, the entire family sometimes eating, sleeping & working in one apartment. The work is done by piece & ordinary hrs of labor disregarded

C 19291

after a no. of cited instances in Boston

It appears :- that the tendency of the contract system of unregulated is to lower the std of living of all workers engaged in the industry ; & any industl system which does this is the source of social evils far greater than any imperfection that may possibly be found in the product turned out under it.

Headlam in H of R.R. p 236

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Washington
Dept of Labor.

March 92. 14 of 16 R. 6.10. C 19292

Evidence of Louis Nat Hornthal. Wholesale Clothier 670 Broadway City.

The gross amt of our annual business is between 1½ & 2 million dollars.
medium better grades — None is done in factories of our own it is
all given out to tailors. The greater part is given to those who each
year relieve on an average over $\frac{10.000}{}$ worth of finished products.
a small part is given to those who relieve a hundred product worth $\frac{25.000}{}$
or upward. I do not know of a single contractor, tailor or workman who
does work for one single house alone. They go from shop to shop to
get whatever work they can. They work generally for certain houses
There are not frequent changes among them. a contractor will work for one
shop so long as the prices suit him.

p 11. From the contractors I learned that all their work is done in steam open places

C 19293

except the finishing, making the button holes. which is a separate
business ?? (not sure of this etc - - - - -

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CANADA

Clothing & Millinery Mfrs.

Manchr. Ref # M. 6 13

C 19294

Evid of Albert F. Hochstadter, wholesaler Mfr of clothing (firm = Albert Benjamin & Co) 49 Lafayette Pl.

We mfr special lines of clothing & summer overcoats & smoking jackets. We are fine grade — our summer clothing mostly cotton goods. — do about $1 mill worth of business a year. We have no work done directly under our ~~direct~~ own supervision, it is done by people who do the work themselves & take it away

¶ 14. We had a factory recently, our bldg was consumed by fire, where we employ 2-300 hands, these hands organized a factory of their own about 15% of work is done in that place, it is conducted by Mrs. de Jarcal (an ex employee of ours (note women contractors in Montreal etc)

We changed from the factory system to this other system because we had no place large enough to accomodate us. ~~We ran a factory before we adopted our present system~~ — Mrs de Jarcal now makes for us by the piece. She buys her hands & finds the machines.

Manchr. ~~X. 30.~~ 6 21

C 19295

The same system exists among the suppliers today (as bon ? pro age); there are no factories run by the wholesale suppliers. (& did the labor troubles have anything to do with the fact that the wholesale suppliers preferred to employ & do employ contractors, rather than carry on factories — A. The whole system is acceptable one of convenience to both parties. The reason I give why this system is so general in the clothing business & not in any other employ, is — in the 1st place it is a large industry that requires for the purpose of maintaining it a little capital. They have to buy a sewing machine & a stove (note here this is key. for if it changes to factory it will be because of expensive machinery - note what Filene says K), pressing irons & things of that kind, & it has been found that by a division of labor better results can be brought about. That is the only reason why it is so prevalent in the clothing business. This

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simply an economical method of producing clothing that has been almost generally adopted. It is economical both for the laboring man & the suffer?

Mrs Mendelson – There are few tailors in the ty.

Mr Mackenzie – the fact is that a mechanic is not always a sufficient mechanic to make any garment. While he may be a good presser, he might not be competent to do the other branches & vice versa. by dividing up such parts eg. sewing on of buttons – the subdivision of labor is so made as to favor this system

Clothing Ty.
Method of Insp

Note carefully the predominant phases. – The evidence taken in Qz goes to show there were practically no factories & wholesalers then, all contracting – There must have been an earlier phase when small shops with master workmen predominant – then there is likely to be the factory & all three exist now together – there will be overlapping yet phases can be distinguished – The clothing industry most interesting study in the evolution of industry in General. Note causes who led to changes in adoption of each. Eg. with other industries Eg. Shoe etc

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Contract System

C 19298

Not attended by the Fact. Inspectors. — have given notice of visit in 1889

Sweating System

C 19299

Mass. House No 149. p 14.
1891

In East Cambridge while I was unable to find a workshop in this vicinity where clothing is stitched, a large amt of work is performed in the tenements occupied by these people, by the female members of the families in what they term finishing off pants. They receive them from the manufacturer in Boston, after the machine work is done take them to their homes & complete the garment except pressing. It will be found that at least 2/3 of the families in the district finish pants at home.

Dept of State Inspectors Jas H. Gloon & A. Wade
Feby 91

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clothing tariff.
Woollens & cotton tariff.

March. 92. Reference p 22. C 19300

Evidence of Eugene L. Benjamin.

about 75 % of our business is done by those who each returns a hundred and
& probably $ 10,000 worth a year. — probably 10% to 4 cent of $ 25:000

We have probably on list of 75 contractors. Possibly there are altogether
200 or 300

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C 19301

Clothing Industry

Tenement House and Home Work.

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Tenement House Condits in Boston - Mass

Mass House no 149 p 10

C 19302

In regular course of inspection in year just closed 1890. I inspected about 30 wood shops in East Boston & Chelsea, most located in dwelling houses employing in all 350 persons, nearly all women, & in none of them did I find the unhealthful & filthy conditions existing in Mly. & to some extent in the Boston "North End" tenement houses.

(note does not locality largely determine characteristics &)

Report of Inspector Bardwell to Chief Wade Jan 91.

C 19303

Tenement House shops

Mass House no 149 p 10.

I inspected on inspection duty during 1890 about 30 wood shops in East Boston & Chelsea mostly in dwelling houses

& Report of Inspector Bardwell to Chief Wade Jan '91.

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CANADA

Tenement Houses
Condition of Boston

Mass Hous No 149 & 12
1891 C 19304

The condition of houses as reported in Boston Herald Oct 4 1890 remains about the same.

The additional places visited whose location were in N. & the ends of city mostly in North end were found in an unclean & filthy condition, some rooms ill ventilated poor lighted. close & bad smelling - some rooms 10x10 Cooking & sleeping in same room -- two places worse in attic, low roof. odor of tobacco & onions & animates cooked & slept in same room.

another in basement, loose bedding in room. a woman with small child in arms sat on bed - Gen'l condition of room unclean. Russian Jews occupants

another place inhabited by Portuguese, animates cooked & slept in same room, very close & badly ventilated. entrance to narrow & dark.

From careful observation it was found that most filth & uncleanliness predominated among Russian Jews, Italians & Portuguese

In one or two instances (worst) condition of the rooms & surrounding were as bad as many places in N.Y. it is safe to infer disease emanating from tenant house workroom must be carried to many homes

Report of 2 Mass Inspectors to Chief Wade Feby '91

Tenement Houses Condition of

C 19305
Mass House No 149

The condition of tenement-house shops visited in Williamsburg, L.I. was found to be better than was anticipated.
It was asserted in 9 cases out of 10 the houses were owned by those who were proprietors of the shops

Report of Mass Factory Inspectors to Chief made 1891

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CANADA

Re Home & shop work.

C 19306

KOFFKA. LXXVIII.

The results both sanitary & moral of the combination of home & factory are worse in a degree than in any other class of cases we have been considering — By introducing outsiders the occupier has surrendered the privacy which makes the home sacred

Re Home work

C 19307

Re argt that this work is given to the poor women thro' charity. — we can keep the money out of the commercial school! K.

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C 19308

Re tenement house suffers.

Leff 99. Mrs Kelly in Ard & convicted Ref p 25

We perceive the elasticity of the word family.
We (Inspectors) know the radical difference between regulating &
prohibiting, & we have a more exact appreciation of the impossibility of
regulating such things as tenement house suffering. & the employment of
children in dangerous occupations. We know that the only way to
get an uniform regulation of these is to regulate them out
of existence & prohibit.

Home work

C 19309

It would be well to distinguish between home work in
city and in the country. a line must be drawn between the
two. The worst features of the evils of tenement houses
are overcome. & Yet there is the possibility of long &
excessive hours & even contagion in city work. of,
not home. - still sunlight plenteful, air free. & it
might be an inducement to some to move to the country
out of the cities if home work were only permitted
there. Consider this K. Note too it is the country
work which the people in cities complain the
most about & where wages are lowest.

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C 19310

Remedies

Indirect.

School laws.
Legislation.
Housing.
Profit Sharing.

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CANADA

C 19311

Remedies
child labor.

Miss Kelly in "Our toiling Children"
pamphlet written 1889.

The key of the child labor quest[n] is the enforcement of school
attendance to the age of 16. [to] quite compulsory. Only when every child
is known to be in school can there be any security against the terrible
labor of children in our great cities

Need to have (1.) Minimum age for work fixed at 16
(2.) school attendance made compulsory to same age
(3.) Fewer Insp[rs] & truant officers to see kids in school instead of
(4.) Ample provision for school accomodation

(Note the kind of remedy — one which hits blow from without
& remedies a whole class. Cf. Housing of working people.)

C 19312

Remedy
upature - schools.

Sept 97. Ont G. Meeley 11 [th] Can. Lab Journ 775

New York

The Factory.—Our department now acts in close co-operation with the board of education, or the principal of the public school, nearest to the case of violation of the law as affecting the age of young victims of the sweating system, and consequently employers now find it much cheaper to obey than to fight the law as at present administered.

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C 19313

Welfare: manual training for children

Paper on by J. E. Mainthall. - Proceedings of 5th Convention of Factory Inspectors p 33

C 19314

Remedy indicated - re Jewish Schools.

Sept 97. Art. by Keeley 11th Conv. Fac. Insp. p. 77

In Newyork.

There are therefore a few recommendations which seem absolutely necessary to be enacted into law to meet the phases of this great evil which experience shows every day to be capable of changing its form and color like the chameleon.

A minor point in appearance, but of vital sanitary importance, would be the prohibition of Jewish schools in any building where sweat shop work is carried on. This is a vast source of danger—first to clothing and workers in the contractors' shops, from any infection brought by the children from their homes; second, from the sweat shop clothing to the children, back to their crowded homes; and third, to prevent the too easy graduation of the children as early victims of the sweat shop labor world. But fourth, hallways, closets and stairways cannot be kept clean where these schools are permitted.

This evil has to be benefited on every side. Like storming a castle of iniquity. This great castle of iniquity must be benefited on every side. K.

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C 19315

Remedy indirect - Compulsory lighting. Legislation

Sept 97. Art. by Neeley 11 The Econ. Jac Jnl p 76

Perhaps one of the simplest improvements in the law may yet produce greater moral good than more drastic and direct provisions could have obtained, namely: the compulsory lighting of stairways and hallways leading to workrooms and sweat shops and buildings in which any such places exist. Women and young girls have been outraged, so far as modesty is concerned, if we may not go further and take stronger ground, by the presence of this unnecessary darkness in these approaches to sweat-shops; and it needs no remarks here to explain how easy the barriers to the modesty of young girls may be steadily broken down by neglect of this kind, which has so long prevailed. One of the greatest municipal improvements boasted of by the city of Glasgow, was the compulsory lighting of dark hallways, stairs and "closes," as they call them in Scotland. They were lighted at the expense of the landlords, and almost reduced the necessity of the police force by 50 per cent. We may fairly hope for good results from the more general application of the same principle.

C 19316

Remedy indirect - landlord. w.h. 7 legis.

New York

Sept 97. Art. by Neely 11 The Econ. Jac Jnl p. 75

Our new power in being able to attack the landlord is a most powerful agent in preventing bad sanitary conditions. As a matter of fact, there is a vast improvement in this respect, as was proved by investigating the complaints made during the recent tailors' strike in New York City. Eighty per cent of these complaints were found groundless. If in times of ordinary occupation the workers of these trades were as willing to expose the violations of the law as they are during a strike, the inspector's duties would be less onerous and more effective. But it will be easily seen that when we can bring our pressure to bear upon the man who provides the roof for the sweating, that he can most effectually compel the sweaters under his roof to keep the law. This is more humane, as well as effective, and does not tempt so many to screen the violators of the law from motives of pity, as was so often the case when only the immediate contractor, who employed the wretched workers, would be singled out for punishment.

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Remedies
Profit sharing

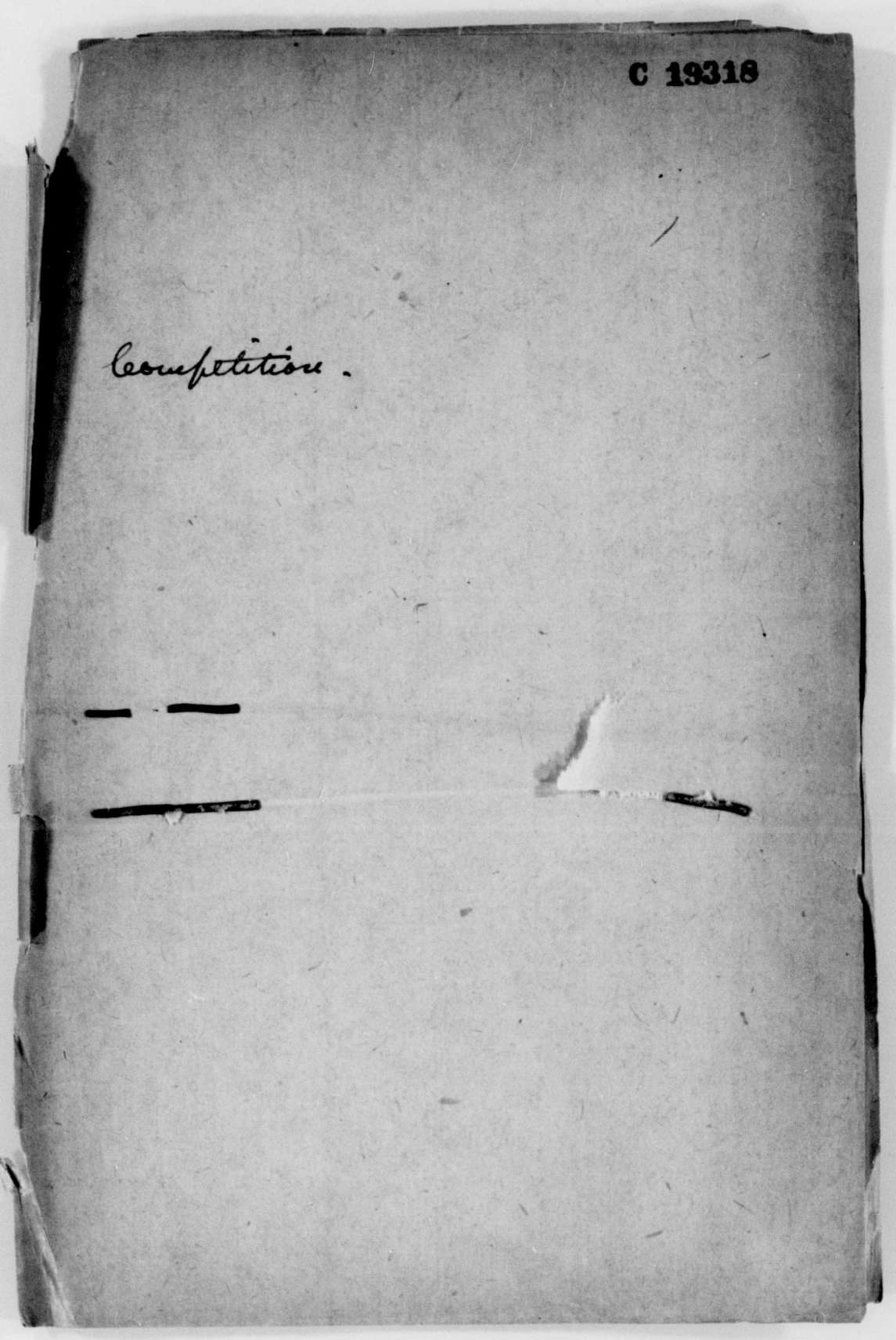
C 19317

Profit Sharing
This is suggested as a remedy by Hermo Crouse of Ohio in
article of Am Gov. Jac August 1896.

(Note such remedies as are intended as solution of whole
industrial problem — then those of this particular industry
eg. Socialism, Communism, Profit Sharing, Cooperation.

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C 19318

Competition.

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~~Unemployment~~
~~Effect of Competition (Boston)~~
Competition

Meaning in Mass. Wadlin 87/86.

C 19319 Jour. Soc Sc 26. p. 86.

not all the work done under contract is done in tenement houses. The work done in tenements in Boston is principally confined to the finishing process, so far as relates to men's clothing. Some low grade work also some children's clothing is entirely made up in families. — In New York the practice prevails of making the entire garment in families or factories. For this reason it is alleged that a considerable part of the work done in that city for the Boston market is the product of tenement home labor. The sort of work sent to New York ~~which is now sent there and~~ under conditions formerly prevailing here has been done in Boston. appears to be increasing. — The work sent to New York in recent years has been almost entirely withdrawn from Boston contractors; that sent to Maine & New Hampshire is principally of a diff^t class, & not particularly affected by the New York competition (Note how lowest grade sets the rate)

also in Hof R.R. p. 229.

C 19320

Effect of New York Competition

Wadlin Jour of Soc Sc Oct 9 v. p. 89
Repeated Hof R.R. p. 231

As a rule the Boston contractors appears to conduct most of their work in shops but the practice of sending out work to be finished in tenements is common & under the pressure of N.Y. competition the tendency seems to be towards the indust^l conditions obtaining there, especially with the increase thro' immigration of the same sort of labor that is so largely centred in N.Y. Meantime the amount of work sent to N.Y. to be made appears to be increasing, as for obvious reasons price rule lower there. This affects the wholesaler or contractor in Boston, who desires to carry on work under better conditions, & who is regulated & over seen to observe proper sanitary regulations in his workshops, to an unequal competition & tends to lower the grade of labor employed here & to reduce the wages or diminish the employment of Boston workers.

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Competitive need of Interstate Cert.

C 19321

Sept 43. Mrs Kelly in Art 7 Can. Fac Pol Sc.

Many a corporation with its New York factories guards its machinery, discharges its illiterate boys & girls & obeys the labor law, all in compliance with the Ill. labor code, has been working unlimited hours with women & tiny children in Illinois, unrestrained by any law whatever.

(Note ~~Competition~~ wherever competition operates there is need of one law. even national boundaries are becoming too ineffectual, certainly state boundaries are. — Industrial problems ~~are~~ are coming to need a world wide solution for that is their nature K.)

Competitive

C 19322

Note action of Emp vs Dom. Cap
vs interstate. — N.York suffers having shops in Illinois before law there (see Mrs Kelly's statement)
Mass. goods going to New York when law here.

New in each state suffers themselves.
Need competition of contractors & sub contractors
& of wage earners.

Just look at the competition also ensured because the demand for clothes is a certain one K.I.

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C 19323

Nationality

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Nationality

C 19324

Next generation of Jews will not be smugglers, they are being educated, children of smugglers are getting prizes in public & high schools. Once educated they will not return to stock for nothing. (Opinion of Filene Feb 97)

Nationality effect of state.

C 19325

Wadlin Jour Soc. Sc 499, 1892

Ignorant & unbranded labor has during recent years been rapidly congregated in the larger cities thro' immigration. This labor may be commonly employed on the cheap grades of clothing sold in tenements or small adjacent workrooms. This in many cases unorganized mutable unskilled, customs, must accept, temporarily at least any employment offered. It is poor in skill, poor in purse, accustomed to poor fare, poor lodgings, squalid surroundings, low wages & is of course unorganized — a contractor, a sub contractor — often of same nationality as the people he employs, knows the tastes & peculiar habits customs & necessities of employees. The condition lead immediately to sweating, but the only system about it is the method of sub contract pushed to extremes joined with the peculiar states of the workers.

.... Many of lower social & industrial plane - interfere with organized work for less & longer hrs. 499. & 100

Sweating not so bad in Boston as in N. Y. or London because there is in Boston far less of the labor of the sort who permits sweating than in those larger cities 499 & 100

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C 19326

nationality

Mass House No 149, p. 14
1891

I gave my attention to Portuguese districts in East Cambridge, they receive work from Manufacturers & finish it, after the machine work is done, taking garment home, without pressing. Homes are anything but clean occupying 1, 2, & 3 rooms to a family, most of them with several children with but few exceptions rooms are kept in a disorderly & dirty condition Some homes consisting of one room, others unbearable — In one block the entire basement is used as a living by tenants. — the block swarmed with vermin, the odor was vile. Most of these people unable to speak Engl. I am satisfied that the chief employment of the female portion of the Portuguese population is in the clothing business, either at home or in the shops of Boston & throughout canvas of whole district made, it would be found that at least 2/3 of the families finish pants at home

Repl of State Inspector Jas. H. Leoon to Chief Wade Feby 91

C 19327

nationality

Mass House. No 149. p 93
1891

The nationality of the families engaged in making the various kinds of garments was found to be as follows.

German Jews	7
Italians	6
Russian Jews	10
Portuguese	4.

From careful observation it was found that the most filth & uncleanliness predominated among the Russian Jews. Italians & Portuguese. Russian Jews keep in ascendency. as regards

Repl of Mass Inspectors to Chief Wade Feby '91.

Inspector Griffin told me that they find the Fr Canadians freely clean, little trouble with them in that regard, Feby 90. K.

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C 19328

nationality

Mass. House no 129

Poles, Russian Jews & German Jews seemed to be in the majority of those engaged in the sweating or tenement house system of workshops in N.Y.

Report of Manufactory inspectors to Chief made Jan 26, 91.

The New York middlemen are mostly Polish Jews. - statement from a Pole who was in N.Y. now in Boston conducting business

Report of Mass Inspector Bardwell to Chief made Jan 9 p (Ham p. 10)

Re suffer of clothing in tenement houses of Boston, he thinks it is carried on to a great extent by Portuguese & more cleanly than N.Y.

ditto

C 19329

nationality

Dr Daniel. Jol. Soc. Sc Oct 92 p. 79.

Of the 77 women visited in N.Y. tenements 1891-92

25 German
10 Irish
10 Italians
24 Russian Poles — 5 born in U.S.
1 Bohemian
1 Roumanian
1 Eng woman

Interesting conference (K)
76 sweaters in tenements.
39 Germans. in 92
27 Irish
1 Pole
2 Hungary
2 Russia
1 Eng
4 U.S.
see how Nations & Russian professing K.

The people are densely ignorant, often not knowing foreign even

Very work. in 80.

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Nationality

Smuts in Mem Wallis 42 & 87.
C 19330 Jol Soc

Under the pressure of h.7. competit, the tendency seems to be toward the indecent conditions obtaining there, espec with the increase thro immigrat- of the same sort of labor that is already so largely centered in New York.

C 19331

Nationality

H.G. Wallis in Jol. So Sc 92 p. 86

In mass the evils principally confined to the clothing trade of Boston where as in most of our large cities, an influx of unskilled foreign labor has in recent years been congregated in the tenement-house districts

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nationality
re Boston

C 19332

Secretary re Mass. (Wadlin's Lab. 87)
Jol. Sc 5c

Official Returns secured from 33 Boston contractors of the following nationalities
26 Hebrews; 3 American; 1 German, 1 Irish, 2 not related — following are nationalities of the employees they furnished with work.

Nationalities of Employees.	Persons Employed by — Hebrew Contractors	American	Irish	German Contrs.	Total No. of employees.
American	193	27	22	7	249
German	1	3	..	2	6
Hebrew	427	17	...	4	448
Irish	117	24	26	9	176
Italian	187	23	2	3	215
Portuguese	6	7	..	..	13
Totals	931	101	50	25	1107

While these figures do not represent the total no. of employees engaged on contract work in the city, they may be considered as representing the relative preponderance of the diffn nationalities employed.

Repeated in Hoffman. 6.230.

C 19333

From this totals wh represents 1,107 employees, it appears that 931 were employed by Hebrew contractors of these 427 were Hebrews
193 " " American
117 " Irish
6 " Portugis
1 " German

101 employed by American contractors. 27 American
24 Irish
13 Italians
17 Hebrews.
7 Portugis
3 German

50 " " Irish " — 26 Irish
22 American
& Italian

25 " " German " 9 Irish
7 Americans
4 Hebrews
3 Nat
2 German

Out of total employees 448 were Hebrews
249 American
215 Italian
176 Irish
13 Portugis
6 German

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CANADA

C 19334

Waterside
wages — influence of foreigners

Wallis. Jour. Soc Sc p 24
Hobhouse p 234

re contract work — Tenement-house labor, often recently imported, alien to our customs & contentedly living upon a plane inferior to the American std, is seeking employment & by many it should not be aided — In these homes are found persons of both sexes frequently entirely ignorant of our language ... 'Work is done by the piece & the ordinary hours of labor disregarded

Cases cited p. 234, 35, 36 of Typical Tenements quoted by agent of Bureau in Boston show the tendency to employ the lowest grs. to tenement house labor in this industry & indicate conditions under wh such labor is performed

C 19335

Nationality
— refer to rep.. home cases.

In contractors shops — special feature, the proportn of foreign born labor is extraordinary when compared with that employed in other occupations

In tenement sweat shops — the proportn of forgn born & recently arrived immigrants is so large that others form an inconsiderable proportn

The tenement home born workers is almost invariably a foreigner (? R) generally of a short stay in this city, frequently defective in habits or physical or in mental capacity — Here the labor is practically all foreign born

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CANADA

Nationality

C 19336

My clients. Mail. Feb. May '96
p. 360

The term "sweating system" has a general meaning, but is specifically used to describe a condition of labor 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 it is intensified by subcontracting in shops conducted in homes. Such conditions prevail to a distressing degree in localities having a large, herded foreign population, and among people known for excessive industry and thrift—virtues otherwise considered indispensable to prosperity and happiness Recently arrived foreign working people crowded into the big cities are the most helpless, and, in order to barely live, are willing to submit to almost incredible exactions. It is thus that this form of labor soon outcompetes and displaces all other forms and becomes the standard for the particular industry in which it is introduced.

The use of machinery in the making of garments has not figured largely in displacing labor and reducing the standard of skill formerly required, but rather the subdivision of labor, especially in the cheaper grades of work. This has made the garment-making industry an easy refuge for immigrants, and enables them to work in small shops which in many other industries would be inadequate to compete with larger and better-equipped factories. This class of workers, therefore, become wholly dependent upon the knowledge that they have acquired of one small part of the trade, and are incapable of advancement through individual effort.

Nationality

C 19337

Aug 91. 5 Dom Cond. Fin. Rep.
p 47

Inspector Feaney of New York said S.S. usually carried on by fresco who speak but very little English employed a no. of Greek clergymen.

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Nationality

C 19338

Report of Factory Inspector 6th Province for the year

There is one great difficulty which in a great measure frustrates any plan for the enforcement of these evils viz. the continual importation into this country of a class of people who bring all the evils of overcrowding combined with ignorance, apathy, dirty habits &c. - When this unfortunate circumstance is rectified - we shall be following the course of reason & experience point out as most effectual for enforcement for these evils & others of the community

Nationality

C 19339

There seems to be some sort of an arrangement, the precise nature of which it is difficult to determine by which the Polish & Russian Jewish immigrants are controlled so that they may be easily congregated & utilized in the clothing tr. .... Whatever may be the impelling cause of this the certain that their employers are nearly always compatriots & co-religionists, who having been here longer become familiar with the languages & customs of the city, & do not scruple to take adv. of the ignorance & poverty of their newly arrived brethren. The very much reduced rate of wages which has been accepted by these immigrants, has naturally resulted in cutting down the prices paid to the skilled workmen in the tr.

Report of New York Factory Inspector 1892

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Nationality
& naturalisers.

1664.

C 19340

The ~~Dutch~~ Netherlanders - in our inland trades between city & city in the Manufs of Silk Woods & the like, made here in this kingdom wherein they never give employment or educate in their sects to the English but even (according to the custom of the Jewes, where they abide in Turkey, and diuers places of Christendome) they live wholly to themselues in their own Tribes. So that we may truly say of the Dutch, that although they are amongst us, yet certainly they are not of us, no not they who are born & bred here in our own country for ever will be Dutch, not having so much as one drop of English blood in their hearts"

Mun. England's Treasure
p. 111. & 112

C 19341

Nationality

Sept 95 - Mrs O'Reilly & Mr Geo. Mac Mrs 461.

Dr Remy

The result of a close investigation revealed the fact that at least 90% of these workers (sweaters) was born in Poland. - The Russian Jewish element contributing most largely in Nos., while there is a fair % of Italians & a scattering of other nationalities. But few Americans are employed at the work, & upon inquiry as to why Americans avoided this kind of work, we found that competition has so reduced the wages as to prevent them making a living under what is accepted by Americans as fair conditions.

One visit to 93 houses sweaters. Conditions here as described. Germans principally worked at the tr in these sec. & cleanliness & order prevail, with an occasional exception - yet much crowding & unsanitary conditions

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Mack C 19342

This paper goes to show that in the northern sec of Poland where Germans mostly are a better class of work is given & better wages & prices paid. In the southern sec where chiefly Poles Russian Jews etc. condition are worse. "one could scarcely believe that such distinctions communities, as it were, could exist within the radius of one county boundary.

Nationality Mackenzie C 19343

End of Alberta Hosiery Strike -

Of the Operatives in Poles - they are Russian Hebrews & Italians

There are quite a no of Americans engaged in the kind of work I speak of (Poles of light overcoats, mackinaw jackets) In the factories I mention 90% are American girls born in or about - N.Y. - I do not think the Americans get any more, this not a question of class but of skill. - There are more foreigners in the lower grades.

P.S. In my opinion the influx of Poles Hebrews & Italians has not had any effect in lowering the prices of wages in the clothing tr (note this man does not profess to know much on the subject N.Y.)

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CANADA

National Problems

C 19344

Sept 97. Sent by Neely. 11th Com. Ja. Mss p. 74

Naturally enough, New York (and especially the city) was the "storm center" of the east, because of the fact that it is the first and most attractive "dumping ground" for the hoards of European surplus labor, and the Mecca of the rural youth of the entire east and middle states, and many of the west, who have ambitions larger than the plain old homestead. According to statistics, New York City has over twenty times the number of immigrants recorded annually there than at any other port of entry in the United States. But, notwithstanding that fact, and the still more unfortunate fact, that the geographical situation of the city alone compels overcrowding and congestion of population, for we are worse than China, or the much-talked of "slums" in the east end of London, still we have reduced our evil of child labor to merely one and a half per cent of the working population, placing us ahead of forty states and only behind half a dozen agricultural states in the west and northwest.

Nationality

C 19345

Sept 97. Sent by Neely 11th Com. Ja. Mss p. 76

In New York

And so with the new problem in "sweating." The cupidity of greedy Italians, who make more money than ever the "padrones" did out of their ignorant imported fellow-countrymen, is responsible for worse evils than ever existed under the Jewish phase of that problem. Comparatively speaking, the Jewish sweating is humane, and that is saying a good deal; but we have to thank our insane ideas about immigration for a worse phase now growing up. To be sure, the Italian sweaters are not so filthy, and there are few or no padrones—but, all the same, those Italians already in the clothing business as sweaters, have graduated from the garbage heaps, the ash barrel and the rag cellar, and, having constitutions of iron, work harder than Jews, eat less—or more cheaply, for they certainly beat the Jews at cheap living, and when presenting themselves to claim their unfortunate relatives, or pretended relatives, and promising they will keep them from becoming a charge upon the public, seem to be able to blind the officials of the immigration department. Beyond question the Italian sweater is a much greater industrial enemy to the growth of a proper American standard of living among the unskilled workers than ever the Jew was, and the end is not yet. Are we sure that in the Italian labor even we have reached bottom? Are there not vast fields of foreign labor to be yet exploited, and if our present policy is sound, we have before us an everlasting problem of sweeping back new social evils which follow the ever-coming tides of lower and lower classes of labor every generation.

To say that Italian sweaters are cleaner than Jews is only a relative & comparative statement. dangers to health & life are not ... prevented. 677

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CANADA

C 19346

Nationality immaterial

Sept 97. Art by Mrs O'Leary 11th Chor. Tac 2/6 b. 15-

The "investor" is slow coming in at the port of New York until the arrival of each incoming steamer or vessel & as a rule he stays there after landing.

C 19347

Nationality Swedish

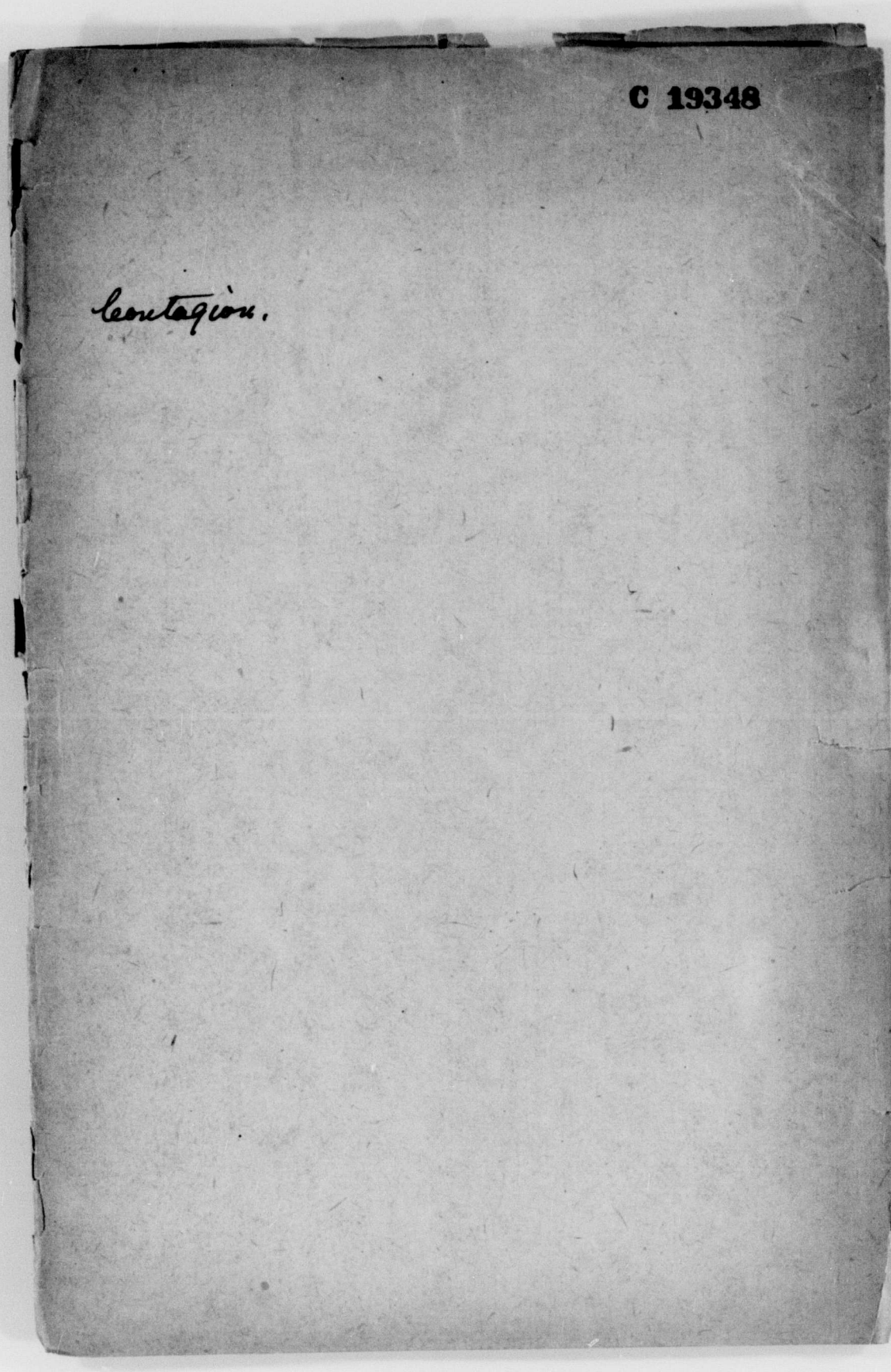
Sept 97. 11th Ann C. F. J. p. 66

Paper by Mrs Glenn & Rumsey Br. "The factory laws - their cause & effect"

With a desire to escape from hardships endured since the abolition of serfdom in Russia a number of Jews emigrated to the United States, a portion coming to Philadelphia in 1883, who were quartered in the former passenger station of the Pennsylvania Railroad, free of charge, for three months, when homes were found in the southeastern part of the city. Coming to a strange land, where there was no demand for the handicraft learned in their own country, they naturally took up work that was quickly learned, and this was the operation of sewing machines. Before the advent of the foreign element in this country, tailors were paid good wages, and few merchant tailors sold ready-to-wear garments. Some thought-to-be energetic tailors saw the possibility of making large profits in this line, and employed the newcomers to manufacture clothing at lower wages than were paid to Americans. The wages the foreigners received seemed to them to be a Klondike, and the glowing accounts sent home of the money that could be earned here induced others to follow. Year after year large numbers came, found employment with some of their fellow countrymen for a short time, then prompted by a desire to make more money, made bargains with dealers at lower prices and thereby established a condition which had to be adjusted by stringent laws.

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Conclusion etc

Mass House no 149, p 14
1891.

In East Cambridge

C 19349

In one block the entire basement is used as privy by the tenants - a tenant told me that the block contained eighteen families.

Rep't of State Inspector Jos H L Coon to Chief made Feb 91

Conclusion

C 19350

Mass House no 149

Should an epidemic occur in the localities where the tenement house or sweating shops, so called exist, the germs of disease would spread rapidly among the clothing in these shops, & be carried to the homes of the poor as well as the rich, to almost every section of this country

Report of Mass Inspectors to Chief made Jan 91

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Contagion

Note danger on both sides (K.)

Mr Daniel Jol. Soc Sc. Oct 92
p. 85

C 19351

During the presence of contagious diseases in rooms where goods are being made, was there danger of infection?

Most assuredly there was danger of infection in every case

A few years ago in a "sweaters" family to whom I was called or owned 3 cases of scarlet fever. — two women employed by him in the shop, & who also carried work to their homes to finish, asked me to attend their children, also ill with scarlet fever. a few days after its appearance in the sweaters family — It is almost impossible to trace the clothing after it leaves the tenement houses.

Contagion

Mr Daniel Jol. Soc. Sc. Oct 92
p. 80.

C 19352

The contagious diseases attended by me in N.Y. Tenements Dec 91 - Aug 92 where women were making clothes

20 measles children
7 scarlet fever "
3 typhoid " "
1 spotted fever "
2 very sipelas. women
4 consumptive "

The patients were not at all isolated
The clothing manufactured was laid upon the lounge or bed with the patients.
None of it was fumigated. — —

/ most of these people suffer for middle-men
Here men have only a small shop, the goods being sent at once to the owners.

We sometimes find fashionable clothing stores having their work done in tenement houses. — The work is rarely custom work.

Not all work often in same bldg or room.

The Laundresses too — there occupation is a constant menace to public health
— (what about bakers. — explain (a) "I have been able to trace contagious disease from families in wh children age ill to the children of the laundresses thro the soiled linen"

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a recent Measbreath. mother last year.

a laundress washed the clothes for a child sick with scarlet fever. her 2 children contracted the disease, one of whom nearly lost her life. the children in 3 other families in the house contracted the disease from the laundress' children. — clothing after being washed & before worn is kept on the bed or mingled with the child sick with a contagious disease, or a towel belonging to some other family is handed to the physician to use as a chest cloth, thus becoming a vehicle for contagion.

contagion etc

A large proportn - ½ - of the clothing worn by the majority of our people is made under conditions not merely revolting to humanity & decency but such as to endanger the health of the wearer. Not merely is this work so largely apportioned to all grades of clothing that none can be considered as exempt, but the use of ready made goods has become so universal that no community and scarcely any family is free from danger. The contagion thus spread is not merely of general conditions of uncleanness & miscellaneous disease germs, but of whooping cough diphtheria, scarlet fever & typhus, from the very quarters where at once they are most continuously epidemic, & where are developing the centres of the infection of clothing

Nor is the danger a general one, common to all communities, direct or indirect with these localities. Generally speaking the infection of clothing is the only one carried on in such intimate contact with living conditions as to involve similar liability to contagion

There is no other material that so invites use and deposit during infection as to involve to so great an extent as does cloth, contact with the persons of the unclean & sick of the family, not merely during the day, but even as a nest for unwashed sleepers.

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Contagion (contd)1 C 19355 Hof K. p. xxii.

There is probably no material which once having harbored disease germs or filth, is so favorable to their preservation or propagation as is cloth, especially made of wool; & lastly, it would be hard to imagine any material, or use to which it could be put, that would be so repulsive to civilized instincts & so dangerous to life & health as clothing, elected in contagion, to be worn on the person. When it is also noted that it is in children's clothes that the worst features most thoroughly characterize the suffering, & when it is added that it is in the localities where the clothing of children is most generally made that the danger of contagion is greatest, the considerations already noted are intensified by every prompting of parental scruple.

The only considerations which are suggested per contra are

(a) the claim that in fact the effects of this contagion are not proved harmful
(c) that the process of disinfecting is such as to make the good

Re(1) the circumstances of the clothing is are obviously such as to make almost impossible the tracing, in the widely scattered localities all over the country to

C 19356 Hof K. p. xxii

Contagion (contd)2

the wholesale manufacturers sent, the special result of contagion in some one of the localities where they were made. Not merely, however, were the conditions so fully described in the testimony, such as confessedly to warrant interference by the health officers of every locality in which they exist, but repeated instances were given of resulting sickness from contagion.

Mr Eng. a most definitely proven case was that of the daughter of Sir Robt Peel who contracted disease from a riding habit made at the home of the Operatives; at Boston the case of Inspector Griffen's child seems a clear one; while a small pox case in Dayton, developed from clothing infected at Cincinnati; and the scarlet fever cases directly traced from home tenement work in New York, are equally definite. How grave is the condition of the crowding quarters, which Mrs Daniel describes as one of "continuous epidemic" of scarlet fever, measles & diphtheria, is disclosed by the record of 552 cases where, during a fortnight of July last (1892) she was called to attend charity patients in homes where clothing was being made. This records is found to include

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Contagion (contd)3

5 cases of measles.
3 cases of scarlet fever. six cases of other contagious diseases, including typhoid fever, ~~thrush~~ typhoid fever, erysipelas, diphtheria & whooping cough,

From the very nature of the business & the lack of facilities or wish to trace the destination of each garment, it is obvious that no considerable number of cases could be expected to be definitely established. Your committee do not deem argument necessary to establish the serious danger involved — personal efference of committee — At Chicago a Scarlet fever sign in the very promiscuous neighborhood in wh they were inspecting sweat shops located at common conditions. In Boston a similar sign in the hallway of a house where clothing manufacture was then going on, At N York the night inspectors unroled the blocks whence last year (1911) typhus patients had been taken from rooms where clothing was made, & 3 cases of typhus had developed in the neighborhood within the past 3 weeks - ten days later, scores of cases thereabouts became recognized as constituting an epidemic of typhus at wh N.Y. stood aghast while its health department strained every resource to stamp it out.

As to the finishing process as a means of eradicating disease germs

P.O. of R. & A. XXII
C 19357

Contagion (contd)4

P.O. of R. & A. XXII
C 19358

in clothing — it consists simply in ironing on the outside, the garments treated after they have been made up, & with a damp cloth between them & the iron. Such a pressing, having no reference to the end here suggested, of cloth made up in several thicknesses of material — including seams, which at once double the thickness & preserve interstices in the middle of the garments — it seems improbable — is any protection whatever.

Dr Daniels on exam^n "The temperature of the iron is not sufficiently high to destroy the germs ... very few germs might be destroyed by direct contact with the hot iron. In the 1st place the iron does not actually touch a sufficient surface; in the next place, it is not by any means always heated sufficiently to destroy the germs. Other remedies, applied to one side of the cloth or to the outside of a seam is to effect and frequently be simply to drive the warm damp into the other side of the clothing, or the interior of the seams & so make a favorable developing place for germs, rather than destroy them, so that any germs, which, in the process of pressing, have been made up into or begun to develop in the goods might be propagated rather than destroyed."

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C 19359

contagion (contd): Hoff Ms. XXIV.

Mrs King, a buffer says on evidence "If scarlet fever in place of typhus we should not want them to return us the goods without some proof of fumigation".

Some say these evils are in principle of municipal and local nature. but they have not been able to cope with them

The case of Mass. a typical illustration of the defects of local law. — Goods ship out to New York. — with free intercourse between states, one State cannot protect itself

contagion
also epidemics

C 19360

My White Bell Lab Jan 96
p. 364.

The possibility of contagion spreading through infected clothing coming from filthy shops has been widely discussed, and prominent physicians have acknowledged this to be an imminent danger. In the beginning of 1894 in Chicago a smallpox epidemic prevailed, and was confined mainly to the clothing districts. Two hundred and seventy-three different tenement houses were reported by the factory inspectors to be infected, and the health officials had only a small number of these on their list.

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C 19361

Confession

Letter Mr Mackay — 6th Aug Govt. Fac Mr Ltr
Evels of S.S.

Especat times when horrible as Asiatic cholera is our city
that the "scum" shelfs, always the hot beds of disease become
a real menace & a deadly danger.

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Memoranda and Notes (1887-1921)
149. Labour - Sweating System -
Massachusetts (2)

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C 19362

Clothing Industry

Allied trades etc.

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Clothing Industry
Allied Trades

C 19363

Making industry – long hours, dirty surroundings etc.
an industry affecting public means may supply necessary of life.
See pages 16. & 17. 9th Am Mtg Fac Inds.
Sept 45.

Clothing
Analogous trades

28th Am C Fac Inds Sept 52 C 19364

Cigar making – same sort of agitation re smoking.
girls working in stuffy rooms – & destitute half starved aliens
living in ignorance & filth & working in back tenements
Lehel New York – cotton shops – factory etc.

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allied tr. contracting.

Ernest Wm. F. Hochstetter
Wholesaler & contractor

Hoffm. p. 12

C 19365

p. 13: Women's cloaks are manufactured in the same ~~to Ex~~ — also shirt industry mechatic underbuy. cigar making

p. 16 Trimming saddlery is made under the system. but the bulk of the smallest ones — the umbrella trade is done partly in this way the sewing on of the covers is done at home, the umbrella people make the frames in the shop & I know the sewing on of the covers is frequently given out

C 19366

Sweaters in others trs.

Sept 94 Mrs Kelly in Art & Lab. Lab Mrk p. 73.

Bakers in Berlin work day 16 to 18 hrs.

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Allied trades.
Bakers

C 19367

Sept 27. – Art Gyles & Leary 11th Cor. Inc-M
2.115

ARTICLE 9.—BAKE SHOPS.

No material change has occurred in our bake shop inspection law, nor have we any cause to find fault with its operations during the past year. A marked improvement in the condition of bakeries is noticeable all over the state, but, the work in bake shops, like the work in "sweat shops" will always and at all times claim the attention of the inspectors. This is true more especially of the Jew and Italian bake shop, for "like causes produce like effects."

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C 19368

SEPTEMBER 4th.

The meeting came to order at 8 P. M. Vice-President Baker presiding.

Miss Mary O'Reilley of Pennsylvania being called, read her paper as follows:

SWEAT-SHOP LIFE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention.

During the early days of Factory Inspection in Pennsylvania, which, as you will all remember, is not so long ago, (the law having been established May 3rd, '89), when visiting regularly equipped workshops and factories, the question was frequently asked: "Why don't you folks look after these sweat-shops, of which there are so many in our midst?" We could only answer: "Give us time, and a working force sufficient, and we will gladly undertake the work." For, having begun with but seven people, including the chief and clerk in the office, you will readily see how much more there was to do than could properly be done even under the since changed provisions in the title of the Act and Section 4; the former giving jurisdiction in mercantile and manufacturing industries, and not in renovating establishments or laundries, the latter then applying only to such places as employed ten women or children.

June '93, marked a new era, as it were, in the department work; for at this time, in answer to a strong move in the shape of amendments to the original law, we were successful in adding to the force six additional deputies. As soon after this increase as was deemed feasable, an investigation was ordered. The months of June, July, August and September, '94, were spent in this way, with a view to securing such facts as would warrant the asking for legislative measures to adjust, if not abolish, the tenement house work in Pennsylvania, for, as the Press of Philadelphia has said in treating of the subject editorially, that the condition was not the result of modern civilization; but rather the leavings, and that while the percentage employed in this way, was comparitively small; yet it was high time they were rooted, and these stragglers in the army of industrial progress must be brought up to the general level at least."

So said the "Knight of the Powerful Pen." A recital of sons of the experiences of this first canvass, may be of interest, when you learn that it was the result of this effort that secured to the workers of Pennsylvania, the present special enactment, which I will treat with more fully later on.

During the year, the general depression of business has been keenly felt, and from all evidence obtainable, the number of persons engaged in the sweating business has been reduced fully fifty per cent., which of course, left the places visited, under more favored conditions than when business is normal, and the number of employes is doubled. The result of a close investigation revealed the fact that at least ninety per cent. of

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C 19369

state, she can enter into the life of motherhood, not broken down and enfeebled, but healthy and robust as God intended her to be."

Mr. Buxton commended the paper as one of the ablest ever read before the association. He said, that very many women engaged in factory life, and in other ways of employment, were so entirely free from a desire to be dependent of support from others, and to have money to spend which they could absolutely call their own. He believed in that kind of women.

Mr. Morse felt like congratulating Mrs. Palmer, but would not say that he agreed with every statement, or approved of every proposition in the paper. At the same time he would not undertake to dispute any of its statements or to question any position taken, until after he had carefully read the paper for himself. He might not even do so then, and he would advise any one who felt like refuting any of its assertions to be aware of what he undertakes to do, for he will meet with a thorough student of the subject to cross sword's with. It was his opinion, and he had reason for his opinion, that in many instances women are displacing male labor to the detriment of society.

Mr. Callan praised the ability shown by the writer of the paper, but took exceptions to some of its statements.

Mr. Franey stated, that when he submitted the subject to Mrs. Palmer, he knew it would be handled by one competent to do so, and while not directly germaine to the work of the inspector, it was very closely connected with it. The paper being so lengthly, its different features could not well be retained in memory, but he hoped that after it was printed future conventions would take it up.

Mr. Franey stated, that an invitation was extended by the inspectors of Rhode Island to all the delegates to participate in a trip on the river, with a real Rhode Island clam-bake to follow.

Motion to adjourn, to meet at 8 P. M., was moved aud carried.

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C 19370

Remedy.

Need, basis, and difficulty of.

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Remedies — Specific agreement
difficulties — raise standard of living

C 19371
Modern Ind Relations Sec. A 100

The conditions which make remedies possible (1) method of employment, including method of payment
(2) status of workers

Changes either of these 2 directions may be fermented.

The first not likely to be changed by legislation (note Can Const K) (much can be done by specific clauses in public contracts & franchises K) Employers are not at present likely to abandon such contracts as it has definite economic advantages. — made be modified by agreement in response to demands of workers after sufficient organized to make demands effective (by union shop)

The present status of the workers may be changed by increasing skill, developing intelligence, raising standard of living & increasing their economic value. — this cannot be done directly by legislation, but indirectly legislation may help. ie young persons, compulsory education, comprehending industrial training as well as literacy industrial enforced sanitary regulations

Note — Laws for effective protection of workers in his employment vs. unscrupulous employers. — whatever tends to lower the immigrant, under the pressure of our social environment with aid. — an acute public sentiment may do much

C 19372
Hist. R. & Pol.

Remedies
needed
& possibility of

In the clothing industry the dangers to the public welfare of the sweating system are more serious; & the apparent possibilities of effective remedial action greater than in any other occupation involved in our inquiry

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Object:
need of reform

C 19373

Madlin in Jol. of Soc Sc. Oct 92.
p95

I explore it to be true that the social or industl evils incident to sweating are far more serious than the danger from infectn that may possibly be found in the product turned out under it.

Remedy
need of. Social movt.

Madlin Jol. Soc. Sc. 1892
p2

C 19374

The organized workers finds the conditns wh permit sweating a constant menace to his own industl positn. That these conditns are a social menace is obvious. For it is unquestionately against the interests of society that any body of workers shld remain in ignorance & squalor, overworked & underfed. In any broad view of the matter, the existence of such an industl body is also, for economic as well as ethical reasons against the interests of the capitalist or employer.

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C 19375

Method of Reform
a cleansing Process?

Hadley in Jol. of Soc. Sc. Oct 92.
p 95.

The opposition against sweating in mass has been mainly directed against the suffering of clothing in filthy & presumably in disease-infected tenements. Its motive, so far as it appeared in the demand for legislation, was the protection of the public against an infected product, rather than the protection of the workers against the exactions of the Sweater. (See Adam Smith re enlisting selfish motives etc K. doubtless same here) It was in fact sanitary legislation rather than industrial legislation that was sought & yet I suppose it to be true that the social or industrial evils incident to sweating are far more serious than the danger from infection etc.

C 19376

Reform difficulty of

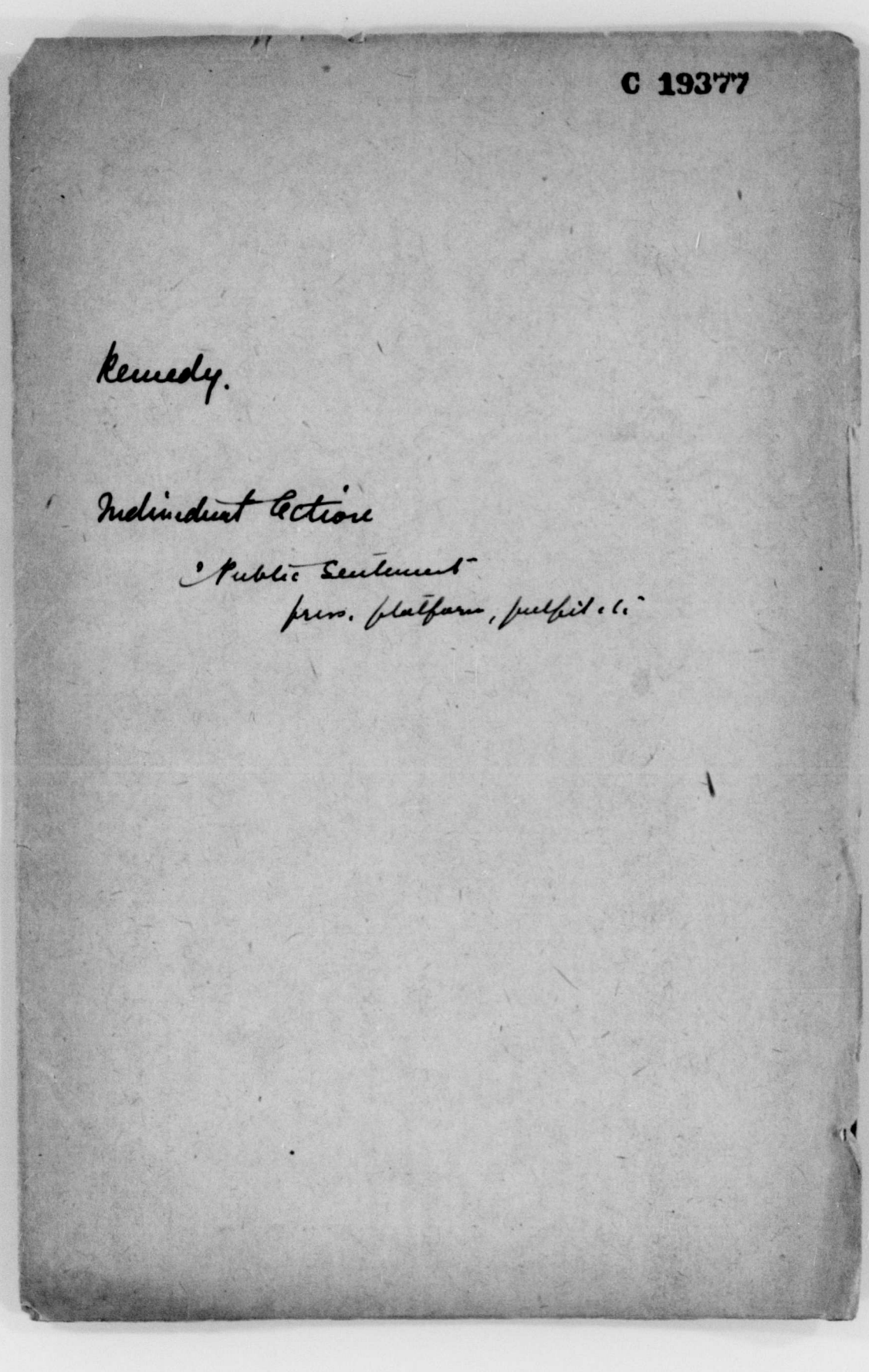
Ng White. Publ Lab. Aug 96
p 362

Conditions of labor as degrading, perhaps, as those of the sweat shop exist in many industries, but no class of laborers is so desperately situated, owing to the difficulty of introducing reforms in the numerous small shops abounding in the dark corners of the great cities, the helplessness of the victims, and the ignorant tenacity with which they cling to their tasks.

There are many model shops in which garments are made, having all the latest appliances for the comfort and health of the employees, but

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Remedy
Indust Action

C 19378

a progressive movement to have all govt work. Fedl-
State - & all municipal work done on a direct plan
without sub-contracting. — Can. example — also many
municipalities re firemans clothing etc etc

Remedy
Indust Action

C 19379

In organizations for affecting good work in this line
note the Annual Conv. of Factory Inspectors. as to seen
do have done much in suggesting plans of action, elaborating
results etc etc — the publication of proceedings. mutual advice etc.
also attract attent. of public at time thro press
Also such leaders as Social Science Conference
before wh series of papers given, aid in distribution of
literature
Re factors all aid in moulding strong public
opinion. — Conventions etc personal enthusiasm. Publication of reports.
influence of press, etc etc.

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Remedy Indust action

C 19380

"We cannot conclude without expressing our earnest hope that the exposures of the evils which have been brought to our notice will induce capitalists to pay closer attention to the conditions under which the labor who supplies them with goods is conducted, & that the public will withhold their custom from traders who are known to conduct their business on a system which regards neither the welfare of the workman nor the quality of the work produced."

Quoted from letter Hon A A Ward
on Hoffer

C 19381

Remedy
Indust Action

Sept 93 Mrs Kelly in Lect, 7th Geor. Lec in Ont

Classify inspectors eg. — a large & rapidly growing body of girls who not only obey the law & enforce it, but work as volunteers, making known its provisions & urging upon all their acquaintances the duty of cooperating with the inspectors. by insisting that the law must shall be observed

b "

"to enlist the ready support of a host of law abiding employers etc before prosecuting those who violate

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Remedy.
Industrial action

C 19382

Influence of public as purchasers

(1) In Ry. unions - labels -

(2) In Consumers League -

(3) Medium Action & to

A retail dealer will cease dealing with an objectionable suppliers rather than incur the displeasure of patrons.

Remedy
Public sentiment

C 19383

Sept 94, 8th Nov Cor. to Mines

The only influence competent to handle the system is that of public sentiment, thoroughly aroused & combined to boycott the sale of all goods produced under its operation.

Inspector Foundry b. 80

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C 19384

Remedy.

General list of.

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C 19385

Remedies

Sept 23. Mackay re Art 7 Un Convention Sheet 108

List of proposed.

1. Prohibition of any and all processes of suffering in buildings erected for dwellings
2. All lodges used for suffering purposes to conform to sanitary & other regulations to be fixed by State laws
3. All suffering establishments to be licensed by the State, all licenses to be issued to the actual suffer or firm & not to the Sweater
4. That State require that all sufferers mark their goods offered for sale with such label as will inform the intended purchaser or public that they had been made according to the regulations of law
5. That a tag or label be attached to all goods made in a tenement house bearing the words "Tenement house made."
6. That the suffer have his goods made under his own supervision, & under healthy & comfortable conditions.

Mackay says I am of opinion that by combining 1st & last we end come nearer abolishing the system than by adopting any or all the others, tho' I am aware that some of them especially the use of the tag or label, have done a great deal towards remedying the evil

C 19386

Remedies - protection other than Fedl

Varieties of remedial legislation proposed

Sept 23. Mackay re Art XXVIII.

1. A system of license, registry & inspection of every place where clothing is permitted to be made; this in connection with stringent health & police regulations
2. The prescription of a label which shall guarantee that goods are made by labor, of not more than a certain limited no. of hours per diem, compensated at not less than a certain rate per hour, or not including any child labor, or under the supervision of some labor union.
3. The right that a tag be attached to all garments made in improper places: this for the purpose of rendering them unsaleable on account of the prejudice which buyers may have against them.
4. The adoption of a tag by which each garment shd be traced at once (thro the books of the suffers) directly to the spot where it or any part of it is made

Each of above to be supplemented by Fedl prohibition of interstate commerce in goods in the making of which sanitary conditions have been violated, or as to which the specific regulation has not been complied with.

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Remedies

re system of licences, registering

They are more properly for state or municipal than for Fedl legislⁿ

H of R. R 6 XXVI.
C 19387

Remedies.

re labour guaranteeing loans, wages etc

involve local factory laws or labor organizatⁿs, & in some cases a practical relegatⁿ to them of certain administrative powers of govt

------ f XXVII

Re labor organizⁿ suggestⁿ - It seem to me that the business of the clothing suppr neither is nor can be so conducted that such organizⁿ need the slightest assistance to discover the data they care to collect, or that they wd be helped by compelling the suppr to keep track of his own goods or that the public, at the expense of putting itself at the mercy of the suppr shd assist him to throw about his business a mystery of wh he has already so enacted himself.

H of R. R 6 XXVI C 19388

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Remedies

C 19389 Hoffman. Exhibit

Re tag on garments made in unsanitary places to warn buyer.

This class is indirect & pretextual & ∴ less preferable than more direct means.

Remedies

C 19390 Hoffman. Exhibit

(1) Re. tag by which to trace garment to spot where made

(2) prohibn of interstate commerce in such goods as are made under unhealthy conditions

(3) concise definition of unhealthy conditions as shall be easily followed, such prescription or penalty as shall be appropriate, & such special provisions of administrative detail as shall be sufficient to enforce the law.

There last shld be comparatively few & simple, leaving violation of the law to be in general enforced by any citizen thro' the ordinary methods by wh misdemeanors & crimes against Fed'l law are punished

Your committee are perfectly satisfied & report that it is perfectly practicable to have each garment so marked as to permit its buyer to be perfectly traced at an expense & trouble so inconsid. as not to be worth estimating.

The system already adopted by minotes a tag on each garment wh performs a similar purpose to the extent that the buyer wishes to trace his goods. To elaborate this so as to go one step further involves only the use of the same system (this not necessarily a single additional tag) by the contractors

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Remedy re tag — .2. C 19391 Hof le fr XXVI

& such contractors, who in any case must keep track of the goods given out by them — The proof is complete that the costs involved are immaterial.

The suffrs who object to this plan have objects on 3 grounds:-

1. It wd prevent them or their customers from deceiving buyers by misrepresenting the state (such "our own make" in Montreal) or city in which, or the firm by wh, the goods are manufactured

2. That it wd assist their rivals in business with certain business details of their firm's private affairs

3. It might encourage public interference with private concerns

Do your comments. None of these seem tenable.

The 1st cannot be urged as a right to be asserted as an obstacle to needed reform however deems as "pardonable" business device — (note canonists' doctrine)

The proposed tag wd afford neither to the public nor to labor concerns any other or deeper information than they are now given in the interests of both as each firm's business rivals wd be equally well advantaged.

On other hand, the use of the proposed means of bracing the suffrs of

Remedy re tag — 3. C 19392 Hof le XXVII

garments wd make it impossible for suffrs to claim a later advantage of ignorance re. the conditions under wh are made the goods they propose to offer for public sale such as has been claimed by them in this investigation. It wd be possible to hold each one of them legally as responsible for what he them must know as to what he offers for sale, as he is now morally responsible for what he avoids knowing. It is in the very name to each suffr of knowledge on his part, & in the facility of proving that he observed or neglected those conditions of his business that concern the public welfare, in the comments per haps the chief part of the benefits to be secured.

The real issue is between the public, that wishes to know under what conditions are made the clothing which it is asked to buy & the dealer who prefers to keep them in ignorance of conditions wh he cannot defend; while the latter is abetted by the majority of his brethren in the trade, not because they generally object to the rectification of the evils com-

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4/. C 19393 ctd/R R. XXVII

Regrets re taf.

- plaintiff Co. but because they feel it more natural carefully to guard their opportunities of equal participation in the profits of this wrong, than to make for its abolishment — The question is one of the responsibility inherent in the business. Those conducting it having allowed it to become such as to call for public attention. Being in its nature such as to be liable to such requirement, they can not complain of their choice of its profits involves the fulfillment of a duty toward the public which has been too long neglected, which no other can so easily & effectively perform —

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CANADA

C 19394

Kennedy.

Organization

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C 19395

Remedies
organize &
hours

Sept 93. Griffin re Ind Tr Atlantic &c Ch. & Ry

Re smelting in healthy shops etc. This can only be remedied by organization of those thus employed & a healthy public opinion.

If the state did limit the no. of hours that men are employed as it does the hrs of women & minors and might look for a speedy reform
(Find he in correspt re)

C 19396

Remedies
Labour organize

Sept 93. — 6th Ann Rep. Fac Insp
p 83.

Inspectors Griffin thro' labour organizn & immigration
thus may stop S.S.

Inspec McCarthy of Nanaimo: all there was very little SS
in St Paulin Louis. Organizn had prevented it. There was a
combination of cutters & there real was manifest on all work
done by them.

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Remedy organize

Madden, Jour. Soc Sc p 99
1892 C 19397

The first obstacle of successful organizn among workers in this industry is the direct employt of out-workers in homes by the large concerns, & the existence of numerous small contractors who employ small "teams" or groups of unorganized workers, in tenements or isolated work rooms wh from condns under wh they are employed, are outside the influence of organizn. [interfere with plans of organizn] When unorganized workers in gen occupy a lower social or indust'l plane, the difficulty is increased. For they will under such circumstances contentedly accept a lower wage or work longer hrs than organized workers. — The organized worker then finds the condn wh permit sweating a constant menace to his own indust'l security

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Kennedy
organizing

madlle. Jour. Soc Sc 699
1892 C 19397

The first obstacle of successful organizing among workers in this industry is the direct employment of out-workers in homes by the large concerns, & the existence of numerous small contractors who employ small "teams" or groups of unorganized workers, in tenements or isolated work rooms the from conditions under which they are employed, are outside the influence of organizing. ... When unorganized workers in general occupy a lower social or mental plane, the difficulty is increased. For they will under such circumstances contentedly accept a lower wage or work longer hrs than organized workers. — The organized worker then finds the conditions which permit enabling a constant menace to his own indust. position

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C 19398

Remedy.

Consumer's League.

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Remedy
Canadian League

C 19399

Sept 94. 8th Am Con Lac pp 680.

Mr Tracy said that nothing had been done by the Canadian
League in Ont. against sweaters, its work being rather in the direct
of ameliorating the abuses under wh it was alleged the clerks in
mercantile establishments labored.

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C 19400

Remedy. —

Trades Unions.

organization
Strikes
Label. etc.

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Lg. Union strike

Sept 96.

C 19401

Great strike (last Spring (96)) in New York city of 20,000 clothing workers for a period of nearly 2 mos.

Lg Union action.

Sept 94

C 19402

The Cigar makers Union in N.Y. had a long agitation against the Tenement system. The mass of evidence was collected & published by the Int. Cigar Makers Union — about 94

Tenancy rd that the tenement sufferers of cigars in New York is almost obliterated owing principally to the efforts of the Cigar Makers Assn of N.Y. & 8th Amdt. Rec 2nd 1.

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Trade Union
8 strikes in July.

Sept 94. 8th Ann Cov. Fac Insp &c

C 19403

The strikes connected with the clothing trs of New York have more
todo with the suppression of the S.S. in these trades than any laws in operation

Dr Victor Freyer. 480.

Trs unions
& strikes

Sept 94 Freyer in 8th Ann Cov. Fac Insp & 102

C 19404

Notwithstanding all the laws which have been passed in recent
years to end the evils of the sweater, the greatest strike in the
ready made clothing trs. has just terminated in the City of New-
York & they organizate the Operatives have won a victory.
but the contractor was the party who was struck against.
& I predict that it will be a short lived success. Any
victory of the unions must be temporary over the S.S.

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Dr Herridge

Sept 95. Procedure & Am 6 Rules Drafts - 6.79.

C 19405

Re measures - re bill [drafted] by Mr Tracy, 94 presented to House Jan 96 had already (Sept 95) been adopted by a no. of trade unions & had been placed in the hands of several congressmen by these organizations

to Union action
labels.

March 92. H of R 93.

C 19406

Mr Gagnon - (Pres't of the Dominion Labourers Union) — re bills that have been introduced, we wish to state that the organizn we represent do not endorse either of the bills presented. — Our position is & always has been that we simply ask the Government house work to be labeled as such . . . Goods shld be labeled so that the consumer in buying an article shall take the risk of the condition that the clothing may be in etc (note how narrow - confin effort to Union work - Chemist)

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Gr. Unions
& Strikes etc

March 92. 1407 R.R. 6 20. C 19407

End of Mrs Hochstadter –

There have been labor troubles – within a half a doz yrs differences between employees & employers as re. wages. There were strikes in consequence of that & 7 yrs ago. – there strikes arose from demands made by the cutters & trimmers. I think it was a ? of wages or employment.

Mr. Bonthal. It was a ? of hours & also a ? of the employment of apprentices.

Mr Mendelsohn. – It was an agreement made in New York City between the cutters & trimmers & their employers as re wages. & it was faithfully lived up to on both sides until finally a demand was made on a certain clothing house that a certain man shld be discharged. He was acting as foreman & they threatened that if he was not discharged the cutters wd all quit. They did & result the balance were locked out & remained out for quite a time. This after they had reinstated their men, the foreman still remained & they were allowed to go back to work.

In this shops there were disputes re prices

Trade Unions
Labour
Strikes
Missouri

Sept 97. Report from Missouri C 19408 11 Bur. Lab. Rpt p 32

Up to the present year almost all of the work in the clothing trade was done in tenement houses. In April of this year the union of clothing workers of St. Louis, in the coat and vest-making trade, struck to change these conditions and for a restoration of prices to those in vogue two years ago. They succeeded in securing agreements with all of the large manufacturers, granting their demands. The work is all contract work and under the agreement the manufacturer was prohibited from giving work to any contractor conducting a shop in a tenement house.

Very little heed is now paid the agreement by the manufacturers and conditions are gradually working back to the old rut.

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C 19409

Lab. Union

Notice given by U.S. Trade Unions of a increased strike re.
contract system next year 1889.

C 19410

Lab. Union

Federal Union officers are more disposed to listen to demands of trade unions, that many of them have shown a decided willingness (Trade Smart Asst. to Gov)

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Dr. Munro

C 19411

Madlin Jol. Soc Sc. f 100

Many arrange scale of prices etc of Society. & declare. Munro Rep

Influence of Dr. Munro

C 19412

Madlin Jol Soc Sc. f 98

Scarcely 30 yrs passed since least 18½ clear indemnity afforded labor Boot & shoe etc
opportunities. Other industry has now become highly organized & is perhaps the most complete & simplificat[n]. of the appliances of the domestic by the factory system.

Also note old trades, where system of contracting prevalent. Sweating not prevalent
& some forms of retail marking

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Re Union action

C 19413

Mass House Ro 149. 63.

letter by John Crowley "Gen'l Sec Clothing Operatives Nat'l
date Jan 12, 1890
Union" to Gov't Record led to investig'n by Dep't Police. Made.

Re Union label.

Mass House Ro 149 63 4.

C 19414

The "Clothing Operatives Nat'l Union" decrees that the Boston dealers shall themselves suffer their clothing instead of sending it to New York & allow their workmen to organize as members of the "Union"; & in return the "Union" will furnish a label to be sewed upon every garment so suffered, reading as follows —

"This certifies that this garment was made under healthful conditions"

John Crowley, Gen'l Sec."

In the centre of the tag is a printed seal bearing the name of the organiz'n; & the members are expected to purchase labelled garments & encourage others to do likewise.

There is one large establishment in town that is making the experiment, but meets no marked results (note Small Bros & Co. Mass 4) as yet; one of the employees stating that there is not much inquiry for the labelled goods, customers apparently caring more for the price & quality than to know where the garment was made.

Rep't of Inspector N.J. Bardwell to Chief Wade Jan 91

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Germany
Trades Unions.

C 19415

Ky White May 96

~~to the many gains that have been made.~~ The sweating system is being grappled with in all earnestness, and all facts plainly show that this detrimental system of labor is steadily being suppressed, both in this and in other countries. The reforms introduced in the tailor shops of this country helped to stir up the tailors and seamstresses of Germany, who, after immense strikes in the large cities in February last, succeeded in effecting a compromise through a board of conciliation, by which the manufacturers agreed to pay an increase of 12½ per cent, and to fix a list of minimum rates under which each of the various articles of clothing should not be given out either to contractors or workers. The contractors agreed to pay the workers the full amount of the increase. Manufacturers agreed not to deal with contractors who violated the above conditions. Wages were to be paid weekly. The workers' demand for the erection of special workshops was withdrawn. These concessions were granted to 34,000 persons.

Trades Union
Label

C 19416 Ky White Bull Labor May 96
p. 374

Another factor used in the warfare waged against the sweating system is the influence of the public as purchasers. Quite a number of large manufacturers have been obliged to withdraw work sent to sweating contractors, through the systematic appeals made by unions of the trade upon members of other unions and sympathizers to withhold patronage from dealers handling or keeping such goods on sale. Usually a retail clothier would cease dealing with an objectionable manufacturer rather than incur the opposition of patrons. In line with this method the union label has been of service. It is designed to enable sympathizers to distinguish and give preference to goods guaranteed to be made under union, fair, and sanitary conditions. A number of large manufacturers have adopted this label, which has been actively agitated for during the past three years.

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Mr. Mackenzie
Statistician

Ry White, Bull Lab. May 96
L-371

C 19417

While the community was enacting measures for the alleviation of the misery due to the sweat shop, and was seeking its suppression as a public menace, the operatives themselves, whose poverty seemed to have sapped their courage and mentality, became aroused, and after a strike lasting three weeks abolished the worst features of the sweating evil. This strike was akin to a revolution in its suddenness and sweep. It began in New York, Brooklyn, and Newark in September, 1894, and was continued in Boston and Baltimore. Similar disputes, with varying success, occurred in Philadelphia, Rochester, Chicago, and St. Louis.

Prior to this movement organization among the tailors existed and large strikes took place, but all of a spasmodic nature. Some of these contests were announced as victories, but the unions were unable to maintain the advantages gained and suffered a relapse. But the rebellious spirit was only dormant, waiting favorable opportunities.

In April, 1891, in New York City, the foundation for a successful movement was laid through the formation of a national union comprising all branches of the industry, known as the United Garment Workers of America. The clothing cutters, who had a long trade-union experience, and were more favorably circumstanced, identified themselves with this national movement, took an active interest, and thus gave permanency to the organization.

A vigorous agitation was begun for the abolition of the sweating system, but met with no immediate visible results. The industrial prostration of 1893 and 1894 set in, and during that period the tailors were reduced to a condition bordering on pauperism. Special relief

C 19418

works were started in the large clothing cities to prevent actual starvation. The task system sets no limitation, however, and the tasks were so increased that the amount of work exacted from the few employed further deprived others of work. When the revival in the trade came, in August and September, 1894, the tailors had learned to exist somehow without the task. The unions, which acted as relief bureaus during the depression, issued a manifesto for the overthrow of the task system and ordered a general strike. About 16,000 coat makers in 950 shops in New York, Brooklyn, and Newark responded. The competing contractors, who were used by the manufacturers as implements to increase the daily tasks, formed an association, but granted the demands and signed individual agreements with the unions after the third week. The terms granted provided for weekly work on a basis of ten hours per day; a minimum rate of wages of from $9 to $15 per week, according to the branch of work; no overtime to be permitted, and the employment of members of the union. So fearful were the now emancipated operatives that the task system would be again returned, that every contractor was obliged to furnish a real-estate bond as security that all the terms of the agreement would be lived up to. The legal standing of the agreements and bonds obtained are now under consideration by the higher courts of New York through several test cases brought against employers for violation of agreement.

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The improvements made through these strikes can not be solely estimated by the great material gain. Hope and ambition have taken the place of the characteristic supineness of the clothing operative. Since the first strike the agreements were renewed, with additions, through another struggle the following year, and a few months ago the organized contractors caused a lockout which was successfully resisted. The other branches of the tailoring trade, although still working under the piecework system, accomplished corresponding results. It is estimated that 40,000 tailors, about 70 per cent of the total number affected by the sweating system in the different cities, are working in shops conducted under similar conditions, and in Boston the work day is but nine hours. The hours of labor have been thus shortened by from two to five hours per day, and this has had the noticeable effect of prolonging the working seasons and giving steadier employment. A number of small contractors were obliged to give up their shops, owing to the refusal of the unions to make terms with them. It is remarkable that the wholesale manufacturing trade has not suffered through the increased cost of production because of the uniformity of the increase, and the manufacturers have now expressed themselves favorable to the change, which has removed much of the odium from the trade and raised the method of manufacturing to a higher plane. There are still many small shops hidden away in the teeming tenements in which the sweating system exists, and these are most difficult to reach, but the improved conditions obtained in the trade naturally have made an impression even there. While the State factory laws prohibit manufacturing in rooms not separate from living apartments, work still can be done by a family in the homes as long as outside help is not employed. While this is very detrimental, still it is limited.

It is specially worthy of note that the marked improvement made in the condition of the clothing workers during the past two years has been accomplished notwithstanding the comparative depression existing, the trade not having fully recovered from the general industrial prostration which was at its worst between two and three years ago. The number of unemployed in the trade has usually been large. There was an improvement about a year ago, but a relapse has taken place recently which has enabled the manufacturers to make encroachments upon the standard rate of wages, hours of labor, etc., established and maintained by the unions. This caused a very dissatisfied and restless spirit. The clothing manufacturers in the different cities formed associations to oppose the unions. This led to the recent large general strikes in Baltimore, Chicago, and Cincinnati which began at the end of February of this year and involved about 11,000 persons, including all the branches of the trade, both cutters and tailors, of which number 7,400 were in Chicago, 3,300 in Baltimore, and 300 in Cincinnati. The manufacturers in these three important clothing cities acted concertedly and the contests were stubborn and prolonged. The manufacturers naturally held the advantage, owing to the extreme dullness in the trade.

The trouble originated with the cutters in each city. In Baltimore the tailors stopped work mainly in support of the cutters, who demanded recognition and the usual minimum rate of wages. The strike was abandoned after five weeks. In Cincinnati the cutters' union ordered a strike in the shop of one firm and the other manufacturers resented by locking out all the others. The unions thereupon declared for the eight-hour workday. After seven weeks the cutters returned to work individually after the manufacturers rescinded the resolution not to employ members of the union.

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C 19421

In Chicago the Manufacturers' Association precipitated the conflict with the Cutters' Union by declaring for the "merit system" instead of the minimum rate of wages, and the nine-hour workday in place of the eight hours observed for three years. The tailors also made issue with the contractors, were partially successful, and in shops employing about 2,300 persons enforced the ten-hour workday and minimum rate of wages in place of the "task" system. Ten firms, employing about 100 cutters out of 900 in the city, conceded the terms of the union, and at the end of the eighth week the others returned to work under the conditions stipulated by the employers.

While the results of these contests which involved so many persons are most unfavorable to the employee, this fact signifies only a check

to the many gains that have been made

C 19422

Dr. Unions

Dry Wholesale, Retail Dept. Stores

1762

The frequent interruptions caused by strikes in the trade (the ladies cloak & suit trade) have induced many of the wholesale firms to conduct large shops of their own. This is considered to be an improvement

Note clothing & cloak cutters & trimmers - about 8000. employed directly. hours 9 per day (½ holiday Sat. during 5 mos)
In Chicago " 8 " "
wages 15 to 24 per wk. usual rate 20.

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C 19423

To unions secure better conditions

Sept 95. — Cunningham in Art 9 to Am Cor. Tac Mch 39

Sheabury & Ely.

The operators themselves there' their associates last September (94) successfully refused & again this Sept (95) to continue to work under the degrading conditions which were introduced & themselves individually A week work system on a basis of 5-9 hrs per week has been generally established & a minimum rate of wages, which compares favorably with that of other trades. — The public & the press have rightly applauded this small-

C 19424

To unions collar

Sept 93 Mrs Kelly in Art 9th Cor. Tac Mch 6 10.

The vital clause of the Illinois (93) law is the 8 hrs sec. Illinois makes it a matter of its Union principle for every union man & woman in Illinois to report at once every infraction of the law & the unions have been found invaluable aids in enforcing this section

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Remedy
to labels.
or fraudulent devices

Sept 94. Mrs Francey re art: 8 – 11th Cov. Fact 1899

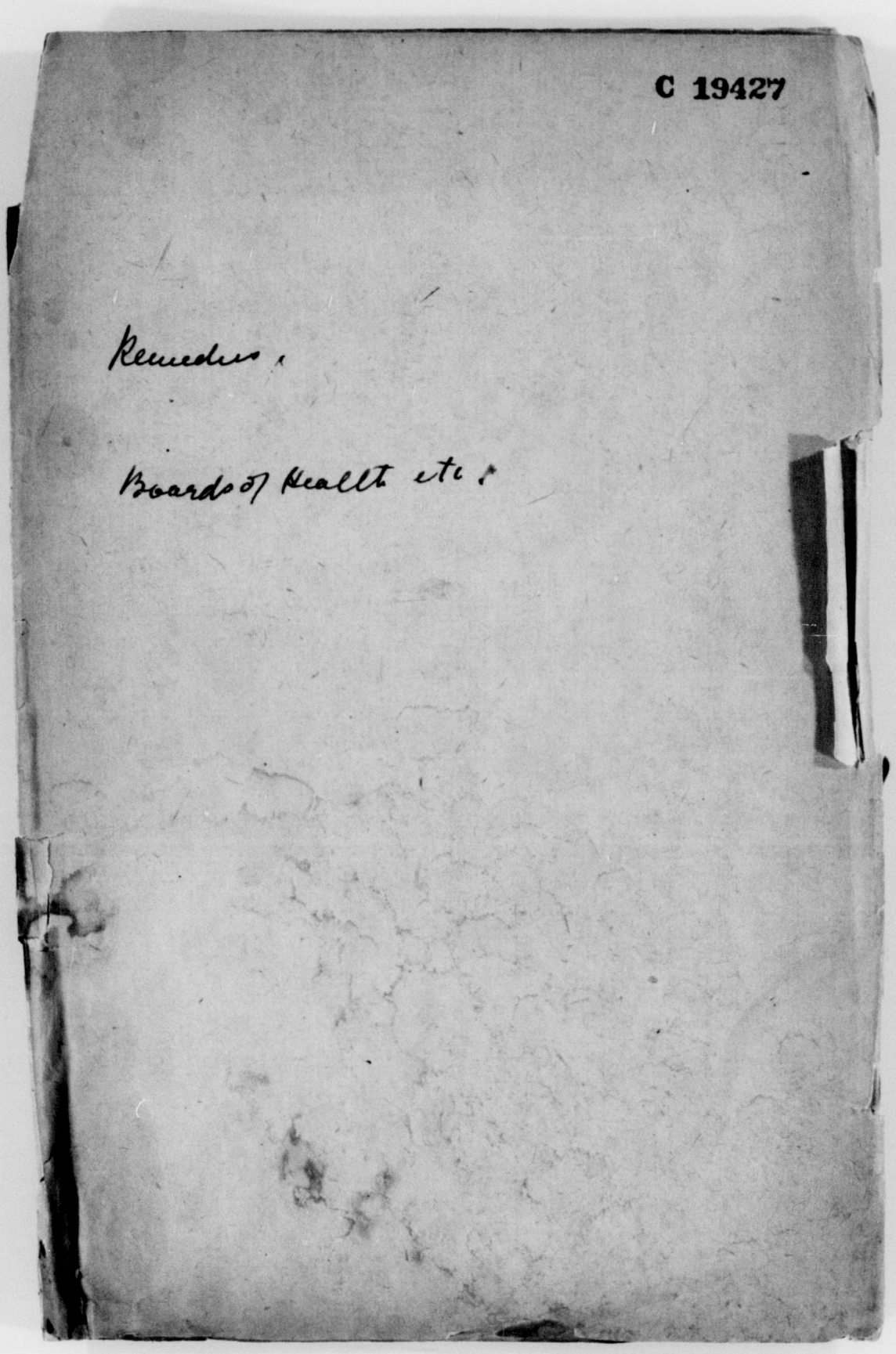
who show that the goods so marked have been made under union conditions. These labels have their uses, but in the clothing to their value as a check to the sweating system has a limit. I do not discourage their use but I contend that they only appeal to a portion of the community & can never abolish the S.S. — So far the labelling of goods has only been effective in spots as a check to the S.S. & I do not think the plan will ever be much more than a strong rallying point upon wh organizations of the trades affected may maintain their integrity in troublous times & assist them in making war upon a recalcitrant employer now & then when a strike or lockout is an issue. — I know that a label, representing the best skill & highest-priced labor of a particular is a potent means of keeping up wages & keeping down the competition of non-union made goods whether superior or inferior in quality to the union made article, but these labels & the success

require an amt of agitation & advertisement not possible where the union spirit is weak & undeveloped, or where unions as unions do not exist at all.

The sweater will not service of every union man in the city bought only union made goods.. There are bargain hunters & non-union people enough to purchase non-labeled goods & keep alive the degrading features of the S.S. Labels may be counterfeited, rival unions may get up labels — A union label is a medium of labor protection which may be aided or opposed by the purchaser, accdg as his lights or his pocket book may lead him. It is for a class and against a class. & can only be partially successful unless the whole country be unionized. i.e. the label cannot effectually abolish the sweating evil, or even palliate it where the evil is the greatest.

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Remedy in Combination effective municipal authorities

Hof R. R. XXIV.
C 19428

1

Plainly, it appears that in no case has the action of municipal authorities proved effective. No one questions that the inspection laws of N.Y. have made the conditions there better than they and otherwise have been. In this city & in Chicago as well the health authorities are vigorous and fairly sustained by public opinion; & yet the worst & the most characteristic of the proofs which demonstrate the gravity of the situation are instances in these cities, so numerous as to be typical, of conditions which there in spite of such remedies. It must constantly be kept in mind that, when the effective enforcement of law necessitates an elaborate system of red tape or of arbitrary action, our political & social conditions doom it in advance.

bad conditions of many tenements in Mass even under stringent law showing inadequacy of any legislation which an American political community will tolerate

Remedy in combination need for Federal legislation — Experience of Mass

C 19429
Hof R. R. XXIV.

2

In this connection & facts aggravate this circumstance consideration

(1) So long as interstate commerce in this regard is left free, the stamping out of the sweating system in any particular State is of practically no effect, except to inflict peculiar hardship upon the sufferers of that State, & to encourage development elsewhere of the obnoxious conditions; while for each state to attempt to protect itself against this evil, as in the Experience of Mass, the necessity of keeping under the purview of its agents, not merely all places in the State, but all places outside as well, where goods are supposed to be sold within its borders, a task which, though in the case of states willing to undertake it, may drive to other States the sufferers of much of the goods which its own citizens are ultimately to wear, & may do something to deter the dealers of its own State from trafficking at home in goods thus made, is equal to the situation only in the proportion that it covers all of the branches of this business in the whole area in which it is or may be done and is ∴ a hopeless one except as a palliative; while beyond that in advance of special inducements each state of the Union will concern in effective steps by first clearing its own skirts is even more unlikely.

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Remedy
Coercion
effectiveness of local authorities
used for Fed'l legisn.
– experience in Mass

3

Hopk. R. f. XXIV.
C 19430

The result of what has been accomplished in Mass. is a typical illustration of the defects of local law. – It is seen that one effect of enforcing better conditions in Mass is to offer greater inducements for exporting goods to be made elsewhere, as a consequence of wh there is done at N.Y. & other States much of the work that naturally belongs to Boston; it is noted that, while the keenness advantage of advertising goods as made "under the Mass law" is undoubted, a large proportn of the goods ~~are~~ so sold are made outside of the State, wherever the buyer pleases, and without any obligation upon him to disclose it – the only risk he takes being that if one of the Mass inspectors does happen to trace to him any garment, which in his leisure & travel outside of the State he happens to find having been made in an unhealthy place, he the buyer will either have to tag the garment "or sell it outside of Mass" as the law puts it – It can be comprehended how impracticable, with our free intercourse between States, it is for a state to protect itself, not to say really to remedy the evils complained of.

Remedy
Fed'l Legisn

4.

Hopk. R. f. XXV.
C 19431

Important factors concur to favor nat'l law.

1. In the enforcement by any state of its legisn it is hopelessly handicapped; i.e. it must not merely counteract the ~~insanitary~~ system within its borders, but keep out the products of the system, whether imported by foreign dealers, or reimported by home buyers, who have exported their goods to gain outside the profits of the system they are forbidden to practice at home.

2. It imposes a peculiar hardship upon numerous classes within that State & gives opportunities to equally numerous classes in other States (to wh the industry is alien)

3. The inducement for any legisn short of this is lessened by the fact that the loss caused by it will fall mainly upon the citizens of the enacting state, while the benefits derived will be but partial & in common with other States from wh the health of the N. State continues to be menaced.

Nat'l legisn will impose hardship on no State, hence will not be subject to special opposition, & acting everywhere it will make the remedy complete while be favored by its inducements.

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Remedy in Legislation
Fed. vs. Local laws.

4.

Hoffell. LXXV.

C 19432

Local laws to be effective must operate where police & health regulations & ordinances so far as they touch citizens & chattels engaged in the work, & is universally recognized now limited must be theirs continuous operation, unless they are either to break down or become a nuisance to the community. — eg. Bd of Health attempts to deal with any concd. no. of cases at once, & requires but a limited amt of resistance in each, & a not apparently unreasonable search to find labs, to render practically ineffective the work of the department — & so far as local laws reach the wholesaler, their effect is largely multiplied, by the extent to wh. those interested are citizens of other States.

Good Results, on other hand, covering the whole city & including all of those interested, old be such as to act directly upon the comparatively few who are offers, & who of it is made for their interest so to do (note Commons Debate) & can promptly & effectively crush out every vestige of the trouble complained of without expense to themselves trouble to the public, or confusion or damage to their business. For the health officer authorities of one-half dozen cities to attempt to trace, & when found, to make them tolerable the conditions under wh are made wh the numerous lots & garrets

Remedy in Legislation
Fed. vs. Local

5/

Hoffell. LXXV.

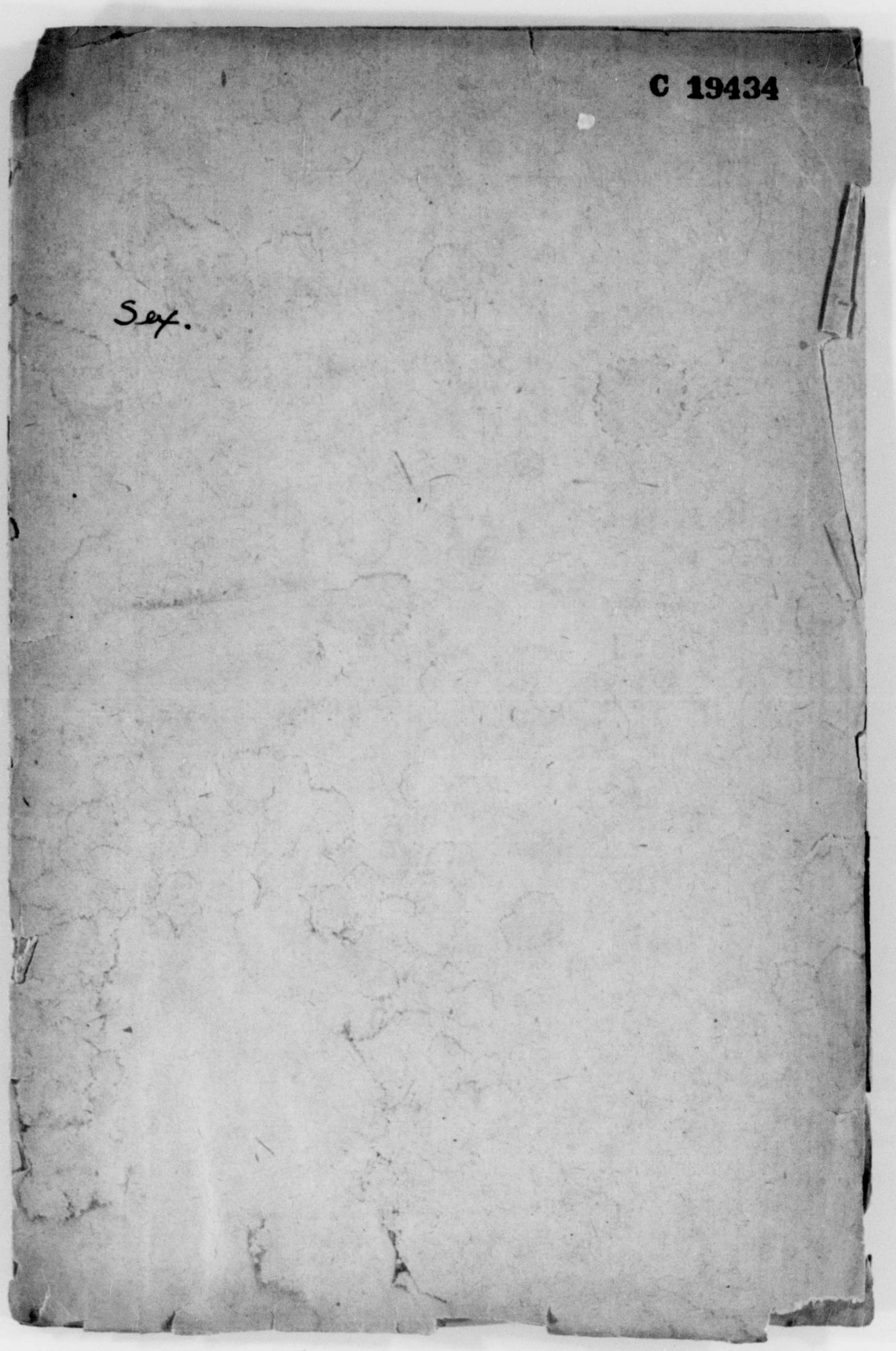
C 19433

given out by a single office. is a task as much beyond the cleansing of the Augean stables as the strength of a municipal officer is less than that of Hercules. — On other hand, the office himself, by promptly declining to grant out his mark except in quarters where he has been satisfied in advance that the conditions of the office are such as he approves, can make the more complicated process unnecessary, indeed by the employment of a couple of inspectors the office of any city old thus absolutely insure the healthful conditions under wh goods are made there.

If it be objected that there are opportunities for profit in the absence of the S.M.S. wh a certain no. in the trade, will decline to forego & that the scruples of their more public-spirited brethren will put them at a disadvantage, then as such will surely become the most powerful argument for the law, wh at practically no expense to those who are willing to comply with it, deprives those who are unwilling to do so of the privileges wh compliance secures.

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84

Smeaton in Hosp. Gazette 1892 p. 38?

Employees of 33 Boston contractors classified by 214 according to nationality

Nationality of employees	Males	Females	Both Sexes.
American	34	215	249
German	5	1	6
Hebrew	223	225	448
Irish	32	144	176
Italian	92	123	215
Portuguese	5	8	13
totals.	391	716	1,107

published in HofR p. 230
(Figs collected 1890)

Self

Instances cited of typical tenements visited by agent of Bureau

Wed - 3 men (25 yrs) 2 girls 15 & 18
1 " wife
2 "
2 "

Roman Nation

1 " wife
woman
3 women (bunching)
2 "

3 "
" " wife
3 " 1 girl
1 " 1 "
1 " wife
1 "
1 "
4 "

Weekly in Hosp Gaz p 234-6
1892

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C 19437

Sept '95 Miss O'Reilly 9th Ave bet. 39th & 40th

Glf.

Investigation in Garland Dept 94
on north sec.

Of the 93 places visited, 50 of wh were regulars workshops
the others tem. house workrooms. — 405 women } these represent
335 men } about 1/2 reg.
& children } force when busy

Germans principally employed at trade in this sec,

553 places visited south of Market St
also houses on Market St.

White men operators were mostly employed on southern part of the city
& earn the largest wages, the condn on the north sec (Germans) is
reversed women operating & earning from $6 to $12 wh is work enough
for 10 hrs day.

Glf.

March 2. 1895 C 19438

Visit of Eugene S Benjamin.

Goods made in N.Y. city generally overcoats made by men with
women helpers who live in the city. Goods in Williamsburg are also
coats & pants - sweaters in wh the larger proportion of labor are women. - Goods
made in Troy - lighter kind are made by women altogether

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C 19439

Re 2nd

Note competition leading to employment of women & children in stead of men. - displacement of male 6 - 4 —

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Do not Forget

C 19440

that in buying your Winter Underwear from us you are dealing direct with the manufacturer.

Keep in Mind

our underwear is made under the very best sanitary conditions by mills in which we are personally interested. We do not give away goods, but guarantee to save you something on whatever you buy.

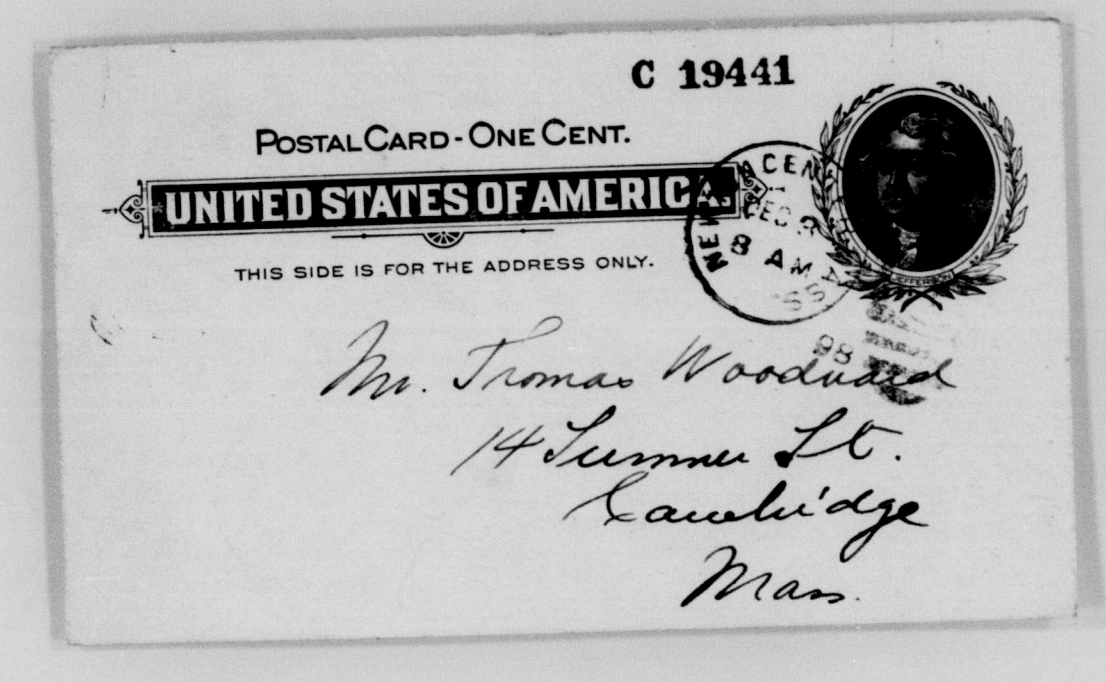
All styles of regular 50c. underwear, single or double breasted,		45c.
Fleece lined, extra heavy, 3 thread, guaranteed to wear two years, our price,		59c.
Plush back, lambs' wool will not shrink,		79c.
Plush back, australian wool, (our very best bargain)		$1.00
Wright's sanitary wool underwear, all colors,		98c.
Very best domestic derby ribbed balbriggan,	98c., 4 garments	$3.75
Very best imported " " "		$1.25
Our popular street glove, the **"Glen Special,"** reindeer or lambskin,		$1.00
Shaw-Knit cotton half hose, all colors, all sizes,		19c.
Two-third worsted half hose, " "		25c.

GLEN SHIRT & COLLAR CO., Manufacturers,

OPP. PARK STREET CHURCH, 121 TREMONT STREET, BOSTON.

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C 19441

POSTAL CARD - ONE CENT.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THIS SIDE IS FOR THE ADDRESS ONLY.

Mr. Thomas Woodward
14 Sumner St.
Cambridge
Mass.

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C 19442

Clothing Industry

attitude of manufacturers.

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Re Report of Employers

Mines Comm re Int 19.6.19

C 19443

A report of one of the best known professional ignorance re-
-garding the whole question

Final Report of Mr. Justice W. J. Bardwell & Robert Wade Jan 1891

Re Responsibility of Employers
the contract system

March 92 H. of R. R & B. C 19444

Mr Hazelhurst — The committee here from the Clothing trades do not wish to produce evidence concerning the so-called - sweating system. We are manufacturers. We give out work by contract. If any pernicious system exists we do not know anything about it. . . . .
-- The contractors who employ these people are the ones who should be summoned. . . . .

p. 4. There is nobody here to suggest that there is any such system in New York. We have no knowledge of any such thing

Evid of Mr Mendelson —
67 With the contractors the question of where the work is done is not gone into
but we know nothing of the condition of the places in wh the work is done - We
have never taken the pains to find out. I do not believe the S.S. does exist in
our case. I do not know what it means.

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C 19445

Re Immediately of Hughes. March 4 re Hoffman. 27.

Evidence of Eugene St. Benjamin.

Have had personal knowledge of the condition under which the work is done. Have made no inquiries regarding it. Use memorandum of the places where the clothing is made in order to examine it, - we find out bad places only by the odour in the clothes at times. Have a man that goes around constantly.

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Sweating system.

Conditions necessary for.

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Social conditions
why New York is sweating centre

C 19446

Sept 97. Arb. & Mediy 11th Cour. Fac Inspn. p 77

Diphtheria and death are found lurking every day, as they always must, and as they always have been, in the slums of such a city as New York. To say that Italian sweaters are cleaner than Jews is only a relative and comparative statement. Danger to health and life are not therefore prevented. We find cases every day which, if not checked, would lead to outbreaks of pestilence. We must insist again, therefore, that New York City is worse, in its almost necessary conditions, than any city in our own state, as well as any other state, and for that reason, more power and stricter legal protection must be placed within the reach of the factory department than has been granted even by our last legislature, great as that was. It is not intended by this statement to convey the idea that there is no sweating so bad anywhere as in New York, but that our physical problem of dwellings for the poor and the workers, the narrow strip of land which limits our expansion geographically, and the awful centralization of competition of which we are the victims, added, as already urged, to the laxity in our immigration laws, make New York City the scape-goat of the United States, so far as bad conditions leading to sweating in its worst forms is concerned. It is only in justice to ourselves that we must keep these latter points in mind during any discussion of this question.

All this goes to show how sweating is a symptom of other bad conditions & largely produced by them i.e. many conditions. (and not exist in favourable conditions etc? K?)

Sweating conditions incidental to

Hy Labour Jnl Soc Sc: Bul Bull: May 96

2360-1

C 19447

High rents contribute their share of responsibility for the sweating system. If rents were cheap there would be a distinct advantage in working in separate rooms or shops. This is invariably the result, for in localities where rents are lower, the shops are larger and the evils not so acute. The saving in rent is an important item. To combine a kitchen, bedroom, and workshop, to utilize a garret or a loft over a

360

stable, saves rent even though it sacrifices the health of the worker and the products of such shops spread sickness and death among the consumers.

The conditions that make the sweating system possible may be summed up as follows: First, crowded population in large cities; second, high rent; third, contract work.

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Speaking
course of.

Sept 95. 9 the Amm. Govt: Fact Inspec. p. 72

C 19448

Mr Campbell rd.

No State or nation must enact laws against sweating, & while the people demanded clothing at the very lowest possible cost, the system and its some form or other prevail — Same re legislation, &c.

NOC

This wd makes the "Consumer" responsible for the system, and is indeed questionable if in the last scientific analysis this view is not the most nearly correct. The existence of Consumer's Leagues are a recognition — the conscious or unconscious of the truth of this theory, & indeed lies at the root to a degree of all 'label' devices. K. — I believe there is much to be made of this point. — and that it illustrates a change in the method of dealing with economic subjects. Cf. Taussig wages: capital, recommend. Chief end. & Brooks Shamfield K.

C 19449

Campells - remarks cont'd,

Sanitary conditions must be fairly regulated, but low prices and always mean small earnings & poverty & misery to those who did the sweating. If the churches the trade unions, & our good people generally would cease to demand cheap clothing, or refuse to purchase where it is supplied, the sweating system would cease to exist, & all the desolate & depravity that it is ad to engender, and so with it.

(This is the first presentable of these bits of mine that I have come across in these papers. — some blame suffers. some contributory &c.

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C 19450

Sweating System
Statistics &c

Madden Jnl. Soc Sc. Oct'92.
1892 p. 44.

In Mass. Sweating undoubtedly does exist but strictly speaking there is no such thing as a sweating system

The slightest investigation shows that "sweating" does not rest upon system (of as division of labor in organized industry) is not even a necessary adjunct of modern methods of prodn, but is simply an incident or condition which exists when some of the essential characteristics of modern industry are lacking. i.e. when the workers are generally unorganized, when skill is least developed, & where the factory has not yet entirely superseded the domestic form of employment. This, if true, is encouraging, for if it were otherwise, & sweating were a distinct system of prodn, resting upon an organized basis, it would be exceedingly difficult to overcome it - while if we be but an incident or peculiar condition, not in any way essential to modern industry system we may reasonably expect its prevention as soon as we are agreed as to what it is & why it occurs.

C 19451

At present there seems to be no gen. agreement as to what constitutes sweating. In Mass speaks chiefly of sanitary conditions

"Some think sweating identical with the method of sub contracting - others as inseparable from cheap hours employed. - this neither of these. Sweating may accompany these or it may not these may develop evils which are not sweating. Statistics if we are to be exact in our definitions, implies the contemptuous oppression of the worker by his employer, either by underpaying him for his service, overmarking him or both.

It is possible under any industrial system, but it is not likely to occur in an aggravated form except under conditions which place a peculiar incentive before the controller of labor, whether employer, sub foreman, to oppress the workers to his own advantage joined with conditions surrounding the workers which make it practically impossible to avoid such oppression.

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C 19450

Sweating System etc

Madlen Pol. Soc Sec Oct '92.
1892 p. 44

In Mass. sweating undoubtedly does exist but strictly speaking there is no such thing as a sweating system

The slightest investigation shows that "sweating" (does not rest upon system) (as does division of labor in organized industry) is not even a necessary adjunct of modern methods of production, but is simply an incident or condition which exists when some of the essential characteristics of modern industry are lacking. i.e. when the workers are generally unorganized, when skill is least developed, & where the factory has not yet entirely superseded the domestic form of employment. This, if true, is encouraging, for if it were otherwise, & sweating were a distinct system of production, resting upon an organized basis, it would be exceedingly difficult to reconcile it - while if we be but an incident or peculiar condition, not in any way essential to modern industrial system we may reasonably expect its prevention as soon as we are agreed as to what it is & why it occurs.

C 19451 2

At present there seems to be no general agreement as to what constitutes sweating. i.e. Mass agitation chiefly on sanitary conditions

"Some think sweating identical with the method of sub contracting - others as inseparable from present hours employed - & is neither of these. Sweating may accompany these or it may not these may develop evils which are not sweating. Strictly if we are to be exact in our definition, implies the continuous offering of the worker by his employer, either by underpaying him for his service, overworking him or both.

It is possible under any industrial system, but it is not likely to occur in an aggravated form except under conditions which place a peculiar incentive before the controller of labor, whether employer, sub foreman, to offer the workers to take own advantage joined with conditions surrounding the worker which make it practically impossible to avoid such oppression.

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p. 96.

The sweating system to sweating appears to be.

Re superintendency

1. Generally a superintendent (employer, owner, or foreman) whose pecuniary reward is directly proportionate to the amt of work which can be exacted from the workers in a given time, or to the saving in labor cost that may be effected by paying the workers the lowest possible wage

Re status of laborer

(2) On the part of workers low degree of skill, undeveloped intelligence (see article in Contemp. Rev. Jan 98) & isolated or comparatively isolated employment. whereby organization is rendered difficult

Re (1) Schloss says "Methods of Remun" -

page 5. The True remedies of the Sweating System "is to be looked for in the fact that the sweated" workpeople, instead of being employed under a foreman remunerated by time-wage, are employed under a taskmaster remunerated by "the profit on the job" i.e. in direct proportion to the speed at which he can drive his subordinates

(what about sweating in piece work? K.)
(in homes, no superintendence!)

p. 134 - "The essence of the Sweating System" consists in the diminution given to the immediate supt. of labor by making his earnings proportionate to the vigilance & severity of his supervision

In these Schloss adds

p. 6 - "If it were possible to abolish the piece-work remuneration of all superintendents of labor, then & then alone, could we have got rid, root & branch of the sweating system.

p. 134. "If it were possible to replace every superintendent remunerated in this manner (whether small employer, sub-contractor or piece master) by a superintendent, remunerated by time wage or salary irrespective of results then we should entirely have done away with the sweating system." (p. 97)

Note Wadlin mentions 2 conditions as essential to sweating — 1st says by changing the status of the worker, as well as by changing the method of his superintendency, to wh. Mr Schloss particularly alludes, sweating may be prevented. The method of sub-contracting affords opportunity for 1st — or even foreman in 1st case

In Sweating system with 1st occurs except when a middleman, either sub-contractor, foreman or supplier intervenes between the employer in chief & the workmen, & is led by the method stated (what about Shorey's K. note compiler of Schloss set rate)

Yet both conditions must be joined.

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~~Such both~~
Since both conditions must be joined. the system of sub contracting
or of rewarding superintendency out of profits does not necessarily involve
sweating. When the skill regrd in the industry precludes the employt
of a comparatively low degree of labor, or when the work must from
its nature be done in a factory under proper sanitary & industl
conditions, or when other employt is open to the workers, or when
the possibility of effective organizn is open to the workers, the
work may go on without Oppression of the worker & without
leading to serious social evils.

Thus the system of sub contracting, even the method of payt of superv-
-intendency out of profits on the jobs obtains in the boot & shoe industry
in some forms of metal working, & in the clothing bus in Mass. substantially
the same as in the clothing industry altho not to so great an extent.
& yet in neither of these industries has sweating tho possible, been
, prominent nor led to serious complaint (note wages makers figures)

The clothing industry differs from these others in that it still re-
mains to a consid extent a domestic industry (making more likely
to domestic than factory ?K) & it embraces unorganized labor
may also be employed, largely of women, who may do the work
in connection with their main occupation of home keeping.

Scarcely 30 yrs since boot & shoe industry afforded later of parliament
Provisions hastily organized (note work to be done by laborers themselves)
influence of the time.

most complete exemplification of the suppression of the domestic by the
factory system

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C 19456

Smoking System.

Definition of.

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C 19457

usury Smeating

Mute usury is a sort of crime called 'smeating' the coin

p. 62 (Essay XI

Bollard (or Lamp) - trans of Aristt. Politics.

London. Longs. Green & Co. 1877

C 19458

Smeating system
conditions of.

Bradlaw Jour. Soc Sc. Oct 1884
via Hopkins. p 239

In these homes are found persons of both sexes frequently entirely ignorant of our language, the entire family sometimes eating sleeping & working in one apartment. These are the conditions of the "sweating system" so called. The work is done by piece & ordinary hours of labor are disregarded

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Sweating System

Hy Wh. 2 pm C 19459

The essential of the "sweating" process consists in the fact that the compensation of the contractor is the margin between the price he receives and the price he pays for the making of each garment, this margin is, in the vernacular, said to be "sweated" from the compensation of his employées.

"Sweating system"
term

Hy White. C 19460
Bull of Lab. May 96
L 360

The term "sweating system" has a general meaning, but is specifically used to describe a condition of labor 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 it is intensified by subcontracting in shops conducted in homes. Such conditions prevail to a distressing degree in localities having a large, herded foreign population, and among people known for excessive industry and thrift—virtues otherwise considered indispensable to prosperity and happiness Recently arrived foreign working people crowded into the big cities are the most helpless, and, in order to barely live, are willing to submit to almost incredible exactions. It is thus that this form of labor soon outcompetes and displaces all other forms and becomes the standard for the particular industry in which it is introduced.

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Sweating System
defence 07.

Sept 95

C 19461

We once spoken by White in Bull of Lab May 96 is found to article by Cunningham of New York. in ~~note~~ of the Am Econ. Fac Inspec. Pronun p 37.
vs Mayer auth with. min wage.
He says such a condⁿ is made possible thro letting out work to petty contractors.

S.S.
Causes of. bad surroundings etc

C 19462

Not so much to be attributed to the individ- themselves as to society in gen'l (here is an interesting field to note K. has fas:?) Society has done provided for the means of educat-, moral training, or employment etc

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Smeaton's defendt. of

C 19463

See page 102+103, of proceedings 7th Assn Conv.
+104
Fact. Inspec. Asstly. McKay — (became Secretary K.)

Smeaton's defendt. of

C 19464

Sept 93. Asst by Griffin 7th Assn Conv. Fac. Insp Co 109.

His not demanding of an exorbitant amt. of work to be done within a pre-scribed time, which it is impossible to accomplish, thereby forcing the victim ~~to accomplish~~ to spend an extra amt of time to perform the task without receiving any compensation for it.

Hence S.S can be exercised in clean healthy workshop

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S.S. essence of contract system

C 19465

Sept 94. Fraser in Arb & Am bow. Tac Inc 1900

the worst feature of S.S. — the almost compulsory low wages & the farming out of the raw materials to contractors forces upon the operative ... our experience has shown that as long as the system of farming out the making of clothes exists, (& 101) as long as there are contractors to take it, the S.S. will continue & must grow. So long as there are sweaters, there will be the sweated. It is at the contract feature of the clothing making we must strike, & of this is wiped out the sweating evil will be a thing of the past.

Sweating term

C 19466.

Sept 95. Ext by Mrs O'Reilly & Mr. 6 Dec & 67

"In Queen Anne's time sweaters were street ruffians, who went abroad in small bands & meeting some poor, defenceless wayfarer, would form a circle around him & prick him with their swords, & compel him to dance until he perspired from the exertion"

The difference between the Sword-Bucklers of ancient times, and those responsible for the present S system, seems only to be a question of weapons & the mode of using them. &c

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Smeaton S.
defendis 07. Knowledge 1897 K.K. b. 12

C 19467

Mr Taylor (one of the committee) "It is a system which employs a great many people in small rooms where there are heated irons and various things that make the atmosphere unpleasant & disagreeable; places which are so close, and so much heated & ill ventilated that the surroundings must cause more or less sweating, & such places where the work is done by contractors who get pretty much all the pay that is given for the work. . .

The sweat of the brow . . . is the origin of the defendis. It is the condition under which the people work.

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CANADA

C 19468

Legislation

Jaq. (under date Legis.)

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CANADA

legis
Re identification
effect of tag proof

C 19469

Mass. Acts 1911 ch 149. ch 10.

After the clothing is placed upon the counter there seem to be no way of positively identifying the tag which may have been made as the tags which are usually sewed on after the operator as he or she finishes the garments, are supplied by the manufacturer; & these tags go not only to tenement houses but to regular shops :. unless goods can be traced directly from a tenement home to their Boston destination it would be difficult for an expert to decide where made

Refd to Mr Justice H. J. Bordwell by Chief Justice Aug 9 91

legis
Remedy
effect of tag provisions

C 19470

Mass. Gen. Stat. Sec. Act 92.
p. 83-84.

The provision (§ 3 of ch. 7 Act 1892) that a tag shall be placed on each garment is of little protection. It simply provides that the name of the State & city shall be printed & attached to the article. — only method is prohibition of Tenement work

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C 19471

Legislat.

re certificate of license.

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legis
need of certificate

Sept 97. Act by J.B. Griffin 11 & 12 Geo. V. Sec 2 of 1922

C 19472

Again, the burden of assuring to the public protection from disease in wearing apparel that they purchase and wear, should not solely rest upon the state, but should be shared by the merchants and manufacturers dealing therein. This can be only accomplished by stringent and just laws, dividing the responsibility.

If all clothing dealers and manufacturers were prohibited from giving clothing to be made in any place either shop or tenement, unless the persons controling such shops first secured a certificate from the state clearly stating that it was a proper and sanitary place to manufacture such clothing, they

B

would be forced to interest themselves in such shops. Such a law could not find opposition or impose any hardship upon any honest dealer or manufacturer, instead, it would be a protection to him from unscrupulous contractors and a guarantee that his clothing was made under healthful and sanitary conditions. Such a certificate could be so framed as to positively prevent any and all violations of the factory laws, and would more surely and easily reach the evils now aimed at by the present laws. T

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legislation
Remedy
licence
improvement

Sept 95 Cunningham in Art 9 Sec 4 Com Lab Act No 4 39.
Speaking of U.S.

C 19473

If the licensing system wild be adopted, by wh any person oper-
-ating a shop must give a guarantee that the factory laws
are & must be observed before obtaining a licence & wh is liable
to forfeiture: I think the operating unit cld be checked at
least thus wild give a reliable list of shops & wld help to
keep them under better control & supervision.

I wld also recommend, that violators of the factory laws be treated
like any other malefactor, & subject to a punishment by imprison-
-ment, as the amends can well afford to risk a possible fine in view
of the extra profits to be made by violating the laws & wh, does not
act sufficiently as a detriment.

Register
Remedy
Issuing of
Certificate re
place where goods made &c

Sept 97. Ref by Keeley 11th Court. Lab Act 60 & 61 Vic. c. 37

C 19474

2 Reg.

Contract Prohibited of all Certificates under which the Workers of One only
during effective

But in the meantime, a great improvement could be made by following the policy of "prevention" instead of cure, by making an amendment to the factory act compelling firms giving out stock to be made up, to first have a certificate from the factory department that the place of manufacture designated is all safe and sound, empowering the inspector, upon discovery of any goods made in violation of the law, to confiscate all such, the proceeds from the sale of which to be used for the purpose of more effectively enforcing the factory law. This would reduce the whole problem of detection to a minimum and save these firms and landlords more than they fear they would lose, simply by taking the whole matter in time.

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C 19475

Legislation

rebours.

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C 19476

Legis re hrs of labor.

Sept 24. Mrs Kelly in Ass Lab. L. M. 622

One consideration is very apt to be overlooked in a discussion of the hrs. of labor. That is the fact of the dull season, which is a regular part of the experience of every year. There is no factory known to me which works the full 12 mos. of the year. For most factories the shortening of the day means not the employment of more people or the enlarging of the plant to make room for them, but simply the addition of some days work in the yr. for the employees already engaged, or the working of shifts for a few days or weeks at the height of the busy season, each shift containing perhaps a few more hands than heretofore. The detriment of the dull season is an unqualified adv. to the employees & is practicated in a very large no of trades.

In certain establ. absolute regulation of the work day is keenly felt. Eg.

C 19477

forty houses where such work is much in vogue, & also the manufacts of the garment shops where fashion decrees the limit of the season (but note coat is always same. non large no. of h) within wh garment must be placed upon the market. But in these also the arrangement of working shifts, wherever tried, has obviated the difficulty & relieved the girls of the strain & excitement of overwork, which used to be followed for many of them by an illness wh swallowed up any extra earnings accumulated by the extra work of the busy season.

From all this it will be seen, we have reason to believe that the uniformity of uniform legis. is not so entirely necessary from the point of view of the employer as is usually assumed.

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C 19478

See Dept of Mass. Bureau of Labor Statistics. — re effect of introdn
of 10 hours day. — 98

C 19479

Legislation re hours in U.S. States

Legislate. Bull. Labor May 96
#366

The hours of labor in New York are limited to 60 per week for persons under 18 years of age and women under 21 years of age. No person under 18 years of age and no woman under 21 can be employed before 6 a. m. or after 9 p. m.

In Massachusetts the law limits the hours of work to 58 a week for minors under 18 years and women. No child under 14 years of age can be employed before 6 a. m. or after 7 p. m. In Illinois the law of 1893 provided that no female could be employed more than 8 hours in any day, but the supreme court, in November, 1894, declared this provision unconstitutional. In Pennsylvania minors must not be employed in any one day longer than 12 hours nor in any one week more than 60 hours.

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Legis re attempt to regulate hours of labour.

Hy White. Bull. Lab. May 96
p. 370.

C 19480

In 1894 State of Illinois adopted the law re women + children
the Supreme Ct. appealed to in Nov. 98. - law declared unconst.
as women not wards of state. Same spec. provide to one sex ones unconst
+ attpt to interfere with
right of women to work longer than 8 hrs if they choose or to
contract for or dispose of their work

Legis re
reg. 4 States

Hy White. Bull. Lab. May 96
p. 366

C 19481

The age limitations for the employment of children in these four States are: New York, 14 years; Massachusetts, 13 years; Illinois, 14 years; Pennsylvania, 13 years.

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Factory Legis
nature of

Hy White: Buell Labor May '96
p 362

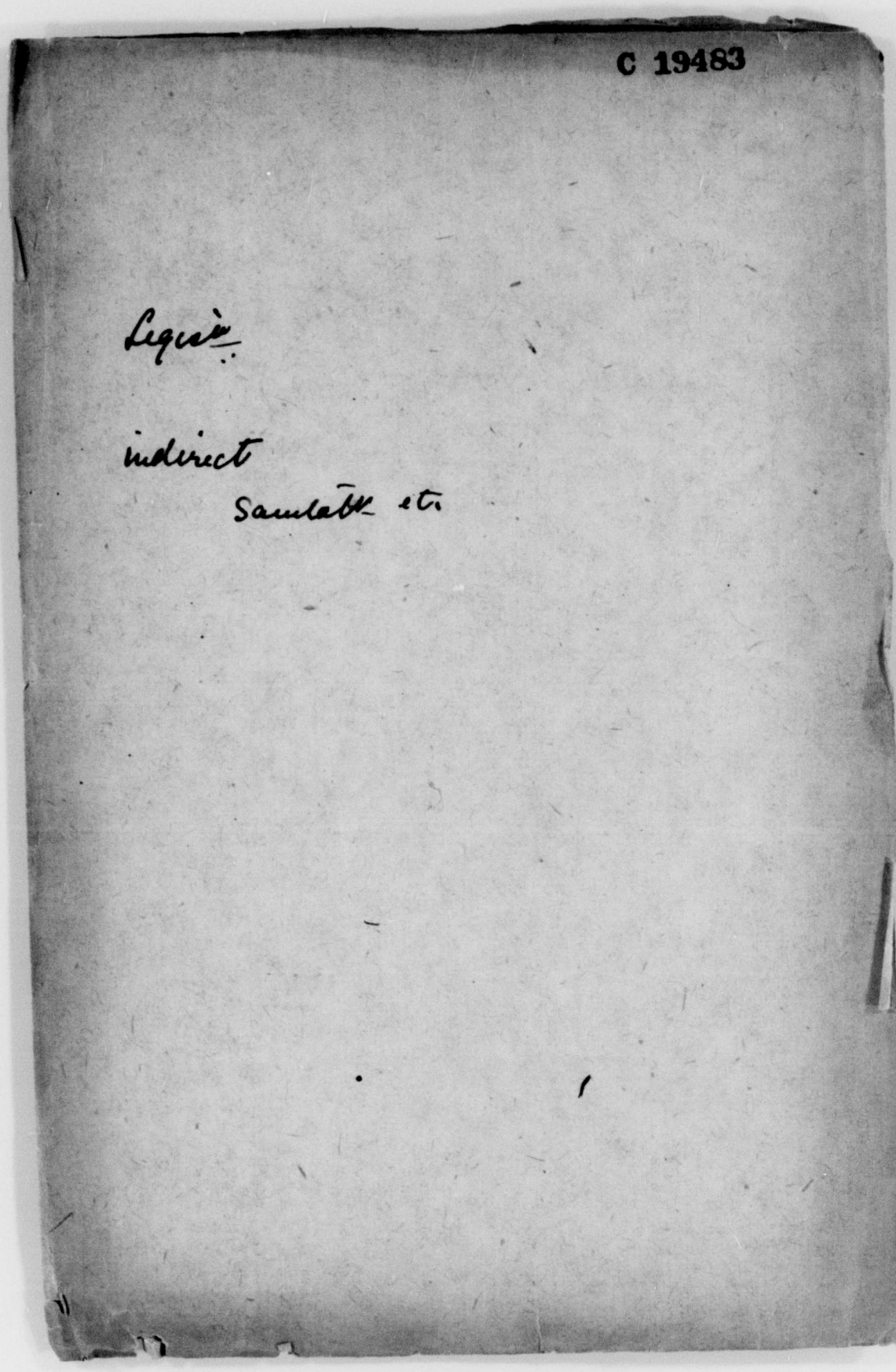
C 19482

Factory legislation is now generally recognized as being of practical value and in accord with public policy. The factory acts of England have been largely copied in this country with marked success, and there is a decided tendency in all manufacturing States toward a greater efficiency in the factory inspection service, and the sanitary laws applied to workshops are being made more stringent. The strides made in such regulations, particularly in regard to minors and limitation of working hours, can best be realized when compared with the factory act of England, introduced in 1833, which prohibited children under 11 years of age from working longer than nine hours per day and obliged them to attend school two hours a day. What a story of wretchedness does this tell! The act was passed only after the most intense opposition notwithstanding the fearful disclosures made by a Parliamentary committee.

The limitations set for such protective legislation are confined at present to the enforcement of sanitary rules and rules for personal safety, the employment of minors, and the limitation of the hours of labor for women and children, and even for men in special vocations, but do not touch the contract system, wages, etc.; consequently this great gap can only be filled by the working people themselves through their own endeavors. Factory laws promote the cause of education by keeping children of school age from replacing adults in the factories and by providing rules framed in the interest of cleanliness and morality. All this must naturally have a wholesome tendency to increase self-respect, independence, and self-help, and to make a higher standard of living possible. Some manufacturers have pursued the short-sighted policy of opposing all factory restrictions which eventually proved to be of benefit to the fair manufacturer and the industry in general.

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Ready
Re legislation on
Sanitation

C 19484

Should not boards of health etc require regular inspection
of all houses, & require proper sanitary arrangements etc. This
is becoming imperative in large cities. There no effective
legislation could be needed for tenements in the clothing done.
Make owners responsible. houses being built conform
to stnd. Those not conforming be torn down. The whole
subject of sweating (on this side) is bound up in the wider
problem of housing. (What acts are in force re
sanitary regulations)

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C 19485

Legislation - in states.

General effects of.

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CANADA

legis

madden Jt Soc Do. Bill 100
1942

C 19486

indirectly may do much to raise salaries.

Compulsory education of kids – indust'l, training etc.
Sanitary regulations
Statutes to protect workers in employment as unscrupulous men

Note check re indirect effects.

legis

C 19487

Note tendency to claim global results for each new law shortly after its passage in the course of two or three years more sober judgments are formed.

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State Legislation

C 19483

My Q's most inspectors seemed agreed. Q. Fraser. hors Kelly, etc that state legislation even providing special inspectors was futile to abolish the S.S. admitted it had done much, objectionable, but cited what existed in all the states, they began then (= this yr before) to look for action from the Govt Govt (would be effective if passed it) (Is not the Secretary S. working where will outcome all legislation. - is not the greatest hope in industrial change it).

Fraser rd. 1895 bk. Q the Hon Com. Lab. Dept

views on civil service cannot grapple with - only way to do is Govt legislate Inspectors from Mass & Hartford were free to admit that the regulations legislation they were enforcing, did not wipe out the sweat shop evil

the migrate to other states because strong argt for Fed'l action

C 19483

legislation
effects of in Mass. New York, & Illinois - a failure.

Sept 14 proceedings of 8th Hour Con. Lab Dept p 96.

"Whereas the laws of Mass, New York, & Illinois, enacted for the purpose of regulating tenement house suffr, have not been successful in regulating it in those states, as is shown by the recent strikes of the Garment makers in New York, & Mass. & by the small pox epidemic in the tenement 'sweat shops' of Chicago. &

& Whereas, the enforcement of these inadequate regulative laws in these states spreads the 'sweating' system in other states for want of uniformity of legislation -:

& Resolved, that in the opinion of this Convention, this is not wise to attempt to obtain further regulative measures, but that all our efforts shld be made in the direction of total prohibition of tenement house suffr in all the states uniformly" Resolution offered by Mrs Stevens

(note the wording seems to have been from regulation to prohibition, the latter stand being made about this time 1894 — 1 month later on the resolution &

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C 19490

legis effect of.

Sept 94. Art 4 Treaty in 8 Am Corr. Fac Ind p 98.

Mulcts formed in a few of our states has been in the direction of regulating the evil. & no doubt considerable good has been accomplished in re obtaining better sanitary arrangements, redressing over crowded workshops, prevention use of domestic premises for the purpose of suffering clothing, & reducing the over long sheets of hours. / — While in U.S. we congratulate ourselves on the amount of success we have achieved & can point to great improvements in condition of clothing operatives & the premises they occupy, we must still acknowledge that there is a depth & breadth to the horrors which lie at the root of the S.S. which no law yet enacted either in U.S. or elsewhere has or can eradicate.

p 100 "We can point to thousands of specific instances where the law has abated the grossest evils — yet sub contracting is at root of all & is as far untouched

C 19491

legis effect of.

Sept 94. Treaty in Art 8 Am Corr. Fac Ind p 99.

Legis by States has been tried & so far results do not warrant the claim that the bad phases of the S.S. can be abolished by State laws. In Mass, where the law has empowered the abolition of the home sweat shop the S.S. goes on modified, only so far as the character of the place in which the work is done is changed. The sweater still furnishes, in cleaner & better shops. The undue competition which arises from the conditions that keep alive the S.S. cannot be checked by laws which simply eliminate the outsider from working in some comfortable living rooms. The worst abuses of the system cannot be checked by laws which simply eliminate reclothed by compelling shops to be clean, well ventilated & properly lighted. The hours of labor cannot be kept within humane & legal limits unless an army of inspectors is constantly on the alert — Yet the worst feature could not be reached by State legis — the law makes which the farming out of the raw materials to contractors for use upon the premises operations

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effect of legal
& scatter and

Sept 95. 9th Ann Convtn Mich. L 74. C 19492

Frankly know that the laws on the system had been vigorously enforced in
Mass & New York, but the work formerly done in small shops of the large cities of
United States is now being done for even less money in the farm houses
of Maine, Vermont & Rhode Is. & is transplanted even as far as Ashe,
Virginia & Delaware. Up to this year Philadelphia & its suburbs got
its share of the migrating sweaters of New York city. Jersey city & Hoboken
— Newark, & other New Jersey towns can also testify that their population
has been considerably increased from that source. We drove them
from our state & they continue to do business in the old way in Towns.
(Providence R. I.)

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C 19493

Legislation

In New York.

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C 19494

Legislation in New York.

Mr Hamil Jour. Soc. Sc Oct 92
p 83.

re N.Y. Sweaters

There is at present no law which either regulates or prohibits the 76 women whom I have reported to you from continuing their manufacturing & employing their children to assist them. The amended (1892) factory law gives permission to the immediate members of the family to work in their tenement rooms.

The Sweaters Bill gives the same permission to the immediate members of the family & further defines a family "The term 'family'... shall be construed to mean a husband & wife & their children."

Legislation in New York effected by

Sept 97. Art by Mr O'Leary with Com. Lab Dpt Bull # 15

C 19495

SWEATING.

Article 7 relating to tenement made articles, or as it is better known as the "sweating" law, is very satisfactory to the department and splendid results have been obtained during the past year under the application of the present arrangement of the sweating laws in New York. The most effective part of the law is the tag; by its use we can say, in all truth, that if no exceptions were made in favor of members of a family working in living rooms, we could force the "sweaters" entirely out of the homes and into the shops. By its application we do now force the "sweater" and his illegal working crew out of the tenement and into the shop; by its use we enforce cleanliness in the house, workroom, and in the shop building; by its use we cause dark halls in dingy shop buildings to be properly lighted; by its use we can dispossess the obstinate "sweater" and force the landlord or his agent to do the work of dispossessing; by its use we can make the worker, jobber, or wholesaler give any desired information under the law,—and by its use we can close all connection with the living and the workrooms. We have made it build fire escapes on sweat shop buildings,—made them clean water closets and build or provide them where necessary. Separate them for the sexes and properly care for them in all other respects.

The effective working of the law was most noticeable last spring during the great strike in New York city of some 20,000 clothing workers for a period of nearly two months, during which time—with all the discontent which is usually present among the workers on such occasions—not a single complaint was made against the department, nor was a single charge made that the law was not capable of coping with the conditions which might be found to exist. I think the satisfaction of the workers themselves has been very forcibly voiced by the secretary of the Clothing Cutters' National Union who said at a meeting of workingmen a short time ago, that New York had the best law of this kind which he thought possible to devise. All this is said in favor of the tag.

We cannot use the tag to keep out of our state the material of which the "sweater" is made. We cannot by its use force the wholesaler or jobber to pay a better price for the labor done. We cannot by its use send the "sweater" out west, to grow up with the country, as advised long ago by the late Mr. Greeley. The "sweater" is still coming in at the port of New York with the arrival of each incoming steamer or vessel, and as a rule he stays there after landing.

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Repeal Missouri. Sept 97. Report from Missouri. 11 Cong. Sess 2nd p 32 C 19496

...ating this ~~clause and the law is now being enforced~~.

I regret to say that Missouri is far behind some of her sister states in bake and sweat shop legislation. It is true that we have a law relating to the conduct of bakeries but it only provides that a bake house must be one-half its hight above the level of the street and prohibits its use for a sleeping place by employees. At the last session of the legislature two bills were introduced, one in the interest of the bakeries and the other for the clothing workers, but both failed of passage.

Up to the present year almost all of the work in the clothing trade was done in tenement houses. In April of this year the union of clothing workers of St. Louis, in the coat and vest-making trade, struck to change these conditions and for a restoration of prices to those in vogue two years ago. They succeeded in securing agreements with all of the large manufacturers, granting their demands. The work is all contract work and under the agreement the manufacturer was prohibited from giving work to any contractor conducting a shop in a tenement house.

Very little heed is now paid the agreement by the manufacturers and conditions are gradually working back to the old rut.

The pants and underwear workers' condition, however, is by far the worst. A number of these poor creatures are compelled to work in dark basements and cellars for the pitiful sum of five and eight and one-quarter cents for from ten to twelve hours work. Under the law, all that this department can do for them, is to prevent overcrowding and see that the walls are lime washed or painted annually.

Repeal New York. Sept 97. 11th Cong. Sess 2nd p 12 C 19497

unfair act 1896 full acct of legis. Act. in New York given here.

TION.

Our factory laws have undergone important changes at the hands of the legislature of 1897, which we think render the factory laws of our State very effective as a whole. The law of 1897 is written as an act in relation to labor, constituting chapter 32 of the general laws; the act is a grouping of all laws relating to labor, found upon the statutes prior to the year 1897. The codification is for the purpose of convenient reference to all the labor laws. The various subjects embraced in the act are grouped, and each group of subjects is designated an "Article." The sections of the whole chapter are consecutively numbered from 1 to 191. The laws relating to the factory department are contained in articles 1, 2, 5 and 6; article 7 relating to tenement made goods, or as we commonly call it "sweating;" article 8 relating to bake shop inspection; and article 9 relating to mine and quarry inspection.

The original factory ... in 1886 ...

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Copies
Inspection
effect of Act 07.

Sept 97. Sent by Meeley 11th Com. To Inspec p. 76.

C 19498

But it can be seen how much like "rat-catching" the functions of a factory inspector in a city like New York must be. No sooner do you plug up one hole than you find another hole which permits escape. And our work so much depends upon the effectiveness of the health department and the bureau of immigration that more power it still necessary for the effective regulation of the evils of "sweating."

after description of Workers Conditions etc

178

In order to battle with these conditions with our limited powers we are compelled to employ all sorts of absurd and undignified methods of detection, and our work is frustrated, and even when successful, must be repeated time and time again.

Copies
New York Tag.

Sept 97. Sent by Meeley 11th Com. Re Tag
p. 75-

C 19499

But the right to "tag" the goods, when clothing is made under improper, illegal or suspected conditions, is a most potent power. This, joined to the responsibility of the landlord, has worked almost a revolution in the handling of this problem in our state. Both these methods strike at the strongest, not the weakest parties, to the conspiracy to violate the law, or evade it. This "tag" enables us to meet a great evil which increased the difficulties of our department in this state after Massachusetts adopted a similar method.

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C 19500

legislⁿ in New York
effect of.

Sept'94. Fraser in Dept & Com. Tac Mch 4/01

In N.Y. where 80% of clothing is mfgd & handled by jobbers. Since the passage of our anti-sweating laws the astute promoters of the profession by the S.S. have sent some of their victims across the North River over to the State of New Jersey. There the evil goes merrily on. More of them have moved into the State of Connecticut, about an hours ride from the City of N.Y. where the business centralizes, & still others have settled in Pennsa. to avoid bothers & also in the City of Pa. in order to escape the supervision of N.Y. inspectors. — a feature of the sweaters is in the parcelling out of bundles of goods in the farming districts of Maine, Vermont & New Hampshire & also in the interior of the Old Bay State to be made up by farmers wives.

C 19501

legislⁿ in Newyork

Sept 94. Mrs Fraser in Dept & Com Govt. Tac Mch 98.

The law as it now stands requires

(1) "suffers" - includes owners of clothing & their contractors who sublet the work of making clothing, to furnish the factory inspector with a list of persons, and their addresses, to whom clothing and a number of other articles of includes is given out to be made

(2) All persons who occupy rear bldgs as workshops must first obtain a permit from the factory inspector before they can suffer, clothing & certain other specified articles therein & there must be at least 250 cubic feet of air space for each person employed & proper sanitary & hygienic condⁿ before a permit can be issued.

(3) the employment of a person other than the members of the immediate family to work in a tenement or dwelling house is absolutely prohibited.

also other regulations

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C 19502

legis
in New York

The first anti-sweating clause was inserted in the factory
laws of New York in 1892.

Francey. in Speech to the McCosh Th 1895

The laws regulating the use of tenements & dwellings for the
manufacture of certain articles, principally clothing, went into effect July
1892, and was amended & made more sweeping in 1893.

Note this page. K

C 19503

legis in N.Y.
effect of.

Sept 94, 8th Annual Rec Mtg b 80.

Mr Francey spoke of the results following the enforcement of the Fac-
tories Act in New York. & among other things said that his State had made
a great effort to regulate the Sweating System, but not with the results ex-
pected. - He said he had favored the passage of a law to abolish it directly by
prohibiting the owners of the raw materials from placing the goods
to be made into garments in tenement houses. - on grd of health & welfare of public -
In a case brought before the Courts of his State it had been decided that the
present law cannot interfere with people doing work in their
own homes & with their own families. but its enforcement had the
effect of disbarring this class of workers from the tenement factory to their
own houses. so that the worse features of the system had been prac-
tically wiped out (? K.) The statutes of the system had more to do with the
suppression of the system than any law in operation. He doubted if any State
could enact that would totally eradicate the system - for if law general enough to affect
all its objectionable features it would take too many inspectors to enforce it

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The Italy law simply provides that all infected goods shall be disinfected. It is useless., as it would require an army of inspectors to prevent bags being removed after being placed on such goods.

The Factory and Home Finishing Act in N.Y. had been of much benefit & had removed about 1700 operatives out of closely confined shops in last N.

Legislation affected by

Sept 23. McKay in art ? Can. Fac Ins. p 108

In Newyork city & vicinity during the last year there has been upwards of 100 prosecutions for violations of the Factory law - principally the earth sweating law - & they have been generally successful & the offenders fined. It has had the effect there of causing a demand for shops: & the no of older ones recently erected & in course of erection on the East Side, presumably for the stuffs of clothing, bears evidence that the tenement-house sweater has come to the conclusion that he will no longer be allowed to use his living apartments for such purposes.

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Letter re Legislation
N.Y.

C 19506

93 Quoted Buckley, Act 7 Am Lab Leg. p 108

Hon Roswell P. Flower Govr of N.Y. in his annual message (92.3?) to the Legisr of that State referring to the "sweating system" such of the Factory Law, says "the present law does not go far enough to remedy all the evils wh have grown up under this system. If the suffrs escape the responsibility & expense of running a factory, he shld be compelled to keep a register of those who are making up his goods, & no person shld be given work who cld not produce a certificate from an inspector stating that he occupied healthy & suitable quarters for the purpose of suffrg. This wd be a proper amendment to the present law, & the importance of the subject, it seems to me, warrants its careful consideration.

Legislation
New York
relative thereto

C 19507

N.Y. law (Factory Inspection Laws as amended May 18/92.

SEC. 13. 1. No room or rooms, apartment or aparments in any tenement or dwelling-house shall be used for the manufacture of coats, vests, trousers, knee-pants, overalls, cloaks, furs, fur trimmings, fur garments, shirts, purses, feathers, artificial flowers, or cigars, excepting by the immediate members of the family living therein. 2. No person, firm or corporation shall hire or employ any person to work in any one room or rooms, apartment or apartments, in any tenement or dwelling-house, or building in the rear of a tenement or dwelling-house, at making in whole or in part any coats, vests, trousers, knee-pants, fur, fur trimmings, fur garments, shirts, purses, feathers, artificial flowers or cigars, without first obtaining a written permit from the Factory Inspector, Assistant Factory Inspector, or a Deputy Factory Inspector, which permit may be revoked at any time the health of the community or of those employed therein may require it, and which permit shall not be granted until an inspection of such premises is made by the Factory Inspector, Assistant Factory Inspector, or a Deputy Factory Inspector, and the maximum number of persons allowed to be employed therein shall be stated in such permit. Such permit shall be framed and posted in a conspicuous place in the room or in one of the rooms to wh it relates.

Sec 21
person violating law
fine $20 - $50 (1st offence)
$100 (2nd
imprisonment 10 days
(3rd)
$250 or 30 days.

1st Sec. provides 10 hrs day for women & persons under 21 under 18.
60 hrs wk.
2 " " no child under 14 yrs to be employed.

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Legislation New York re manufacture

C 19508

...ach

Sec. 13. Not less than two hundred and fifty cubic feet of air space shall be allowed for each person in any work-room where persons are employed during the hours between six o'clock in the morning and six o'clock in the evening, and not less than four hundred cubic feet of air space shall be provided for each person in any work-room where persons are employed between six o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning. By a written permit the Factory Inspector, Assistant Factory Inspector, or a Deputy Factory Inspector, with the consent of the Factory Inspector, may allow persons to be employed in a room where there are less than four hundred cubic feet of air space for each person employed between six o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning, provided such room is lighted with

(Amended Laws of N.Y. May 18/92

...lectricity at all times during such hours while persons are employed therein. There shall be sufficient means of ventilation provided in each work-room of every manufacturing establishment, and the Factory Inspector, Assistant Factory Inspector and Deputy Factory Inspectors under the direction of the Factory Inspector, shall notify the owner, agent or lessee, in writing, to provide or cause to be provided, ample and proper means of ventilating such work-room, and shall prosecute such owner, agent or lessee if such notification be not complied with within twenty days of the service of such notice.

Legislation
In New York effect of

C 19509

Sept 95. Cunningham in Arch of the Am Cons Fac Insp
p. 38

Where only a year ago crowded tenements were teeming with small sweat shops, you will find many modern factory bldgs, built & arranged for large healthy shops observing the factory laws. & some of the most obnoxious features of the work done at home are eliminated. The factory laws as at present constituted, cannot abolish the S.S. as the state does not interfere with the rate of wages earned or the amt of labor performed: but can enforce such rules that the ordinary laws of health & decency are maintained, & the young kids saved from the avarice of the sweaters

also laws help to spread of disease. The law wh prohibits the employment of others than members of the family at home, has had a wholesome effect in mitigating the tenement sweating evil, but this field is so vast & so difficult of inspection, that more facilities are (clearly needed in that direction

admirable license system

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Legislation in New York effect of.

Hg White Bull. Lab: p. 3 & 19510
May 96.

Since the enactment of the law prohibiting manufacturing in homes other than by members of the family, in 1892, and up to January, 1894 (one year and a half), there were erected 59 factory buildings on sites formerly occupied by tenements swarming with people engaged in the manufacture of clothing. These new factory buildings were built expressly to accommodate the clothing trade under the new conditions. They contain 483 separate shops, and have legal space for 15,477 work people. Besides this, 371 tenements, formerly used for both working and living purposes, were cleared entirely of workers not members of the families living therein, and these tenements are now used for domestic purposes only. There were also 85 tenement buildings, which were cleared of residents and remodeled into shop buildings. These changes improved the condition of 17,147 persons who manufacture clothing in New York City. This was during the "hard times," when the trade was at a standstill, and the number of the persons given as having had their conditions improved is very low. The figures were obtained by actual count. But this relates only to their sanitary welfare, and has nothing to do with the serious question of their ill-paid labor.

This statement is taken verbatim from the 8th Annual Report of the New York Fac Inspectors published 1893 (end of year) It is also quoted verbatim by Mrs Francey of N.Y. in Art. before 9th Internat Congr. Fac Inspect: at Pa. Sept 94. — In 98.

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C 19511

Legislation

In States in General.

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C 19512

Legislation

Factory Laws Legislation passed in 1886
New York Amended May 18/92
Illinois June 93.

C 19513

Legislation Sept 94 8th Con Fac Mtg

Some states have dealt specially with the evil of Sweating. eg. Mass. Mfg. Mk — others have passed factory legislation which meets it in certain cases. eg. Rhode Is applying to both sexes.
Ohio laws (94) applying to women & males under 18

An other law applying to women & males under 18 was introduced in Mi. Legislature 94 — but-
little hope of getting it further — 8th Proc 8th Con. Fac Mtg. p 28

An other law was introduced in Legislature of those states defeated in the Senate

Report of Comm on Synopsis of Laws. p 32. (8th Con.
a history of the Mass p 64 (8th Conv)

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C 19514

legal

Sept 1894. Proc 8th Hour Conv. Tac Bro No 6. 34

Re sweat shops & Ten H. Mfgr.

Mass – regulated by fac & license laws.

N.Y. – " " " " "

Penny
Rhode I } Inspectors have no power re ones shops employing less than 5 persons & have no special provs re sweat shops.

Ohio
Mich
New Jers } Have no special provs re sweat shops.

Illinois – Inspectors have access to every place in wh any article is offered for sale &c power to condemn & order destroyed garments found infectious, or infected not removed. &c to prohibit the employment in any dwelling rooms of any persons not members of the family living therein.

C 19515

legislative

Sept 94. 9th Hour Conv. Fac Bro Bell No 6 116

Special laws dealing with sweat shops. up to date

In Mass – 6 116
" N.Y. 6 118
" Penn 6 120

Re Inspection Laws. of States ; Summary 6 126.+

also Penny. Illinois Mass. Ohio } sweat shops. Sept 96 6 98–102, 10th Hr Conv 6 [illegible]

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C 19516

Re Factory Legis.

Many papers on effect of Legis. in diff States in proceedings of Fac Inspectors Committee

C 19517

474

Hon Hands rd. - if all states where the system existed had laws to regulate it, there might be no reason to appeal for national action. - but this is not the case & Generally is more than can be expected from states where industry is not largely engaged in.

474 — The measure had already been adopted by a no. of trade unions with which it had been placed in the hands of several compensation organizations

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b 70. **C 19518**

Emerly suggested that the enforcement of State laws & U.S. laws in the same state might occasion some conflict of authority.

Mr. Wright thought that U.S. laws wd make the enforcement of State laws less necessary, but there wd be no conflict of authority.

Ellis asked the ? wd not the passage of a law by Congress provide for its enforcement & wd not this thereby put of employment special sweating shop inspectors.

Griffin replied 'yes certainly, &) wd willingly give up my position, if many to see it done".

b 71. Fraser rd. 'It is my opinion that this S.S. cannot be abolished by direct legisn, state or national, but it can be done by indirect legisn, mere imposition will not do this consideration .... If State legisn in force with the faithful efforts of special inspectors to enforce it, is futile to abolish the system, what else can we do but to seek legisn from the Genl Govt - I am confident when this bill becomes law the S.S. with its many grievous & pernicious effects will pass away (?K)

b 72 Mr. Wright moved & seconded that Commercial Assocn endorse the measure & was carried 21 votes for & 11 votes against.

Legisn in diff States

My tribute. C 13 Labour Gaz. May 96 b. 365

The sweat shop as a menace to health in addition to the other important considerations has led to radical special legislation aiming at the suppression of the sweat shop. New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Pennsylvania have thus grappled with the problem, and the results of the measures adopted by these States are watched with close interest by the lawmakers of the other States, and similar legislation is now being proposed in Ohio. The laws of Massachusetts, Illinois, and Pennsylvania are modeled after the following section of the New York factory laws of 1893:

? last 20 more to be found in 1891. 292.

sec referred to, prohibits manf of garments in living apartment (sec/family) & unsanitary workshops. & requires good so made to have a label attached & for handling such stuff formerly disinfected & label removed (report re label diff in Mass K.)

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Legis^re in Illinois.

C 19520

Key White. Bull Lab^r May 96
p 366

The special laws of Illinois dealing with the sweat shops are similar to those of New York and Massachusetts with the exception of the tag or label provision. The factory inspectors, however, are given the power to order garments destroyed when found infectious or containing vermin, and to prevent the employment in any dwelling room of any person not a member of the family living therein. These distinctions are of considerable importance, as in New York and Massachusetts the inspector is first obliged to make complaint to the board of health before goods can be so destroyed, and persons can only be prohibited from being employed in dwelling rooms through process of law.

Legis^re in Pennsylvania.

C 19521

Key White. Bull^n Lab^r May 96
p 366.

1895

Pennsylvania last year adopted a special sweat-shop law worded similarly to the New York law, with the exception that it omits the tag or label provision.

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Legis in Ohio

C 19522

Hy White. Bull Labr May 96

L 366-7

1897. Ohio, Maryland, and Missouri have not enacted any special remedial legislation, although the sweating evil flourishes in their territory. The general factory laws in Ohio are above the average standard. The age at which children may be employed in manufacturing establishments is 14 years, with the provision that children of more than 12 years of age may be employed at nondangerous employment during the time they are not required by law to attend school. The number of inspectors employed in Ohio is 13, including a chief inspector and a clerk

Legis in Missouri

C 19523

Hy White. Bull Labr May 96

L 367

. The Missouri law makes no special provision for the age limitation of child labor, except that minors shall not be required to clean machinery, etc.

Missouri has not enacted any special remedial legst, tho the sweating evil flourishes in its territory.

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Legislation re effect of inspection in Pennsylvania

Hg White Coal Bull. Labor p. 368 May 96. C 19524

In 1895 Pennsylvania had 20 deputy inspectors (including 4 women) for 39,339 factories.

Legislation re effect of inspection in Illinois

C 19525

Hg White Coal Bull. Labor p 368 May 96

Illinois has 11 inspectors (including 4 women and a chief) for 20,482 factories in the State.

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Legislation in Mass.
effect from Roberts.

C 19526

Hey White. Natl Bull Labs
May 96
p 368

than Md.

Massachusetts is better provided in this respect, having 26 inspectors for 26,923 factories.

Legislation in Maryland

C 19527

Hey White, Bull Labs May '96
p 367.

Maryland does not employ a single inspector; it simply makes violations of the very lenient factory laws subject to prosecution by individuals and the health departments.

see next page.

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C 19528

Bull. Labor p. 564 (no 5) July 1896.

PROTECTION OF GARMENT WORKERS IN SWEAT SHOPS IN MARYLAND.

[January session, 1896, chapter 363, public local laws.]

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland*, That two new sections be and the same are hereby added to article 4 of the Code of Public Local Laws, title "City of Baltimore," under the subtitle "Buildings," to follow section 131, to be designated as sections 131A and 131B, and to read as follows:

131A. It shall not be lawful for any person, agent, owner or proprietor of any sweat shop or factory where four or more persons are employed, to use any coal oil, gasoline, or any other explosive or inflammable compound for the purpose of lighting or heating in any form; any person, agent, owner or proprietor violating the provisions of this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, be fined by the court before whom such conviction is had for every violation, the sum of one hundred dollars and costs, and stand committed until such fine and costs be paid.

131B. The owner or owners of any such house or building used as a sweat shop or factory where four or more persons are employed as garment workers, on other than the first floor of such house or building, shall provide fire escapes for the same, and if any owner or owners of any such house or building so used, fail to make or provide a fire escape within six months after the passage of this act, upon conviction thereof, shall pay a fine of two hundred dollars to be recovered as other fines in this State, or imprisonment in the city jail for sixty days, or both fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

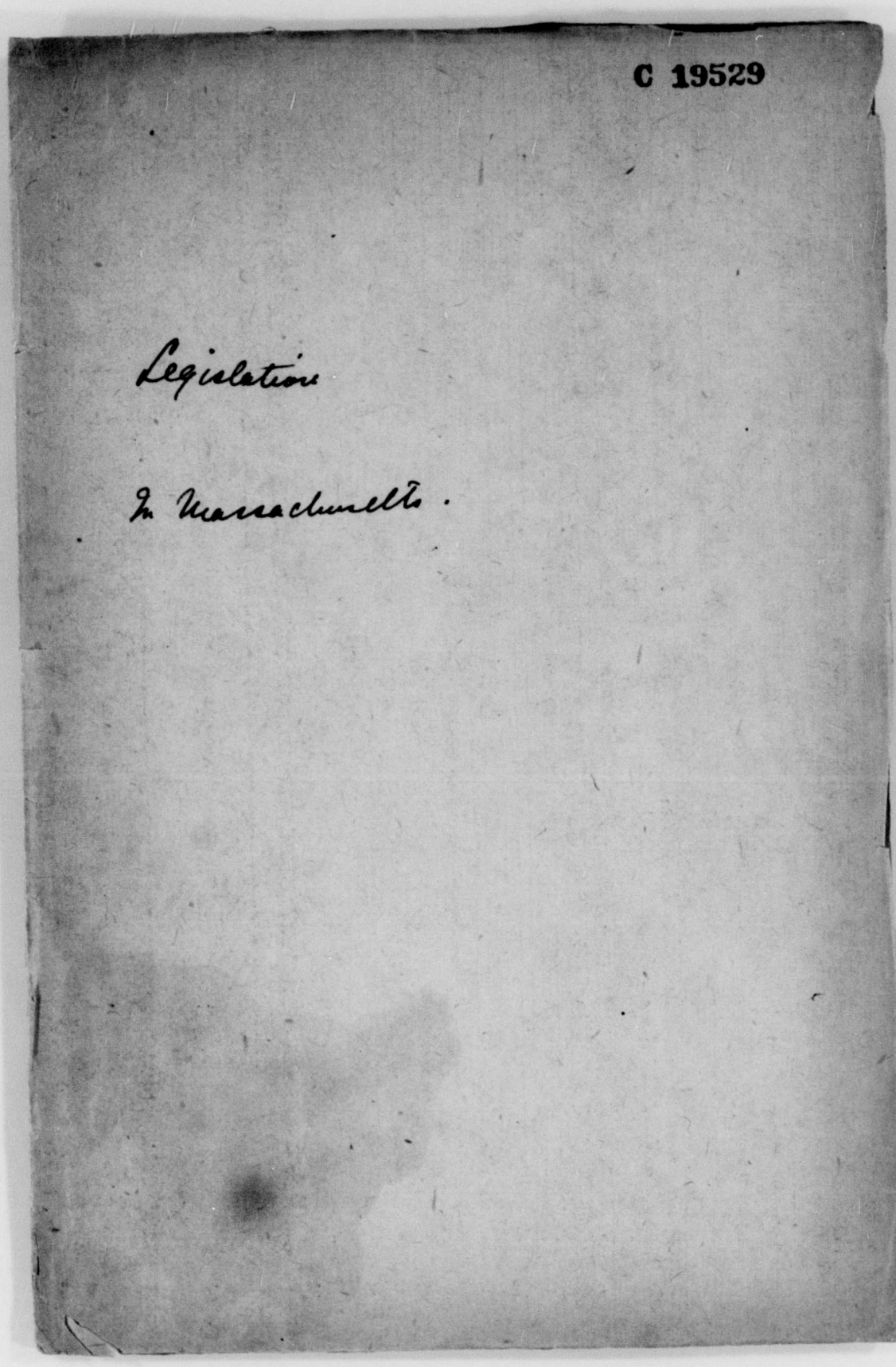
SEC. 2. *And be it enacted*, That this act shall take effect from the date of its passage.

Approved April 4, 1896.

564

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C 19529

Legislation

In Massachusetts.

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C 19530

Legislation

In Illinois.

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Report in Illinois

Sept 95. Proced. 9th Nov. Con. Tax Ins. p. 69.

C 19531

Mrs Kelly the faithful assistant & associates & visits abberal support of many suffers in her state. & this the law authored to be very searching had found it was absolutely useless to suppress the system

effect to drive to other states

p. 70 Mr Illinois said that in Illinois as in New York the enforcement of state law tended to scatter the tenement workers into other states, rather than to destroy the system. He believed that faithful prosecution of the Pennsylv. law wd produce the same results.

p. 73. Mr Ballou of New Jersey said the sweaters of N. York driven from that state, had found good localities & homes in the cities & towns of New Jersey.

Report in Illinois re working hrs. effect of

Sept 94. Mrs Kelly in Ast & Con. Tax Ins p. 22

C 19532

In Illinois when the 8 hrs law was enacted there was the same outcry that Illinois suffers and be driven out of the field, that law has not had a sufficient trial to judge its effects, but no suffers has left the State to escape its workings & none has plead it as an excuse for bankruptcy.

Just as the strikes of this city have promoted invention by stimulating the effort to substitute machines for men. So the shortening of the hrs of labor stimulates economy of time, effort & strength.

We have reason to believe that in those estabts. wh have loyally obeyed the law & reduced the wkg hrs from 10 to 8 no serious disadv. has resulted, because the 20% reduction has been nearly covered by the economies (ies?) indicated.

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legisn in Illinois
effect 07.

Sept 94. 8th Ann Gov. Fac Mfg. L. 78

C 19533

Mrs Kelley sd she regarded the sweating system laws in her State a failure. It had not proved adequate to what was required. She sd the inspectors of Illinois have the power to confiscate & destroy all infected garments found in sweatshops & had done so in many cases but the sweating system was operated too extensively to hope to eradicate it by such a process. In her opinion all laws having in view the regulation of the system had proved ineffective, & she urged inspectors to seek for legisn for its total suppression.

(What about the limiting of hrs being best possible??
Note hrs opinions of Mrs Kelley & others marked.)

C 19534

6 '79.

Mrs. Kelly stated that prosecutions had been made in Ill. but from were expensive & at times doubtful as to results. Employees in the shops are in most part subservient to their employer & will connive with them to subvert the law. Besides the system of sweating is largely the fault of the operatives themselves. In many cases they prefer to work long hours & do not understand that their pecuniary interests will be advanced as a result of shorter work days. She was confident that the civil regard more stringent legisn to suppress it than had yet been obtained in State of Illinois. The 8 hr law is a good law & some benefit has been derived from its enforcement, but it is insufficient to cope with the evils of the sweating system.

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C 19535

legisn in Illinois
effect of

Sept 94 Mrs Kelley in Ark & Cor. Ia Dec 'h. 237

Note this particularly - a full description of effort to overthrow the law.

1st formation of the Miners Protective Assocn - to overthrow the law.
2 days longest to have law pronounced unconstl

1st attempt to bring state judges law to garment & cigar trades, & will have to await the crts upholding the law

2nd effort in direction of compromise - to have a test case & amendments passed law the proposal rejected.

Inspectors prosecuted where violation of law. - after 13 successful prosecutions the assocn appealed the cases & were carried to the Supreme Ct and Criminal Ct where the decision of the justice was confirmed

Argt before the Supt Ct upon the Constitutionality of the law heard in May 94 a decision pronounced in Oct

C 19536

legisn in Illinois

Sept 93. Mrs Kelley in Fac Mfg Bov. art
& O.

Factory legisn in Ill is in earliest experimental stages. The law creating Office of State Inspector passed June, 93

The Illinois Fac & W. & Inn law is a sanitary measure, (no educl feature as in Mass.)

The first 3 paragraphs of the law aims to protect in some measure ~~the health of the women & children employed in all forms of suffr.~~ to protect the community from the infection which is an inevitable accompaniment of the suffr of clothing under the sweating system.

The subsequent body of the law aims to protect in some measure the health of women & children employed in all forms of ~~labor~~ suffr.

The legislators who framed the Illinois Fac law examined the laws & decisions provisions of the Mass. & New York laws & decided to follow the instinct of the sweaters victims, who assured them that a more effective

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measure wld be found in the Shs section. The argument is simply to the effect that a sweaters shop is a small group of workers, and no one can extort enough profit out of them in 8 hrs per day to make the shop pay. It takes the 14, 16, 18 hours-day to make the sweaters shop pay. Hence the enforcement of this clause must lead to large shops, with large groups of 8 hr employees. But such shops wld not be sweaters shops, & the clothing trades wld thus be placed on a level with the regular factory trades. For no large group of workers ever submit to the insanitary conditns wh are accepted as inevitable by feeble groups largely composed of children.

6a.

The Wh. when Govt came next further to passed a more searching law than on Stat.s of any other State.

For the new law provides

(1) for destroying infectious garments
(2) for knowledge age of child workers
(3) " thorough inspection homes, shops & factories
(4) limits to 8 hrs per day & 48 hrs per wk, the working time
(5) requires a physicians certificate for parents employment of child who can get one

of every female of whatever age in every factory & workshop in the State

(This law was declared unconstitl K)

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Construing the law as a sanitary measure, it becomes the duty of the inspectors to ascertain in what trades women & children are employed, & to give immediate attention to the more injurious of these — suffers of clothing, cardboard boxes, tobacco, cigars & crackers. & wood working & stamping trades

p 10

A noticeable result of the new law already to some extent obtained is the stoppage of work & rest insured to girls & women. Formerly the custom prevailed of working overtime in many trades during a part of the year, & then closing the factory outright or working 30 & very long days a week. This irregularity is one of the most cruelly demoralizing experiences of the working girls life, injurious alike to health & to every habit of thrift & persevering effort. The regulation of the hours of work immediately tends to distribute wages over the year & so to assure the stability of occupation. This is also beneficial in clothing to

The next clause in the law is the 8 hr rest. This makes it a matter of the union principle for every union man & woman to report at once every infraction of the law & the unions have been found invaluable aids in enforcing this section.

Two months patient work has borne fruit in several ways. There is now a large body of hon. employers who are complying with the law in good faith, & large body of girls who obey it & act as volunteers in helping inspectors to enforce it

Open defiance of the law is confined to a few petty sweating & woodworking firms, reenforced by leading cracker-bakers, and those notorious pillars of the sweating system, the millionaire merchants of the Clothing trades. — Mrs Hill wanting to get more evidence before beginning prosecutions of these (state difficulties of prosecute under act or law).

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pkt C 19541

In discussion on effect of the sec Mrs Kelley - maintained that it encountered no more opposition than might naturally be expected for any change of so radical a character, & which so materially struck at the immediate pecuniary interests of those affected, which it. The law had not been sufficiently long in operation to give precisely such as it was capable of accomplishing. The effects, for good or bad, were more to be anticipated than to be dwelt upon as a reality at present.

C 19542

Legis
In Illinois
re hours.

Sept 1905. 8th Am Conv. Tac Pub L 9.

The Supreme Court of Illinois has decided that the laws of that state restricting the hours of labor of women to 8 hrs per day is unconstitutional - on theory that the law interfered with the right of the individual to work as many hrs as he or she sees fit = Illinois has decided that citizens may dispose of their persons in whatever manner they choose regardless of the effect on the individual or the future of the race

(note this kind of legis re relation state & individual raises whole question of basis of labor legislation)

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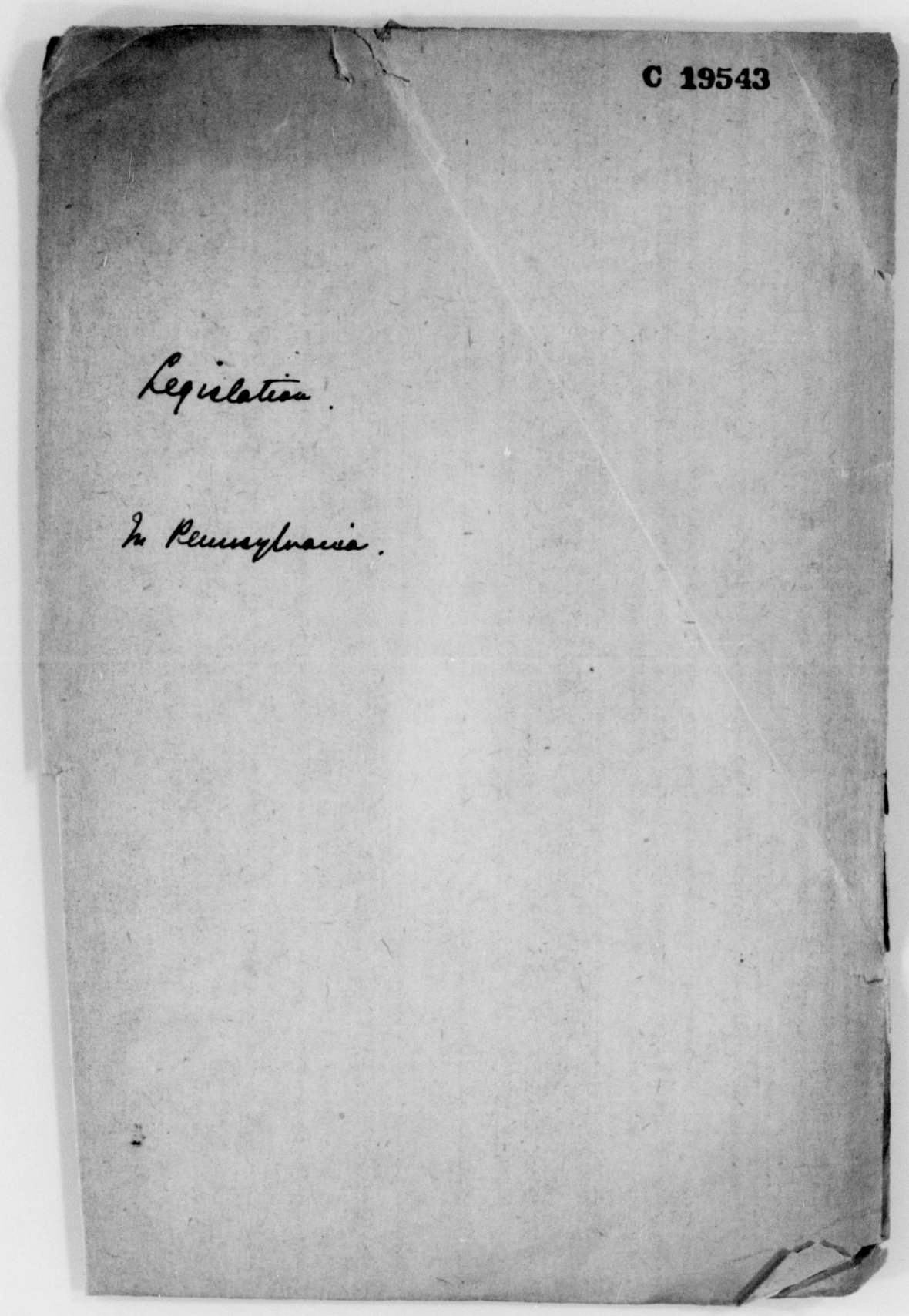
C 19543

Legislation.

In Pennsylvania.

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Report
Resume

Sept '97 11th Conv. Fac Info 6. 11 C 19544

...egular report of the chiefs from various states.

PENNSYLVANIA—Was the first report. Chief Campbell briefly stated that new laws were enacted relative to factory inspection, sweat shops and bake shops during the last legislature, and that they were quite satisfactory, excepting the bake shop law, which meets the approval of a majority of the bakers and the public in general. A few large bakeries object to section 1 which prohibits Sunday work before 6 p. m., and have been prosecuted and fined for vio-

C 19545

Legis
In Pennsylvania

Sept 95; Act by Mun Officials & Conv. Fac Info 6. 68.

The new Act of Assembly was conceded without a question after the investigation of June Sept '94. — not submitted — Sold abolish entirely the combination of workshop & home.

Dennis Kramph
469 Legis of character of Penny simply created to distribute the civil ones a wider area of city.

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C 19546

Legislation

Inspection . & enforcement of.

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legislation re enforcement

Sept 93. Procedure re Inspection C 19547

The inspectors of Mass & N.Y. in answering question whether they found it necessary to frequently prosecute to enforce the law regulating the S.S. replied that the agitation re the system had been so effective that it was only necessary to use the offers to bring the sweaters to terms, because the offenders so dreaded the publicity attending prosecution that they refused to give work to law breaking sweaters

legislation enforcement

C 19548

The experience of these two states of work conforms the conviction that a factory law is not enforced at all which is not enforced by the constant help of the court. — not that public opinion is lacking etc — but the vice of our American citizenship is negligence.

Mrs Kelly speaking of child labor law in Illinois

Sept 97 — 11th Ann. Fed. Am. L. 35

p37 Finally we must have compulsory education of the children under 16 yrs of age throughout the school year. No factory law is so good for the children as a law which keeps them not only entirely out of the factories, the stores the streets, but positively at work acquiring industrial efficiency & value at an age when all need of child labor

(lay great stress on these negative measures R. school law, housing laws etc

This is a good paper on child labor

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C 19549

Remedy'
need for enforcement of laws.

Dr Daniel, Jnl Soc Sc Oct 94
p. 85

The people working in their Homes is in Ill. have a decided ~~complaint~~ Grievance vs. the city in that its sanitary & health laws are not enforced.

& children have enemies as the people of the State who make good factory laws & place the enforcement of their laws in the hands of incompetent politicians.

C 19550

Remedy
Limit hrs. & factory inspects.

Sept 97 Proceedings of 7th Ann Conv. Fac Insp Ills.

It was the opinion of all (the factory inspectors in Conv.) that to law limiting the hours of labor for women & children & (2) the placing of all houses & rooms where such labor is performed under strict factory regulation; and be the most effectual way of dealing with the system & of correcting the abuses which exist therefrom

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Reform
Factory Inspection
effect of

C 19551

Hy White. Boulder Colo May 96
p 370

employers moral
effect considered

enforcement of the laws. Each prosecution in addition serves as an object lesson to other violators who take for granted that such laws exist only to be ignored. It is evident that if factory inspection was extended and the force of inspectors increased commensurate with the vast importance of the work, many of the detrimental features of the workshops would be removed, children of school age would be replaced by adults in the factories, reasonable hours of labor would prevail, and the health of the workers and of the public would be protected and further reforms through the employees themselves would thus be rendered easier.

C 19552

Re inspection

1
92

Inspection of every recent origin at first publicly ridiculed. Chief made address p 10

Mass has added to her sweating law.

New York has "" the inspection laws a "Sweating" law covering all kinds of wearing apparel & for its enforcement has provided for the appointment of additional inspectors

The agitation in re the "Sweating" has been brought to the attention of Congress & an unobjectionable made in correspondence re it.

Secy Ann Rep. 6th Committee Fac Inspection 92
p 14

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Re Inspection

C 19553

"Since the last meeting of the committee a new feature has developed which has been called to the attention of inspectors, in the form of what is termed the "meeting system" which is carried on in ten hours in some of our large cities to a limited extent.

Annual Report 17
Address of Frank S. Mullen. Secy. International Association of Factory Inspectors.
6.12 preceding 5th Conv. Cleveland 91

Re Defective Inspection

C 19554

Address Daniel Jol. Soc Sc. Oct 29 92.
p 83.

"We in N.Y. State do not need new factory laws, but new factory inspectors.

'A recent protest circulated by the Reform Club proves that the Board of Health of New York is simply a political machine

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C 19555

Legislation re. Inspection
Synopsis of Laws. - Governing factory Inspection
Power of etc p 113 — 8th ann Report Factory Inspect 194

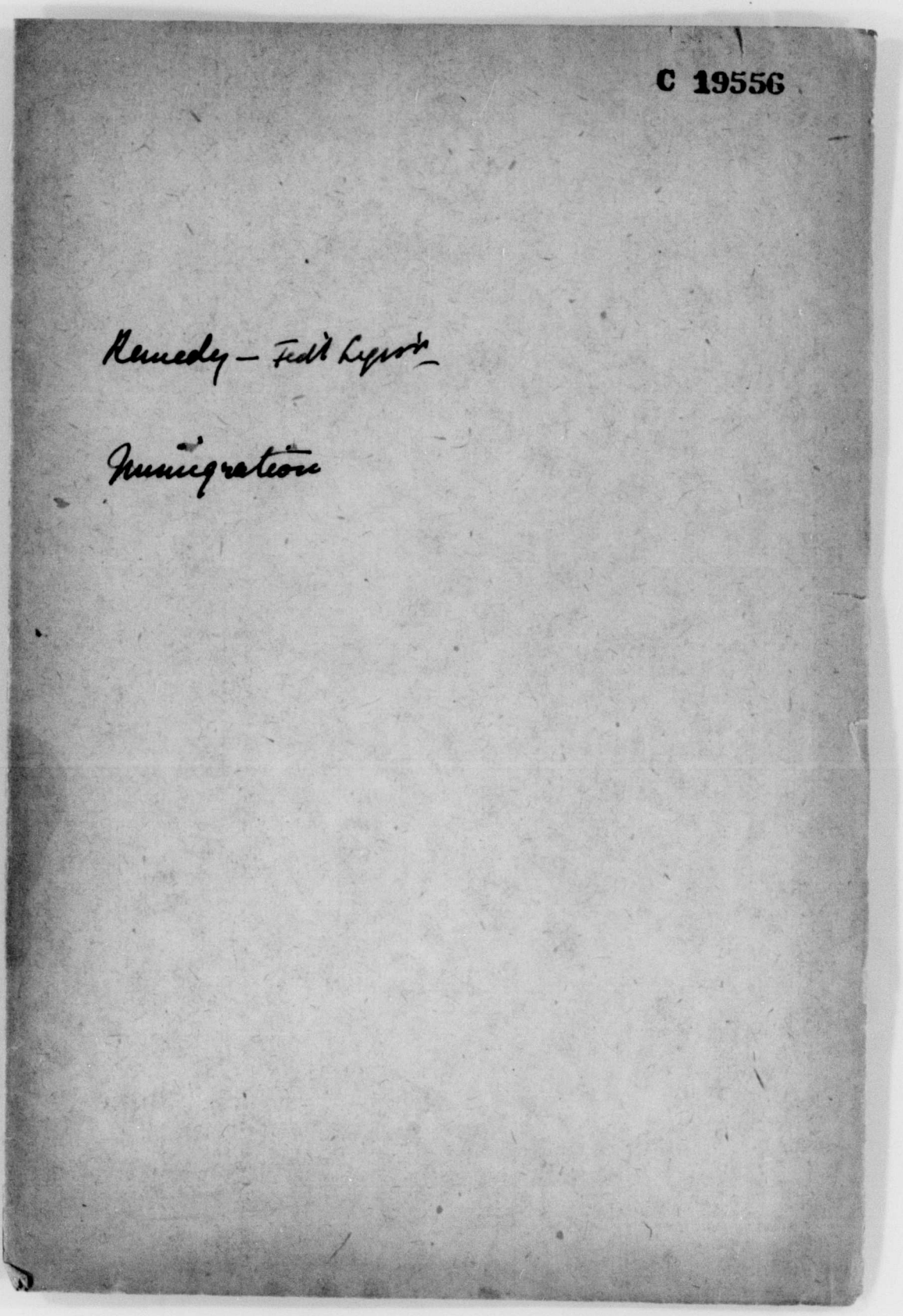
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Memoranda and Notes (1887-1921)
150. Labour - Sweating System -
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C 19556

Remedy – Fedl Legislⁿ

Immigration

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C 19557

Remedy Immigration

Sept'97. Asst Ry Meley. 11th Cent. Fac. Feb. 6. 77

And last, but not least, the time has come to give effect to the growing conviction in the national mind, that we must meet this and some other serious problems, right at the gates of entry to this great republic. Vigorous restriction of immigration, in some way, must be tried, for it is folly to say that, by adding hundreds of skilled mechanics to our population by every steamer that crosses the ocean, while thousands of men, already starving and scrambling for inadequate employment in these same crafts, are hungry and destitute, we are not making them liable to be a "public charge." They must be, and are being, crushed into the ranks of unskilled and over-crowded occupations. Just as truly as the poor wretch, without a cent, or a friend to pretend that he will "see that he does not become a public charge," and who is sent back to whence he came, is a menace to our interests, so are these armies of surplus labor. It is, of course, impossible to argue this point fully, but the simple statement of the idea is necessary and must be made, being profoundly true, when viewed from the point of view of a factory inspector standing at this, the greatest of all gates of immigration.

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C 19558

Remedy Immigration.

Sept 93. Griffin vs Att. Gen. Can. Imp. III

Immigration as it exists has always hampered & will always hamper any law which has been enacted towards the abolition of the S.S. & its attending evils. (half a million come steerage from poverty stricken parts of Europe —) : much of this immigration should be turned back at the expense of the steamship Cos. by a vigorous application of existing laws

C 19559

Remedies. Immigration

Sept 92 6th Imm Canada Imp. Act 1883

John Griffin vs 2 masters of S.S. Natal immigrants
(2) Thos Cahoon organizer

Immigration was the cause of the evil, that was the real question & root of the S.S.

Inspector McMurtry of Missouri. agreed re immigration

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C 19560

Remedy. - Legislative

Prohibition

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Remedy prohibit

C 19561

Sept 97. Art by Miss O'Reilley & Mr Gen. Soc. Inc. Feb 6 '97

N.Y.

And now perhaps the most drastic of all propositions must be made, viz.: the prohibition of all manufacturing whatever in tenement houses. There will be objections, of course, but there always have been and will be; but the "police power," under which the whole line of factory and industrial and sanitary legislation has been enacted, is quite broad enough for this further extension of authority in the name of public health and social safety. There can be no real genuine enforcement of the law, as now admitted to be necessary, while any such work is permitted in the crowded dwellings of the poor.

Remedy prohibit

C 19562

Sept 96. Art by Miss O'Reilley & Mr Gen. Soc. Inc. Feb 6 '96.

Know of the impracticability of all measures thus far applied I have reached one conclusion, & that is that it may seem I can conceive of no other that must do the work. — abolish entirely the combination of workshop & home & place the responsibility where it properly belongs.

Re the privacy of the home — If the community feels that its homes are being endangered because of this questionable liberty, then a sense of duty should rather than the consideration for one home, must compel the people to come to the rescue of all homes & make the necessary division between home & workshop.

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Remedy
proh[illegible]

Sept 94. 8th Ann Con. [illegible] C 19563
110.

Resol[n] passed by factory Inspectors

Realizing the great danger to public health by the sweating of wearing apparell in tenement workshops, we earnestly recommend the enactment of laws prohibiting the same in tenements or dwellings where others than the immediate family are employed, & also regulating the same in private families - to the end that disease may not be spread thro' this system

(note middle course. proh[n] & regul[n])

Also resol[n] favoring 48 hrs labor for women & kids.

Remedy
proh[n] & regul[n]

Sept 94 Tracey in Rpt 8th Con[n] C 19564
Inc 2 no p 102

I take it for granted that it is the opinion of all factory inspectors & experts that the evil cannot be regulated. — it must be abolished

note sweating

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C 19565

Remedy
prohibition

Sept 94. 8th Am Con. Res Sessions

It appears from proceedings of the Fac Trade that tendency has been from regulation to prohibition. It was thought at first regulation of hours, then of conditions of shop (sanitary) etc and finally in 1894 Mrs Kelly, Mrs Stevens & others spoke only for prohibition any regulation so far a failure, led to spread of S.S. elsewhere &

"In opinion of this Convention it is not wise to attempt to obtain further regulative measures, but that all our efforts shld be made in the direction of total prohibition of sweating hours & labor in all the states uniformly" — Resolution offered by Mrs Stevens 6.96

Yet no action was taken on the resolution

C 19566

Remedy:
legislative contracting

Sept 94. Mrs Fraser in Con. 8th Am Con. Res Trade p 100 & 101

So long as the system of farming out the making of clothing exists, so long as there are contractors to bid for it, the sweating evil will continue & must grow. So long as there are sweaters, there must be sweated. This the contract feature of clothing making which we must obviate, & of this is wiped out the sweating evil will be a thing of the past.

How is this to be done. — The constitution of the various states ensures freedom of contract to all citizens. This is the era of contracts & acts will support them (note in shops) The State shall & must utilize the contract system whenever & wherever possible (Held they H.) So when I say that the man on the S.S. to be made effective must obtain at the contract system of goods in quantities I fully appreciate that we must for a while do & consider to an engrafted & popular feature of mercantile & so it methods & that the task of uprooting the evil is thus made doubly difficult

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C 19567

Except that task must be accomplished or the work must go on forever. No one state can abolish the contract system in the clothing trs. (people go to others to collect about in diffr states; note effect of N.Y. legisn, the evil is spread — one state cannot fight it.

Remedies — effect of prohibn of home work. Effect of Factory Act on workers.

Hours. p. xx 2011
C 19568

The more serious question as to the effect of any such supervision & effectual on the thousands of hard-working people involved.

Committee quotes & adopts reasoning of Mr Daniels.

"No one method that can be employed by which we shall be certain that no article is suffered in tenement-house living rooms, & that no little children are employed in the making of any goods, is the passage of a law prohibiting such making in tenement house apartments which are used for living & sleeping purposes xxxxx Undoubtedly under such a law a few will suffer. — probably only a few women who from old age or chronic illness, are unable to go to the shops to work. The mothers will be forced to find work in the factories, & the orphans sent to school, kindergarten or nursery. The result will be that women will work in better sanitary surroundings, that no children under 14 yrs will be employed in making goods; the sick will receive proper care if not at home then transferred to a hospital where they will get well or die out of sight of the everlasting work. And so that the life in tenement houses & suffering in tenement rooms & courts, will eventually burst forth brutal, unhealthy men & women.

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C 19569

Mrs Quolatt is [illegible] by Mr Hamil in her article in
J of Soc. Sc Oct 92 p. 84.

"and to see that the proper officers enforce the laws"
are the words started in Govt Quolatt

C 19570

Remedy
compel work to be done in factories

Sept 95 Q to Bur Lab: Jan Mch p. 340

Mr. Hector, a visitor from London, Eng. by permission made some re-
marks, maintaining that the only legis- wh wd. effectually combat the
system was, that wh wd. compel the work to be done in factories

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C 19571

Remedy

Hrs Hamill in Jl. Soc Sc. Oct 92
b 84

Prohibition of tenement house suffer.

to prevent contagion, see that no cases employed.
(adopted in H of R. b xxviii

Proper officers to enforce the law b. 84

C 19572

Remedy
Prohibition of Home Work

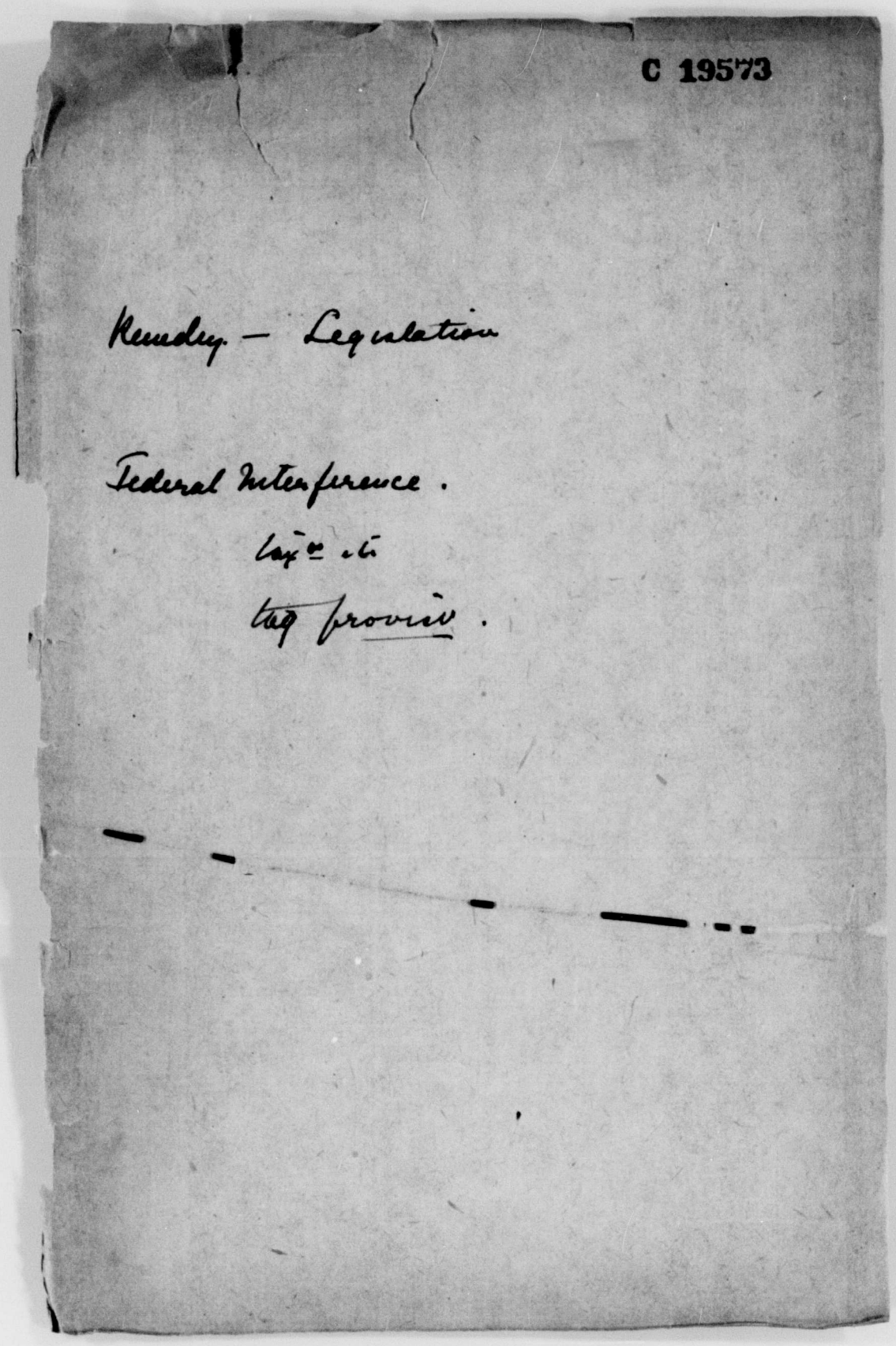
92

The only way to avoid the overwork of females & children & too long hours, bending over machine, will be the regn that clothing suffers prov- -ide no workshops upon their premises, where a uniformity of hrs & pay can be enforced & the work conducted under their personal supervision. This is the case in other occupations & no reason why Govt clothing being suffered in like manner.

Paterson Factory Inspector in Memorial of Inspectors Hugh McMurtry
& 42 6th Ann Govt. Fac Inspectors '92

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C 19573

Remedy — Legislation

Federal Interference.

Legislation

Legislation provincial.

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C 19574

Sept 97. Corr. by J. Griffin 11th Cor. re Insp. 73

In closing I desire to bring your attention to the importations from one state to another of clothing that has been made in states where no law exists regulating its manufacture. The attention of congress has been frequently drawn to this fact, and the danger of its continued toleration pointed out. Without now repeating these details I cannot refrain from again earnestly presenting the necessity of some national law to oppose a system shown by experience to be fraught with the gravest peril and opposed to every rule of justice or humanity.

C 19575

Jam sure the provn proposed by Fedl govt, was suggested by Legislr in Mass. Sec 4. Act July 1 91. Sen Hoar who introduced it was a Mass man & proofs re ~~Hats~~ linen etc on label are nearly identical in each - Knit.

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C 19576

Legris
Senate bill 1705

H of R. No. 1239

Merchants in memorial ~~protest~~ earnestly protest "against what we deem the impracticable & unoperative scheme of compelling the use of a Govt label upon garments which we offer & desire to sell in any State of the Union —

Respectfully ~~asks~~ urge. The strongest being that they ~~commence~~ commercial policy demanded the consumer ~~has~~ right to know where goods ~~are~~ were manufactured. & that they proposal of S. bill 1705 and put it away —

Doubtless the memorial squelched Legris R.

C 19577

The tag proviso as it was put in the bill was doubtless open to the objection made on commercial grounds. — had a general tag eg. "Canadian made" or such ~~tabs~~ etc been suggested the same did not have held. The bill has much to many objects

R.

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Remedies
Fed. act
regulate place where
goods to be made for sale
out of state — vote negative method.

C 19578

Cant Congress can not
regulate wages etc.

That no person firm or corporation shall sell or expose for sale outside of the state where it is made, any article of wearing apparel that has been made, or worked upon, (1) in any room occupied by any person ill with contagious or infectious disease, or (2) in any room not contained less than 300 ft. of air space for each person occupying it where work has been done upon sd wearing apparel or (3) in any room in any dwelling house occupied by 2 or more families or (4) in any room containing vermin or filth or foul stenches or (5) in any room where the factory laws of the state are violated. Sec 3 - S. 1705 ~~Jan 22~~ Jan 22

C 19579

That no wearing apparel which has been manufactured in part or wholly as described in section 3 shall be sold in one State to be delivered in another, or sold or manufactured in one state to be sold in another, or sold or suffered in one State to be delivered in a foreign country, or transported from one State to another, or to a foreign country designed for sale or exchange. — Sec 4. — S. 1705

That whoever shall violate any of the provisions of this act or any clause thereof, shall forfeit for each offence not less than $50 or more than $100. — Sec 5.

Secy of Treasy appt inspectors for each state to enforce this law. Asst inspectors in any State where necessary. — Sec 6.

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Remedy
Public Inspection of Homes
& certificate.

Hopkins p 238 C 19580

Note in this class (K) provides compulsory ~~regulation~~ with maintenance of home work
This method is not unlike the license system in Mass. only it embraces
all homes first & last and in the end for a 4th class — it is one way
of making this end in part along with others K
(Note license feature added in 4 in Mass. did this suggest home cards K)

"Some form of legisn that shld make these homes, tenements satisfactory conditions satisfactory to the health inspectors of the district
where they are. A system of inspection in all our large cities, under control
of one chief govt inspector, aided by as many division inspectors as might be
reqrd for each district — a registry of each division kept in such a manner
that the occupants of every tenement house room, dwelling, exact size, condition of
walls, closets, sanitary arrangts provided for each, ventilation, shld be
well known to govt inspectors. These inspectors shld have the aid of com-
petent physicians of the board of health at all times when reqrd. At the office
of each division inspector where a registry is kept, a card or certificate of a
duly authorized inspector, countersigned by the district physician (note
red letters K) (find out what legisn re K) must be issued to every male or female
occupant who solicits work from others in any branch of business.

C 19581

no matter whether it is clothing hats or caps or any form of merchandise, for the purpose of doing any work upon such articles in any tenement or dwelling occupied by more than 1 family within the district; this certif to state that the tenement or dwelling where it is proposed to perform this work is in a cleanly & healthy condition & that the health of all the occupants is such that no dangers of contagious diseases need be apprehended.

It shld be unlawful for any employer to deliver any work to any employee except on presentation of this card or certif. — It shld also be unlawful & punished by severe penalties (note factors interests) for any landlord or owner of tenement to lease or allow to be occupied any tenement until he has fully & faithfully complied with the reqrts of the provisions of this law (which shld be strictly enforced by Bd of Health) providing that occupants of every tenement shall be supplied with sanitary conveniences of improved kind — proper drainage, ventilation, light, stairs proper width, removal of garbage etc (note how enforcement of law re new tenements etc may help to prevent growth of evil — there is more effective way, prevention vs cure)

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Remedy regulate tall tenements

Hopkins p 237. C 19582

(4) Re diseases & pestilence, if so dangerous shld not matter State legislⁿ be directed to the control, regulⁿ & sanitary removal of all tenements or dwellings in districts where the dangerous conditⁿ prevail, rather than framing special laws governing a single branch of industrial activity whose workmen are but a fractⁿ of the popullⁿ, whose condⁿ we are told is dangerous to public health.

Among Objections of merchants to 8 hr. 1905, 92

C 19583

Remedy for bad tenement work

Hopkins p 237

compel work to be done in factories, & remove from tenements.

Main object of such legislⁿ eg. Shirt bill 1905 1

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C 19584

Ref KK b 237.

Remedy objects to secondary productive of low standards & exhaustive of factory

1892

Found there a large no of women out of employt. Thousands of respectable women living in the city of Boston, N.Y. Chicago & other large cities are enabled to earn a moderate wages while at the same time attend to their household duties, & in many cases their entire maintenance & support is derived from the needlework which they are enabled to do in their own homes, which would not be possible for them under any circumstance to leave their beds & families to go to the factory & do this work — Despite this benefit of this form of manufacture & low estimate places the figure at 5,000 women that must be subjects of charity in Boston alone — Have also ability to learn rates of the differt districts of Maine, New Hampshire & Mass. in country towns, where a large part of clothing is differd under clean & best conditions

C 19585

Ref KK b 237

While large part of work is done in factories some parts eg. needlework or handwork, - but a fraction of whole) is done by individuals in their homes, not because it can be done so much cheaper, but from the great difficulty of getting sufficient employees to do all of this work in large differg centres. who can leave their homes etc./ — note too they are scattered over city & not such a move had to increase of people into city & thereby increase evil of overcrowding of which we want to get rid — note both sides & effects K.

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Remedy re Sanit. Inspn

C 19586

All legisn ~~bot~~ or actn looking to improvt of surroundings & conditns of dwellers & workers occupying tenr houses, must help indirectly as well as directly. X - & tenr acts may not be better than refusing work to those people & allowing them to remain in their homes where dangerous conditns remain undisturbed (Here is addtl. danger of breaking up home which marks both maps) note they may carry infectn still from homes to factory but chances are lessened. — No one remedy.

Remedy: tag on all unclean goods

C 19587

All articles of wearing apparel offered in one State to be sold in another, or sold in one state to be delivered in another, or sold or offered in one state to be delivered or sold in a frgn ctry, or transported from one state to another or to a frgn ctry designed for sale, shall be identified by a tag or label not less than 2 inches in length or one in width which shall show the place or places, including the street & no. of any house or building, where each article of clothing was made. The tag or label shall be placed on a conspicuous part of the article

bill
Sec 1, S. 1705, 92.

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C 19588

Whoever shall sell or expose for sale, any one of said articles of wearing apparel without a tag or label as aforesaid or shall sell or expose for sale any one of sd articles with a tag or label in any particular false or fraudulent affixed thereto, or shall wilfully remove, alter, or destroy any such tag or label upon any one of said articles, when exposed for sale shall forfeit for each offence not less than 50 nor more than $100 (note similarity with mass legisn K.)

Sec 2. S 1705

C 19589

H of C 1237
Jan 93

Remedy: objection to interdict re tags.

Offers claim that proposed legisn wd be substantially inoperative because of the (1) impracc. conditns imposed by the bill. & the fact that (2) no discrimination is made in the compulsory use of the label by all offers. no matter whether their garments are made under the most perfect sanitary conditns or the most objectionable.

Note (This might be affected by affixing label only to ten thousandth. or having all goods sd submitted to an inspector & have him remove the label & stamp them &c as is done with cigarettes cigars etc. There wd then be a further guarantee, or mark than inspectors mark & offers who complied with law wd find it advantageous to have goods stamped instead of to affix label, have inspectors seal &c. — R.

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Remedy objects to interstate tag proposal.

Hopkins. p 238

1892

C 19590

Bill 1705 places unusual & unnecessary restrictions upon the commerce between the States in regard to the shipment from one State to another of stuffed mark, wh must bear a label stating in what town, with the street & no etc ea. garment was made, no matter under how healthful conditions. Many large stuffers & wholesale dealers in Eastern cities - N.Y. Boston, Phil & Baltimore - have extensive trade relations with dealers in the West & South. They also have active competitors in the wholesale trade & ready stuffing in all the large cities of the West. - Chic, St Louis, Cincin, Minneapolis, Omaha, & other large Western cities & naturally each rivalry is known to exist & is a most important factor in the handling of the wholesale trade of that section. Large sums of Eastern capital are invested in Western enterprises of this kind & at the same time intense rivalry exists between diff. wholesale centres of the W. & E. absurd to some extent but prejudices are fostered in re. to the encouraging the stuffing & distribution of goods stuffed in Western centres in competition with Eastern. - This restriction rivalry is set (note my plan of inspection certif. and over come this.) - This legislation would promote sectional prejudice wh is harmful to commercial interests.

Remedy: tag proposal objected to by Label of any sort

Hopkins p. 239

a good strong label one in common substance

C 19591

It is a distinct policy of merchants not to let the public know where goods are made

Statement of merchants re Bill 1705

"We are prepared to furnish evidence that contracts are frequently made with Eastern stuffers in U.S. & Boston, & probably with those of other Eastern cities, for large quantities of the highest grades of clothing - to be sold in Western trade centres, with the distinct understanding that no tag labels marks or stamps are to be attached to any of this merchandise to show that it was not stuffed in the Western markets where it is sold. If the objection to the ordinary tag labels is already so pronounced, how much more detrimental to the interests of all sections would be the compulsory use of a 5th label showing city, town, street no & name of stuffer & of each garment.

All this is founded on sectional jealousy & prejudice in W. re Eastern stuffers

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Remedy inspectable article
Objects to tag.

C 19592

We object to the compulsory use of the proposed label because we believe it to be a direct infringement & limitation of the rights of the mercantile community to enjoy the benefits of their own skill, industry & originality in designing & cutting articles of wearing apparel without being compelled to give to their rivals & competitors (by the use of the proposed label) the means of obtaining the address & names of skilled artisans who have been taught by them the art of making specially desirable work, by the efforts of responsible buyers who originate patterns and designs that often cost many hundred dollars & who are entitled to the reasonable profit that might accrue therefrom as much as the inventor whose claims are protected by the patent laws of the country (note my plan of inspector's claim not given to the objects)

Remedy
Inspection Stamp

C 19593

Note

It seems to me a plan might be adopted whereby all goods be stamped by an inspector after he is satisfied that they are made under proper conditions - as for example bogus, tobacco etc. This would be a state mark & instead of being a hinderance to sale of goods like a tag showing where goods are made, it would really be capital to man who complied with law. It would be best guarantee to public, who would only want goods so marked & would suspect all others. Employers would seek inspection in order to gain the mark. It would be a public or state certificate. When dangers of uninspected clothing became generally known public would seek only those with stamp. - the stamp not liable to be imitated as in case of union label, it would be forging a state seal. - As in hatching industry

This would only meet one side the danger of sweating there is still? of wages &

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Remedy
Legislation
Objections to interstate
action

C 19594

Objection offered to Senate bill No 1705 by Mfrs, wholesale dealers, &
shippers are based upon facts that must become apparent after a
careful consideration of the various sections of the bill (1) literal and of
recognized & established laws of mercantile usage & (2) a critical study
of the practical results that must follow a rigid enforcement of
the provisions of the act in the great clothing manufacturing centres of the U.S.

Remedy
Federal Legislation

C 19595

Sept 25' Proceedings of Nat'l Conv. Fed. Int. & Co-op
(note at same time that change made to provincial powers, later change from state to federal action, K.)

Mr Commission commenting on the Phelan law said the S.S. did be effectually dealt with only by
national legislation. State legislation must do much good in the way of reforming insanitary conditions, but must not abolish the system. The evils attendant on the S. must only be suppressed
when the system itself has done away with. — read Fraser's Remedy bill.

69) Campbell objected to Nat'l interference & claimed state rights, doubted power of Congress
to legislate in matter. Bill touched not only State by also individual rights. It discriminated
against the home worker & in favour of corporations. & sought to place a tax
upon one feature or branch of an industry & not upon the industry as a
whole (note re double taxation & etc)

Remedy favoured law, State legislation later &c. only tended to distribute the evil over a
wider area of city, where a good law would crush it out of existence everywhere.

Mrs Kelly had found Illinois law absolutely useless to suppress the system & hoped the Bill
would be fairly considered.

Mr Castles, thought bill carried with it the odour of an income tax (!) believed in right of state
to regulate its industrial affairs.

Mr Matthews hardly thought the Govt. go[illegible] would it its duty to take up the matter.
Was obvious. It is necessary to regulate it in all the states, otherwise its thorough control
and matter dealt with in uniform manner / in any state is unfortunate

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b 72 C 19596

beaupell held law and be evaded any way. the State or nation might

Sept 94. 8th Ann Conv. Fac Jrnl p 97.
C 19597

Remedy unpossible of Tax

(looking to total prohibt.)

Mr Tracey of N.Y. sd that to his mind the speediest & surest way of overcoming the evil wd be through a system of Govt tax. The Govt has the power to place a tax on articles offered in any part of the country & cited the fact that matches & other articles were subject to a nat tax. He urged that the tax question be agitated in every state, & a sentiment created to secure the passage of an act by Congress to place a heavy tax upon all garments & other articles of use, when offered outside of a well regulated shop or factory

(note, this was tried next year. was this the origin of the idea? K)

It was resolved that every effort shd be made by delegates to have the suggestions of Mr. Tracey embodied into law.

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C 19593

Remedy' Congress—Action Cert'

Sept 44 Frazer in Art 8th Con. Ta. Mfg 102

Since States alone cannot be induced to pass laws prohibiting the making of clothing by contract & unless the law is made uniform would be ineffective (since other State regulations not sufficient) ∴ Congress Act must be had.

It has been claimed Congress cannot interfere — Comm of H.O.R. reported in its report it had not plan of Congressl legisn to suggest — some say a Fed law would be interference with State rights — also powerful suffers will prevent Fed action

Congress can prohibit it — in one way quickly, effectively & radically without interfering with precedents, constitutn or the traditions of parties & that is by taxing out of existence. Put a tax on the contractor & make the wholesale "suffer" pay it. Put a tax on the sub contractor, and make the original contractor pay it. Put a tax on the most impoverished of all the sections of the S.S. the "home workers" & make the sub contractor pay it. This plan & the tax is

C 19593

made high enough, will entirely oust the S.S. from, back & branch

Special taxes such as this have been levied by the Govt time & again eg income taxes, taxes on medicines, matches & other articles, a special tax on whisky & tobacco. These taxes have been for revn purposes. This tax if proposed & adopted for the purpose for wh it is proposed may not produce much revenue & if do not propose that it shall produce any, but it will promote the health & welfare of the people 103. - it will remove the American market in the clothing trs. & enable only the pauper den & crowded quarters.

The machinery for the enforcement of this plan is already in existence it will involve no expense to the people & will require the creation of no new offices — The plan is only an extension of the principle which governs the taxing of the tobacco mfg & oleomargarine industries at present & such taxes the internal Rev. Bureau enforce & collect

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C 19600

Bramley here submitted a rough draft of a bill covering the idea he suggested, for the consideration of those interested headed 'Rough draft of a bill to cut the sweating system, to be presented when redraun in the Congress of the United States.

C 19601

Sept'94, 8th Ann. proc. Fac Insp. b.104

remedy provided by Legt

H.R.3396. 54th Cong. - bill introduced by Mr Sulzer. a draft of this
This bill was presented by Mr Feaney of N.Y. at the 8th Ann
Conv Fac. Insp 'Sept 94.' - Sec. 5 which fixes the penalty was
not included in the draft. & the time act to take effect
was that 1st May 95. - showing that intention was to get it
there at once. The bill was not read till Jany 7, '96 in H of R.
The last of 300 in sec 1 was left blank in draft.
Here are the only changes, except verbal ones made in
the two papers. — Feaney strongly urged all to do best to combat
powerful combination and be on the ground disputing every inch of
its progress. — be hoped it would be on Statute books by 1st May 95. b.104

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CANADA

C 19502

THE "SWEATING" EVIL.

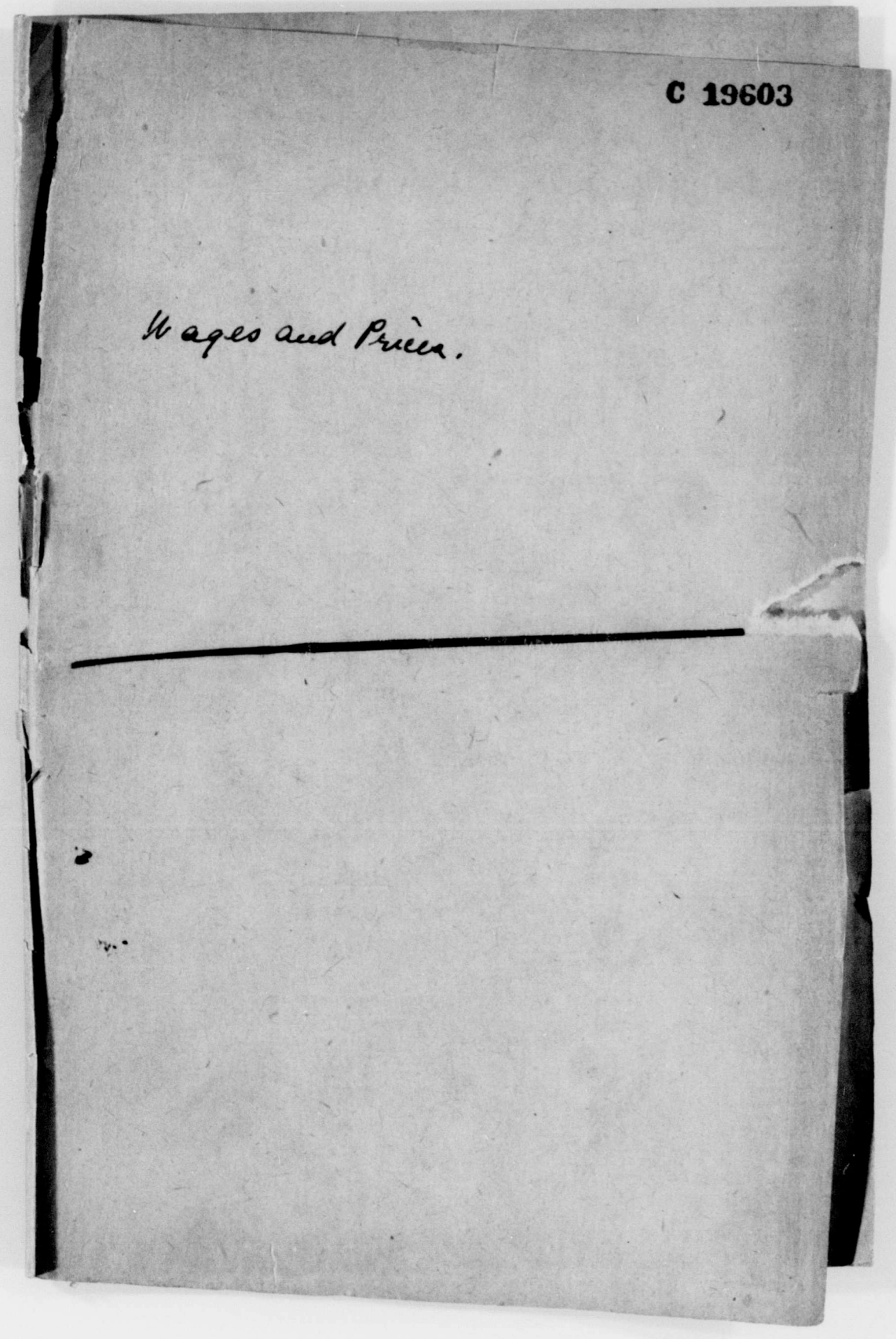
He who maintains that poverty is an evil against which it is a public duty to contend is met and, as many suppose, silenced by the quotation, "The poor you have always with you." He who declares that it is a public duty to work toward equality of condition is told that there must always be inequality, that if you started every man from the same mark to-day, to-morrow there would be great gaps between the racers. The reply in each instance is true, but it is not conclusive; it does not meet the case. It is simply a declaration that humanity is imperfect, that it can never fully attain that for which it strives; it does not follow that all effort is to cease and that humanity is to sit down with folded hands because the height that has been reached serves only to disclose other heights that have yet to be painfully scaled. We have in this country, as in most others, a costly and elaborate machinery for doing justice. We have Legislatures enacting laws, Ministers of Justice, courts of justice, Justices of the Peace, Judges and advocates trained, appointed and paid for no other purpose than the doing of justice; yet nothing is more certain than that injustice is being done every day and everywhere, and will be done until the day of judgment. There is, however, no serious proposal that the courts shall be closed because murder, theft, fraud and oppression have not been abolished. So the knowledge that poverty and inequality will always exist is no excuse for ceasing to work against these evils.

It is argued that Governments and Legislatures ought not to interfere in the relations between employees and employer, or to strive to force the rate of wages beyond the point which would be reached under the operation of the sacred law of supply and demand. But this principle does not apply to a case in which the Government is itself, directly or indirectly, the employer. In such a case the true policy would seem to be for the Government, representing the State, to make itself a model employer; to regulate wages and other conditions of labor not according to supply and demand but according to justice. If in that way the people pay a little more for the service, and it would be difficult to make a wiser expenditure of the people's money, there is no money which flows more freely in the channels of commerce and industry than the workingman's wages. An income of $20,000 a year enjoyed by one man may be of very little benefit to the community; it may be spent abroad; it may be hoarded; it may after his death go to relatives who will spend it in dissipation or in luxury, in the maintenance of vicious or servile classes, or it may be used for some religious or philanthropic purpose. In no way can it be as useful to the community as if it were divided among, say, a hundred families in the form of augmented wages. That means a hundred families living in increased comfort and independence, better clad and fed, better educated, better citizens. It means also the expenditure of the $20,000, most of it, in the community, making better times for the butcher, the baker, the clothier, the farmer. Very little of the workingman's money is hoarded, and in a reasonably temperate country like ours very little is wasted.

The effect of the anti-sweating provision in Government contracts will probably be to diminish the profits of the contractor. This, too, within reasonable bounds, is a public benefit; for the greater the profit the greater the danger of corruption, the wider the margin for contributions to campaign funds. A rich contractor with an army of half-paid workmen is in more ways than one a menace to the country. Much is said about the drift away from the farm and the workshop to the learned professions and to mercantile life. The true way to check this movement is to improve the condition of the farmer and the workman, to discourage class distinctions, to promote equality in every way.

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C 19604

prices

The prices bd while ouall (for work done at home) are 8% than those bd in the east.

Mrs Hugh Mackenzie. in Bk. Hm Econ Fac. Mch 92

192

C 19605

wages

der Daniel. Jol. Soc Se Oct. 92.

£75.

Of 38 Women in Guelph N.J. Clemento machine by her. Dec 91 – Aug 92

Maximum amt of wages earned per wk $10 — (only 4 did earn this

Average weekly wages of the furriers is $4.53

Of 29 sewers & stitchers, including shirtmakers, undergarments for men & ts

maximum weekly wage $10 by one woman

average weekly .. $3.75

The maximum total income from all sources of the families of 77 women is $746 per wk & this to support 109 people.

The total amt of rent bd to $736.25 per monette (largest rent by one family $18 for 6 room

smallest rent $3.50

average rent $9.68

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C 19606

wages
Causes of low

Wadlin Jour Soc Sc 496.

Conditions which make remedies for unemployment

(1) Method of Employment.
(2) system of sub contracting, rewarding superintendency and profits
a superintendent whose pec. reward is directly proportionate to the amount of work he can be exacted from the workers in a given time, or to the saving in labor cost that may be effected by largest workers, lowest possible wages.

Method of Industrial Remedies
Soldiers. p 5
p 139
p 6

(2) Status of workers - low degree of skill, undeveloped intelligence
& isolated & comparatively isolated employment whereby organization is rendered difficult. (Cf. Gregg's article, coal miners)

both conditions must be joined for remedying accdg to Wadlin.

wages
causes of low.

Wadlin Jour Soc Sc 496 ff

C 19607

The system of subcontracting alone is not, only common method of payment of superintendency out of profits on the job - for it obtains in most shops under many forms of metal working, & in building trades, substantially same as in clothing industry tho not to same extent - yet in neither has society had any serious complaint (?K)

The clothing industry differs from others in that it still remains, to a considerable extent, a domestic industry & in it untrained & unorganized labor may still be employed, largely of women, who may do work in connection with their main occupation of housekeeping (Was ant small? K.)

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wages: piece work

Wadlin. in Hoffman p. 230 C 19608
= Jour. Soc Sc Oct 92 p 88.

It was generally stated that most of the help are on piece work =
other than their own time — this applies to shop work

wages: clothing

Stated in Mass. Wadlin 232 p 92. C 19609

Meantime the cost of work sent to New York to be made appears to be increasing as prices rule lower there. This subjects the wholesaler or contractor in Boston, who desires to carry on his work under better conditions who is urged by Mass laws to observe proper sanitary regulations in his workshops to an unequal competition, & tends to lower the grade of labor employed in Mass. & to reduce the wages or diminish the employment of Boston workers.

p. 92 - It will appear that it is the influence of the New York work that is most deleterious upon the industry in Boston; & the problem is further complicated by the fact that New York wholesalers have in some cases directly supplied retail dealers in Mass. thru' representatives

(note lowest price established by rate.
& land on margin of mdse.

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The Statement covers only a small proportion of employees in Boston but gives a pass indication of Sweating in them. Hoffer p. 23.

C 19610

Wages
Boots, Pantaloons, vests & Children's Clothing

Classified wages.	males	females	Total	percent
$ 4.00-7.00	--	8	8	20.00
7 — 9	--	2	2	5.00
12 — 16	10	...	10	25.00
16 — 18	15	...	15	37.50
18 *	5	...	5	12.50
	30	10	40	100.00

on Pantaloons exclusively

Classified wages.	males	females	Total	percent
$ 3- 6	---	8	8	4.40
3 — 10	---	27	27	14.83
3 — 12	---	25	25	13.74
3.50-10	--	35	35	19.23
5 — 10	--	20	20	10.99
6 — 12	--	17	17	9.34
7 — 8	3	---	3	1.65
7 — 12	14	---	14	7.69
8 — 15	15	---	15	8.24
8 — 18	10	---	10	5.49
10 — 20	5	---	5	2.75
12 — 18	3	---	3	1.65
	50	132	182	100

on boots exclusively

Class. Wages	males	females	total	%
$ 2.50	--	2	2	.27
4 — 7	--	17	17	2.28
4 — 8	--	43	43	5.77
4 — 9	---	25	25	3.36
4 — 10	—	42	42	5.64
4 — 11	—	32	32	4.30
4 — 12	--	38	38	5.10
4.50	1	2	3	.40
5	--	3	3	.40
5.50	--	1	1	.14
6	--	2	2	.27
6 — 8	--	47	47	6.31
6 — 10	—	40	40	5.37
6 — 11	---	73	73	9.80
6 — 12	14	110	124	16.64 *
7	2	--	2	0.27
7 — 12	7	--	7	0.94
7 — 14	15	--	15	2.01
7 — 15	4	--	4	0.54
8 — 16	8	—	8	1.07
8 — 17	8	--	8	1.07
8 — 18	15	—	15	2.01
10	5	--	5	0.67
10 — 14	5	—	5	0.67
10 — 18	5.5	—	5.5	7.38
12	13	—	13	1.75
12 — 15	10	—	10	1.34
12 — 18	2	--	2	0.27
12 — 20	48	--	48	6.44
13	1	--	1	0.14
14 — 20	20	--	20	2.68
15	2	--	2	0.27
15 — 20	8	--	8	1.07
18	1	--	1	0.14
18 [illegible]	9	--	9	1.21
18 — 30	15	—	15	2.01
	268	477	745	100.00

* Wages wages referred to in most cases as a time vary with the kind of work given & with the employer, as may perhaps be seen by the fact that 1/3 more than 10 hrs per day.

Tabular statement as to wages of employees upon contract work, covering a small part of employees in Boston.

following statement made by an employee

* have worked at this business in this city 3 yrs. have always worked 10 hrs per day. & have not been idle for 1½ yrs. I suppose I do good work

The following indicates weekly wages earned by people in the business.

Women — finishers 4-6 — Men — stitchers 4-18
bushelers 4-8 — pressmen 10-18
basters 9-12
pressgirls 6-8

— closer analysis will show that majority were at minimum only exceptions ones at maximum.

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In general it may be said, that whether for males or females the highest wages quoted in the table are paid to a small proportion only of the workers, & represent either exceptionally skilled service or unusually prolonged work.

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C 19612

The wages represent mostly weekly earnings based on piece work, - different amt of work given to employee, or quantity of work which employee may perform in the week overtime &c more than 10 hrs per day. This accts for wide range in table 4. in latter records the largest percentage is 6 Pounds limit 6-12 16.64 % falling into this class, the larger part being females. a closer analysis will show that majority approached the minimum figures 6/12 representing crafts workers under most favored conditions

whether in male or female the highest wages quoted are led to a small proportion only of the workers represent either exceptionally skilled service or unusually prolonged hours.

Madlin Jol. Soc Sc Oct 92
Hoffman p 233

C 19613

Madlin. Jol. Soc Sc Oct 92/190
repeated Hoffman p 231

v 8s in Boston.

an employee of a contractor came to the Bureau.
The following about the wages earned of people in the business.

Girls	
Finishers	8/ 4 to 6
Beaders	6 " 8
Basters	9 " 12
Press girls	6 " 8
Men	
Stitchers	4 to 18
Press men	10 to 18

See Labour Statement

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Snicely in Mass. Hadley 93/p. 92
repudiated in Hoff Mk. p 233

Majs & comb

Following statement from one connected with Business in Boston, formerly of New York & fully is thoroughly familiar with the conditions obtaining in the trade throws light on the relative earnings in each city, & shows how the nominal wages per day are reduced under the sweating system by the establishment of a nominal day's work which in most cases requires a much longer time. Shows also the tendency of competition when work is performed under conditions in N York, to reduce wages in Boston or to bring the workers to substantially the same plane of labor as exists in the larger city.

"The workers in these tenement houses or 'shops' as they are sometimes called (when a family takes one or more boarders, who are also tailors") are divided into "teams" or "sets" the consist of 3 men { 1 machine man Ld $ 3 / 1 baster 2.50 / 1 finisher 1.50 } $7 in all. They are given for instance, 24 coats to be finished before they are entitled to a day's pay. Now if they can finish them in 24 hrs time, & they work 18 hrs. per day or 108 hrs. per week, they will finish in all 108 coats entitling them to 4½ days pay, the sleeveter receiving $3.50 / baster " 11.25 / finisher " 6.75 — If they work but 10 hrs per day or 60 hrs per week they can but make 60 coats, entitling them to but 2½ days pay for the week the sleeveter receiving $1.50 / baster " 6.25 / finisher " 3.75 } 17.50 in all. Rate figured for making 60 coats or 29 cents per coat.

"In this way they must work as many hours as possible in order to live. One can readily see how this must affect the Boston contractor, who is generally a Hebrew. He understands how his brother in New York is operating, he knows the major part of the Boston work is going to New York, he is desirous to retain it & he is thus in every possible way to imitate the New York contractor by getting part of the work done in the tenement houses i.e., the 'finishing'; while in the shops some already work in "sets" & by the piece, which is the nearest approach it has yet been possible to make to the New York method. — The tenement house work of Boston differs from that of New York, as, while all the work on the garment is frequently done in the tenement house in New York, only the finishing is done in the tenements in Boston — while this may be better for the tailors who work in shops in Boston, it is no better for the community, as many of the tenements are very unclean.

Hadley in Hoff Mk. p 233

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Wages. Mdlx. comparison

U.S. Government Bureau

Hadley in Hoffman. b. 237 C 19616
92) Jour. Soc Sc b 13

A machine man will do stitching on about 4 coats per day, for a man to earn $3 in Mdx. he must stitch 16 or 18 coats per day. So he has to work 16 hrs to get a day's pay. If he does earn $3 or 18 he is turning out about 2x as much done in Boston for same money

Girls pay in N.Y. shops runs from $5 to $9 (Y. Merchant & Tailor Mag.)
If girls steady work they will earn from 8 to 12 in Boston

My business in past 4 yrs has fallen off 50% — this has been a steady decline. We do not complain about goods made in Maine. They are made well, they do rough strong work for wh there must be a certain demand. All we complain of is N.Y. labor working double time to earn the same pay that we do while Boston furnishes the work.

We cannot compete with the class of people doing that work we shld starve. Neither can we endure so many less labor hours as we shld not be allowed to live in such quarters in Boston as they live in do work in the city.

Hadley in Hoffman. b 236
1912 C 19617

Wages

Official cases. in Boston tenements

attic room in wh a man 2 girls employed making knee pants 6 cents pair, — same man employs 4 hands. — making children's " 6 "
"

also nell case, 6 cts per pair, man says he can make 3 doz per day next case, men making knee pants. by constant application " " " " " " 60 cts per

Italian woman gets 13 cts a pair for finishing one pants, if she over casts sleeves she gets 14½ cts per pr can finish 6 pairs per day by hard work, generally working evenings. — a worthy woman nothing objectionable in her apartments

no 6. — woman finishes pants 13 to 14½ cts per
no 7. " " (worthy) " " gets 15 cts pair (husbands work elsewhere)
" 8 2 women working " " " 14 cts, two together can do 8 prs per day
" 9. basement makes pants under contract employs employees 10 cts per pair for finishing (8 men employed)
no 10. — contract reads as follows: 105 pairs at 1.12 ½ 84 pairs at 1.25. ½ 16 prs at 1.50. work on longer pants
head of house works 15 hours per day — he pays 20 cents a doz to man outside for pressing. in this way he completes 20 prs per day with help in finishing

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No 11 — 3 men & 1 girl in one room
other 1 man & 1 girl on bed-tired
making knee pants for sub get 1.05 per doz.
can make about 500 pr per week, work 12 hrs per day

No 12 - Can make 2 doz knee pants per day, for sub he gets 80 cts for common ones.

No 13. men gets 15, 16, 20, 25 per pair for work on pants, - can make 10 to 15 doz pr per week

No 14. occupant can make 5 doz pr per sub of knee pants at 75 cts per doz.
for better ones he get as high at $1.25.

No 15 — 4 men sewing on children's pants make 300 pr per sub at 1.37 per doz.
working 7 a.m. till 6 p.m.

H of R. R. & W. - 1

wages.

In contractors shops the operatives receive the ordinary wages of other labor skilled or unskilled of similar grade

. . . . .

In tenement sweat shops wages average from 25 to 33⅓ % less than in larger shops. (note two hours. a class of workers.) - note re tools -

In tenement ~~home~~ home workers. — As to wages there is practically no compensation which could be properly so called. The work has been secured by ruinous ~~competitive~~ underbidding of even the tenement house sweat shops or by sub contracting from them, it is almost invariably piece work, involving several processes. Indeed as to this class of labor, it consists in no large part of those who are compelled to accept rather than choose their work that it is taken without reference to the possibility of a livelihood being made thereby, the miserable workers getting simply all that they can from it, begging as much as possible to supplement their below-starvation wages & depending being taken charge of by the charitable authorities when they are driven to that extreme.

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wages. st
course of low.

Hopkins. 6 xx.
C 19620

Since the deterioration in the conditions of operations in these industries has been so coincident with the development of certain classes of immigration as unquestionably to be connected with them.

Hopkins. 6 xx.
C 19621

wages.

The concurrent testimony of practically every class of witnesses examined is that the wages in the larger contractors shops are similar to those of equally skilled labor of other employments of that locality

that wages in the tenement house sweat shop are 25% less for the same sort of work & that in the tenement home work they are lower still.

also that compensation for similar work has decreased within the last years (note too w Com. rules of late.)

Re country home work - 1/5 of total - is generally done as only or occasional work by women or daughters of rural people, not as a means of support, but for individual pin money, or to eke out an income, at rates of compensation below those at which those who did old support themselves if they depended on it for a livelihood.

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four wages' Complete

Key White Bull Pub. May 26
p 363.

C 19622

Wages' Cause of Low.

Key White Pub Bull May '06
p 361

C 19623

The conditions that make the sweating system possible may be summed up as follows: First, crowded population in large cities; second, high rent; third, contract work.

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Wages, causes of
subcontracting etc

C 19624

Hey White, Bull Lab. May 96
b367

The clothing and cloak cutters and trimmers number about 8,000, and are credited with being the most intelligent and skilled workmen in the trade. They are employed directly by the firms, usually on the premises, and their condition is in marked contrast to that of the other branches. The hours of labor are nine per day, with the exception of a half holiday on Saturdays during five months. In Chicago, however, the hours of labor are eight per day. The standard wages are from $15 to $24 per week, but the usual rate is $20 per week. This is an indication of the difference between direct employment and indirect contract work. When the latter is undertaken, the middleman as contractor becomes a factor and his profits must be taken from wages. Of course, with subcontracting wages must be reduced still more; so the worker suffers at every appearance of the contractor or subcontractor.

organize

Wages-
Task etc.
Subcontracting

Hey White, p 363-4. Bull. Lab. May 96

C 19625

This evil does not end here, however, for the contractors in turn subcontract the buttonhole making and finishing or "felling" to others. The "felling" is usually done by women at their homes, and very often by the whole family. Under such an arrangement it is easily seen that, aided by competition, prices and wages must continue to fall, and the work day to 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 employees engage in a sort of cooperation, under which the contractor agrees with his employees to solicit work from the warehouses at a figure perhaps refused by another, provided they (a set of hands—usually four or five persons) 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. Can a more objectionable plan be devised to obtain all the labor possible from a human being, whether man, woman, or child, the return for which is insufficient to maintain such a high pressure of energy? This is truly the very height of the sweating system. It seems as though its victims are grasping at a chance to preserve life for the time being at any cost. Piecework, which is the rule in the vest, pants, cloak, and shirt-making trades, has been brought, also, to the same level through the contract method of work. The above description I have endeavored to give temperately and accurately, based upon careful observation. In fact, it would be difficult to exaggerate the unfavorable conditions of this system of labor and its vicious effects.

cf. Reform in Sweating system
Eichholz, in Econ.

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Sub contractors
a cause of sweating

Key Wheeler Bull. Labt. May 96
p 363

C 19626

~~management.~~ Even the contract method of manufacturing is not in itself injurious so long as such work is carried on in large, healthy shops; but it is the intensifying of competition through this means and the opportunities afforded for petty contractors to successfully compete that make the contract system so disadvantageous.

The petty contractor has made possible the sweating evil, and he is inseparable from it. As little capital and not much general knowledge of the trade are required to become a contractor, almost any ordinary workman can enter the field and compete with the others on even ground. This soon results in such keen competition between the contractors for the opportunity to obtain work that prices are reduced to a ruinous figure.

note what
Wallis says
re abuses
of sweating
&

The Contract wage (based on Subletting &c) is the very height of the sweating system. p. 364

Pinchbeck, who is the rule in the vest pants cloaks & shirt making trades has been brought also to the same level thro' the contract method of work.

Prices
corners of

Sept 95. Cunningham in Stat. Jour. Dec 96 p. 37

C 19627

Keen competn. of ~~sub~~ contractors, whose wds are cheap since little capl & not much genl knowledge of trade req'd to be a contractor. their numbers v. numerous.

Suffers acknowledge it and cost them more to have their own shops besides the trouble & [illegible] of superv.

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CANADA

C 19628

Sept 9 2. Griffen. 6th Am Econ. Soc Pub
2 98.

wages in Mor

No law exists re. low wages & the task system.

eg. - when the end of the week is reached workman of 12 for 6 days work, he only receives 8. ie. 2 days labor has been sweated out of his system without him receiving any equivalent for it. This is really the greatest evil of the "S. Sys." The law cannot directly regulate these evils for they are a matter of contract. dependent entirely upon the agreement the parties make between themselves.

C 19629

Competⁿ as affecting wages & prices

Sept 93 McKay in Arb. 7th Econ. Soc Pub p 108

The sweating system commenced when 'competⁿ' as it has for some time past been suffering from the ~~ordinary~~ same cause. The sweaters began by reducing the profits of the ordinary tradesman, & by lowering the price of labor. But there no. increases, one sweater makes room on the other & still the demand for cheapness is not satisfied. His profits diminish, & he cuts down the wages of his workpeople to a lower point than ever. - It is a fact that every time the prices are being lowered. this can only be accounted for by the competⁿ & rivalry of the sweaters with each other.

(There would have been little objection made to Ricardos exception of competⁿ if all trades were like the present K.I)

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C 19630

wages
Cause of low
comment of subcontractors Sept 93 McKay. in Art 7 Th Cov. Fac. in 6105-

I have been told me very often by contractors that they are com-
-pelled to accept the prices offered by the wholesalers, or if they did
not, some one else would take the same work at a less price
thus bearing out the statement that the competitive rivalry
of the wholesalers are the principle causes of the reduction of
wages

C 19631

wages.

Sept 93. Griffin in Art 7. Con. Fac. in 6110.

The Amendment of Jan 0792 in mass putting fair on hippos. - has undoubtedly advanced the prices for finishing clothes in homes. - before the Act was enacted it was an every day occurrence to find women receiving only 4 & 5 cents a pair for finishing trousers while now the lowest prices we find to be 8 to 10 cts pr. The contractors when hard pushed for licensed finishers & were obliged to but higher for their labor in order to secure them. - Formerly 2 to 3 hours to finish a pair of trousers.

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CANADA

C 19632

wages
cause of low

When it comes to wages the inquiring Caroline is informed first that they depend on the habits of the poor & the degree of prudence they ~~exer~~ practice in multiplying. - Malthus influence.

~ Wages & cab. p. 187

C 19633

low.
Prices & wages
cause of.
expld by dry goods.

Sept 94 Francy in Hist. & Geog. Rec. Sept 1897

re peculiar sale of bundles of goods in former districts of Maine, Vermont & New Hampshire & in the interior of the Old Bay State to be made up by farmers wives & daughters sometimes for "pin money" but always so cheaply that even the mistake of the smugglers dear in N. York city and bleak Nfld. his grime to work at such pitiful prices - the wages of the mechanic & machine hands in the cities with families to support & rent to pay are thus kept down by the money of the dry destitute of the east & the poverty of the people inland as the smuggler's interests prosper.

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C 19634

Sub contracting
& low wages

Sept 94 Feeney in Act 8th Mun Gov. Fact Inv. p. 100.

The contractors who are bd a minimum price upon the return of the goods in a stiffd condition, must first compete with & bid against each other in order to obtain the work & experience has shown that as time goes on these contractors are ground one against the other by the wholesalers until the average prices of one yr will exceed by 10 or 20 % the average prices of the year following for the same work. The contractors, naturally, in order to keep up if possible to the figs of profit they have set as the least amt wh they must clear up as the result of a meths work, turn to the workmans bt the price paid to him; or if the contractor, as often the custom sublets the work to another less favored individ he extracts in advance the amt wh as a broker he claims to be his due — easy to see the result of this system of cut & slash. — His the contract features of the S.S. at which we must strike

C 19635

Prices & wages

Sept 95. Mun Assembly & Mun Govt. Fact Inv p 61.

Dr Remy Shaw. - Mun Legal. Mun. Sept 94

"Tem americans are employed at the work -- we found that competition had so reduced the wages as to prevent them making a living under what is accepted by Americans as fair conditions"

14 cents for that next. — 30 cents for that each coat / p 62

one place women finishing mens pantaloons 12 cts a pair
old finish 9 hr day

30 cts doz boys home pants

pantaloon 25 & 30 cents a pair. 7 people making (2 per a day each) p 63

In an overall shop men 80 % 6. wh for operating machine 1 bd 3/4 a hour. on it that wh 55 bd)

man cuffs finish trousers, receive 16 cts per doz pers. work 5 hr 6 pm. can make 6. per hr.

knee pants 25 cts doz. — man makes vests 1 doz — makes 60 cts per day

1 per doz boys knee pants of better quality.

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C 19636

464.

Tailoring trade. Good class of coats 25 cts a piece

Women for making summer alpaca (men's coats) paid 12 to 14 cts a piece

(465)

In home coats for U.S. Express Co. & P.O. letter carriers

wages ranges from $4 wk women finishers
7 - dressers
9 operators
12 all round men.

Boys packers 40 cts doz.

Men's overalls 2 boys paid $1.50 per wk.
men — 3. to $5..

Men employing 20 people had made women's dress suits at from 25 to 40 cts a piece.

wages paid $3 to $6 wk full time. (Price includes coat & skirt (2 pieces)

(Ladies coats 40 cts a piece wages per 1 to 4.80 a wk.)

Men's pants men got $4.30 wk.

C 19637

Manufg furriers
Women's ~~coats~~ to trade, cloth makers $1.25 per doz (retailed $2.50 each)
(did make 1 doz day)

466.

On north sect^n 93 places reported mostly German

average pay being $1.50 to $10 a wk where men operators are mostly employed in smaller part of city & earn largest wages, the condit^n is here reversed. women operating & earning from 6 to $12 a wk of wages work for 10 hrs a day.

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Ger German section – (north Sec Pa)

Nu bill of prices varies according to the character of the people

furnish the work, cust according to workmanship shall (note as

same re wages) (For overcoats from $3- cts each (velvet collar)

to 98 " " (stitched raw seams)

shop work { frock coats 40 cts to $1

sack coats 14 cts to 25

pantaloons 25 cts to 50 cts pr. (not so many in this sec

And appear Germans

got better class of work

& perhaps better wages &c)

Custom workers average week.

$ 3. 6 & 12 acrd to their own skill & the class of custom

they work for. Where shop workers earn just about ½ of that amt

or a fraction over, the figs being 1, 2, 5, & 9. they the amateurs being in the

great majority — (note the custom wholesale mark. cf client to work

custom work is done in homes, shops etc &c. also agents)

In Southern section conditions outside the north

Evid of Hlb. F. Hochstadter.

The price of making cloaks is about same as clothing (coat).

We employ cutters & trimmers – a trimmer averages $3 to $4 a day & many work

hrs 52 to 53 a week.

~~No tailors~~. In the suffrg district the wages of for a foreman the charge

of the establishment is any where from 30 to $100 a week., asst foreman in cutting

dept get $20 to $30 a week, cutters receive $3 to $5 per day or rather 18 to 25 wk.

trimmers 12 to $18, examiners of coats 12 to $25 per wk.

Most of the tailors, 60 or 80 and be journeymen tailors – They are paid 15 to $18 they are

paid these in the shops of the man who takes out work. – women earn understand 5 to $7 wk & girls probably 3 to 3.50

As to employees who work in factories owned or superintended directly by wholesale offices.

They are so few. wages paid had be about same as outside.

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Clothing in
relation of differ
kinds of clothing
prices of di

March 42 H of R.R. Ex 9. **C 19640**

Evidence of Louis M. Hornthal, Wholesale Clothier - 670 Broadway

Differ mediums & fine, mens & youths clothing — the diff grades & classes of wholesale diffs of clothing recognized in our business are common, mediums & fine / & the persons for whom they are made — for colored people, laborers & mechanics & some for the better mechanics. They are classed as mens & youths' clothing. Some childrens clothing — prices of suits range from $1.25 up to $24 & $30 - or from $5.00 cents to $30 according to grades. — common clothing suits will be about $5. or $6 per suit, medium grade will be $10 & $12 better grades $11 to $25 or $30. — The lowest grades are made of printed cotton, or printed muslin, so to speak & those a little better are satinet - Satinet is a combination of cotton warp with a shoddy filling

The cloth used for medium grades, is union cassimeres, & cassimeres and cheviots. Union cassimere is a combination of cotton warp & wool filling, but no shoddy. The cheviot is made of waste wool, both the warp & filling

C 19641

& the better cheviots are made of the better grade of wool, while
p 10 the low class is of all-wool cassimere, commercially speaking &. it is what the Eastern men call mill sweepings & is what they get ready for the manufacturer, there are some finer goods but the poorer goods are all made "commercially speaking". They differ in that the wool has not been thru' as much process. The finer grades are the cassimeres & cheviots

The labor cost compared to the total cost of the garment depends on the price of the garment. I shld say about 30%. That includes the cost to the manufacturer, the cheaper the goods the greater the cost of manufacture. - In making this % estimate, we take the cloth, the lining & everything

(the cheaper the article, the more is the labor cost.)

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p.19 Practically there is no difference in favour of wages paid out of New York (eg. in Maine) & there is as is in favour of wages paid in N.Y.

The cost of product to the wholesaler now is more than it was a few years ago (Mr Howe that agrees with this) - this because wages are higher, we pay more for it than we did 5 yrs ago. I told say that the increased demand for articles of clothing, ready made, has increased in fully as large a proportion as the increased amt of labour. & it is just as difficult today to get a large amt of work done as it was 5 yrs ago. I think wages are higher.

Wages

Note to what extent this labour is "unskilled" x
shelled as unskilled — problem

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C 19644

Hours.

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C 19645

hours

Eliène thinks that the questn is finally one of hours. It is because in N.York the hours are so long in homes, that the Mfrs finds it to his interest to have work done there. Note the task system; 'leaves' etc in this connectn.

Also relegn on hours - decision of Cts in Illinois, seem to put a stop to legislg for an enforcement of reductn of hours. Also note decisn re Mon Labor in connectn with bath house in Boston.

Hours in Mfg.

Mass House Ro 1499, p.6

C 19646

For 16 hours a day women & men are engaged in making garments in such places & under the conditions as herein enumerated

Refer to Factory Inspectors to Chief made Jan 1891, on conditions in Mfg.

New York tenement house class of work - requires their help to work 14 to 16 hrs a day — Statement of Boston Poke to Inspector Woodnell in Dept to Chief made Jan 91 (House p 10

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C 19647

Mrs Raund Jo/ Soc. Sc. file 73.
Oct 92

hours

hours limited by physical strength & amt of work they can do also
Dressmaking women in NY.

C 19648

hours of

Secretary to Mass Bd Lab — 42 pp 8vo
1892 Jo/ Soc Sc

hours of labor observed by 33 Boston contractors accdg to their returns are
10 per day but this applies entirely to shop work. — one only reported more than 10.
It was generally stated that most of the help are on price work & take their
own time, by which it is meant that strict regular hours of labor are not
always observed. 4 contractors reported a shorter whp day on Sat.
One hour generally allowed for dinner when work is done in shop.

repeated in Hof R.R. p. 280

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C 19649 Headley Jol 97 S.S. 493
Hoffek 234

hours.

American men must do shoveling on about 9 coals per day. for a man to earn $3 in N.Y. he must shovel 16 or 18 coals per day. so he has to work 16 hrs to get a days pay

Hours of labor

C 19650 Hoffek Sc. Jr. III-

In contractors shops - special feature - the hours of are frequently - they by no means ir-
-regularly - longer than those at wk in similar regular shops of other indus-
-tries they may be permitted to work.

In tenement house sweat shops - as to hours there is practically no limit as to hours, except the endurance of the employée, the work not merely being paid for by the task but the task so adjusted as practically to drive from the shop each employee who is not willing to work to the limit of physical endurance. the hours of labor under this system being rarely less than 12 generally 13 or 14 & frequently from 15 to 18 in the 24

Tenement house home workers - the hours are simply those wh en-
-durance or necessity prescribe - must work preternaturally. - Children are worked to death by the side of their parents, who are dying from over-
-work or disease.

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Hours
Clothing & cloak.
" Cutlers & trimmers 9 hrs per day ½ holiday 5 days in yr) Wages 15-24 wh
Ld Chief 8 " " "

Hy White. Labr Bull. May 96
L362 C 19651

Ld Hours of
Labor -
attempt to regulate
in factories in Illinois

Hy White, Bull. Labr May 96.
Internl Assn of factory Inspectors.
L 370 C 19652

At the meeting of this association in Chicago, September, 1893, the following resolution in reference to the restrictions of the hours of labor was adopted:

Recognizing the inequality of the existing laws regulating the employment of women and minors in the different States and Territories, and with a view of bringing into effect more uniformity in the same, which would be just and profitable to all engaged in industrial pursuits; first, by placing the employers in the different States on an equal basis of competition so far as hours of labor are concerned, and by affording to the employed the same protection from the evils which follow the overworking of women and children, wherever practiced; therefore we recommend the adoption by the several States of laws regulating the hours of labor of women and minors to 48 per week.

The State of Illinois subsequently adopted the eight-hour law in substance. An appeal was made to the supreme court, and in November, 1894, the part pertaining to women was declared unconstitutional, on the grounds that adult women were not wards of the State, that the law gave special privileges to one sex as against the other, and was an interference with the right of women to work longer than eight hours if they choose or to contract for or dispose of their work. This decision naturally handicaps further legislation in this direction.

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C 19653

Aug 91. 5th Annl Conv. Trades
L 97.

hours.

Prospector Tannery of Mtl. 2d
May marked in Leather - from 72 to 100 hrs a wk with Salary
wages.

C 19654

Feb 92 Griffin in Act. 6th Annl Convn. Trades
L 88.

hours
in Mass.

Sec 1 of Act July 91 Limiting working hours where one outsider employed
but & under Factory to work Act, - hence under 10 hr law. - The employers
were compelled to post time tables which allowed the women & minors
to work only 10 hrs a day, where previously they had worked
often 14 & 15.

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C 19655

Sept 93 Mrs Kelly. Art 7 Ste Cov. Fa. In. Ld

hours.

Mrs Kelly seems to regard the long hours as the sine qua non of the sweating ~~system~~. — " It takes the 14, 16, 18 hours day to make the sweaters' shop pay. — a sweaters shop is a small group of workers, & no one can extort enough profit out of them in 8 hrs per day to make the shop pay Hence 8 hr law in Illinois. - an enforcement of must lead to large shops with large groups of 8 hr employees. - such shops could not be sweaters shops

Last year (92 in Illinois) Numerous hundreds of girls between 12 & 16 yrs of age employed running sewing machines by foot power some working 14 to 18 hrs a day in the hottest hours of summer

C 19656

b.c.o.

The irregularity is one of the most cruelly demoralizing experiences of the working girls life, injurious alike to health & to every habit of thrift & persevering effort. The regulation of the hours of work inevitably tends to distribute work over the year & to assure greater stability of occupation. This must prove especially beneficial in the Clothing trs. in wh the long wearing days ~~are~~ have come at mid-summer, and the enforced idleness and privation at midwinter, when they are hardest to bear & the most costly in vitality.

In Illinois effect of 8 hr law (June 93) has already (Sept) to some extent caused a redistribution of work & rest measured to girls & women. Formerly customary practice of working overtime in many trades during a part of the year & then closing the factories or workrooms 3 or 4 very long days a week

No retail clause in the law as the 8 hr principle

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4.11

Eng in 1948 set example of legal 10 hrs day for women = ~~56~~ hrs wk
Australia followed with 48 hrs. for men & women. = 48 " "
Germ has adopted a 9½ hrs effective work = 54 —
(11 hrs minus one for dinner & ½ for rest)

Note
Ontario 48 hrs
one of the few

Mass. the 54 hrs week
New Jersey 55 hrs week
Illinois 48 " wk.

hours.

Note Statement of H of Lords committee re Excessive hrs of labour. & of Congress committee. both agree it is one of worst features of the sweating system

See p 106 proc 7th Am Con. Fac Inc.

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Remedy re hours

C 19659

The hours of labor cannot be kept within humane legal limits in the larger cities unless an army of inspectors is kept constantly on the alert - in out of way places early & late

Hours
Effect of Capt in Mc

Sept 04 8th Am Gov Tele Mss L 36. C 19660

Mr Bisson explained the workings of the Illinois law re. the employment of children & said that in many cases the women & children deserted the shorter hour factories for employment in those where longer hours prevailed It seemed to him that human greed upon the part of the employees had more to do with keeping up the long hours system than anything else. Some people undergoing a calamity, unless permitted to work full 12 hrs a day, & any very rabid reform in that direction did not be effected while people are permitted to go unrestricted.

Also Mrs Kelley p 79, — the system of amateur is largely the fault of the operatives themselves in many cases they prefer to work long hours & do not understand that their pecuniary interests will be advanced as a result of shorter work days.

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C 19661

Sanitary conditions

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Sanitation
Re Ventilation

C 19662

Paper on by Inspector White "Some erroneous theories of Ventilation"

p. 54+ (5th Ann. Conv. Fact Inspectors)

Sanitation
Re reform in Mass.
effect of law of '91

C 19663

Perhaps no matter has to the attention of our Legislature at its last session attracted more notice in the press among the people than that relating to the so-called sanitary system ..... act passed ... The powers of the State Board of Health in Mass are ample in such cases, & it is believed that the dangers from infectious diseases which are liable to be disseminated from such sources as filthy workshops may be greatly lessened if not wholly removed by the faithful affirm of this new sanitary law

p. 8, Annual address of Pres. Wade
in preceding ch. comments of interest
of factory inspectors Conv. Chicago '91

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C 19664

Sanitation

Synopsis of Lecture – by 7th Ann Conv. Fac Inspec –

C 19665

Sanitation – need for legislation

Mass. House No. 149. p. 1

I call your attention to the opinion of the Chief referred to in his report "The investigation made by this department fully corroborate the testimony of others in their complaints of the uncleanly & too often filthy surroundings attending the manufacture of clothing in tenement houses; & the large amount manufactured for dealers in ready-made clothing in Boston alone calls for legislation intervention for the protection of our citizens from the infected product of N.Y. tenement houses." (made by S.)

Gov. Russell to Senate & H of R. – Boston March 3, 1891

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CANADA

Sanitary Conditions in Newfoports.

Mars House No 149. 4 3rd

Mass Factory Inspectors investigating in New York 1891 report: to Chief made
Shops in wh goods for Boston Stores were being made! -
Tenement workshops on Elizabeth St were not in the condition of cleanliness .. men & women crowded in small rooms, light poor, ventilation bad.

On Elizabeth St. room 10x12 — 9 men & 3 women making such coats for a Boston firm .. here & there piles of dirt, floor long time not scrubbed. - cooks alone next room, odor bad, small room for pressing hardly room for 1. ventilation & light bad, Gen'l condition that of uncleanliness.

On Hester St. Small room bad light & poor ventilation. 6 men - 3 women. unclean beds placing among clothes. such coats for Boston firm

On Hester St condition almost beyond description, filth of every description abounded, garbage - dirt met the eye in every direction, same true of most Essex & Columbus Sts. & Pitts St. floors greasy, sanitation bad

A majority of the places visited had their entrances thro long dark narrow entries & stairways. matches had to be lit. In many of the rooms were cooking stoves, in some one or 2 beds. - no appearance of neatness, & odors of repulsive character were discernible. Plates of food, refuse matter, chamber utensils were seen in the same rooms where garments were being stitched. Meals were being prepared Beds, rumpled & tossed showing unclean linen met the eye in several of the workrooms

Mars House No 149 & 3rd

half made up garments were piled upon beds & in corners upon the floor bundles of cloth here & there. The pipe was a great comfort to the workmen & the air was tainted with the effluvia arising from bodies & effluvia of some whose unconcerned skin did be seen, had not touched water for some time, coat backs were standing against the partitions upon several floors of a place visited, wh had been taken to give space for 2 workmen. where there still remained a large bed, & in one room a child's crib together with the bed where there were some 7 or 8 employed.

Some cases entry low. air bad no fresh air - often room offensive from exhalations of the house - garbage - swill piled in one corner of an entry way. Cook stoves in workrooms of some, cook stove in 2 places observed double purpose cook & heat irons for pressing

dirty muslins clothes piled on floor. dirty linen, & children, care in several instances (note on family & clothes &c)

Some cases bedding lying on fire escapes & bed used to sit on - for 16 hrs a day men & women work here, in these conditions same atmosphere no matter how deadly is inhaled over & over again. - Some in damp basements in rear of high buildings - some in lofts & attics with low ceilings, sanitation bad & no ventilation. stifling odors & bad smells coming from those closely packed together

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Sanitation need for legis act.

Mass. House Ex 149/12

C 19668

I call your attention also to the 5th Ann report of factory inspectors of State of N.Y. transmitted to the Legis Jan 26/91 esp. p 27 & 29. In which they say. "If ever an epidemic occurs in the city, these "sweat shops" will be potent factors in propagating the germs of the plague. The clothing made in them affords excellent means for distributing disease, more esp as it is usually of a cheap grade, & is mostly sold to people who have not always the opportunity, even if the desire, to guard against contagion & habits of personal cleanliness & home surroundings of a healthy character.

Gov. Russell to Sen & H of R. Boston March 3, 1891

C 19669

Social influences Sanitation

Dr. Daniel Jof. Soc Sc. Oct 92.
p. 93.

(see Housing of working people)

Dr. Daniel gives description of N.Y. tenements on East Side, where sweating is done. — child labor employed with parent

blds contain 16–24 families — 4 families to a floor.

~~bedroom~~. cooking washing ironing, eating dining, sleeping room all in one all day long & for nite nights

rear tenements 2 families on each floor. (sometimes 4)

p 77.

Of good class of tenements we found one example.
Of moderately good — 28
bad — 48

/ the sanitary condition of the tenement house is decidedly due to the owner, under the supervision of the Board of Health.

dirt & overcrowding of apartments are traceable to tenants: plumbing lighting & ventilation to the landlord & Health Board.

one family found living in good sanitary apartments.
27 " " " " moderately good "
49 " " " " bad "

/ the total no of rooms occupied by 77 families is 212
total no of light rooms 136 = 109 / person
509

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Tenements in U. 7. contd. C 19670

Scarlet

977 families
4 families each live in 1 room
32 " " " " 2 "
24 " " " 3 "
14 " " " 4 "
2 " " " 5 "
1 " " 6

b 78

well known custom among tenement house people is the habit of taking boarders or lodgers, no difference as between Jewish - at time of visit 37 families accommodated 90 strangers

one family of 7 had 15 lodgers. - three 22 people live in 3 rooms, one of which is light

two apartment contains 1 double & 1 single bed - each pays $1.50 nos.

one married couple, others single young men & women.

~~Except among~~ (What an undermining of the race! K)

Re Health Tenement etc. C 19671

Smiley in Mass. Weekly 42 - b 89.
Repeated in 107 RR b 23 / D. Sc 8 Oct

No objection seems to attach to the work done in Maine so far as its cleanliness is concerned. It may in some cases affect the prices fd for similar work done in Boston but the Maine work is principally of a diffl style or class from that made up in Boston. It appears to be true, esp in the case of the contract work done in New York, considerable quantities are made up in tenement houses, amid filthy & squalid surroundings, under the poorest sanitary conditions amid filthy & squalid surroundings, under the poorest sanitary conditions, by sheer labor, not subject to factory inspection, & for the lowest possible wages.-

b 93 "Only the finishing is done in the tenements in Boston. - - - - It is no better for the community as many of these tenements are very unclean.

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C 19672

Sanetary Condition

Wadlin in 1897 Mass. p. 236.

Typical tenements reached in Boston Report of Bureau.

filthy, room small, odors nuisance, dark etc. This is report in almost all cases, (one or two exceptions woman with daughter), cases of eating sleeping etc in same room.

children & infants in home.

bed left in same room girl lying on only one man in room with — (note on immorality). many cases men & women two girls in same room. Crowded together.

Room 10 by 10 by 7/ 4 men working, 4 machines in room, 2 gas outlets plaster up, 2 small windows black & neglected, a kettle stove 15 inches high.

C 19673

Wadlin. N.Y. 1901.

Sanitation etc. & wages

The great mass of tenement home work is of a readymade or low grade readymade goods, from the price for making up which frequently 2 & sometimes more middlemen's profits must be executed. The households in which it is made include many of the most wretched in which human beings exist among us. The conditions of squalor & filth are such as in a large proportion of cases to make even existence impossible except by one hardened to the process, while the quarters towards which this work seems to tend are the eddies into which seem to have drifted the most wretched & ignorant of our population & from which are scattered much of the crime & more of the disease that infest our large cities. From the wholesale offices marketing from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 of goods per year, there the middleman to the home tenement worker the steps are steadily downward. — of decreasing prominence & respectability in a business way, of decreasing comfort & compensation, the profit of each one of the line, above the wretch who to be at the bottom, being executed from the one next below him.

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C 19674

Appendix VII.

Sanitation in surroundings of workers

(a) In Contractors Shops.—

So far as concerns operatives in the contractors' shops (factories) where room is certain restricted, yet comfort found no great conflict & to call for Congressional consideration — In general cities their conflict is being steadily bettered as result of the work of local or State inspectors (first and when abled) The operatives employed in them receive the ordinary wages of other labor, skilled or unskilled of similar grade. Women labor is neither exceptionally prevalent nor poorly compensated, & child labor is little used. — Special features (1) the proportion of foreign born labor is extraordinary when compared with that employed in other occupations

(2) the hours are frequently — tho not universally — longer than those at which the similar sized shops of other industries they had be permitted to work.

C 19675

Appendix VII.

Sanitation etc surroundings of workers

(b) tenement sweat shops.

conditions are radically changed for the worse of. with contractors shops (factories) · unhealthy & unclean conditions are almost universal, while those of filth & contagion are common. The proportion of foreign born & recently arrived immigrants is so large that others form an inconsid. proportion — they are more subject to hard treatment being new in the city. The proportion of female labor rises to a much larger proportion than in the 1st contractors shops. & child labor is generally used, while as to wages they average from 25 to 33 1/2 % less than in the larger shops. & as to hours there is practically no limit. except the endurance of the employee (i.e. both in the hours rarely less than 12 — & frequently from 15 to 18 hours in the 24.

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Sanitation
Surroundings of workers.

Appdx. to Rep. VI.
C 19676

(c) Tenement home workers.

The lot of the tenement-house sweat workers is enviable compared to that of those engaged in tenement house home work (except for those engaged in certain trades under a different system) almost invariably foreigners, generally of a short stay in this city, frequently defective in habits or physical or in mental capacity, or a woman whom the death or worthlessness of her husband leaves to support a family who prevents her leaving her home. Here the labor is practically all foreign born. The women are more numerous than the men, & the children are as numerous as either. The work is carried on in the one 2 or 3 rooms occupied by the family who probably has as subtenants or boarders an equal no. of outsiders. No provision is made of separating the work from the household affairs. — hours those who endurance or necessity prescribe. Children are marked to death by the side of their parents, who are dying from overwork or disease.

Contagious diseases who are specially prevalent among these people, thrive along with their work, & even death may distract from their occupation only the one or the few necessary to dispose of the body. — As to wages there practically is no competition who did be properly so called. The work is mostly almost invariably piece work.

Sanitation

Appdx. to Rep. VI.
C 19677

A typical & most general example of these sub-contractors establishments is the so-called tenement sweat-shop, where the main work room is one of the two larger rooms of the tenement flat & overflowing into the adjacent room is made to accommodate from 6 to 15 or even more "sweating" employees, men women & children. In what is the other large rooms of the flat is the domestic headquarters of the "sweater" his living, sleeping & cooking arrangements overflowing into the work room — employés whom he boards, & who eat at their work & sleep on the goods, frequently completing the intimate connection of living & manufacturing conditions.

Such are the circumstances under which probably more than 1/4 of our ready made & somewhat (our small %) of our custom-made, clothing is made. The people engaged in the women are among those whose families are most prolific, whose sense of order & cleanliness is least developed & by whom the distinction between living & work rooms is least comprehended, not to say made. The premises are generally dirty to the point of filth ... (sometimes) - These so called shops are, generally speaking, in the most squalid & densely populated parts of the city. (note inside R.)

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Re Sanitation

C 19678 Sept k. p 107.

As to these sub contractors (who do ½ the work) it is the exception that a tolerable workshop is provided or that their work is done under tolerable conditions. .... under conditions generally inconsistent with comfort & cleanliness.

(Noting note of large no. employed. of women children & their place in world - child bearing etc not how terribly important this statement is on health & well being of the race K.)

Sanitation

C 19679

Sept 93. McKay asst in Dept Min Gov in D. p 106

In the case of the tea-houses where the sanitary condition is deplorable in the extreme - In Boston in 2 rooms measuring 8 x 4 kids & several hands upon 3 beds were piled the goods ready to be made up. The stench & filth were such as to make it impossible for the investigating committee to remain in them - In another place the filth was nauseating & the committee could hardly complete its inspection - In Ky. the committee (I suppose U.S. K) reports cases where premises filthy & stench abominable. In nearly all the places visited by them they found very little discrimination between the workrooms & living rooms — The evidence taken in Ky & Bo is of a similar character & goes to show that wherever sweating is carried on these shops as a rule are in anything but a cleanly condition.

Note Quotation from Printing Committee. p 107.

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Sanitary Condition

Sept 94. Sth Am Corr. Fac Inv. Lab C 19680

Examined. — markets decision (by law) out of one tenement into resort to another equally as bad. They are a class of people that do not want to be disturbed in their way of obtaining a livelihood. & to whom it seems a moderate amt of filth is necessary to comfort. He knows of well arranged factories, well built & provided with good San. conditions. wh in 60 days after occupancy were in a filthy condition. They cannot appreciate such arrangements. They have very little of any moral perception & cannot even understand why separate toilet rooms shld be provided for the sexes

Sanitary Condition

Sept 95 In Pennsylvania. Miss O'Reilly Fac Corr Fac Inv. Lab C 19681

The description given by Miss O'Reilly of condition found in Sweatshop Chiefly Philad. during the investigation June Sept 94 - resembles all the rest, overcrowding, filth, &c &c.

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C 19682

Massachusetts District Police.

OFFICE OF THE

CHIEF OF THE DISTRICT POLICE.

STATE HOUSE.

Boston, Mass., ... *189*

Mr Griffin

Women & men's underwear made mostly in very factories only finishing given out, sometimes hose. — & given out principally in the country. — women wrappers & children's dresses & aprons made in city chiefly in decent homes

In Boston 4 factories on underwear. Sabbatarians & smoking jackets & bath robes sent out.

Ladies wrappers 75¢ to 1.25¢ a doz. entire
Children's dresses 35 cents a dozen
Ladies aprons 15 " " " (12)
Children's cotton nightgowns 25 " " "
Boys linen pants 60 cts a doz. (except one)

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C 19683

ROBERT H. GARDINER,
CONSUMERS' LEAGUE,
1 JOY STREET,
BOSTON, MASS.

C 19684

ROBERT H. GARDINER,
CONSUMERS' LEAGUE,
1 JOY STREET,
BOSTON, MASS.

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C 19685

54TH CONGRESS,
1ST SESSION.

H. R. 3346.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JANUARY 7, 1896.

Read twice, referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. SULZER introduced the following bill:

A BILL

To raise additional revenue for the support of the Government.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That every person, firm, copartnership, company, or corporation engaged in the manufacture or sale of shirts, neckwear, cloaks, coats, overcoats, vests, trousers, underwear, cigarettes, cigars, furs, or fur trimmings who shall give out the goods or material of which said articles are made for the purpose of having the same made up or manufactured in rooms or buildings occupied for eating, sleeping, or domestic purposes, except by the watchman or janitor thereof, including his family, shall hereafter pay a tax of three hundred dollars left blank in draft annually for each person with whom a contract or agreement to wholly or partially manufacture or make up such articles shall be made.

SEC. 2. That every person, firm, copartnership, company, or corporation engaged in the manufacturing or sell-

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ing of the articles mentioned and specified in the first section of this Act, who shall give out the goods or materials of which the aforesaid articles are made for the purpose of having the same wholly or partially made up on the premises, other than those occupied by said firm, copartnership, company, or corporation, shall, before giving out said goods or materials, pay into the office of the internal-revenue collector for the district in which it is proposed to manufacture or make up the said goods or materials, the amount of the tax provided for in section one of this Act, and the internal-revenue collector to whom the tax is paid shall give two vouchers therefor, one of which vouchers shall be given to the person to whom the goods or materials of said person, firm, copartners, company, or corporation are issued; said voucher shall be kept in a conspicuous place at all times, and posted in the work room or one of the work rooms occupied for the manufacturing or making up said goods. The other voucher shall be kept in a conspicuous place in the office of the person, firm, copartners, company, or corporation which give out said goods or materials, and shall be produced for inspection on demand of any officer of the Internal Revenue Bureau.

SEC. 3. That the provisions of this Act shall be enforced by the various collectors of internal revenue of the United States, in their respective districts, and said collectors shall keep a

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register of all manufacturers of articles mentioned in section one of this Act, in their respective districts, and on the first day of May in each and every year, and as often as necessary, shall obtain and require written reports from the said manufacturers, stating name of persons to whom such goods and materials are given out to be wholly or partially made up, and said report shall be kept on file and open to inspection at all reasonable hours.

SEC. 4. That the provisions of this Act shall not be construed to affect any person or persons in the direct employ of any person, firm, copartners, company, or corporation occupying premises not used for eating, sleeping, or domestic purposes, and which are leased, rented, or owned by the person, firm, copartners, company, or corporation which owns, or gives out to be wholly or partially made, the goods or materials mentioned in section one of this Act, and where all the persons engaged at labor therein are paid regularly by such person, firm, copartners, company, or corporation and not through the medium of a middleman or contractor.

SEC. 5. That any violation of the provisions of this Act shall be a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

This sec. was not included in rough draft presented 1st Feb. '24 Sept. 94

SEC. 6. That this Act shall take effect immediately.

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C 19688

54TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION. } **H. R. 3346.**

A BILL

To raise additional revenue for the support of the Government.

By Mr. SULZER.

JANUARY 7, 1896.—Read twice, referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, and ordered to be printed.

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Being in sympathy with the objects of the Consumer's League, I hereby subscribe myself as a member.

Name,----------

Address, ----------

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The object of the CONSUMERS' LEAGUE is to increase the demand for goods made and sold under right conditions. The conditions of membership shall be approval of the object of the League, and the yearly payment of a fee of one dollar; however, a group of persons, not more than ten, can jointly contribute to one membership.

LIST OF GROUP MEMBERS.

....

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....

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T. W. Merriam of Massachusetts; G. L McLean, Connecticut; Jas. H. Brown, Ontario; Fanny P. Palmer, Rhode Island; Wm. Milligan, Pennsylvania.

Meeting adjourned at 5:20 P. M.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 4th.

Meeting was called to order by President Franey at 9:30 A. M.

Miss O'Reilly being absent, Mr. Cunningham of New York was requested to read his paper, entitled:

THE SWEATING SYSTEM AS NEW YORK HAS FOUND IT.

What is commonly known as the "sweating system" is a general term used to designate a condition of labor by which a maximum amount of work possible per day is performed for a minimum wage, and in which the ordinary rules of health and comfort are disregarded. This system is mainly represented in the ready made garment-making industry, comprising the clothing, ladies cloaks and suits, and the shirt making branches. Such a condition is made possible through the methods of the wholesale merchant or manufacturer in letting out their work to petty contractors.

As little capital and not much general knowledge of the trade is required to become a contractor, almost any ordinary workman can enter the field and compete with the other contractors on even ground. This naturally results in such keen competition between the contractors for the opportunity to obtain work, that the prices are reduced to a ruinous figure.

It is often asked why do not the wholesale manufacturers conduct their own large shops just as the cutting of the cloth is done? The manufacturers themselves frankly acknowledge that, that would cost them more even though the contractor makes a profit, and besides the trouble and the expense of supervision is avoided.

This really means that the wholesale merchant under the contract system, thus shirks all responsibility for the conditions under which the employees work, and besides large shops would become more amenable to the state factory laws, and it would be then impossible to impose conditions of work so near the very life line.

This evil does not end here, however, for the contractors in turn subcontract the button-hole making, finishing or "felling" to others. The "felling" is usually done by women at their homes, and very often by the whole family. Under such an arrangement it is easily to be seen, that aided by competition, prices and wages must continue to fall, and the work-day lengthened until the very limit of human endurance is reached. This limit it seems has been touched by the task system, an arraignment in the coat-making branch, by which the contractor and the employees enter into an

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infernal sort of co-operation. The contractor agrees with his employees to solicit work from the warehouses at a figure (perhaps refused by another), provided they (a set of hands, usually four or five persons) are willing to do a certain task for a days work for so much wages, even though it takes two or three days to do the specified days work. This set, of course, can work as many hours in a day as it chooses.

Can a more sinister plan be devised to wring all the labor possible out of a human being, whether man, woman or child, in return for what is insufficient to maintain such a high pressure of energy? This is truly the very height of the sweating system. It seems as though its victims are grasping at a chance to preserve life for the time being at any cost.

The above discription I have endeavored to give temperately and accurately based upon careful observation. In fact it would be difficult indeed to exaggerate the unfavorable conditions of this system of labor, and its vicious effects.

The piece-work which prevails in the vests-, pants-, cloaks- and shirt-making trade, has been brought also to the same state of affairs through the contract-method of work. For the past twenty years this system of labor has characterized the wealthy garment-making industry, and it reached its worst stages about three years ago.

It should be potent therefor, that legislation through efficient factory laws is imperative in order to curb such horrors perpetrated in the name of labor.

These evils have been largely checked owing to the stricter factory legislation enacted in 1886, and amended from time to time, and the efforts of the workers themselves through their unions.

New York city and vicinity is by far the largest manufacturing centre of garments in the country, and even in the world. The large foreign population, the overcrowding, the division of work by which it becomes so easy to enter in this labor-market, has naturally evolved the sweating system. It is estimated that there are about 60,000 people in New York, Brooklyn and vicinity engaged in the manufacture of garments. When the present department of factory inspectors of New York was instituted in 1886, it had a herculean task before it with its small force of two inspectors for the state, not sufficient for the clothing-district alone. But nevertheless the Sub-factory Inspection Department of New York re-enforced in 1892 with 24 inspectors, during the past three years inspected thoroughly 15,054 seperate shops, prosecuted 151 cases of violation of the laws and secured 115 convictions, and the fines imposed amount to $2,500.

It must be remembered that the employees of a sweat shop are usually so intimidated by the sweater or through ignorant fear, that their testimony is favorable to the employer, even though a flagrant violation of the laws are apparent, especially so with minors. Nevertheless, where only a year ago crowded tenements were teeming with small sweat shops, you will find many modern factory buildings, built and arranged for large healthy shops observing the factory laws, and some of the most obnoxious features of the

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work done at home are eliminated. The factory laws as at present constituted, cannot abolish the sweating system, as the state does not interfere with the rate of wages earned or the amount of labor performed; but can enforce such rules that the ordinary laws of health and decency are maintained, and the young children saved from the avarice of the sweaters, who would even make them give up all their feeble strength in order that the garments can be turned out cheaper.

It is within the province of the factory laws, to protect the public from goods manufactured under conditions liable to contain germs of disease, and which according to leading health authorities can be communicated to the wearer. The law which prohibits the employment of others than members of the family at home, has had a wholesome effect in mitigating the tenement shop evil, but this field is so vast and so difficult of inspection, that more facilities are plainly needed in that direction. If the licensing system would be adopted, by which any person operating a shop must give a guarantee that the factory laws are and will be observed, before obtaining a license, and which is liable to forfeiture, I think the sweating evil could be checked. At least this would give a reliable list of shops, and would help to keep them under better control and supervision.

I would also recommend, that violators of the factory laws be treated like any other malefactor, and subject to punishment by imprisonment, as the sweater can well afford to risk a possible fine in view of the extra profits to be made by violating the laws, and which therefore does not act sufficiently as a deteriment.

Credit should also be given to the operators themselves for successfully refusing through their associations last September, and again this August, to continue to work under the degrading conditions, which were introduced by themselves individually. A week work system on a basis of fifty-nine hours per week has been generally established and a minimum rate of wages, which compares favorably with that of other trades.

The public and the press have rightly applauded this revolt, and this augers well for the total abolition of that degrading form of labor, which has so stirred up the sympathies of all. There are still, however, numerous small shops, which abound in the many dark corners of New York's great city, that have not been touched by this wave of reform, and which can be reached by a stricter inspection.

In England, the first nation to develop the modern system of labor, factory legislation has received much attention and great expense has been devoted to its enforcement. The sweating system of the country finds its counterpart in the mother country, and the exhaustive report of 1890 made by the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the sweating system, is of particular value, and from which I quote the following :

"With regard to factories and their inspection, the evidence mostly tends in one direction. That the inspection is insufficient, and that more efficient inspection would check much evil. That the inspectors, while anxious to do their duty, have very great difficulty in finding the workshops That in case of workshops where they have not the right of entry, but can

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only enter with consent, the forms to be gone through compulsory powers take some time to obtain, and therefor allow the sweaters to do away with what is objectionable, that is to hide or dismiss the woman working overtime. So that in reality the system as at present pursued is more in favor of the sweaters than the workers. Suggestions have been made by witnesses, that every workshop should be registered, whereby notice will be given to authorities of the existence of such shops, and suggestions were made as to the fee for registration. It is also recommended, that the factory inspectors should have some sanitary powers, and be able to act at once without having to see the sanitary officer, who is a local official. Mr. Holly had made inquiries in large provincial towns in England as to the carrying out of Section 15 of the act of 1878 for giving notice of workshops, and found it had never been carried into effect; his principal complaint not being of the act, but the want of its enforcement, and this want of enforcement is also a complaint with the best employers, because they know that in the absence of such inspection illegal overtime can be carried on, thus producing unfair competition. This witness considered, that the middleman should be bound to give notice to the inspector. He is not in favor of free entry everywhere, but suggests greater facilities for finding workshops, and would favor the appointment of a practical sub-inspector, who should be acquainted with the locality.

We cannot conclude without expressing our earnest hope, that the exposure of the evils which have been brought to our notice will induce capitalists to pay closer attention to the conditions under which the labor, which supplies them goods, is conducted. When legislation has reached the limit up to which it is effective, the real amelioration of conditions must be due to increased sense of responsibility in the employer and improved habits in the employed. We have reason to think that the present inquiry itself has not been without moral effect. And we believe that public attention and public judgment can effectually check operations in which little regard is shown to the welfare of work-people, and to the quality of production, and can also strongly second the zealous and judicious efforts now being made to encourage thrift, promote temperance, improve dwellings, and raise the tone of living."

The sweating evil has been so strongly entrenched, that years of work is necessary to make the workshop what it should be. The successes achieved by the factory laws, have removed them from the domain of theory of practical measures of public policy and warrant the conclusion, that henceforth such legislation will become a potent factor in improving the condition of the industrial masses, and consequently for the public good in general.

Mrs. Kelley desired to know if any changes had been effected in sweat-shops through the introduction of steam power.

Mr. Cunningham replied, that he had no knowledge of the introduction of steam power in the sweat-shops of New York.

Mr. Hicks, a visitor from London, England, by permission made some remarks, maintaining that the only legislation which would effectually combat the system was, that which would compel the work to be done in factories.

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MR. O'LEARY:

"Mr. Hanlon's paper explains the workings of the bakeshop law in New York city. Experiences in its enforcement in other parts of the State do not differ materially. We endeavor to secure compliance without prosecuting, but have been obliged to prosecute considerably. When we first began to take employers into court we had great difficulty in getting the evidence necessary to conviction. Bakers who worked eighteen hours a day, and twenty-four hours on a stretch Fridays, would refuse to testify. One man complained to his union that he had worked 104 hours one week; brought into court he testified that he had worked only sixty hours, the limit fixed by the statute. Finally the unions were appealed to on the ground that the law was enacted in great measure through their efforts, and that the enforcement of the hours provision in the law depended upon the testimony of the bakers themselves. It was decided that when a baker was discharged for giving testimony in court the union would take care of him until he had work elsewhere. When this became generally known there was less blacklisting, and since then compliance with the law has been more easily secured."

MRS. KELLEY:

"Mr. O'Leary has made the first suggestion I have heard of a method of protecting witnesses. In Illinois the inspectors, when they find a violation of the law, file complaint against the offender before a Justice of the Peace. Usually the case is disposed of in that court, the magistrate imposing a fine which the offender pays. We have had within a year something like 500 successful prosecutions, the offenses being violations of the sweatshop provisions or the child-labor provisions of the law. Very often the witnesses are the children themselves, terrorized by threat of discharge. It is extremely difficult to get satisfactory evidence from such witnesses."

Mr. Wm. J. Milligan of Pennsylvania was called upon and gave the first of three papers upon

THE SWEATSHOP.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The subject of sweatshops, the paper assigned to me, is one that has been treated heretofore by those who have had longer experience than I in the work, and who have truly

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and faithfully depicted the miserable and lamentable conditions that surround the manufacture of clothing in these shops and dwelling houses. My experience of the past year compels me to say that the vile conditions portrayed have not been overpainted. The truth and nothing but the truth has been told; only those who have been eye-witnesses to these scenes can grasp the *whole* truth.

That the subject of sweatshops is an important one cannot be denied. Although discussed in former conventions for a number of years, the problem as to the best and most effective way of handling them is still in a great measure unsolved. Much yet remains to be done to bring about desired results. Many of our States, I am sorry to say, have as yet failed to see the importance of this undertaking. Others have taken the bull by the horns and entered upon the work with commendable zeal.

Pennsylvania, the State from which I am proud to hail, passed a law about eighteen months ago, under which we have been trying to correct this evil. It has been my fate to be placed on a district in the City of Philadelphia where sweating largely prevails. The recital of some of my experiences, impressions and conclusions may assist those engaged in the same work, and I hope will awaken an interest far-reaching enough to take in all places where the evil exists.

My attention was recently attracted by an article written by Henry White, Esq., General Secretary United Garment Workers of America. By the way, I would say that his judgment and conclusions on this subject, as stated therein, being in the line of my thought and experience, have materially aided me in the preparation of this paper.

In introducing this subject let me quote from this article a clear and practicable definition of the sweating system as applied to the question under discussion. He says: "The term sweating system has a general meaning, but is specifically used to describe a condition of labor 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 it is intensified by sub-contracting in shops conducted in homes. Such conditions prevail to a distressing degree in localities having a large, herded foreign population, and among people known for excessive industry and thrift—virtues otherwise considered indispensible to prosperity and happiness. Recently arrived foreign working people crowded into the big cities are the most helpless; and, in order to barely live, are willing to submit to almost incredible exactions. It is thus that this form of labor soon out-competes and displaces all other forms and becomes the standard for the particular industry in which it is introduced." This gives the situation in a nutshell.

The conditions that make the sweating system possible may be summed up as follows: First, crowded population in large cities; second, high rent; third, contract work.

In order to fully comprehend this subject it is necessary to know the extent and status of the industries in which the sweating evil prevails. Although the sweating system exists in a number of occupations, it is the garment-making industry (comprising men's clothing, ladies' cloak and suit, under-garment and shirt-making branches) that has given it its real significance.

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That this evil is found at its worst in all seaboard cities and places adjacent thereto, is due to the fact that those employed in this particular work are nearly all an ignorant class of foreigners who come to this country without any knowledge of our customs, laws or institutions, bringing with them life-long habits of uncleanliness. They come to our shores to escape persecution and oppression in the old country. Arriving and settling in our already overcowded cities and forced to seek at once a means of maintenance, they move their families into small and contracted quarters and in a short time learn the art of putting a garment together, a work requiring little brain effort, as they have only to follow the lines as given them.

Each worker learns to make one style of garment only—a maker of pants does not make coat or vest; sewing machines are easily bought on installment, and the work soon becomes mechanical. Many leave the workshop of their employers to branch out and become bosses themselves—competitors of their late employers—thus increasing the number of contractors.

"The petty contractor has made possible the sweating evil, and he is inseparable from it. As little capital and not much general knowledge of the trade are required to become a contractor—almost any ordinary workman can enter the field and compete with the others on even ground. This soon results in such keen competition between the contractors for the opportunity to obtain work that prices are reduced to a ruinous figure. It is the intensifying of competition through this means and the opportunities afforded for petty contractors to successfully compete that makes the evil so great."

Thus it is they stand in their own light, having taken the first step to their own hurt. To secure work they offer to make garments for less than their late employers; the result of this competition is that dealers now have clothing made at what seems starvation prices, largely due to these competing offers from the sweaters themselves, who necessarily suffer from their own act. This competition brings with it the necessity of producing the garment as cheaply as possible, so as to leave them a profit. Hence they use the best rooms of their house (if there be a best) for their workshops—rooms that ought, from a moral and sanitary point of view, to be used for living rooms.

One reason for securing such quarters is to secure low rent; another is their lack of trust in each other and fear lest other workers discover what firms they work for, and by underbidding obtain their work. Occupied as they are from early morn till late at night plying their machines, they have little time, even if they had the inclination, to give a thought to sanitary conditions. Their surroundings are often simply vile and such as could almost speak for themselves (and certainly would in close contact). The possibility of contagion spreading through infected clothing coming from these filthy shops has been widely discussed, and prominent physicians have acknowledged this to be an imminent danger. The combination of living apartment and workshop, used by the family or the employment of outsiders, constitutes the feature which soon becomes a menace to the community.

Early in our experience in these miserable houses we saw finished garments piled up ready to be sent to jobber with vermin creeping over them, and I have

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been told by a number whose duty it is to receive these goods in some of the large houses I have visited that they had frequently brushed the vermin off upon the arrival of garments from these workshops.

These conditions (made by the sweaters themselves) became so bad that public sentiment was finally directed to it and called forth th elaw. A few weeks investigation proved the wisdom and the pre-eminent necessity for this law; but the work and experience of the past year, in Pennsylvania at least, has revealed the fact that the law does not reach some of the most vital and important conditions, of which I will speak later on.

"Conditions of labor as degraded, perhaps, as those of the sweatshop exist in many industries, but no class of laborers is so desperately situated, owing to the difficulty of introducing reforms in the numerous small shops abounding in the dark corners of the great cities, because of their frequent removals, the helplessness of the victims, and the ignorant tenacity with which they cling to their tasks."

There are some model shops for garment manufacture, having all the latest appliances for the comfort and health of the employes, but these are the exceptions and not the rule.

It has been my experience since starting in the work that it is one thing to have a law and quite another to make the law reach the conditions which it is intended to control. When granting a permit to a party I would give a copy of the law and other papers required by law to be posted in the shops, and carefully explain all points. I would endeavor to impress upon them the importance of observing these requirements and they would apparently understand. I have left shops with the thought that my instructions would be faithfully carried out as promised me, only to find on my next tour of investigation that, owing to thoughtlessness, indifference, or more probably ignorance, nothing whatever had been done in accordance with them. Upon inquiry the papers would be handed me from some safe nook where they had been carefully kept, just as I had left them.

I then tried the scheme of carrying with me a paper of tacks, and ordering a copy of the law and other papers to be tacked on the wall in my presence, often tacking them on myself. I also instructed them how to fill in all that is necessary for them to fill in blanks, such as the time table, names of minors, etc. This method takes but a short time, saves me a good deal of worry and annoyance, and gives those with whom I have to deal the impression that it is my desire to help them.

In several places, after tacking up the law, I noticed a number of the employes attempting to read it, but alas! their ignorance of our language, their inability to read English, made the papers a blank to them. It struck me, as I looked on, that there was some element of a farce in it all.

The law was passed for their protection and advantage, and was posted in their shops so that they might know their rights, when only a very few of them were able to read English enough to comprehend it. I began to think that one reason for their apparent indifference to the law was thus explained. Then this thought came to me: Could not the law be printed in Hebrew and placed along-

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side the English copy? The poor sweater could then, reading the law in his own language, know something of its requirements.

Impressed with the importance of this, I suggested it to Mr .Campbell, Chief Inspector of the Factory Department of Pennsylvania, when he immediately ordered copies of the law printed in Hebrew. In this we had the assistance of Rabbi Levy of Philadelphia, who heartily indorsed the idea and translated the law for us.

In company with the chief and several deputies I set about tacking these alongside the English copies. The day's work assured us that the idea was appreciated by the poor sweaters, and it afforded us great pleasure to note their smiles of comprehension and their apparent delight at seeing the law printed in their own language; in hearing from one of their own number, who read it as they clustered about him, what they called "constitution!" "Jewish!" This experiment has been so recently adopted that I cannot in any positive manner speak of its permanent effects, but will say that thus far the results have been most gratifying.

While the sweatshops, with their crowded conditions and vile surroundings, are recognized as an evil, now happily greatly reduced, there remains a greater evil which cannot be remedied under the present law of Pennsylvania and some other States. This to my mind, is an evil attended with greater dangers to the health of communities than any of the sweatshops. I refer to the family workers.

Our law says that the immediate members of a family may engage in the work of making garments in the home. I do not forget that the home of a man is sacred. The law recognizes this, so long as he is respectable and in no way interferes with or harms his neighbor; but these miserable, persecuted foreigners have no idea of home except as a shelter, and no thought of cleanliness.

In my experience during the past year, in and out of the houses where these foreigners live under the most unclean and unhealthful conditions, I have seen garments made with every risk of their carrying out into the world disease and vermin. In these home rooms knee pants are more largely made because of their cheapness and ease in handling. The fond mother who, laying aside the little dresses of her own making, with joy launches her happy boy, the pride of her life, forth into the world with his first pair of pants, little dreams of the dangers she is and will be exposing him to in the wearing of clothing made under these vile conditions.

While the home has its rights, the innocent purchaser of the clothing made there should be protected. "As the tenement shop is the cheapest method of manufacturing, it is the fittest under the sharp competition which originated it, and consequently the tendency is irresistibly that way. The well-regulated clothing workshop, being at a disadvantage, often gives way to the combination of dwelling and workshop, which neither deserves the name of the one nor is suited to the other."

Many of the men who have attempted to comply with the law by removing to proper work-rooms have been compelled, through the competition with families, to give up shops and resume work in their homes with their family as help-

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ers. Taking advantage of the fact that they have no shop rent to pay, they offer to do work for less money than those who have additional shop rent.

One man who had been compelled under the law to remove his work-room from his home to a shop came to beg me to allow him to go back to his home, saying he could not make a living and pay two rents. His argument was this: Another man in the same street with him, who had a large family and worked in his home, had offered to take knee pants to make for sixty-five cents per dozen pairs, for which he (the speaker) had received seventy-five cents. The man complained of had no shop rent to pay, the conditions of his home were bad, but the law says immediate members of the family can work in the home and we are powerless.

Many of the shops that we have caused to move were far cleaner and wholesomer than the homes where the work is now carried on. One shop that we found in operation under good sanitary conditions, the house being clean and work-room all that could be desired, we were obliged to order moved simply because we found employed there those who were not members of the family. After complying with our order the man still continued to give out work, evading the law by putting it out to families who, when ferreted out, I found were living in tenement houses of the vilest kind. Here the family were found working, eating and sleeping all in one room, with finished garments lying on filthy beds, gathering vermin surely as they lay there, and probably disease.

Uuder our present law, however, nothing could be done, as the work was carried on in the home with only immediate members of families employed. Then again many respectable shops, clean and run in compliance with our orders, send their work out to be finished, most of it going into Italian families where the surroundings are but little better than those I have just described. The finishing of garments, such as buttonhole-making and felling, is usually done by women at their homes, and very often the whole family work at it in the home.

The law should go further and require that every place where clothing is made for sale to have a certificate as to cleanliness and sanitary condition. No place, home or otherwise, should be allowed to carry on this work without a permit given by the factory department; and dealers, for their own good and protection, ought to compel those to whom they give work to produce such certificate before making a contract with them. Only in this way can be brought about that reform at which the law is aiming.

I know many honest and deserving people who have worked for years at garment-making, with clean and decent surroundings, and at last have been driven from the field by this unclean foreign population. They would be protected by this law, which would give them an even chance against this unfair competition with which they have had to contend. This law would be also a guarantee to the public that goods bought were clean and as free from disease as the law could make them.

I had the privilege, in company with Chief Campbell, of seeing how successfully the Massachusetts law worked, and under what splendid control the inspection department of that State has the matter under discussion. This law is as follows:

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"Sec. 44. Whenever any house, room or place used as a dwelling is also used for the purpose of carrying on any process of making, altering, repairing or finishing for sale any ready-made coats, vests, trousers, overcoats, or any wearing apparel of any description whatsoever, intended for sale, it shall, within the meaning of this act, be deemed a workshop; and every person so occupying or having control of any such workshop shall, within fourteen days from the time of beginning work in such workshop, notify the Chief of the District Police or the special inspector appointed for that purpose, of the location of such workshop, the nature of the work there carried on, and the number of persons therein employed; the exercise of such work in a private house or private room, however, by the family dwelling therein, or by any of them, shall not of itself constitute such house or room a workshop within the meaning of this act; *provided*, that such family or any member of such family engaged in the process of making, altering, repairing or finishing for sale any such coats, vests, trousers, overcoats or any weariug apparel of any description whatsoever, intended for sale, in a private house or private room used as a dwelling as aforesaid shall, before beginning such work, procure a license approved by the Chief of the District of Police, upon the recommendation of the inspectors especially appointed for the enforcement of the provisions of sections 44, 45, 46, 47 and 48 of this act; and no person, contractor, firm or corporation shall give to any person not holding said license any such garments or articles of wearing apparel, intended for sale, to be made in any private house or room as aforesaid; and every such workshop and every such private house or private room shall be kept in a cleanly state, and shall be subject to the provisions of this section; and each of said garments made, altered, repaired or finished for sale in any of such workshops, private houses or rooms shall bo subject to the inspection and examination of the Inspectors of the District Police, for the purpose of ascertaining whether said garments or any of them, or any part or parts thereof, are in cleanly condition and free from vermin, and every matter of an infectious or contagious nature."

I commend this as the one way to secure the manufacture of all clothing under clean and sanitary conditions for the public good, in justice to the intelligent and decent worker who has been driven to the wall, and to protect the large legitimate shops which are now in danger of being driven out altogether.

Let us have a law even better than that of Massachusetts, if possible; if not, then let the Massachusetts law solve the problem.

It has been clearly demonstrated that the present law of Pennsylvania, in attempting to correct an evil, has (in its failure to give the factory department supervision over all places, homes or otherwise where clothing is made for sale), created a greater evil by increasing the number of family operators, who work under worse conditions than did those whom the law has compelled to move. We have succeeded, however, in accomplishing a great work, so far as the law could reach. In investigations during the last six months of 1895 in one part of my district, an area of about a half-mile square, 235 shops in dwelling and tenement houses were located and found to be conducted in violation of the law. (In addition to these were thirty shops not amenable to the law.) These 235 shops have been vacated by our orders, many of them reduced to family shops, with no improvement in their surroundings. In addition to these we found 110 families working in their homes, using kitchens, bedrooms and living rooms for shops. At the present time in the same territory there are about 125 shops conducted in compliance with the law, giving employment to about 1,200 people.

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The number of families where work is carried on in their homes has increased to 250. Over these the law has no control.

Incidentally I would mention that one good gained by the law which required the removal of the shops from homes to proper work rooms is that frequent visits of inspectors prevent the employment of children, who heretofore were put to work as soon as they were able to render any help whatever. In our early visits in the shops located in dwelling and tenement houses we found many little tots from 8 to 12 years of age busily pulling out bastings with tiny fingers that might better have been employed in kindergarten work, thus developing both mind and body. The ignorance of these foreigners as to the ages of their children is surprising. Their failure to see any necessity for certificates and utter indifference about securing them is apparent everywhere.

I found in one shop four girls, with ages ranging from 13 to 16, engaged in making neckties. When I asked for certificates of ages the proprietor smilingly produced and handed me four certificates from three different physicians, written on their subscription blanks, reading: "This is to certify that I have examined ———— before her mother and find her in healthy condition and able to work. In my opinion she is 14 years old." The physicians were of their own race. From the youthful appearance of many of the children who produced the age certificates required by law I am forced to believe that perjury has been committed by parents in procuring them. The pay demanded for these affidavits is a hardship, too, on these very poor people, coming as it does from their small earnings. I would suggest that in addition to the age requirement for the child-worker there should be a mental standard established as well. This is required in some States and found to be very satisfactory.

The condition of child-labor could be improved by requiring the mental standard, in proof of which a teacher's certificate of attendance could be furnished by the authorities where the child attended school. If this were done the poor little children who are now sent to the shop without any education would be forced to attend school in order that they might the sooner be qualified for work. This law, I believe, would make truant officers of a large number of these people, who look upon their families as so much earning power; and would help bring to this field of labor a more intelligent class of workers who would themselves help to solve the problem that their poor and ignorant fathers are making haader and harder to solve.

In conclusion I would say, with all the emphasis possible, that if clothing is to be manufactured under proper sanitary conditions, and the public protected from vermin and disease, the laws must be made to reach the family as well as the workshop.

The following paper, dealing with the same subject, was offered by Mrs. Florence Kelley:

THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

The sweating system in Illinois is confined almost exclusively to the manufacture of garments in Chicago. In some factories sub-contracting goes on, but

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the words "sweating system" are now so generally understood as meaning tenement-house manufacture under the sub-contracting system that they will be used in this sense in this paper.

The attempt to deal with the sweating system by legislation dates back in Illinois only to 1893. The law then enacted contained three sets of provisions, all bearing upon this system. One dealt with children at work; another with the protection of the public health against possible infection arising in tenement-house shops; the third restricted the hours of labor of women and girls. Nothing has been added to this law since that year On the contrary, the section known as "the eight-hours law" was annulled by the Supreme Court in March, 1895.

The law has now been tested by three years' experience of steady effort to enforce its provisions. Inspections have been carried on continuously by ten deputy inspectors. The co-operation of the local authorities has been enlisted in dealing with the employment of children and the presence of infection in shops. As a last resource the courts have been appealed to and several hundred convictions obtained. The reports of the department have furnished consecutive official information concerning the status of the trades, and public opinion in favor of the law has grown steadily stronger. Yet the inspectors are constrained to give it as their opinion that the sweatshop provisions of the law have not afforded adequate protection either to the employes in the tenement-house shops or to the public.

The following table of contractors' shops (1893-1896) shows a steady increase:

Year.	Shops.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
1896	2,378	6,383	7,181	1,188	14,752
1895	1,715	5,817	7,780	1,307	14,904
1894	1,413	4,469	5,912	721	11,102
1893	704	2,611	3,617	595	6,823

The year 1896 has been one of unprecedented depression in the garment trades, in Chicago as elsewhere; and one result of this is the accentuation of the worst phases of the sweating system. The large increase in the number of contractors' shops, comparing 1896 with 1895, means only that men who formerly worked together in one shop of some size have been discharged, the contractor being no longer able to pay rent, and are now working at home in bedroom and kitchen, saving shop rent altogether. This inability to pay shop rent goes far to account for the fact that, in the first eight months of the present year, eighty-two contractors have been convicted of employing outsiders in their dwellings, compared with twenty-five convictions for the same offense during the whole of 1895.

The slight decrease in the number employed (142 persons) by no means measures the decrease in the amount of work. The figure 14,752 represents the total number of persons found in all these shops at the inspection when there was most work. No figures can convey the dreadful fact which the inspections have shown, that work was given these thousands of people only one or two days in the week. In the best of times work in the garment trades fluctuates between the fourteen-hour day of intense application during the brief "rush" seasons and no work at all. In 1896 the "no-work" seasons have really extended over the whole year.

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Thus the two curses which the wholesalers inflict upon the garment trades through the sweating system—instability of work and a remuneration insufficient for the maintenance of wholesome shops—have taken deeper hold than ever upon garment manufacture in Chicago, notwithstanding the regular inspections, the frequent prosecutions, the rigid enforcement of every provision of the Illinois law for the protection of the public.

The effort to enforce the child-labor sections of the law is more arduous and less fruitful in the sweatshops than elsewhere. Thus, while the number of children engaged in manufacture in Illinois has decreased by 1,284 since December, 1895, in the sweatshops the decrease has amounted to but 121 children. There are still 1,060 girls and 128 boys in the sweatshops—one in six of all the children employed in manufacture in the State. In 1895 this ratio was one in seven; in 1894 it was but one in eleven. In 1896 it has risen to one in six, in spite of the successful prosecution between Dec. 15, 1895, and Sept. 1, 1896, of 140 sweaters on 205 charges of violation of the child-labor provisions, as follows: Children employed under 14 years of age, 17; children under 16 years of age without affidavits, 120; children employed without keeping register, 46; without posting wall lists, 22.

There is no prospect of any considerable reduction in the number of children employed in these shops under the present provisions of the law. It is the settled policy of sweaters to hire children and take the risks; and they are not likely to abandon this policy, because they are compelled to employ the cheapest labor. Nothing less than the total abolition of tenement-house manufacture will, in the opinion of the inspectors, materially diminish the employment of children under the sweating system.

The eight-hour section of the law, if it could have been enforced, might have gone far toward abolishing the sweating system, because small groups of employes using foot-power can yield a profit to the sweater only by working inhumanly long hours. The Illinois Manufacturers' Association, however, not only promptly carried cases under this section to the Supreme Court, but instructed the contractors that, while the cases were pending, the law need not be obeyed. Many of the Justices taking the same view, it was found impossible to enforce the eight-hours section in these shops at any time. The short working day has therefore never had any real trial as a means of restricting or abolishing tenement-house manufacture.

The very explicit regulations laid down in Sections 1. 2 and 7 are plainly intended to clothe the inspectors with extraordinary powers for the purpose of enabling them to keep tenement-house shops under constant supervision, and to protect the public from the danger of infection which lurks in that form of manufacture.

In Section 1 manufacture of cigars and specified articles of clothing in rooms used for eating and sleeping purposes in tenement houses is prohibited; but the scope of this prohibition is disastrously limited by the exception made that "members of the family living therein" may carry on this manufacture in eating and sleeping rooms. This section also requires that every such workshop shall be

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kept clean, free from vermin, infectious and contagious matter, and that the person in control of the shop shall register it with the Board of Health.

In Section 2 provision is made for condemnation and destruction of goods in process of manufacture whenever found in infectious condition.

Section 7 defines "any house, room or place," where any part of the manufacture of the articles of clothing enumerated in Section 1 is carried on, to be a workshop, and subject to inspection. It further requires every person, firm or corporation having such workshops in his, their or its employ, to keep a complete list of them, and to produce it on demand of an inspector.

The method of enforcement pursued by the department has been as follows: Manufacturers of cloaks and clothing (custom and ready-made) have been called upon from time to time for the lists which Section 7 requires them to keep and produce on the demand of an inspector. In 1896 lists were obtained from thirteen cloak houses, fifty manufacturers of ready-made clothing, 210 custom tailors. In only one instance has it been necessary to enforce the demand for a list by prosecuting the manufacturer for refusing to give it.

The manufacturers' lists are filed in the office of this department. The addresses furnished by them are the basis for the street lists with which the office is always provided of outside (or contractor's) shops. To keep these lists in order, corrected from day to day, requires the constant and careful work of one experienced person. Without such lists there could be nothing approaching regular supervision of the tenement-house shops of Chicago. The difficulty of keeping street lists accurately is increased by the fact that the name of the same contractor may be given on the lists of a dozen manufacturers, with as many variations in his name and address. The recurrent cause for corrections in the street lists is the shifting about of the irresponsible contractors. The records of a year show the same contractor in many locations, sometimes with a new name at each change; while against the street number which was his at the beginning of the year may be set down one name after another, as one contractor uses the shop, vacates it and is succeeded by another.

In 1896 there have been visited 2,378 of these contractors' shops, in which 14,752 people were found at work, of whom 1,188 were children under 16 years of age and 7,181 females above that age.

Not all of these shops are upon tenement-house premises; but the typical contractor's shop, commonly known as the sweatshop, is upon tenement-house premises, and—as the schedules filed in the office show—these form a large majority. Such shops are marked by the department as requiring constant surveillance and efficient inspectors are detailed to the work. The frequency of the inspections is only limited by the extent of the territory to be covered.

Special inspections on account of notice of contagious diseases are made in addition to the regular inspections. By the kindly co-operation of the Chicago Board of Health this department is daily supplied with a list of cases of contagious disease, as compiled for the Board from reports of the previous day. This daily list is compared with the street lists, and where our records show a shop so near a case of contagious disease as to make it possible that clothing in process of manufacture in the shop may be infected, a special inspection is made

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at once. In the present year this department has received notice of 2,461 cases of diphtheria, and of these 1,021 were in proximity to sweatshops.

When the inspector believes there is evidence o. infection the sweater is warned not to take the goods trom the shop until permission is given, the manufacturer is notified not to receive the goods, and the Board of Health is requested to send a physician to decide whether the goods are in an infectious condition When smallpox was epidemic among the sweatshops in one part of Chicago in 1894 three inspectors were constantly in the infected district, a considerable amount of clothing was burned, under authority vested in the inspector by Section 2 of the law, and a very large amount was sterilized. During the present year the spread of infection has undoubtedly been checked to some degree by prompt action on information from the Board of Health and holding goods upon infected premises until sterilized.

Why should garments ever be manufactured under conditions which call for sterilization? Can assurance ever be given that the tenement-made garments in the market ought not to have been sterilized?

There is no more stringent regulation in any State where the attempt has been made to grapple with the growing evil of tenement-house manufacture than is attempted in the Illinois factory act. The failure of the attempt is inherent in the system, and does not depend upon any provision or any method of enforcement. It is, from the outset, a vain attempt to keep tenement-house manufacture and avoid its evil results. Indeed, half-way measures of protection are not only insufficient, but may prove injurious by lulling the public into a false sense of security.

Tenement-house manufacture involves the irresponsible middleman as employer, the small and scattered groups of workers, the necessity for concealing infection (the interests of the landlord and his tenants, of the sweater and his victims, coinciding in this respect, and often obtaining the connivance of a physician of the same race and religion), the impossibility of wholesome surroundings for the employes, and finally the home finisher, the most dangerous and wretched link in the chain.

Assuming the most thorough co-operation between the physicians, the Board of Health and the factory inspectors, the physicians cannot report what they do not know; and among the poorest of the poor—the home workers in the garment trades—a physician is usually called only when death is imminent (for the purpose of avoiding a coroner's inquest), and when infection may have been daily sent out from the home for a fortnight or even longer.

No staff of inspectors, however large and well equipped, can grapple successfully with the essential evils of tenement-house manufacture in cities such as New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, and it is in these great centers that garment manufacture tends increasingly to concentrate.

The present basis of legislation upon tenement-house manufacture is a false one, bulwarked by two delusions. One of these delusions is constantly formulated in the time-worn phrase, "Every man's house is his castle," interpreted to give to the dweller in a tenement-house cellar the right to turn his dwelling into

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a shop, to the serious injury of his employes and the jeopardy of the public health. The other delusion is the belief that the widowed mother can support her orphan brood by finishing garments in her home. As a matter of fact, no widow can do this. She who attempts it must not only work in this way, to the ruin of her home life, but also receive charity from public or private sources. There is no decent living to be made at the foot-power sewing-machine, much less at hand sewing, in these days of steam and electricity.

It is incredible what power these two delusions have for prolonging the life of the sweating system. They have always to be met before a reasonable hearing can be obtained for the assurance that the only way to deal effectively with tenement-house manufacture is to abolish it outright. Yet this assurance is the only possible logical conclusion from the experience and observation of this department. Only when the bakeries and laundries are gone from the cellars, when the cigar and garment shops are banished from living rooms, garrets, sheds, stables and basements, will there be any guarantee for the public that the features of the sweating system which now threaten the public health are really under control. In Chicago, with the boundless prairie inviting the population to disperse, and the trolleys and elevated roads facilitating the process of dispersion, there is even less excuse than in New York for deferring a sweeping statutory prohibition of tenement-house manufacture.

When this prohibition is in force there will still be need for Federal legislation in order to protect Illinois purchasers from infection liable to be conveyed to them in garments made in other States.

On the completion of Mrs. Kelley's paper Miss O'Reilly moved that the convention now decide upon the next place of meeting. Motion carried.

Chief Wade of Massachusetts renewed the invitation to the city of Boston.

Mr. Russell of Michigan, Mr. Knaub of Ohio, Mr. Milligan of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Stevens of Illinois spoke in favor of convening in Detroit.

Mr. Wade, with the consent of Mr. White, withdrew the name of Boston from the contest.

Mr. Emsley of Pennsylvania moved and Mrs. Kelley of Illinois seconded the motion that the convention meet in Detroit in 1897. Carried by unanimous vote.

The hour of noon having arrived President Morse declared the convention adjourned.

MORNING SESSION, Thursday, Sept. 3.

President Morse called the convention to order at 9:15. Roll-call showed the same representation as at the previous day's ses-

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sion, except from New Jersey. For that State Mr. John E. Dunn answered roll-call in place of Mr. Weinthal, who had been called away.

On motion reading of minutes of Wednesday's session was dispensed with.

Mr. O'Leary of New York, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, was called upon and offered the following:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. President and Members of the Convention: The Committee on Resolutions respectfully reports as follows:

1. That we non-concur in the recommendation of the President in his address, advising the creation of an executive committee to act for the Association in the interim between conventions, for the reason that we believe all necessary business can be transacted by the regular officers of the Association.

2. Your committee recommends that Section 5 of the Constitution governing the duties of the Secretary-Treasurer be amended, as follows: After the word "organization," line three, add: "and he shall keep an itemized account of all moneys received and disbursed by him during the year, and shall present his report in writing to the convention."

3. Your committee recommend the addition of a section to the Constitution, following Section 9, to read: "The President shall, on the opening of the first session of the convention each year, appoint two committees, as follows: An Auditing Committee of three members, and a Committee on Resolutions, of not less than three members. The Auditing Committee shall examine the books, papers, vouchers, receipts, etc., of the Secretary-Treasurer, and shall report thereon in writing to the convention."

5. Your committee indorses the commendable features of the Massachusetts law and of the Statute of the Province of Quebec governing boiler inspection, and recommends that steps be taken to secure similar legislation in all States and Provinces.

6. Your committee recommends the enactment of laws in all States providing for the inspection of bakeshops, and that such inspection be placed under supervision of the Factory Inspection Department.

7. Your committee recommends the re-adoption of the recommendations of former conventions concerning compulsory education, limitation of hours of labor, suppression of sweatshops, employment of minors, and all other provisions for securing the safety and bettering the condition of the wage-earners.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL O'LEARY, *Chairman.*
J. W. KNAUB,
ALZINA P. STEVENS, *Secretary.*

The report of the committee was read, discussed and adopted by sections.

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this work was being done in Philadelphia, where sewing constituted the chief kind of employment. The Russian Jewish element contributing most largely in numbers, while there is a fair percentage of Italians and a scattering of other nationalities. But few Americans are employed at the work, and upon inquiry as to why Americans avoided this kind of work, we found that competition had so reduced the wages as to prevent them making a living under what is accepted by Americans as fair conditions.

The territory is limited to Broad street on the east; there being but a very few custom workers on the west side.

What difficulties we encountered can scarcely be imagined, when trying to locate the people in question. In the early stages of the work, Russian Jews were the predominant nationality we met with, and they appeared somewhat affrighted when we insisted upon entering, and until they understood (through the aid of some one who could fairly interpret the English tongue) they would insist that they knew nothing, and in answer to the query (when clothes were in the process of being made before our eyes): "Do you do tailoring work here?" "No; no tailor here," was invariably the reply. Then, after a few moments' quiet, they would say: "Why, what for you want to know? What good is that?" When assured of the possibility of some good resulting from their replying freely and truthfully to our questions, then they would begin, and, as though glad of an opportunity to unburden their much distressed minds, in their own way they would convey to us, in part by an occasional word of English and a forcible gesture, some of the misery and gross injustice that go to make up their daily existence.

I have in mind numberless instances where the men when asked what price they received for the garment they were working upon, would hang their heads in confusion and decline to say. Immediately the wife would come to the rescue and explain: "He is ashamed to tell, for the price is no good; fourteen cents for that vest and thirty cents for that sack coat. Think of it! How can anyone make a living?" And with this by way of introduction, she would tell of the long hours, the little pay, the heavy tax for rent, and the little ones with their toes peeping out, and at times crying for bread. All the while, her husband stitched, stitched, his very life's blood paying the penalty for his unremitting toil, as was plainly seen by the ghastly smile that flitted across his face as he lifted his head to give assent to what was said, by a suggestive nod.

The first experience was at a house on Lombard street. No words could in any wise tell of the actual environment found there. Man, wife and seven children occupying two rooms, one (the kitchen) being used to work in. The structure is three stories, has six rooms and basement (and $23.00 per month is the charge for rent), the upper floors rented to four different families, each having from two to four persons, and the limit of space one room.

When we first visited in the cellar, we found about four inches of

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water that had backed in from defective sewage, and, having no outle was settling the sediment on the cement floor, and the natural absor tion taking the poisonous air and distributing it through nook and crevi of the building. The water closet, which was slightly in the rear of t kitchen, was in a shocking condition. The tenant of the house occupi the grounnd floor.

Ascending to the second floor, here in each room was an oil stove, small table, and a bed with such bedding as I cannot describe, because o its filthy condition, and yet, for want of better seat, as they had no stools or chairs, the women were sitting on the sides of these misnomers, sewing on men's pantaloons, for which they received the magnificent sum of twelve cents a pair for finishing. They could, by working very hard, they said, finish four pairs a day; but as work was so dull, they rarely ever had more than two, and their husbands were standing by (hands thrust elbow-deep in their pockets), they having had no work to do in months. Is it any wonder they had no chairs to sit on?

UNKEMPT AND UNCLEAN.

On the third floor — the third floor was like unto the second, only in the formation of the ceiling, which, because of the height of the building and shape of the roof, varied from three feet on the side, to about seven in the centre. Think of the effect of unkempt, unclean and ill-fed people, sleeping, aye, eating and working, living out their lives in such a sad reflection upon that sacred place called "home"! When questioned as to why he did not complain to the agent, he said (or rather his child said, for he could not speak English), that "he had complained numerous times without avail, and that if he could only get enough money to pay a month's rent in advance he would move; but thirty cents for a dozen pairs of boys' knee pants, did not net him sufficient to do more than (with the aid of his four tenants) pay the rent here." The portion occupied by him was barren in the extreme; but a few sticks strewn about did service as a bed, two chairs, a table and oil stove.

In a tumble-down attic of Gaskill street I found a young man whose weekly earnings (when steadily employed for six days in the week) amounted to $5.00. He was the only one of three children who had work. His mother was a widow, and for three rooms in the rear of a Bainbridge street house (third floor) they paid $9.00 per month rent. Just think of it! Four people to live on an earning of never more than $20.00 a month. This was a most respectable appearing youth, and he told his experience modestly, yes, even sadly, as he spoke of his mother in the most respectful and tender tones. "If I could get better work some place else," said he, "I would take it; but it is all the same now." The roof of the room was so dilapidated that the plastering had fallen away, and the time-parted shingles were no proof against snow and hail, rain or shine, and to keep his machine dry he was often compelled to cover it with his clothes. The employer in this case was sole proprietor, as it were. He cut and made the goods, then retailed to small custom. He had evidently made it pay,

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as he appeared to be possessed of a fair share of worldly wealth, and said half apologetically: "We ain't going to stay here much longer." I replied, if he did not improve on the present condition at once, it would be a very difficult matter to do so later, as the place was well nigh beyond repair.

On South street in one home was found seven people who, for making pantaloons, received a proportion amounting to twenty and twenty-five cents of the full sum, twenty-five and thirty cents per pair, as paid by the contractor. The capacity of a pantaloon maker on such work as they were obliged to handle, (fine shop and fairly good custom) is two pair of pants a day; that is for twelve hours. Think of it, you who pay from $4.00 to $6.00 for your pantaloons!

About the same location on Trout street a man was employed on children's natty print and gingham dresses. In twelve hours he was able to make a dozen, for which he received seventy-five cents. Here was a house of six rooms; three families, representing thirteen people. The house was full of smoke. For want of a better chimney-flue a pane of glass had been broken and the stove-pipe trust through. The wind was blowing in a contrary direction, and forced flame and smoke through the store and house.

On Carpenter street in a three-story building we found three bright young men at work on the third floor, front room, which measured about 15x18, and seven feet high. Besides their work-table there were two beds, two machines, a cutting-table, and a trunk. They were their own housekeepers, as appearances truly indicated, the need of a change of bed-linen, etc., being very apparent.

The most trying of all was a case on Christian street, where a man who does only custom-work, and usually employes two or more men, is being gradually eaten away with cancerous ailment. He sleeps, eats and works in one room, the stench and disorder of which was depressing in the extreme to us, who had been detained there for only a brief time. The day was extremely warm, and the flies seemed anxious to devour this poor, enfeebled mortal.

At an overall shop was a man working with the hope of being able to bring his family to this country some day. For operating he received $6.00 per week, out of which he was obliged to pay for the machine upon which he sewed $3.00 a month, until he had paid the total cost of the machine, which was $55.00. That he might still be enabled to save, he engaged a room by the month, fed himself, and did his own rough laundry-work. Should misfortune overtake him, and all but the last remittance be made upon the machine, he would forfeit it.

In a court at Third and Monroe streets live a fine specimen of a man and his delicate wife, who have been in the country from Russia one year, and cannot speak a word of English. For finishing men's pantaloons they receive sixteen cents per dozen pairs, work from 5 A. M. to 10 P. M., and they can make $6.00 per week. Through an interpreter the man told us that if

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he could only get sufficient money together he would gladly go back. Their very appearance bespoke a better condition at a former time, and I was moved to intense sympathy when I looked at this delicate woman, and reflected upon her life in our midst, so sad and careworn was the expression which had settled down upon her otherwise fine face.

LIVING IN SQUALOR.

In a court at Third and German we found a family of ten living in a one, two, three-roomed house (three floors straight up), for which they paid $6.00 per month. There was a bed in the kitchen which was just large enough to accommodate a stove and table besides, and you were then crowded to the door. Their employment was working on knee-pants in the bedroom, second story, for a prominent Philadelphia clothing house, and twenty-five cents a dozen was the price paid. The three eldest children were the bread-winners; the father having had his sight impaired through the constant use of the needle. He is useful only as a runner between the store and the home; but with this help they are able to make $1.00 a day. Ten mouths to feed, $6.00 a month rent to pay, and all on a dollar a day. This, it is to be remembered, is only earned when they have sufficient work for full time.

On Lombard, near Third, a man is employed on wrappers at $1.00 a dozen, and is able to make sixty cents a day. He has a wife to support, and has to pay $4.00 a month rent for one room. Two women, who finished on some work, made thirty cents a day, and a man with wife and four children made $5.00 per week.

On Third street, near South, a man and family work for two prominent houses, one on Chestnut street and one on Market street. From 6 A. M. until 8 P. M. they labor for $1.00 per dozen for making boys' knee pants of the better quality.

On South street, near Third, seven people were at work on an ordinary good class of sack coats, for which they (the proprietor rather) were getting twenty-five cents a piece. After paying the help, the proprietor had for his share not the proverbial lion's, but the large amount of $4.50 per week, or seventy-five cents a day; and this for hours beginning at 6 A. M. and concluding at 8 P. M. Two of his boys, aged seven and nine years, were employed drawing bastings. Twenty-five cents a dozen was offered a man with a family, living on German street, by a Market street house, and because he remonstrated (or rather his wife, who acts as carrier, and who acted as spokeswoman for him) the door was opened and she was ordered out, with this as a parting reminder: "It makes no difference to me whether you live or die."

An intelligent woman on South Fourth street gave the information that for Summer alpacca (men's coat's) she received twelve to fourteen cents a piece. For a day of ten hours she made fifty cents. Recently she was refused work, and preference given to a Russian Jew, who in her presence volunteered to do it cheaper. She cried when she cited her trying experience to us.

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In a much crowded and very disorderly tenement house we found coats being made for the United States Express Company, and for the Post Office employes (letter carriers). Wages ranged from $4.00 a week, which was paid to the women finishers, to $7.00, $9.00 and $12.00, as paid to the dressers, the operator and all-round man, respectively. A man, his son, brother and two other men make boys' jackets for forty cents a dozen. A man with a family numbering four, makes $4.00 per week. A young man with mother and sister to care for, made $3.00 for the week of June 18th, and worked full time, amounting to twelve hours every day. Nineteen people live at this place in seven rooms.

In the most crowded and ill-smelling quarters eight male folks were at work on overalls up in a stuffy third story of one of our antiquated down-town houses. Boys, two in number, received $1.50 a week. They were big and strong; but it was questionable how long they could remain so in that atmosphere. Men with wives and two children make from $3.00 to $5.00 a week.

On Fitzwater street, a man employing twenty people, has been making during the summer season women's duck suits, such as we may have seen worn so generally, for from twenty-five to forty cents a piece. This includes the coat and skirt (two pieces). Wages paid were from $3.00 to $6.00 for full time, a week. He told me of an offer pending from a large wholesale house for ladies' cloaks at forty cents a piece. The calculation was that the most expert could make but two pieces a day; that is, could operate but two. This would mean that earnings would range from $1.00 to $4.80 a week for all hands employed on this kind of work.

A man and wife who work on the finest kind of broadcloth pantaloons, with trimmings of white satin, which, when complete, would retail at $12.00, and yet the price paid for making was $1.00.

In an attic on St. Mary's street two young men and a woman were at work on men's vests for a large wholesale house on Market street. When asked what wages they earned (the most intelligent of the three), a bright young man said: "Well, with the kind of work they gave me for the last nine days, I have earned during that time $4.80."

WORKING FOR A PITTANCE.

On South Thirteenth street a man and wife were very busy on women's print cloth wrappers, for which they received $1.25 per dozen for making. The same will be found retailing in some of our first class houses for $2.50 a piece. One dozen a day was all they could possibly make, and their little daughter of twelve attended to the housework. The stamp of refinement was here impressed, while there they sat working and working with never a word save when it was necessary to inquire about some portion of the work. The thought suggested to me was, they have been people of worldly prosperity, and the extreme of present adversity has left just the life, void of any ambition whatever, existing more from force, as it were, than from a matter of choice.

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I might go on and cite with but a rare exception experiences that would be trying in some particular in the 555 places visited south of Market street, for, when the question of wages (which is considered good as paid for custom work) was discussed, too frequently we were told: "Yes, it would be good wages if we did not have to tip the cutter or whoever had charge of the distribution of work," the claim being that anywhere from $1.00 to $2.00 is expected as a bonus for the patronage. One man in particular was anxious that we call on the head of one of our large houses and tell of this condition; for he said he did not think the proprietor knew. Another said, rather than be a party to such imposition, he discontinued work. A third and a fourth said: "Why don't you try and stop this dishonest treatment of us?" and so on. Still another remarked: "Just to think—with the money paid for the privilege of working, the man I have in mind can afford to dress his wife in a seal plush coat and a silk dress, while I and others, who are his victims, can illy afford more than ordinary calico prints. Why should this be? We like respectability, and would be happy in securing a fair share of the means that contribute to the latter; but we receive no encouragement, to say nothing of co-operation. No; no one even cares to ask what we get or how we live. It is simply a case of 'grin and bear'."

Having concluded the southern canvass, we began our work in the northern section, locating in all ninety-three houses, five of which were regular workshops, the others tenement house workrooms. This, like the canvass south, does not include any of the work-places of Market street proper. 405 women, 335 men, and 8 children were found at work; this representing about one-half of the regular force when busy. Conditions here were so different. Germans principally worked at the trade in this section, and, as is characteristic of their kind, cleanliness and order prevail, with an occasinal exception. Yet there was the same degradation of the home life, for while the rooms in which they worked were in most cases on the third floor, and partitions removed so as to make the floor one, yet it was under the roof of the home, and its effects were plainly manifest. In no instance, even though numbers warranted it, was there more than one water closet, and no external means of exit, while the major portion of the buildings were three stories high.

Wages seemed to be the matter of the most concern of the people at work, the average pay being from $1.50 to $10.00 a week, and while men operators are mostly employed in the southern part of the city, and earn the largest wages, the condition is here reversed, wowen operating and earning from $6.00 to $12.00 a week, when they have enough work to supply them for ten hours a day. Each place we visited the query was the same: "What is this for? Can you do anything to help us? We cannot live on this wage and pay rent, which, though wages have decreased, still remains the same."

The bill of prices varies according to the character of the people who furnish the work, and not according to workmanship or skill. For overcoats from forty-five to ninety-eight cents a piece; the former with velvet collar, the latter with stitched raw seams. For frock coats from forty cents

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to one dollar. For sack coats from fourteen to twenty-eight cents. Pantaloons, which are made in comparatively small numbers in this section, range from twenty-five to fifty cents a pair. This, of course, is shop-work altogether. Custom workers average per week $3.00, $6.00, and $12.00, depending upon their own skill and the class of custom they work for, where shop workers earn just about one-half of that amount, or a fraction over, the figures being $1.00, $2.00, $5.00 and $9.00, they, the sweaters, being in the great majority.

Two men doing business in their homes up town took a number of coats on a venture. The style was sack, and the price for making fifty cents. After finishing the lot, which in each case required a week, one was out of pocket $1.00, while it cost his neighbor $4.00. This, coupled with the wear and tear on their premises, which, too, was an item. The experience proved most trying, as was natural to expect. The first man succumbed and temporarily shut up shop, while the second concluded to help his work people even at a loss to himself, and so continued to do what he could at any price, hoping for the intervention of some all-powerful influence for the betterment of the trade.

These are cited as illustrations of the condition on the matter of wage, that is general in the northern section; but, as I have tried to show, are out-rivaled in the southern part of the city. One could scarcely believe that such distinctive communities, as it were, could exist within the radius of one county boundary.

Going out into the country, the condition was, of course, very materially changed. While many distributing agencies operate through Barks, Bucks and Montgomery counties for the clothing manufacturers; yet the fact that the work is taken into the homes of the farmers, where sunlight is plentiful and air free, means, of course, a more healthful condition to this portion at least; yet even this phase has two sides, and how sad is the reflection of the latter! To illustrate:

"In Queen Anne's time sweaters were street ruffians, who went about in small bands, and, meeting some poor, defenceless wayfarer, would form a circle around him and prick him with their swords, and compel him to dance until he perspired from the exertion."

The difference between the Swash-Buckler of ancient times, and those responsible for the present sweating system, seems only to be a question of weapons and the mode of using them. Then the poor victim was surrounded with the weapons of warfare and destruction, and compelled to sweat for the amusement of his tormentors. Now instead he is encircled by the implements of civilization and construction, and kept sweating for the aggrandizement of others than himself and his immediate family, who rightfully look to him for sustenance.

In the extreme western section of the state there are but few employed in this way, while the central counties give employment to many of the cigar-making industries. Fortunately their conditions are more favorable,

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because of their less crowded quarters; and fairly better wage, coupled with comparatively cheap house rents.

Now for the new Act of Assembly, which was conceded without a question, after this revelation of facts.

This is not all-sufficient, as those who are presently engaged under this new measure, declare. They say they must have more latitude, and, with the press and pulpit of the state so heartily in sympathy, there is no telling where we will stop.

I have naturally been contemplating what remedy could be applied with success to the needed improvement here, and, after considering well, all measures thus far applied, and knowing of their impracticability, have reached one conclusion, and, harsh though it may seem, I can conceive of no other that will do its work. So I say, abolish entirely the combination of workshop and home, and place the responsibility where it properly belongs.

If the hand that sorts the wool, cards, spins and weaves, it must be provided with the space and machines necessary to do the work, and other requisites that go to make up the regular workshop, such as air, light, heat, uniformity in wages, in hours of labor, and all else that is secured to the workers of our more modern work-places, then why not the hands that do equally as important work, viz: make the garments, so that we may be clothed according to custom's dictates? Why not they, I say, be supplied with the same essentials?

"But the privacy of the home! You must not invade the right of man to do therein what he chooses," I grant you; but if the community finds that its homes are being endangered because of this questionable liberty, then a sense of duty stronger than the consideration for one home, must impel the people to come to the rescue of all homes, and make the necessary division between home and workshop.

Until this is done, and men continue to work as they do, just so long will man be pitted against man, and the very well-being of the community made to suffer.

Mr. Cunningham, commenting on the Pennsylvania law said, the sweating system could be effectually dealt with only by national legislation. State legislation would do much good in the way of reforming unsanitary conditions, but would not abolish the system. The evils attendant upon the system would only be suppressed when the system itself was done away with. He then read the Revenue Bill drawn up by Mr. Franey and included in the proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention.

Mr. Campbell objected to the measure on the ground that each state was capable of taking care of its own affairs without

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Section 1 was adopted on motion of Mr. Milligan of Pennsylvania.

Section 2 was adopted on motion of Mr. Lee of Pennsylvania.

Section 3 was adopted on motion of Miss O'Reilly of Pennsylvania.

Section 5 was adopted on motion of Mr. Emsley of Pennsylvania.

Section 6 was adopted on motion of Mr. Hintz of Michigan.

Section 7 was adopted on motion of Mr. Jensen of Illinois.

One paper was read at the morning's session by Mr. John H. Plunkett of Massachutts, as follows:

THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen:

In treating of a subject of such grave importance as the "Sweating System," particularly at this time, after the combined influences of the press and pulpit have failed to eradicate it, I feel the duty imposed is far beyond my ability; indeed great will he be who can devise some method for the prevention of a system of employment wherein we find brought to the surface in man that worst element of human construction—the meanest of all sins—Greed. The great and important question is, how to prevent this *abuse* of a system of employment which has existed from the beginning of time, and, in looking over the different methods advocated, I am forced to confess that, to my mind, nothing has as yet been suggested that will give permanent relief.

The "Sweating System," what it is, has been discoursed upon so often in these conventions that I will not intrude upon your time by entering into any detailed description of it. I simply wish to state that thus far (through the enforcement of legislative enactments) the conditions under which clothing was formerly manufactured have been greatly improved, yet no apparent financial benefit has accrued to the victims of the system. This would appear natural for the reason that it is an established principle of this world, or at least the civilized portion thereof, that man has the right to the disposal of his labor to the highest bidder, and I am firmly convinced that no legislation can ever be enacted to otherwise regulate it.

The sweating system, which is one of the abuses of the *contract labor system*, was made possible of introduction in the clothing industry by a cause which is apparent to those who have reviewed the statistics of immigration for the past ten years. Now, my friends, let us look back and see why legislation was enacted in relation to the sweating system; and in order to fully understand the changes in method of manufacture which were then taking place in the clothing industry, and which provoked the just censure of an indignant public, we have only to read the laws enacted to prevent a system of employment which, when introduced, was a means of degradation to those employed, and an injustice and criminal fraud perpetrated upon the general public who would have been the

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unconscious victims of its disease-breeding consequences. We find upon investigation that it was not against the sweating system (as intelligently understood) that these laws were enacted, but against its conduct in unfit places—viz.: the tenement-house workshop.

The opportunity whereby the tenement-house system of manufacture was introduced in the United States is plainly traceable to an immense immigration from Austria-Hungary and Russia during the past ten years; and I find in looking over the report of the Immigration Investigating Commission, this decade is noticeable for an enormous increase in immigration from these countries, an increase composed almost entirely of people of the Jewish race (due to causes well known to us all). We know that the general tendency of immigration to settle in the large cities would particularly apply to this race of people, who have certain natural business instincts. Then, also, in our seaport cities the foreigner more easily finds those who speak his language, and to whom he naturally turns for guidance and assistance. Again, quoting from the report of this Commission, it is asserted that "since 1894 large numbers of this unfortunate race have arrived in the United States from Libau, most of them in a more or less destitute condition, needing immediate assistance upon arrival."

We are aware that previous to any agitation against the tenement-house sweating system in the United States the Government of England was forced to legislate and had in a measure prevented it. Now, what more natural course for those to pursue who had been driven from the business there than to seek new fields; and large numbers of them can be found by a tour of inspection through the clothing manufacturing centers of New York and Boston, or any of our large cities. They at first became employes, because the field had not as yet been open to them; but, with this great influx of immigrants their opportunity came, and, using friendship as a cloak, they soon attracted to the business and utilized this great body of immigrants by being able to procure work from dealers at a greatly reduced price, owing to the ignorant and destitute condition of their victims. Still, the difference between that which they received and the price they were able to have the work performed for, left to them an enormous and unnatural profit which, I think it would be safe to say, was about 40 per cent.

I find in the discussions upon this subject the merchants or dealers who supplied these contractors with work have been generally accused of fostering this system, when in reality they were also, for a time at least, victims of these sharp contractors. We find that it was not until by sharp competition, during a period of business depression and where the number of these contractors was rapidly increasing, that any great reduction in prices was made. This rapid increase in the number of contractors was due to the enormous margin of possible profit, a fact which some of the victims of this system soon became aware of, and which was the inducement that prompted them to enter into competition with their employers. As each new contractor had for recommendation only his willingness to perform the work a little cheaper, it is easy to see that it required but a short time to so reduce the price of labor in this industry that barely sufficient for existence was possible of attainment even by the hardest struggle. Now, we all know that business is not philanthropy and that human nature is such that, if merchant "A"

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should endeavor to maintain a high standard of wages under these circumstances, "B," who is his competitor, would embrace the opportunity thus offered and would thereby place "A" at just so much of a disadvantage in trade, a result long since felt by many old and honorable concerns in this business. We found that these people engaged in the business of manufacturing clothing with little or no capital and without any regard as to the conditions under which the work was performed. For the sole purpose of increasing profits, they turned their homes into workshops; their homes we do not expect to find situated in the aristocratic quarter, but in the poorest section of the cities, which were made worse by sudden and unexpected increase in population.

The employes in this class of workshop, shut out as they were from the observation of those whose duty it was to enforce our factory and workshop laws, and thereby deprived of the relief these laws afforded, were compelled to toil for existence under worse conditions than ever slave had toiled; for, while the slave must be provided with food and shelter of some kind, they had to barter with the pittance they received for that for which the slave had not to worry. When this condition of affairs was brought to the attention of the Legislature of my State a law was immediately passed which was intended to prevent this evil, known by the title: "An act to prevent the manufacture and sale of clothing made in unhealthy places." While ever mindful of the sanctity of the home, still the legislators came to the conclusion that he who of his own accord turned his home into a workshop, thereby endeavoring to defeat the purpose of the laws previously enacted in relation to the employment of labor, had, by law and reason, destroyed the privacy of that home and made the premises subject to inspection and liable to all laws in force in relation to factories and workshops. This will be evident to you by reading the first part of Section 44 of this law. Realizing the necessity for more stringent regulations, and in order that the purpose of this law could not be defeated, they required that all persons doing any portion of the labor upon wearing apparel should place their premises under the inspection of the officers appointed for that purpose. This was accomplished by means of the license clause in this law, which you will also find in Section 44.

Now, this law does not prevent the operation of tenement-house workshops in Massachusetts, provided they are conducted in accordance with the requirements of the factory and workshop laws and under the conditions imposed in Section 47 of this law, viz.: "That all goods made in a tenement house used as a workshop shall be so designated by means of a tag as to inform the purchaser of the conditions under which the goods are made." And this requirement has had the desired effect—the prevention of the tenement-house workshop.

While not wishing to claim perfection for this law in my State, nor do I attempt to assert that it will effect the remodeling of the unfortunate condition into which the clothing manufacturing industry has been driven, still, as the first law against this method of manufacture, I believe that it has been of immense benefit and is able, by proper enforcement, to regulate and control this system of manufacture. I also think that, had it not been for the enactment of laws against this system in the States of New York and Massachusetts, there would be but few

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ready-made garments on sale to-day in the United States except those which had been made in the tenement-house workshops of our large cities.

If you desire to prevent this greatest of all evils which has crept into our industrial system you have only to present the facts to the people of your different States wherever necessary, and for their own protection they will enact laws which will prevent the operation of this system of manufacture in your States, and by this means effectually wipe out the tenement house sweating system, which is the aim sought by its most bitter opponent. The employment of the sweating system in regular manufacturing places seems to me to be impossible of prevention, and will only cease when a return to a prosperous condition of business ensues. Then let us hope that new and improved methods of manufacture will be introduced which will make the enforcement of this system impossible in this industry.

Before closing I desire to say a few words in relation to national legislation against this system. While it may be possible to frame a national law to regulate it, still I believe that State legislation, properly enforced, is competent to deal with this great evil. At our last convention you indorsed a recommendation for national legislation; and, while not wishing to depreciate the efforts of the gentleman who introduced this suggestion, I am forced to the opinion that there is no possible improvement to be gained by the enactment of that law. I believe that the law you recommended, if submitted to Congress, would reflect little credit upon the intelligence of this convention. For what right have we to legislate against or place a tax or duty upon *contracts* in the clothing and cigar industry any more than upon contracts for the construction of railroads, public or private buildings; and under the proper conditions the sweating system is brought into use even in these industries. If you deem it necessary to remove the responsibility of inspection and regulation of this system from the different States to the National Government the proper and only course to pursue, it seems to me, would be to place a nominal tax upon all clothing manufactured in the United States, the issuance of tax certificates to be restricted to places which the inspectors found to be proper and fit for the conduct of this business. This idea would meet with much just criticism, for we know the present opposition of our people to increased tax burdens. Still, it seems to me that this method is logical, while the law you have indorsed looks to me to be in the nature of class legislation and dangerous to the liberties of the people, being but an opening wedge for greater and more abusive legislation.

In conclusion I desire to say that State legislation appears to be more effective and, if properly enforced, will wipe out the tenement house system of manufacture and employment in these industries, which is the end sought for by all who desire to see fair competition and no favors in the broad field of our industrial advancement.

Mr. O'Leary, for the Committee on Resolutions, submitted the following:

Resolved, That the delegates to this convention, fully appreciating the courtesies which have been extended to them throughout its sessions and during

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that it be extended. The Supreme Court has sustained the principle of the law in the only case it has passed upon.

There have been no changes in the Factory Inspection law since the Providence convention. The synopsis of the law will remain the same.

On motion of Mr. Wade the thanks of the convention were tendered to the retiring President for the courtesy and efficiency with which he had discharged the duties pertaining to the chair.

PRESIDENT MORSE'S RESPONSE:

"I should not be doing myself justice if I failed to say to the convention that I appreciate to the fullest extent the intelligent and active efforts of the inspectors from every State and Province to make this convention a success, and I extend to you all my hearty thanks. If you accord to the incoming President and his successors the same measure of courtesy you have meted out to me, the success of all future conventions will be assured. I think we may be justly proud of the good work effected by this convention, and I look forward with pleasant anticipation to meeting you all in Detroit next year. It is now my pleasure to introduce to you your incoming President, Mr. Rufus R. Wade of Massachusetts."

The President-elect, in a few well chosen words, thanked the convention for the honor conferred upon him, and introduced First Vice-President Robert Barber of Toronto, Ont., and the other newly elected officers of the Association, after which the convention adjourned sine die.

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SWEATSHOP LAWS.

The following are the laws to regulate manufacture of clothing, etc., to which reference was made in papers read before the convention upon "The Sweating System."

SWEATSHOP LAW OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Sec, 1. *Be it enacted, etc.,* That no room or apartment in any tenement or dwelling house shall be used, except by the immediate members of the family living therein, for the manufacture of coats, vests, trousers, knee pants, overalls, cloaks, hats, caps, suspenders, jerseys, blouses, waists, waist-bands, underwear, neckwear, furs, fur trimmings, fur garments, shirts, hosiery, purses, feathers, artificial flowers, cigarettes or cigars. No person, firm or corporation shall hire or employ any person to work in any room or apartment in any rear building, or building in rear of a tenement or dwelling house, at making, in whole or in part, any of the articles mentioned in this section, without first obtaining a written permit from the factory inspector or one of his deputies, stating the maximum number of persons allowed to be employed therein. Such permit shall not be granted until an inspection of such premises is made by the factory inspector or one of his deputies, and may be revoked by the factory inspector at any time the health of the community or of those so employed may require it. It shall be framed and posted in a conspicuous place in the room, or in one of the rooms to which it relates. Every person, firm, company or corporation contracting for the manufacture of any of the articles mentioned in this section, or giving out the incomplete material from which they, or any of them, are to be made or to be wholly or partially finished, shall keep a written register of the names and addresses of al persons to whom such work is given to be made, or with whom they may have contracted to do the same. Such register shall be produced for inspection and a copy thereof shall be furnished on demand made by the factory inspector or one of his deputies: *Providing*, That nothing in this section shall be so construed as to prevent the employment of a seamstress by any family for manufacturing articles for such family use.

Sec. 2. Not less than 250 cubic feet of air space shall be allowed for each and every person in any work-room where persons are employed at such labor as is hereinbefore described. There shall be sufficient means of ventilation provided in each work-room of every such establishment, and the factory inspector and deputy factory inspectors, under the direction of tne factory inspector, shall notify the owner, agent or lessee, in writing, to provide, or cause to be provided, ample and proper means of ventilating such work-room or rooms, and shall prosecute such owner, agent or lessee if such notification be not complied with within ten days of the service of such notice.

Sec. 6. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this act, or who

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suffers or permits any of the articles hereintofore described to be made in violation of its provisions, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by a fine of not more than $500 or less than $100 for each offense.

THE SWEATSHOP LAW IN ILLINOIS.

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted, etc.*, That no room or rooms, apartment or apartments, in any tenement or dwelling house used for eating or sleeping purposes, shall be used for the manufacture, in whole or in part, of coats, vests, trousers, knee-pants, overalls, cloaks, shirts, ladies' waists, purses, feathers, artificial flowers or cigars, except by the immediate members of the family living therein. Every such workshop shall be kept in a cleanly state and shall be subject to the provisions of this act; and each of said articles made, altered, repaired or finished in any of such workshops shall be subject to inspection and examination, as hereinafter provided, for the purpose of ascertaining whether said articles, or any of them, or any part thereof, are in a cleanly condition and free from vermin and any matter of an infectious and contagious nature, and every person so occupying or having control of any workshop as aforesaid shall within fourteen days from the taking effect of this act, or from the time of beginning of work in any workshop as aforesaid, notify the Board of Health of the location of such workshop, the nature of the work there carried on, and the number of persons therein employed.

Sec. 2. If the Board of Health of any city or said State Inspector finds evidence of infectious or contagious diseases present in any workshop, or in goods manufactured or in process of manufacture therein, and if said board or inspector shall find said shop in an unhealthy condition, or the clothing and materials used therein to be unfit for use, said board or inspector shall issue such order or orders as the public health may require, and the Board of Health are hereby enjoined to condemn and destroy all such infectious and contagious articles.

Sec. 7. The words "manufacturing establishment," "factory" or "workshop," wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean any place where goods or products are manufactured or repaired, cleaned or sorted, in whole or in part, for sale or for wages. Whenever any house, room or place is used for the purpose of carrying on any process of making, altering, repairing or finishing for sale, or for wages, any coats, vests, trousers, knee-pants, overalls, cloaks, shirts, ladies' waists, purses, feathers, artificial flowers or cigars, or any wearing apparel of any kind whatsoever, intended for sale, it shall, within the meaning of this act, be deemed a workshop for the purposes of inspection. And it shall be the duty of every person, firm or corporation to keep a complete list of all such workshops in his, their or its employ, and such list shall be produced for inspection on demand by the Board of Health or any of the officers thereof, or by the State inspector, assistant inspector, or any of the deputies appointed under this act.

Sec. 8. Any person, firm or corporation who fails to comply with any provision of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be fined not less than $3 nor more than $100 for each offense.

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THE MASSACHUSETTS LAW.

[Chapter 508, Acts of 1894, Sections 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 63 and 76.]

AN ACT RELATING TO THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF CLOTHING MADE IN UNHEALTHY PLACES.

Sec. 44. Whenever any house, room or place used as a dwelling is also used for the purpose of carrying on any process of making, altering, repairing or finishing for sale any ready-made coats, vests, trousers, overcoats or any wearing apparel of any description whatsoever, intended for sale, it shall, within the meaning of this act, be deemed a workshop; and every person so occupying or having control of any such workshop shall, within fourteen days from the time of beginning work in such workshop, notify the chief of the district police, or the special inspector appointed for that purpose, of the location of such workshop, the nature of the work there carried on, and the number of persons therein employed; the exercise of such work in a private house or private room, however, by the family dwelling therein, or by any of them, shall not of itself constitute such house or room a workshop within the meaning of this act; provided, that such family or any member of such family engaged in the process of making, altering, repairing or finishing for sale any such coats, vests, trousers, overcoats or any wearing apparel of any description whatsoever, intended for sale, in a private house or private room used as a dwelling as aforesaid, shall, before beginning such work, procure a license approved by the chief of the district police, upon the recommendation of the inspectors especially appointed for the enforcement of the provisions of Sections 44, 45, 46, 47 and 48 of this act; and no person, contractor, firm or corporation shall give to any person not holding said license any such garments or articles of wearing apparel, intended for sale, to be made in any private house or room as aforesaid; and every such workshop and every such private house or private room shall be kept in a cleanly state, and shall be subject to the provisions of this section; and each of said garments made, altered, repaired or finished for sale in any of such workshops, private houses or rooms shall be subject to the inspection and examination of the inspectors of the district police, for the purpose of ascertaining whether said garments or any of them, or any part or parts thereof, are in cleanly condition and free from vermin and every matter of an infectious or contagious nature.

Sec. 45. If said inspector finds evidence of infectious disease present in any workshop, or in goods manufactured or in the process of manufacture therein, he shall report the same to the chief of the district police, who shall then notify the State Board of Health to examine said workshop and the materials used therein; and if said board shall find said workshop in an unhealthy condition, or the clothing and materials used therein unfit for use, said board shall issue such order or orders as the public safety may require.

Sec. 46. Whenever it is reported to said inspector or to the chief of the district police, or to the State Board of Health or to either of them, that ready-made coats, vests, trousers, overcoats, or other garments are being shipped to this Commonwealth, having previously been manufactured in whole or in part under unhealthy conditions, said inspector shall examine said goods and the condition of

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their manufacture, and if upon such examination said goods, or any of them, are found to contain vermin or to have been made in improper places or under unhealthy conditions, he shall make report thereof to the State Board of Health, which board shall thereupon make such order or orders as the public safety may require.

Sec. 47. Whoever knowingly sells or exposes for sale any ready-made coats, vests, trousers or overcoats which have been made in a tenement house used as a workshop, as specified in Section 44 of this act, shall have affixed to each of said garments a tag or label not less than two inches length and one inch in width, upon which shall be legibly printed or written the words "tenement made" and the name of the State and the town or city where said garment or garments were made.

Sec. 48. No person shall sell or expose for sale any of said garments without a tag or label as aforesaid affixed thereto, nor sell or expose for sale any of said garments with a false or fraudulent tag or label, nor wilfully remove, alter or destroy any such tag or label upon any of said garments when exposed for sale.

Sec. 63. Whoever violates any of the provisions of this act relating to the manufacture and sale of clothing made in unhealthy places shall be punished by fine not exceeding $100 and not less than $50.

Sec. 76. Any person, firm or corporation violating the provisions of Sections 44 to 48, inclusive, of this act shall be punished by fine not exceeding $500 and not less than $50.

OHIO SWEATSHOP LAW.

Ohio is the latest State to enact legislation intended to regulate the manufacture of clothing in unwholesome places, the law taking effect April 27, 1896:

Sec. 1. Be it enacted, etc., That no dwelling or building, or any room or apartment of itself, in, or connected with any tenement or dwelling or other building, shall be used except by the immediate members of the family living therein for carrying on any process of making any kind of wearing apparel, or goods for male or female wear, use or adornment, or for the manufacture of cigars, cigarettes or tobacco goods in any form, when such wearing apparel or other goods are to be exposed for sale, or to be sold by manufacturer, wholesaler or jobber, to the trade or by retail, unless such room or apartment shall have been made to conform to the requirements and regulations provided for in this act.

Sec. 2. Each such room or apartment used for the purposes aforesaid shall be regarded as a workshop or factory, and shall be separate from and have no door, window or other opening into any living or sleeping room of any tenement or dwelling and no such workshop or factory shall be used at any time for living or sleeping purposes, and shall contain no bed, bedding, cooking or other utensils, excepting what is required to carry on the work therein; and every such shop or factory shall have an entrance from the outside direct, and if above the first floor shall have a separate and distinct stairway leading thereto, and every such workshop or factory shall be well and sufficiently lighted, heated and ventilated by ordinary, or, if necessary, by mechanical appliance, and shall provide for each person employed therein no less than 250 cubic feet of air space in day

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time and 400 cubic feet at night, and shall have suitable closet arrangements for each sex employed therein, as follows: Where there are ten or more persons, and three or more to the number of twenty are of either sex, a separate and distinct water-closet, either inside the building, with adequate plumbing connections, or on the outside at least twenty feet from the building, shall be provided for each sex; when the number employed is more than twenty-five of either sex, there shall be provided an additional water-closet for such sex up to the number of fifty persons, and above that number in the same ratio, and all such closets shall be kept strictly and exclusively for the use of the employes and employer or employers of such workshop or factory; provided that where more than one room is used under the direction of one employer, all such rooms are to be regarded as one shop or factory, and every such workshop or factory shall be kept in a clean and wholesome condition, all stairways and the premises within a radius of thirty feet shall be kept clean, and closets shall be regularly disinfected and supplied with disinfectants, and the inspector of factories or his assistants may require all necessary changes, or any process of cleaning, painting and whitewashing which he may deem essential to assure absolute freedom from obnoxious odor, filth, vermin, decaying matter or any condition liable to impair health or breed infectious or contagious diseases; he shall prevent the operation of such shops and factories that do not conform to the provisions of this act, and cause the arrest and prosecution of the person or persons operating the same.

Sec. 3. No person, for himself or for any other person, firm or corporation, shall give out work to or contract with any other person to perform such work necessary to make such goods mentioned in Section 1, after having received notice from the inspector of factories or his assisstants, that said latter person has not complied with the provision of Sec. 2 of this act, which notice shall remain in force until said person has complied with this law, of which notice must be given to the employer by the inspector of factories or his assistant.

Sec. 4. Every such person, firm or corporation heretofore mentioned shall obtain and keep a record of all persons to whom work is given out or contracted for, including their names and addresses, which record shall be opened to inspection of the State inspector of workshops and factories when called for.

Sec. 5. No person, firm or corporation shall receive, handle or convey to others, or sell, hold in stock or expose for sale any goods mentioned in Section 1, unless made under the sanitary conditions provided for and prescribed in this act; but this act shall not include the making of garments or other goods by any person for another by personal order, and when received for wear or use direct from the maker's hands, and all violations of the provisions of this act shall be prosecuted by the inspector, with the advice and consent of the chief inspector of workshops and factories.

Sec. 6. Any person, firm or corporation who shall violate any of the provisions of this act shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined in any sum not less than $50 nor more than $100 for each offense, or imprisoned not less than thirty nor more than sixty days, or both, at the option of the court.

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SPECIAL LAWS.

The following are special laws enacted in the States named for the purposes described therein.

Sweat-Shop Law of Massachusetts.

AN ACT RELATING TO THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF CLOTHING MADE IN UNHEALTHY PLACES.

SECTION 44. Whenever any house, room or place used as a dwelling is also used for the purpose of carrying on any process of making, altering, repairing or finishing for sale any ready-made coats, vests, trousers, overcoats or any wearing apparel of any description whatsoever, intended for sale, it shall, within the meaning of this act, be deemed a workshop; and every person so occupying or having control of any such workshop shall, within fourteen days from the time of beginning work in such workshop, notify the chief of the district police or the special inspector appointed for that purpose, of the location of such workshop, the nature of the work there carried on, and the number of persons therein employed; the exercise of such work in a private house or private room however, by the family dwelling therein, or by any of them, shall not of itself constitute such house or room a workshop within the meaning of this act: *provided*, that such family or any member of such family engaged in the process of making, altering, repairing or finishing for sale any such coats, vests, trousers, overcoats or any wearing apparel of any description whatsoever, intended for sale, in a private house or private room used as a dwelling as aforesaid shall, before beginning such work, procure a license approved by the chief of the district police, upon the recommendation of the inspectors especially appointed for the enforcement of provisions of sections forty-four, forty-five, forty-six, forty-seven and forty-eight of this act; and no person, contractor, firm or corporation shall give to any person not holding said license any such garments or articles of wearing apparel, intended for sale, to be made in any private house or room as aforesaid; and every such workshop and every such private house or private room shall be kept in a cleanly state, and shall be subject to the provisions of this section; and each of said garments made, altered, repaired or finished for sale in any of such workshops, private houses or rooms shall be subject to the inspection and examination of the inspectors of the district police, for the purpose of ascertaining whether said garments or any of them, or any part or parts thereof, are in cleanly condition and free from vermin, and every matter of an infectious or contagious nature.

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SPECIAL LAWS.

The following are special laws enacted in the States named for the purposes described therein.

Sweat-Shop Law of Massachusetts.

AN ACT RELATING TO THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF CLOTHING MADE IN UNHEALTHY PLACES.

SECTION 44. Whenever any house, room or place used as a dwelling is also used for the purpose of carrying on any process of making, altering, repairing or finishing for sale any ready-made coats, vests, trousers, overcoats or any wearing apparel of any description whatsoever, intended for sale, it shall, within the meaning of this act, be deemed a workshop; and every person so occupying or having control of any such workshop shall, within fourteen days from the time of beginning work in such workshop, notify the chief of the district police or the special inspector appointed for that purpose, of the location of such workshop, the nature of the work there carried on, and the number of persons therein employed; the exercise of such work in a private house or private room however, by the family dwelling therein, or by any of them, shall not of itself constitute such house or room a workshop within the meaning of this act: *provided*, that such family or any member of such family engaged in the process of making, altering, repairing or finishing for sale any such coats, vests, trousers, overcoats or any wearing apparel of any description whatsoever, intended for sale, in a private house or private room used as a dwelling as aforesaid shall, before beginning such work, procure a license approved by the chief of the district police, upon the recommendation of the inspectors especially appointed for the enforcement of provisions of sections forty-four, forty-five, forty-six, forty-seven and forty-eight of this act; and no person, contractor, firm or corporation shall give to any person not holding said license any such garments or articles of wearing apparel, intended for sale, to be made in any private house or room as aforesaid; and every such workshop and every such private house or private room shall be kept in a cleanly state, and shall be subject to the provisions of this section; and each of said garments made, altered, repaired or finished for sale in any of such workshops, private houses or rooms shall be subject to the inspection and examination of the inspectors of the district police, for the purpose of ascertaining whether said garments or any of them, or any part or parts thereof, are in cleanly condition and free from vermin, and every matter of an infectious or contagious nature.

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SECTION 45. If said inspector finds evidence of infectious d present in any workshop, or in goods manufactured or in the proce manufacture therein, he shall report the same to the chief of the dis police, who shall then notify the state board of health to examine s workshop and the materials used therein ; and if said board shall find sai workshop in an unhealthy condition, or the clothing or materials use therein unfit for use, said board shall issue such order or orders as the pub lic safety may require.

SECTION 46. Whenever it is reported to said inspector or to the chief of the district police, or to the state board of health or to either of them, that ready-made coats, vests, trousers, overcoats or other garments are being shipped to this Commonwealth, having previously been manufactured in whole or in part under unhealthy conditions, said inspector shall examine said goods and the condition of their manufacture, and if upon such examination said goods or any of them are found to contain vermin or to have been made in improper places or under unhealthy conditions, he shall make report thereof to the state board of health, which board shall thereupon make such order or orders as the public safety may require.

SECTION 47. Whoever knowingly sells or exposes for sale any ready-made coats, vests, trousers or overcoats which have been made in a tenement house used as a workshop, as specified in section forty-four of this act, shall have affixed to each of said garments a tag or label not less than two inches in length and one inch in width, upon which shall be legibly printed or written the words "tenement made" and the name of the state and the town or city where said garment or garments were made.

SECTION 48. No person shall sell or expose for sale any of said garments without a tag or label as aforesaid affixed thereto, nor sell or expose for sale any of said garments with a false or fraudulent tag or label, nor willfully remove, alter or destroy any such tag or label upon any of said garments when exposed for sale.

SECTION 63. Whoever violates any of the provisions of this act relating to the manufacture and sale of clothing made in unhealthy places shall be punished by fine not exceeding one hundred dollars and not less than fifty dollars.

SECTION 76. Any person, firm or corporation violating the provisions of sections forty-four to forty-eight inclusive of this act, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five hundred dollars and not less than fifty dollars.

Sweat-Shop Law of New York.

SECTION 1. No room or apartment in any tenement or dwelling-house shall be used, except by the immediate members of the family living therein, for the manufacture of coats, vests, trousers, knee-pants, overalls, cloaks, hats, caps, suspenders, jerseys, blouses, waists, waist-bands, underwear, neck-wear, furs, fur trimmings, fur garments, shirts, purses, feathers, artificial flowers, cigarettes, or cigars. No person, firm or corporation shall hire or employ any person to work in any room or apartment, in any rear

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necessary, not exceeding eight, who shall be known as Deputy Factory Inspectors.

SECTION 4. The traveling expenses of each of said deputies shall be approved by the inspector and audited by the Auditor General of the State before payment, and the said deputy inspectors shall have an annual salary of twelve hundred dollars, to be paid monthly by the Treasurer of the State, out of any monies not otherwise appropriated.

SECTION 5. The deputy inspectors, now and hereafter appointed under the provisions of this Act, shall have the same powers and compensation as those appointed under the provisions of the Factory Act, approved June third, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three, and shall be subject in like manner to the orders of the Factory Inspector.

SECTION 6. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this Act, or who suffers or permits any of the articles hereintofore described to be made in violation of its provisions, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars or less than one hundred dollars for each offense.

Bakery Inspection Law of New York.

AN ACT TO REGULATE THE MANUFACTURE OF FLOUR AND MEAL FOOD PRODUCTS.

SECTION 1. No employe shall be required, permitted or suffered to work in a biscuit, bread or cake bakery or confectionery establishment more than sixty hours in any one week, or more than ten hours in any one day, unless for the purpose of making a shorter work day on the last day of the week, nor more hours in any one week than will make an average of ten hours per day for the whole number of days in which such person shall so work during such week.

SECTION 2. All buildings occupied as buiscuit, bread or cake bakeries shall be drained an plumbed in a manner to conduce to the proper and healthful sanitary condition thereof, as the factory inspector or any of his deputies shall direct.

SECTION 3. Every room used for the manufacture of flour or meal food products shall have, if deemed necessary by the factory inspector, an impermeable floor constructed of cement or of tiles laid in cement, with an additional flooring, of wood properly saturated with linseed oil. The side walls and ceilings of such rooms shall be plastered or wainscoted, and if required by the factory inspector or a deputy factory inspector, shall be whitewashed at least once in three months. The furniture and utensils in such rooms shall be so arranged that the furniture and floor may at all times be kept in a proper and healthful sanitary and clean condition.

SECTION 4. The manufactured flour and meal food products shall be kept in perfectly dry and airy rooms, so arranged that the floors, shelves and all other facilities for storing the same can be easily and perfectly cleaned.

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SECTION 5. Every such bakery shall be provided with a proper wash-room and water-closet or closets, apart from the bakeroom or rooms where the manufacturing of such food products is conducted; and no water-closet, earth-closet, privy or ash-pit shall be within or communicate directly with the bakeroom of any bakery, hotel or public restaurant.

SECTION 6. The sleeping places for the person or persons employed in a bakery shall be separate from the room or rooms where flour or meal food products are manufactured or stored.

SECTION 7. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this act, or refuses to comply with any requirement of the factory inspector or a deputy factory inspector, as provided herein, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty or more than fifty dollars for a first offense, and not less than fifty nor more than one hundred dollars for a second offense, or imprisonment for not more than ten days, and for a third offense by a fine of not less than two hundred and fifty dollars and not more than thirty days imprisonment.

SECTION 8. For the purpose of enforcing this act and of chapter four hundred and nine of the laws of eighteen hundred and eighty-six, and acts amendatory thereof, the factory inspector may appoint four additional deputies, each of whom shall receive an annual salary of one thousand two hundred dollars, together with his necessary traveling and other expenses incurred in discharging the duties of his office, payable monthly by the treasurer on the warrant of the comptroller, upon proper vouchers approved by the factory inspector. Under the direction of the factory inspector, such deputies shall inspect all bakeries and see that the provisions of this act and of chapter four hundred and nine of the laws of eighteen hundred and eighty-six, and the acts amendatory thereof, are observed therein. Such deputies shall have all the powers and duties of the deputy inspectors and shall be amendable to the supervision and control of the factory inspectors the same as the deputy factory inspectors appointed under chapter four hundred and nine of the laws of eighteen hundred and eighty-six, and the acts amendatory thereof.

SECTION 9. The owner, agent or lessee of any property affected by the provisions of section two, three or five of this act shall, within sixty days after the service of a notice requiring any alterations to be made in or upon such premises, comply therewith, and such notice shall be in writing and may be served upon such owner, agent or lessee, either personally or by mail, and a notice mailed to the last known address of such owner, agent or lessee shall be deemed sufficient for the purposes of this act.

Massachusetts Law providing for the Inspection of Steam Boilers.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of every corporation, firm or individual, owning or using, or causing to be used, within this Commonwealth, a steam boiler or boilers (excepting boilers upon locomotives, boilers in private residences, boilers under the jurisdiction of the United States, boilers

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Minutes of the Annual meeting of the Labrador Medical Mission, held in the office of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. J. A. Machado, 224 Wellington St., Ottawa, on Monday, April 14th. at 5. P. M.,

There were present,-

Mr. D. M. Finnie, Chairman,
Mr. J. A. Machado, Hon. Secy.,
Mr. A. G. Parker, Hon. Treas.
Mr. T. C. Boville,
and Mr. R. G. Code, K. C.,

Regrets were received from Sir Herbert Ames and Sir George Burn, who were unavoidably detained from attending the meeting.

The Corr. Secy. Miss Warne, having mailed copies of the minutes of the two previous meetings of the Board to the members, it was moved by Mr. J. A. Machado, seconded by Mr. T. C. Boville and carried,-

That the minutes of said meetings be taken as read.

Moved by Mr. J. A. Machado,
Seconded by Mr. D. M. Finnie and carried,-

That Mr. T. C. Boville, Mr. R. G. Code, K. C., and Mr. A. G. Parker be re-elected as Directors for a period of two years from Jany. 1st.1919.

Moved by Mr. A. G. Parker,
Seconded by Mr. R. G. Code, and carried,-

That The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie-King, Mr. Strachan Johnston, K. C., and Mr. J. A. Machado be re-elected as Directors for a period of three years from Jany. 1st. 1919.

Financial Statements of the Labrador Medical Mission for 1918, were then presented and approved by the Board.

Copies of these statement follow beginning with page 2.

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Labrador Medical Mission, 1918, Income by months.

1918.		
Jan. 1,	Credit bal. in Bank,	$285.28,
January,		779.75,
February,		1636.81,
March,		987.06,
April,		1945.11,
May,		2919.27,
June,		480.00,
July,		1069.58,
August,		253.95,
September,		213.50,
October,		1412.00,
November,		460.46,
December,		1615.79,
		$14,058.56,
Income from bonds and on open a/c.		614.95,
	Total income, 1918,	$14,673.51,
Value of bales, 1918,		5,092.00,
Total Canadian contribution, 1918,		$19,765.51,

Ottawa, Jan. 1st. 1919.

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FINANCIAL STATEMENT, LABRADOR MEDICAL MISSION, 1918.

Total receipts for 1918, $14,673.51,

made up as follows,-

Credit in Bank Dec. 31st. 1917,	$285.28,	
Witness contribution, Montreal,	961.01,	
Dr. West's Govt. pay cks.	250.00,	
Income on Endowment & open a/c.	614.95,	
Brick Fund to Jan. 1st. 1919,	1,723.50,	
General contributions,	10,838.77,	$14,673.51,

CONTRA A/C.

1918.			
Jan. 7,	Pd. I. G. A. bal. 1917, Assessment,	$750.00,	
Mch. 30,	Transferred to I. G. A.,	2000.00,	
May 28,	Ditto,	3500.00,	
Aug. 13,	Ditto,	2000.00,	
Oct. 17,	Ditto,	750.00,	
Dec. 7,	Ditto,	1000.00,	
Dec. 20,	Ditto,	750.00,	
Dec. 30,	Transferred to I.G.A., for "special purposes",	285.00,	
Oct. 17,	Pd. New York office for Magazines, 1917,	675.95,	
	Exchange on draft,	14.37,	
	Advanced Dr. Grenfell, of which $25, returned,	200.00,	
	Advanced Miss Warne, Ontario trip, of which $30.05, returned,	50.00,	
	Miss Warne, salary, one year,	900.00,	
	Office rent and 'phone, 4 mos. to Jan. 1, 1919,	40.00,	
	Telephone extension,	10.00,	
	Transferred to Industrial acct.	23.36,	
	Pd. Dunn Motor Co. A/C. at Dr. Grenfell's request,	192.60,	
	Brick moneys invested,	1006.59,	
	Office expense, incl. postage, telegrams, stationery, printing etc.,	213.64,	
1919.			
Jan. 1,	Bal. in Bank,	312.00,	$14,673.51,

To bal. on hand Jan. 1st. 1919, $312.00,

Ottawa, Jan. 1st. 1919.

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Mr. A. G. Parker reported $2033.00, already invested in bonds as special " trust a/c" for the new "brick Orphanage fund".

Mr. J. A. Machado spoke of the urgent need for the new and more commodious Orphanage to accomodate homeless and dependent children made so by the recent " flu" epidemic which ravaged that Coast.

Special mention was made of the generous donations being received by all the Branches from various groups and organizations formerly engaged in war work, especially Chapters of the Daughters of the Empire and Women's Canadian Clubs. These gifts will greatly enhance the value of the hospital bales for 1919.

Mr. Machado called attention to the splendid record of the Toronto Branch, which each year grows stronger, last year contributing almost $2500. He also regretted the apathy and lack of interest on the part of those residing in the Maritime Provinces, particularly those centres which were growing wealthy through the fish industry.

Mr. Machado spoke of the unavoidable closing of Harrington hospital last Fall, owing to the fact that no resident physician was available for that post, but said it would be opened early this Spring with a full complement of workers. He also drew attention to the new launch, " Northern Messenger", purchased in 1917.

The question of legacies, bequests and special gifts was then discussed.

Mr. R. G. Code, Hon. Counsel for this Mission in Canada, pointed out that the organization known as the Labrador Medical Mission was the only incorporated body in Canada that could legally accept legacies for aiding Dr. Grenfell's work.

It was therefore moved by Mr. R. G. Code,
Seconded by Mr. D. M. Finnie and carried,-

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That since the Labrador Medical Mission is the only incorporated body in Canada authorized to accept gifts, legacies or bequests for the continuation and extension of Dr. Grenfell's work, the Corr. Secy. Miss Warne, be instructed to acquaint all Local Branches of that fact and to ask that all such trust moneys be forwarded to Mr. A. G. Parker, Hon. Treas. Ottawa, for investment with other moneys of a like nature, known as the Endowment Fund of the Labrador Medical Mission.

Moved by Mr. D. M. Finnie,
Seconded by Mr. T. C. Boville and carried,-

That Sir Herbert Ames and Mr. J. A. Machado again represent the Labrador Medical Mission on the Board of the International Grenfell Association.

Moved by Mr. J. A. Machado,
Seconded by Mr. R. G. Code, and carried,-

That this Board authorize Miss Warne, Corr. Secy. to visit the Grenfell Mission Stations on the Coast this season in order to familiarize herself with the conditions there and how this Mission meets the needs of the deep sea fishers.

Mr. J. A. Machado also said he wished to express his appreciation of the capable manner in which Miss Warne had discharged her duties as Corr. Secy. and to congratulate her and the Board on the progress made by the Local Branches during the past three years, as shewn by comparative Statement hereto attached.

Adjournment was then moved by Mr. T. C. Boville.

Ottawa, April 15th. 1919.

Annie M. Warne

Corr. Secy.,

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LABRADOR MEDICAL MISSION.

Comparative Statement of Branches for 1916, 1917, and 1918.

	1916.	1917.	1918.
Montreal Br.	$3036.00,	$2957.00,	$2987.00,
Toronto Br.,	1325.00,	1427.00,	2419.00,
Hamilton Br.	895.00,	789.00,	1215.00,
Ottawa Br.,	594.00,	980.00,	1427.00,
London Br.,	368.00,	340.00,	660.00,
St. Catharines Br.	146.00,	106.00,	479.00,
Peterboro Br.,	166.00,	268.00,	365.00,
Guelph Br.,	182.00,	136.00,	283.00,
Lindsay Br.,	119.00,	144.00,	319.00,
Sault Ste. Marie Br.,	127.00,	150.00,	266.00,
Galt Br.,	6.00,	20.00,	293.00,
Orillia Br.,	5.00,	21.00,	249.00,
Weston Br.,	0.00,	24.00,	234.00,
Halifax Br.,	193.00,	221.00,	233.50,
Woodstock Br.,	148.00,	121.00,	179.00,
Uxbridge Br.,	7.00,	55.00,	150.00,
Paris Br.,	10.00,	7.00,	150.00,
Georgetown Br.,	4.00,	20.00,	131.00,
Brockville Br.,	56.00,	83.00,	127.00,
Canso, N. S.,	150.00,	157.00,	136.00,
Oakville Br.,	104.00,	62.00,	67.00,
Kingston Br.,	12.00,	180.00,	?
Truro, N. S. Br.	61.00,	60.00,	10.00,

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W. L. Mackenzie King Papers, Volume C 28
Memoranda and Notes (1887-1921)
152. Lake Mohonk Conference on
International arbitration, 1910-1916

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C 19737

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

Twenty-second Conference, May 17–19, 1916

SCOPE OF DISCUSSIONS

As the present European conflict is unprecedented and affects all nations, the general custom regarding the scope of the Mohonk Conferences is not this year to be regarded as excluding consideration of the interests of neutrals and of the world at large in the war and its effects, it being understood that there will not be discussion of the causes and conduct of the war in the form of direct criticism of specific policies or acts of any belligerent or group of belligerents.

OUTLINE OF TOPICS

The general theme will be

Possibilities of International Cooperation

In the creation or development of conciliatory, arbitral or judicial machinery for adjudication of international differences.

In determining the necessity if any for, and regulating the use of, military force, economic pressure or other sanctions to insure:

(*a*) Submission of disputes to duly authorized international commissions, tribunals or courts.

(*b*) Compliance with the findings or awards of such commissions, tribunals or courts.

(*c*) Observance of existing and future treaty agreements.

In adjusting international law regarding the rights and duties of neutrals to changing conditions and specific emergencies,

To increase Pan-American influence against war.

Suggested Sub-topics and Related Subjects Include:

The influence of commerce and finance on the frequency or duration of modern wars.

Are large armaments as such either provocatives of war or deterrents of arbitral and judicial settlement of international differences?

To what extent is international cooperation against war likely to be dependent on a world federation with legislative functions?

This outline is subject to change and is not exclusive. Early suggestions concerning the above or other subjects are cordially invited from each recipient of this outline.

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C 19738

THE MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE ARE INVITED AS THE PERSONAL GUESTS OF MR. AND MRS. SMILEY WHO WILL BE PLEASED TO WELCOME THEM ON TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SO THAT THEY MAY BE PRESENT AT THE OPENING SESSION WEDNESDAY MORNING. THE FINAL SESSION WILL BE HELD FRIDAY EVENING AND THEY ARE INVITED TO REMAIN UNTIL SATURDAY MORNING.

THE ENCLOSED TIME-TABLE GIVES TRAINS BY WHICH MOHONK LAKE IS ACCESSIBLE. TICKETS SHOULD BE PURCHASED ONLY TO NEW PALTZ, WHERE CARRIAGES WILL MEET THE MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE.

May 17-18-R.

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C 19739

Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley announce that the

Twentieth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration

will be held at Mohonk Lake, N. Y., May 27, 28 and 29, 1914

They hope you will note the dates with a view to attending

A formal invitation will follow

Although this notice requires no answer, your early suggestions concerning

the conference, addressed to Mr. H. C. Phillips, Secretary

are cordially invited

Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

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C 19740

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Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration

Mohonk Lake, Ulster County, New York

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING, MAY, 1910.

RESOLVED, That a Committee be appointed to consider the best method of properly celebrating the completion of one hundred years of peace between the two English-speaking peoples of the Western Hemisphere; that such committee have power to add to its number and to co-operate with other committees appointed for the same purpose in this country and Great Britain; that it report at the next Conference.

COMMITTEE

FROM CANADA

Mr. Henry Bourassa, Montreal, Member Quebec Legislature.
Mr. Joseph A. Chisholm, Halifax, N. S., Mayor of Halifax.
Hon. Raoul Dandurand, Montreal, Merber Canadian Senate.
Sir Louis Davies, Ottawa, Justice Supreme Court of Canada.
Mr. W. Sandford Evans, Winnipeg, Mayor of Winnipeg.
Sir Sanford Fleming, Ottawa, Chancellor Queen's University.
Sir George Garneau, Quebec, Formerly Mayor of Quebec.
Hon. D. W. Higgins, Victoria, B.C., Ex-Speaker Canadian Legislative Assembly.
Hon. J. J. Maclaren, Toronto, Justice High Court of Justice for Ontario.
Sir Daniel H. McMillan, Winnipeg, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.
Sir William Mulock, Toronto, Chief Justice High Court of Justice for Ontaric.
Mr. H. A. Powell, K. C., St. John, N. B.
Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessy, Montreal, President Canadian Pacific Railroad.
Mr. L. D. Taylor, Vancouver, B. C., Mayor of Vancouver.

FROM U. S.

HON. THEODORE E. BURTON, Cleveland, O., U. S. Senator, CHAIRMAN.
Hon. W. L. Carpenter, Detroit, Late Justice Michigan Supreme Court.
Hon. A. O. Eberhart, St. Paul, Governor of Minnesota.
Mr. Joseph L. Hudson, Detroit, Merchant.
Hon. William H. Hunt,(Helena,Mont),Washington, D.C., Judge U.S.Court of Commerce.
Dr. Thomas F. Kane, Seattle, President University of Washington.
Hon. Charles F. Libby, Portland, Me., President American Bar Association.
Hon. John Lind, Minneapolis, Ex-Governor of Minnesota.
Hon. Franklin MacVeagh,(Chicago),Washington,D.C., Secretary U.S. Treasury.
Hon. Joseph B. Moore, Lansing, Justice Michigan Supreme Court.
Dr. Cyrus Northrop, Minneapolis, President Emeritus University of Minnesota.
Mr. LaVerne W. Noyes, Chicago, President National Business League of America.
Hon. Frank Plumley, Northfield, Vt., Member of Congress.
Dr. Rush Rhees, Rochester, N. Y., President University of Rochester.
Mr. Joseph Shippen, Seattle, Wash.
Hon. B. F. Spalding, Fargo, Justice North Dakota Supreme Court.
Dr. Charles F. Thwing, Cleveland, President Western Reserve University.
Hon. George Turner, Spokane, Wash., Formerly United States Senator.
Dr. Charles R. VanHise, Madison, President University of Wisconsin.
Hon. Charles B. Wheeler, Buffalo, Justice New York Supreme Court.

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Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration

Mohonk Lake, Ulster County, New York

SUPPLEMENT TO CORRESPONDENTS' CIRCULAR #8. (Revised Dec. 1st, 1910)

(Circulars 1 to 7 being exhausted, this supplement gives in very brief outline a review of the arbitration and peace movement in America, and a list of the more important societies and conferences. References on any point treated will be cheerfully given on application.)

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OFFICIAL INTERNATIONAL ACTION IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

1864. RED CROSS CONVENTION concluded. Revised by Second Hague Conference.

1889. FIRST PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE met in Washington. The second met in Mexico (1901-2), the third in Rio Janeiro (1906), the fourth in Buenos Aires (1910). Arbitration has been a leading topic. The PAN AMERICAN UNION (until 1910 the Bureau of American Republics), in Washington, is the outgrowth and agent of the Conferences.

1899. FIRST HAGUE CONFERENCE. 26 nations represented. Most noteworthy work the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, usually called HAGUE COURT (really not a court but a panel of arbitrators).

1901. HAGUE COURT DECLARED READY FOR BUSINESS. It has settled cases as follows: 1. U.S. vs. Mexico (Pious Fund Case) 1902; 2. Gt. Britain, Germany and Italy vs. Venezuela (Preferential Payment case involving several other nations) 1904; 3. Gt. Britain, France and Germany vs. Japan (House Tax Case) 1904; 4. Gt. Britain vs. France (Muscat Case) 1905; 5. France vs. Germany (Casa Blanca Case) 1909; 6. Norway vs. Sweden (Boundary) 1909; 7. Gt. Britain vs. U.S. (North Atlantic Fisheries) 1910; 8. U.S. vs. Venezuela (Orinoco S.S. Case) 1910. The press reports that three new cases - Russia vs. Turkey (war claims of 1877), Italy vs. Peru (financial claim), and Great Britain vs France (the Savarkar dispute) - will be submitted to the Court, probably for decision in 1911.

1903. TREATIES OF ARBITRATION. Beginning of popular movement in which more than one hundred treaties (a recent compilation by a British society gives 138) between nations in pairs, stipulating reference to The Hague of all questions not involving national honor, have been signed. Three treaties negotiated by Denmark (with Holland, Italy and Portugal) are without reservation. A Swedish-Norwegian treaty leaves the question whether a dispute involves national honor to The Hague. The early five-year treaties, having expired, have nearly all been renewed. The United States is a party to twenty-five treaties, and at least 37 nations are represented by one or more.

1907. SECOND HAGUE CONFERENCE. 44 nations represented. Among its achievements were the International Prize Court; improved machinery for Commissions of Inquiry; a provision that either party to a dispute may publicly ask for its submission to The Hague; arrangements for a third Conference; provision for practically obligatory arbitration of disputes involving contractual debts; and preparation of a plan of procedure for an International Court of Arbitral Justice when the nations agree as to appointment of judges.

1907-8. FIRST CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE CONGRESS met in Washington. Representatives of Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica provided for those nations a CENTRAL AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE to which should be submitted all questions between any of them not capable of diplomatic settlement. The Court has already decided one case (Honduras vs. Guatemala and Salvador). Despite turbulent conditions within some of the nations, as respects each other they seem to have adhered to the decisions of the Conference. The SECOND CONFERENCE met in 1910 at San Salvador.

1908-9. THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE, called by the maritime powers principally interested in the International Prize Court met in London, reached agreements of the greatest importance concerning the principles of international law involved in naval warfare.

1794-1910. CASES OF ARBITRATION. Since the Jay treaty of 1794 (which may conveniently be considered the starting point of the international arbitration movement) there have been settled by formal arbitration or by commissions having the quality of arbitration more than 250 cases of considerable importance (including minor cases some authorities find 400 to 500); and this when arbitration methods were crude. As types of formal arbitrations may be mentioned the Geneva Arbitration; of Arbitral Commission work, the Alaskan

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Corr. Circ. No.8. Supplement - 2.

Boundary Settlement; of Commissions of Inquiry, the North Sea ("Dogger Bank") case between England and Russia.

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THE UNOFFICIAL PEACE MOVEMENT

may for convenient reference, though not with entire accuracy, be divided into: (a) A peace element opposing war as contrary to Christian morals; and (b) A judicial element seeking to overcome war indirectly by providing effective substitutes in arbitration and courts. The one combats an evil in a general way; the other concentrates on a definite, practical line believing that the end may thereby be sooner reached. The two elements blend imperceptibly and co-operate.

THE PEACE ELEMENT

is represented by the many peace societies here and abroad whose attitudes range from advocacy of immediate disarmament to the broad, constructive policies of the more influential societies. THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, founded in 1828, with its many branches, has been from the first the recognized American leader. Other American societies are listed in a supplement to this circular. The work of these societies has found expression internationally in two series of UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESSES (1843-53 and 1889 to date), holding meetings in different countries, and nationally in two NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESSES (New York, 1907, and Chicago, 1909), a NEW ENGLAND PEACE CONGRESS in 1910, and States Conferences in TEXAS (1907) and PENNSYLVANIA (1908). Powerful allies of the peace societies are found in the ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION, with a strong American branch, and the recently established WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION and AMERICAN SCHOOL PEACE LEAGUE.

The chief work of the peace element has been the development of public sentiment during the nineteenth century. Back of Hague Conferences, Hague Court and arbitration treaties must be recognized the persistent work of the peace societies which, in the century to come, will doubtless be pioneers of world federation.

THE JUDICIAL ELEMENT

is of more recent origin.

The INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW and the INTERNATIONAL LAW ASSOCIATION, both founded early in the '70 s, hold annual meetings in different countries. Their purpose is the promotion of a uniform international law, and, being international in scope, they are of great influence.

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION, also international, followed in 1889. Including only members of practically all national legislative bodies, it aims to develop international arbitration and judicial settlement of differences. Its distinguished membership of about 2,500 includes about 250 members of the United States Congress. Hon. Richard Bartholdt, M. C., of St. Louis, is the American President. It was on the request of the Union that the first call for the Second Hague Conference was issued.

THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION founded by Albert K. Smiley in 1895 was the first American agency to convoke annual conferences for the promotion of international arbitration and an international court. It maintains a permanent office. As an outgrowth of the 1905 Lake Mohonk Conference,

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW was organized early in 1906. Its object is obvious. It has a large and influential membership and its organ, "The American Journal of International Law", has already become an authority on international questions.

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES is a new society founded in 1909 for the definite purpose of promoting the establishment of an international court of justice. It held a conference at Washington, D. C., Dec. 15-17, 1910.

THE CHIEF AMERICAN EXPRESSIONS of the judicial element have been two special CONFERENCES ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION at Washington in 1896 and 1904, and the sixteen meetings of the LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE.

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SOME AMERICAN ARBITRATION AND PEACE AGENCIES

(Dates in parentheses indicate year of founding or organization; m. = monthly; sub. = annual subscription; documents without price indicated are presumably distributed without charge.)

- o -

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION (1907), 501 W. 116th St., New York City. Nicholas Murray Butler, Pres. Name indicates object. Valuable monthly bulletins for free distribution.

AMERICAN PEACE AND ARBITRATION LEAGUE (about 1908), Andrew B. Humphrey, Sec., 31 Nassau St., New York City. For arbitration and peace with effective armament.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY (1828), 31 Beacon St., Boston. Benj. F. Trueblood, Sec. Covers the general field. Publishes "The Advocate of Peace" m. sub. $1. Sells a variety of literature. The Society has ten branches, including:

BUFFALO PEACE SOCIETY (1909), Frank F. Williams, Sec., Buffalo.

CHICAGO PEACE SOCIETY (1909), C.E.Beals, Sec., 153 LaSalle St.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE SOCIETY (1908), R.C.Root, Sec., Los Angeles, Cal.,

and five auxiliaries, including:

ASSOCIATION OF COSMOPOLITAN CLUBS (1903), Louis P. Lochner, Sec., 612 S. Brearly St., Madison, Wis. Conciliation work through clubs of students of differing nationalities in colleges. Publishes "The Cosmopolitan Student" m. sub. $1.

INTERCOLLEGIATE PEACE ASSOCIATION (1905), Geo. Fulk, Sec., Cerro Gordo, Ill. Peace work, largely through oratorical contests, in colleges of the Middle West.

AMERICAN SCHOOL PEACE LEAGUE (1908), Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Sec., 405 Marlborough St., Boston. Peace work among public schools.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES (1909). Theodore Marburg, Sec., 14 W. Mt. Vernon Pl., Baltimore. Propaganda for an international court of justice. Documents.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW (1906), Box 226, Washington, D. C. James Brown Scott, Sec. Publishes the "American Journal of International Law", quarterly, sub. $5. Name indicates object of Society.

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION (1895), Mohonk Lake, N. Y. H. C. Phillips, Sec. Annual conferences, and propaganda especially among colleges and business organizations. Reports and documents.

NEW YORK PEACE SOCIETY (1906), 507 Fifth Av., New York City. W. H. Short, Sec. Propaganda. Documents.

PEACE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA, Richmond, Ind. Miss H. Lavinia Baily, Sec. Propaganda. Publishes "Messenger of Peace" m. sub. 25¢. (Note. The Society of Friends have peace societies in many parts of the country, having, from the first, been active in the peace movement.)

PENNSYLVANIA ARBITRATION AND PEACE SOCIETY (1909), William I. Hull, Sec., Swarthmore, Pa. Propaganda.

UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION (1866), 1305 Arch St., Philadelphia. Alfred H. Love, Pres. General propaganda. Publishes "The Peacemaker" m. sub. $1. The Union has four branches.

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION (International School of Peace) (1909), 29a Beacon St., Boston. Founded by Edwin Ginn. Edwin D. Mead, Secretary. Educational work for peace. Many documents.

December, 1910.

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LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

MOHONK LAKE, N. Y.

BUSINESS MEN'S BULLETIN No. 7

Obligatory Arbitration and Business

MANY of the mediaeval obstacles to the world's business are yielding to the twentieth century's enlightened understanding. There is an ever-growing demand that wars and danger of wars — the greatest obstacle of them all — shall be abolished. The indirect loss to business due to the possibility of war is greater than the direct loss caused to the merchants of both belligerent and neutral nations by actual warfare.

Hence the pressing business need of removing this obstacle; hence the growing determination of the world's workers to secure international courts of justice and obligatory arbitration.

Since the first Hague Conference in 1899, there have been negotiated between nations in pairs 133 treaties of obligatory arbitration. These have varied in scope, from the inclusion of *all* disputes — as in the Danish treaties with Italy, Holland and Portugal — to the inclusion of only a few specified classes of disputes* — which is the scope of most of them. To make the circuit complete — to connect each of the forty-six nations with each of the others — would require 1937 more such treaties.

The American delegation at the Second Hague Conference made a gallant struggle to secure one general, world treaty of obligatory arbitration which would obviate the necessity of negotiating 2070 treaties between pairs of nations. The result was an affirmative vote† of more than three-fourths of the Conference for the world treaty, and a unanimous vote for "obligatory arbitration in principle."

The American, British and Portuguese delegations at the Second Conference endeavored to secure a general treaty includ-

* And the exclusion of questions affecting national honor or vital iuterests

† But not action, as unanimity was required.

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ing 24 specified classes of disputes, most of them relating to industrial and commercial questions. The result was an affirmative vote of nearly three-fourths of the Conference in favor of 8 of the proposed classes. The Conference adopted the American proposition practically establishing obligatory arbitration of disputes concerning contractural debts.

In the light of these facts, the next steps are seen to be: First, a *world treaty*, which will secure uniformity and certainty in international relations, and the sanction of a universal public opinion for arbitral awards or judicial decisions; and second, an approximately unrestricted scope of obligatory arbitration or legal procedure which will confine the danger of war to as few cases as possible and which will especially bring to court international questions relating to the world of peaceful industry.

With the expansion of commerce and finance to every nook and corner of the world, such a treaty as above described has become a necessary adjunct to the twentieth century's industrial machinery and methods. President Taft has recently expressed his belief that even questions of "national honor" could and should be arbitrated. Let the world's generals, captains and privates of industry demand, then, that by or before the Third Hague Conference, there shall be adopted a world treaty, all-inclusive if possible in its scope, which shall make rare or prevent forever the stoppage of the wheels of industry by the generals, captains and privates of warfare.

James Wood, Mt. Kisco, N. Y., *Chairman*
Harlow N. Higinbotham, Chicago
William McCarroll, New York
Marcus M. Marks, New York
George Foster Peabody, New York
Elwyn G. Preston, Boston.
Charles Richardson, Philadelphia
Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia
Committee on Business Organizations

Mohonk Lake, N. Y.
Feb. 1, 1911

Note—This document is one of a series of short, concise bulletins, each covering an up-to-date phase of international arbitration. Business men and business organizations are earnestly invited to co-operate in the distribution of these bulletins. Requests for copies or for further information may be addressed to H. C. Phillips, Secretary, who will welcome inquiries and suggestions.

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C 19746

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

MOHONK LAKE, ULSTER COUNTY, NEW YORK

Seventeenth Annual Meeting -- May 24-26, 1911.

G E N E R A L P R O G R A M

1. General Information; 2. Program of Sessions; 3. List of Members.

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1. General Information

CONFERENCE OFFICE

For the convenience of members, a temporary business office of the Conference, in charge of the permanent secretary, H. C. Phillips, will be maintained this week in Room 5 of the hotel (on the office floor at foot of stairs leading from dining room entrance). The Secretary will be especially glad to meet any of the members and to receive suggestions or information. In the temporary office may be found an assortment of literature, references, press matter, etc.

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HOURS OF MEETINGS

The morning sessions of the Conference will begin at 9 45 o'clock and the evening sessions at 8 00 o'clock. It is very desirable that the sessions begin promptly, and members will confer a favor by endeavoring to be in their seats at the hours named.

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MAIL AND NEWSPAPERS

All mail should be called for at the United States Postoffice on the office floor of the hotel. No mail is kept at the hotel office, nor will any be distributed, as in former years, by public "mail call". Morning and evening papers may be obtained at the news stand in the rear of the Postoffice. The telegraph office and long distance telephone are located in the same room.

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PHOTOGRAPH

At the conclusion of the Thursday morning session, weather permitting, a large group photograph (8 x 40 inches) of the conference will be taken. Members are asked to be prepared to go out of doors at the close of the session. For the convenience of those desiring copies of the picture, the photographer, Mr. L. M. Hermance of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., will be in the room opposite the Postoffice Friday morning with sample pictures, prepared to receive orders for mail delivery. The price will be $1.50, postpaid.

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AMUSEMENTS

Mr. Smiley invites the members of the Conference to make free use of the carriages (which will be in readiness at 2 00 P. M. daily), boats, bowling alleys, tennis courts, golf links and croquet grounds.

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C 19747

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION
MOHONK LAKE, ULSTER COUNTY, NEW YORK

Seventeenth Annual Meeting, May 24-26, 1911.

P A R T I A L P R O G R A M

(revised May 23)

FIRST SESSION - Wednesday, May 24, 9 45 A.M.

Mr. Albert K. Smiley. (Opening remarks)

President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, President American Association for International Conciliation, Presiding Officer of the Conference. (Opening address).

Hon. James Brown Scott, Washington, Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Subject: The Present Opportunity to Aid the International Peace Movement.

Topic: "The Organization of the Arbitration and Peace Movement in the United States".

Dr. George W. Kirchwey, Dean of the Law School of Columbia University, who will present the report of the Mohonk Committee appointed in 1909 to consider the establishment of a National Council for Arbitration and Peace.

Discussion.

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SECOND SESSION - Wednesday, May 24, 8 P. M.

(International in character)

His Excellency, Senor Don Ignacio Calderon, Minister of Bolivia. Subject: The Influence of the United States on the Peace Policy of the World.

Lic. J. R. Aspe, Mexico City, Mexico, Member Mexican Congress. Subject: "Latin America for Peace."

Dr. Francisco J. Yanes, Washington, Assistant Director Pan American Union.

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Paris, Member French Senate; Member Hague Court; Founder and French President Association for International Conciliation. Subject: "Patriotism and Peace".

Senor Don Carlos Pereyra, First Secretary of the Mexican Embassy.

Mirza Ali Kuli Khan, Charge d'Affaires of the Persian Legation.

Hon. John Hicks, Oshkosh, Wis., former Minister to Peru and to Chile. Subject: "The Great Northern Peril".

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THIRD SESSION: Thursday, May 25, 9 45 A. M.

Topic 1. "An International Court"

Hon. J. Reuben Clark, Solicitor for the Department of State.

Thomas Raeburn White, Esq., Philadelphia, President Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society.
Professor Paul S. Reinsch, Ph.D., of the University of Wisconsin, Member Third and Fourth Pan American Conferences.
Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Washington, Agent of the United States in the first (the Pious Fund) arbitration before the Hague Court.

Topic 2: "Unlimited Anglo-American Arbitration".

Hon. Raoul Dandurand, Montreal, Member Canadian Senate.

Hon. John W. Foster, Washington, former Secretary of State.

Topic 3: "A Century of Anglo-American Peace".

Hon. Theodore E. Burton, United States Senator from Ohio, Chairman Mohonk Committee on the celebration of the completion of a century of peace between English speaking peoples.
Mr. Andrew B. Humphrey, New York, Secretary National Committee for the same purpose.
Dr. James L. Tryon, Boston, New England Secretary American Peace Society.

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FOURTH SESSION: Thursday, May 25th, 8 00 P. M.

Topic: "The Churches and International Peace"

Very Rev. W. Moore Ede, Dean of Worcester, England.

Herr Prediger, F. W. Simoleit, Pastor First Baptist Church, Berlin, Germany.

Rev. John Clifford, D. D., London, President Baptist World Alliance.

Rev. Junius B. Remensnyder, D. D., Pastor St. James Lutheran Church, New York.
Rev. William Sparling, D.D., Pastor St. James Methodist Church, Montreal.

Rev. Michael J. Lavelle, Rector St. Patrick's (R.C.) Cathedral, New York.

Rev. William T. Manning, D.D., Rector Trinity (P.E.) Parish, New York.

Rev. Robert S. MacArthur, D.D., Pastor Calvary Baptist Church, New York.

Rev. Joseph Silverman, D.D., Rabbi Temple Emmanu-el, New York.

Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, D.D., Pastor Broadway (Congregational) Tabernacle, New York.

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Program -3.

FIFTH SESSION: Friday, May 26, 9 45 A. M.

Topic 1. "Business and International Arbitration"

Hon. Oscar S. Straus, New York, Member Hague Court, formerly Ambassador to Turkey.

Mr. George W. Perkins, New York, formerly of J. P. Morgan & Co.

Report of Standing Committee on Business Organizations, by Mr. Marcus M. Marks, President National Association of Clothiers.

Topic 2. General.

Hon. Charles P. Neill, United States Commissioner of Labor. Subject: The Labor Movement as a Factor in the Propaganda for International Arbitration."

Hon. A. O. Eberhart, Governor of Minnesota.

Topic 3: "The United States and Its Treaty Obligations".

Report of Committee of the Conference, on the question of the Execution by the United States of its Treaty Obligations and Protection of the rights of Aliens, presented by Dr. George W. Kirchwey, Dean of the Law School of Columbia University.

Discussion.

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SIXTH SESSION: Friday, May 26th, 8 00 P. M.

Hon. William A. Weir, Justice of the Superior Court of the Province of Quebec. Subject: "The Development of International Spirit".

Presentation and Discussion of the Platform of the Conference.

Dr. George E. MacLean, President State University of Iowa. Subject: "The Scholar - The Soldier of Peace".

Mr. Chester D. Pugsley, Peekskill, N. Y., donor of Conference prize of $100 for the best essay on international arbitration by a college student, will present the prize to the winner, Mr. Harry Posner, of the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Mrs. Elmer E. Black, New York, Field Director American Peace and Arbitration League. Subject: College Women and Peace.

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LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

MOHONK LAKE, ULSTER COUNTY, NEW YORK

Seventeenth Annual Meeting -- May 24-26, 1911.

L I S T O F M E M B E R S

The following is a list of the members who, up to noon of May 23d had expressed intention to be present at the meeting. The asterisk (*) following the name of a gentleman indicates that his wife will probably accompany him.

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Aiken, E. Clarence* Auburn, N.Y.
Ali Kuli Khan, Mirza* Washington & Persia
Anderson, Hon. Wm. A.* Richmond, Va.
Andrews, Mrs. Fannie Fern Boston
Aspe, Lic. Jose R. Mexico City, Mex.

Baker, J. Allen, M.P. London, Eng.
Baker, W.P. Syracuse
Barbour, Geo. H. Detroit
Beals, Rev. Charles E. Chicago
Belknap, Wm. R.* Louisville
Bennet, Hon. Wm. C.* New York
Berger, Alex. Milwaukee
Black, Mrs. Elmer E. New York
Bourassa, Henri Montreal
Bray, Frank Chapin* Chautauqua
Bridgman, Herbert L.* Brooklyn
Brookings, Robert S., LL.D. St. Louis
Brooks, Hon. J.B.* Erie
Brooks, S.P., LL.D.* Waco, Texas
Brown, Mrs. Arthur J. New York
Brown, Hon. Elmer Ellsworth* Washington
Brown, Joseph G.* Raleigh, N.C.
Bryan, Hon. William J. Lincoln, Nebr.
Burdette, Rev. Robert J.* Pasadena, Cal.
Burnham, George, Jr. Philadelphia
Burrell, David J., D.D.* New York
Burton, M.L., . .* Northampton
Burton, Hon. Theodore E., M.C. Cleveland
Butler, Nicholas Murray, LL.D.* New York

Calderon, Senor Don Ignacio* Washington and Bolivia
Callahan, Hon. D.J. Lewiston
Callahan, Jas. M., Ph.D. Morgantown, W.VA.
Calvert, John B., D.D.* New York
Capen, Samuel B. Boston
Carle, Frank A. Minneapolis
Carpenter, Hon. Wm. L.* Detroit
Chase, Geo. C., LL.D. Lewiston, Me.
Chilton, H.M. London, Eng.
Chisholm, Joseph A. Halifax, N.S.
Christen, Prof. A. Scotland
Clark, Francis E., D.D.* Boston
Clark, John Murray, K.C. Toronto
Clark, Hon. J. Reuben* Washington
Clearwater, Hon. A.T.* Kingston, NY
Clifford, John, D.D. London, Eng.
Conant, Thos. O., LL.D. New York
Cooke, Wm. G.* Honolulu
Coombs, Hon. Wm. J.* Brooklyn
Corcoran, John H.* Cambridge
Cranston, Rt. Rev. Earl* Washington
Crosman, Geo. L. Portland, Me.
Crothers, Samuel M., D.D. Cambridge
Crowder, Brig. Gen. Enoch H. U.S.A.

Dandurand, Hon. Raoul* Montreal
Darlington, Rt. Rev. Jas. H.* Harrisburgh
Davis, Albert E. New York
Davis, Hon. David* Cincinnati
Douglas, Hon. W.W. Providence
Dunning, A.E., D.D.* Boston
Dutton, Prof. Saml. T.* New York

Eaton, Amasa M.* Providence
Eberhart, Hon. A.O.* St. Paul
Ede, Very Rev. W. Moore, D.D. - .Eng.
Edwards, W.A. New York
Ehrensvard, Count Albert Washington & Sweden
Estournelles, de Constant, Baron d' Paris

Fairchild, Hon. Geo. W., M.C.* Oneonta, N.Y.
Farquhar, A.B., LL.D. York, Pa.
Foster, Hon. John W.* Washington
Foulke, Hon. Wm. Dudley Richmond, Ind.
French, Charles E.* Amsterdam, N.Y.
Frisbie, Hon. Daniel D.* Middleburgh, N. Y.

Garfield, Harry A., LL.D.* Williamstown, Mass.
Glenn, John M.* New York

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Goddard,Leroy A. Chicago
Gordon,Hon.A.C.,LL.D.* Staunton,Va.
Gourlay,R.F. Toronto
Gray,Hon.Geo.,LL.D.* Wilmington
Greene,Edwin Farnham* Boston
Guthrie,Hon.George W.* Pittsburgh

Hallock,J.N.,D.D.,* New York
Hamilton,Rt.Rev.John Wm.* Boston
Harris,H.Richard,D.D.* Philadelphia
Haskins,Henry S.* Mohonk Lake,N.Y.
Head,Franklin Harvey Chicago
Hefford,Hon.R.D.* Buffalo
Hicks,Hon.John Oshkosh,Wis.
Horwood,E.H.* Hoboken,N.J.
Howland,Wm.B. New York
Hoyt,AlbertE.* Albany,N.Y.
Huberich,Chas.H.,LL.D.* San Francisco
Hudson,Joseph L. Detroit
Hull,Wm.I.,Ph.D.* Swarthmore,Pa.
Humphrey,Andrew D. New York
Hunt,Harry E.* Detroit
Hoyt,Albert,* Antwerp,N.Y.
Jackson,Hon.Frederick H.* Providence
James,Edmund J.,LL.D.* Urbana,Ill.
James,Hon.W.W. St.Joseph,Mo.
Jefferson,Chas.E.,D.D.* New York
Jones,William D.* Albany,N.Y.
Joseph,Rabbi Theo.F. Troy,N.Y.

Kelloy,Wm.V.,D.D. New York
Kennedy,James S. Waltham,Mass.
King,Alfred J.* Bollington, Eng.
King,Hon.W.L.Mackenzie Ottawa
Kirchwey,George W.,LL.D.* New York
Kirkland,J.H.,LL.D. Nashville,Tenn.
Knowland,Hon.Joseph R.,M.C.* Alameda,Cal.

LaLanne,Frank D. Philadelphia
Lambdin,Dr.A.C.* Philadelphia
Lavelle,Rev.Michael J.,LL.D. New York
LeFevre,Hon.Frank J.* New Paltz,N.Y.
Leipziger,Henry M.,LL.D. New York
Lighthall,Wm.D.,K.C.* Montreal
Linsley,F.J.* New Haven,Conn.
Littlefield,Hon.Chas.E,* New York
Lopez,Senor Don Jacinto New York and Venezuela
Lynch,Rev.Frederick New York

McAfee,Cleland B.,D.D.* Brooklyn
MacArthur,Arthur Troy,N.Y.
MacArthur,Robt.S.,D.D.* New York
McCleary,Hon.J.T.* New York
McCormick,S.B.,LL.D.* Pittsburgh
McCreery,J.Crawford* New York

Macfarland,Hon.H.B.F.* Washington
McFarland,J.Horace* Harrisburgh
McKelway,St.Clair,LL.D.* Brooklyn
MacLean,George E.,LL.D. Iowa City
McPherson,J.H.T.,Ph.D.* Athens,Ga.
Manning,Wm.Thos.,D.D.* New York
Marburg,Theodore* Baltimore
Marks,Marcus M.* New York
Marshall,E.P. Cincinnati
Mather,Samuel Cleveland
Matteson,Hon.Charles* Providence
Mead,Edwin D.* Boston
Merrell,Rear Admiral John P.* U.S.N.
Merriam,E.F.,D.D. Boston
Milburn,Hon.John G.* New York
Moore,Hon.Joseph B. Lansing,Mich
Moores, J.Henry* Lansing,Mich
Morehouse,Frederick C. Milwaukee
Morris,Elliston P.* Philadelphia
Mulock,Hon.Justice Sir Wm.* Toronto
Murphy,Daniel B.* Rochester
Neill,Hon.Charles P.* Washington
Northrop,Cyrus,LL.D. Minneapolis

Olds,Clark* Erie,Pa.
Olmsted,Hon.John B.* Buffalo
Otis,Gen.Harrison G. Los Angeles

Parker,Hon.Alton B.* New York
Partridge,Hon.Frank C.* Proctor, Vt.
Patch,A.Warren Boston
Pereyra,Senor Don Carlos Washington and Mexico
Perkins,George W.* New York
Peters,E.A.* Denver
Phillips,H.C.* Mohonk Lake,NY
Platt, Edmund P.* Poughkeepsie
Plumley,Hon.Frank,M.C. Northfield,Vt.
Posner,Harry West Point,Miss.
Poteat,Edwin M. Greenville,S.C.
Poteat,Dr.William L. Wake Forest,NC
Pritchett,Henry S.,LL.D. New York
Pugsley,Hon.C.A.* Peekskill,N.Y.
Pugsley,C.D. Peekskill,N.Y.

Ralston,Hon.Jackson H,* Washington
Reeve,George F.* Newark,N.J.
Reid,Dr.Gilbert* Shanghai,China
Reinsch,Paul S.,Ph.D. Madison,Wis.
Renensnyder,Junius B.,D.D. New York
Revell, F. H. New York
Reynolds,Jas.Bronson New York
Rhees,Rush,LL.D. Rochester,N.Y.
Richardson,Charles* Philadelphia
Riddell,Hon.Justice Wm.R.* Toronto

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Ritter,Dr.Paul Washington and Switzerland
Roberts,Hon.Henry Hartford,Conn.
Rogers,Elias Toronto
Root,Robert C. Los Angeles,Cal.
Rowe,L.S.,LL.D. Philadelphia

Sanford,E.B.,D.D. New York
Sawyer,Henry A.* Lynn,Mass.
Schaeffer,Nathan C.,LL.D.* Harrisburgh
Scott,Hon.James Brown* Washington
Seelye,L.Clark,LL.D. Northampton, Mass.
Seitz,Don C.* New York
Sellers,Coleman,Jr.* Philadelphia
Short,Wm.H.* New York
Shutter,Marion D.,D.D.* Minneapolis
Siegmund-Schultze,Rev.Lic.F. Germany
Silverman,Rabbi Joseph,D.D. New York
Simoleit,Herr Prediger F.W. Berlin, Germany
Sleicher,John A.* New York
Slicer,Rev.Thomas R.* New York
Smiley,Albert K.,LL.D. Mohonk Lake,N.Y.
Smiley,Daniel* Mohonk Lake,N.Y.
Smiley,Miss Sarah F. New York
Smith,Elias D. Elizabeth,N.J.
Snow, Alpheus H. Washington
Sohrab,Mirza Ahmad Washington
Sparling,William,D.D. Montreal
Spooner,Dr.Charles H.* Northfield,Vt.
Sprague,Carleton B.* Buffalo
Stiness,Hon.JohnH.* Providence
Stockton,Rear Admiral Chas. H.* U.S.N.
Stoddard,Chas.A.,D.D.* New York
Straus,Hon.Oscar S.,LL.D.* New York
Sutton,E.O. Springfield,Mass.
Swain,Joseph,LL.D.* Swarthmore,Pa.

Talcott,James* New York
Tatman,Charles T.* Worcester,Mass.
Taylor,James M.,LL.D.* Poughkeepsie
Thwing,Chas.F.,LL.D.* Cleveland
Topakyan,H.H.* New York and Persia
Trueblood,Benjamin F.,LL.D. Washington
Tryon,Jas.L.,Ph.D.* Boston
Tucker,William R.* Philadelphia
Turk,R.S.* Staunton,Va.

Utter,Hon.George H.,M.C.* Westerly,R.I.

Valentine,Chas.W.* Watertown,N.Y.
VanArsdale,N.H.,D.D. New York
VanNorden,Warner New York

Wadhams,Hon. Frederick E.* Albany.
Warfield,E.D.,LL.D.* Easton,Pa.
Weeks,Hon.Frank B.* Middletown,Conn.
Weir,Hon.William A.* Montreal
Wheeler,Hon.Charles B.* Buffalo
Wheeler,Edward J.* New York
Wheeler,Hon.Everett P.* New York
White,Henry C.,LL.D.* Athens,Ga.
White,Thos.Raeburn* Philadelphia
Williams,Frank F.* Buffalo
Willoughby,W.W.,Ph.D. Baltimore
Wilson,Andrew F.* Brooklyn
Wilson,Geo.Grafton,Ph.D.* Cambridge
Wilson,L.H.* Binghamton,N.Y.
Wood,Alexander C.* Camden,N.J.
Woodford,Hon.Stewart L.* New York
Woodruff,Clinton Rogers* Philadelphia
Wylie,Douglas M. Baltimore

Yanes,Dr.Francisco J.* Washington
Yourieff,Hon.Wladimir W. New York and Russia.

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SPECIAL NOTICES

The hotel office desires the following announcements made:

I. Applications for Pullman reservations should be placed as long in advance as possible.

II. Members intending to depart on Saturday morning will confer a favor by notifying the hotel office, not later than Friday noon, of the destination of their baggage, and obtaining checks at the porter's office Friday Afternoon or evening.

III. In order that no trains may be missed at New Paltz, the staging department asks the members who are planning to take the stage schedules to leave the hotel at 10 o'clock Saturday morning to be ready for departure not later than 9 45.

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C 19753

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION
MOHONK LAKE, ULSTER COUNTY, NEW YORK

September 16, 1912.

CORRESPONDENTS' CIRCULAR NO. 11

TO CORRESPONDENTS:

Enclosed are documents as follows:

Business Men's Bulletin No. 12
" " " " 13
Winning Essay in Pugsley Contest, 1911-12
" Essays " Black " "
Announcements of Pugsley Contest, 1912-13 (2 copies)

all of which explain themselves. Please try to use the copies of the prize announcement to interest some of your college friends.

The printed report of the 1912 Conference should soon reach you. It contains an account of progress during the past year (pp. 11-13, 117-8), a clear statement of the Senate's action on the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France (66-74, 84-8, 223-6) and many other valuable speeches.

This and former reports have gone to most public libraries in the United States, but frequently they are not kept readily available. By reporting the condition in your local libraries, you can help us to avoid waste and to inform inquirers where reports may be found. Libraries can obtain missing numbers for the cost of postage only.

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

The fate of the recent arbitration treaties makes evident the need for further public education concerning arbitration and peace. In this case the friends of peace, thoroughly aroused, failed to overcome certain opposing elements. The truth is, those elements should not be merely overcome or outvoted but largely enlisted by making the peace movement broad enough to attract substantially all classes. Men of affairs who

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view the movement with indifference or skepticism must be convinced that the visionary and the radical do not dominate it but merely contribute their helpful share. Progress is being made in this direction, and there is hope that within a few years there will be an efficient informal federation of American peace and arbitration societies on a thoroughly broad basis (see Mohonk Conference report, 1912, pp. 21-35, especially 27-33). Meanwhile the people must be educated to understand and make good use of the practical instrument thus to be provided.

You can help greatly in this campaign of education. Try to interest some of the following persons in your community, and convince them that you represent a practical movement, not a mere theory:

The Editor: The press could do wonders.

The Clergyman: English and German clergy have a powerful alliance for peace, and the work is being taken up in this country by a commission of the Federal Council of Churches.

The Teacher: An influentional association - The American School Peace League - is ready to help in this direction.

The Librarian: There is no longer a good excuse for absence of appropriate literature. It costs little, much of it nothing.

The Public Official, whose vote or word influences others.

The Business Man: The experience of this conference shows the great influence of even a few business men and organizations.

The Average Man or Woman, especially, on whom, after all, success depends. Here is the big, continuous opportunity.

You may refer any of these persons to us for information, but you alone can give them interest. If you will tell us which ones you want to interest, we will do our best to furnish helpful material.

We take this opportunity of thanking very heartily the great majority

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of our Correspondents for their prompt and valuable assistance in the campaign for the recent treaties. It showed how they can be depended on in a critical situation. Letters from Correspondents, even when there is little to report, are always helpful.

SOME RECENT HAPPENINGS

The HAGUE COURT has decided its tenth and eleventh cases, the war claims case between Russia and Turkey (decided by a tribunal sitting at The Hague, only two of whose members, however, were judges of the Hague Court) and the Canevaro brothers claims case between Italy and Peru, directing Peru to pay nearly the full amount claimed. The Court has received from France and Italy the question of the seizure of French vessels during the war between Italy and Turkey.

In CONGRESS the House won its fight against two battleships, yielding to the Senate, however, for four extra submarines costing $2,240,000, less than one-third the cost of the proposed battleship. Bills have been introduced in both branches to officially recognize the movement for the celebration of a century of Anglo-American peace. Other pending measures extend for two years the time for a report by the still unappointed "peace commission" (see Mohonk Conference Report, 1911, p.9), and provide for an invitation by the United States for a joint assembly of the legislative bodies of the civilized world. The House refused to continue a small appropriation toward the expenses of the Interparliamentary Union. The Senate ratified the "Declaration of London" adopted at the London Naval Conference and intended to make possible the

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establishment of the International Prize Court (unfortunately the English House of Lords has so far refused to ratify the Declaration). The notable debates in the Senate on the arbitration treaties need no comment. These and other events are mentioned in the 1912 conference report.

The fourth CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE CONFERENCE met at Managua, Nicaragua in January.

It is reported that the ITALO-TURKISH WAR may soon end as a result of the friendly, and perhaps informal, advice of other nations. Italy is said to be refraining from the aggressive campaign she might still undertake. The opinion is becoming general that the opening of the war was clearly in violation of the Hague Convention.

The passage by Congress of the PANAMA CANAL bill with a proviso that American coastwise vessels shall enjoy special advantages will doubtless be protested by Great Britain on the ground that as a question of the interpretation of a (the Hay-Pauncefote) treaty, it is a subject for arbitration. In conjunction with the desire of Colombia for the arbitration of the question of the acquisition by the United States of the Canal Zone, this may force on this country a most embarrassing situation and open a new problem in arbitration.

Feel free to write for further information concerning any of the above mentioned subjects.

Very truly yours,

H. C. PHILLIPS,

Secretary.

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153. Laurier, Lady

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In Memorium

Lady Laurier

Died

November the First

Ninteen Hundred and Twenty One

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C 19758



The Late Lady Laurier

DEAR LADY

Now in the golden autumn, as the leaf
Sinks to the earth to join its kindred there,
So you depart to your great love's relief,
To join your love in God's great otherwhere,
Dear Lady.

What need for tears have we, when lovers meet;
"I go to join him," so you said, and passed,
To keep your tryst with him you longed to greet;
What need for tears? You have your love at last,
Dear Lady.

O lady constant, lady sweet and true,
There shall be grief, but who would bid you stay
Or call you from that holy rendezvous
Where one awaits along God's flowered way,
Dear Lady.

Ottawa, Nov. 1, 1921. —*T. A. Browne.*

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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C 19759

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In Memorium

Lady Laurier

Died

November the First

Ninteen Hundred and Twenty One

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19760



The Late Lady Laurier

DEAR LADY

Now in the golden autumn, as the leaf
Sinks to the earth to join its kindred there,
So you depart to your great love's relief,
To join your love in God's great otherwhere,
Dear Lady.

What need for tears have we, when lovers meet;
"I go to join him," so you said, and passed,
To keep your tryst with him you longed to greet;
What need for tears? You have your love at last,
Dear Lady.

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There shall be grief, but who would bid you stay
Or call you from that holy rendezvous
Where one awaits along God's flowered way,
Dear Lady.

Ottawa, Nov. 1, 1921. —*T. A. Browne.*

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Mr. Mackenzie King learned at Guelph this morning of the death of Lady Laurier. When interviewed, he ~~handed~~ gave the following message to the press:

"The heart of our country will be deeply touched by the word of Lady Laurier's death. Like Sir Wilfrid, Lady Laurier belonged, above all else, to the nation. During fifty years and more of married life, she shared with Sir Wilfrid all the vicissitudes, the joys, and the trials of his great career, and since his death, in every word and act, she has disclosed a devotion to the ideal of their united lives, ~~and~~ a fortitude which has been a revelation to her most intimate friends.

"At her advanced years, the near approach of death was inevitable, once the nature of her illness became known. We who are now left to fight on without the inspiration of her example and constant solicitude may well feel saddened at the sense of personal loss we so keenly experience. We would fail, however, alike of her faith and her spirit, if we did not see a kindly Providence in the hand which, through a long and eventful life, saved her aught of illness and has now spared her the pains of prolonged suffering and the infirmities of age.

"The nation will find its consolation in the thought that of all joys, reunion with the one most dearly

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loved is, of ~~all~~ our human hopes, the highest, and that, ~~which~~, in the passing of Lady Laurier, such is the meaning of death. Having regard to the many conflicts of bygone years in which she and Sir Wilfrid shared, there will always be ~~in~~ something very beautiful as well as comforting in the thought that it was at a brief moment of political turmoil she should have been taken away from "the strife of tongues" to "where, beyond these voices, there is peace." Reunited in death, as they ~~were~~ were even united in life, the names and the memories of Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier will even be cherished throughout ~~the history of~~ our Dominion as a national possession, and greatly revered wherever the history of our country is read."

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Extract from the Will
of
Lady Laurier

2.- I give and bequeath to the Honourable Wm. L. Mackenzie King my property of Ottawa, bearing municipal number 335 on Laurier Avenue East, and the historic gifts that were made to my late husband Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the course of his voyages in England and that are in the said residence.

This residence having been given us by the political friends of my husband, I am of opinion that it ought to return to the Liberal Party represented by its Leader, the said Mackenzie King , to be used by him as his official residence.

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The Hon. Mr. Justice Brodeur, one of the executors of the will of the late Lady Laurier, has authorized publication of that part of the will which relates to the Laurier residence at Ottawa. From the terms of the will as quoted ~~below~~ below, it will be seen that the property is bequeathed without condition to the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the successor of Sir Wilfrid in the leadership of the Liberal Party, to whom are also bequeathed the historic gifts made to Sir Wilfrid in the course of his journeys to England, These include gifts made at the time of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, the coronation of King Edward VII, and of King George V, as well as the gifts symbolizing the freedom of the cities of London, Edinburgh, and other cities of the British Isles.

That the property will be accepted and held in trust by Mr. King as an historic possession of the Liberal Party is implied in a paragraph in which Lady Laurier mentions the circumstances under which it came originally into the possession of Sir Wilfrid and herself, and in which she expresses the opinion that it ought to be used by Mr King as his official residence as the Leader of the Party.

The extract from the will as given to the Canadian Press by Mr. Justice Brodeur is as follows:

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"2. I give and bequeath to the Honourable Wm. L. Mackenzie King my property of Ottawa, bearing municipal number 335 on Laurier Avenue East, and the historic gifts that were made to my late husband Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the course of his journeys to England and which are to be found in the said residence.

"This residence having been given us by the political friends of my husband, I am of the opinion that it ought to return to the Liberal Party represented by its Leader, the said Mackenzie King, to be used by him as his official residence."

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W. L. Mackenzie King Papers, Volume C 28
Memoranda and Notes (1887-1921)
154. Laurier, Sir Wilfrid

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 19766

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Home Coming.

Admit bearer to Special Choir Stand,

at Central Station.

Chairman Reception Committee.

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CANADA

C 19767

The Maple Leaf Forever.

In days of yore, from Britain's shore,
Wolf the dauntless hero came,
And planted firm Britannia's flag,
On Canada's fair domain ;
Here may it wave our boast and pride,
And join in love together,
The lily Thistle, Shamrock, Rose entwine,
The Maple Leaf for ever.

At Queenston Heights, and Lundy's Lane,
Our brave Fathers side by side,
For freedom, homes, and loved ones dear,
Firmly stood, and nobly died ;
And those dear rights which they maintained
We swear to yield them never,
Our watchword ever more shall be,
The Maple Leaf for ever.

CHORUS.

The Maple Leaf our emblem dear,
The Maple Leaf for ever,
God save our King and Heaven bless,
The Maple Leaf for ever.

O Canada! Terre de nos aieux!

O Canada ! terre de nos aïeux,
Ton front est ceint de fleurons glorieux.
Car ton bras sait porter l'épée,
Il sait porter la croix ;
Ton histoire est une épopée
Des plus brillants exploits ;
Et ta valeur de foi trempée,
Protegera nos foyers et nos droits.

Sous l'oeil de Dieu, près du fleuve géant,
Le Canadien grandit en espérant.
Il est né d'une race fière ;
Béni fut son berceau.
Le ciel a marqué sa carrière
Dans ce monde nouveau :
Toujours guidé par sa lumière,
Il gardera l'honneur de son drapeau.

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Canc. Pamph. Case 978

C 19768

Library of Parliament

Ottawa-- "The Washington of the North,"

"No people can ever be a great nation unless is has an art and literature of its own. It will be our endeavor to encourage literature, art and science and to make Ottawa the seat of arts, learning and letters of the Dominion. I have not forgotten what I have said of making Ottawa the Washington of the North and I intend as much as I can to live by what I have said. Referring to the pride any country should have in its capital city the premier spoke of Paris and Washington, not as being excelled by Ottawa, but Ottawa being made a city to which every Canadian might point with pride. It is the purpose of the Liberal administration to make Canada such a country that when a man leaves these shores and visits any other place elsewhere it shall be the pride of his heart to say "I am a Canadian."

Speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier,
Ottawa Free Press, Aug. 6, 1896, page 2, col. 4.

See, also, speech of Dr. Sproule, in Hansard, 1899, Aug. 5, page 9621.
as to what Sir Wilfrid said about making Ottawa the
Washington of the North.

As well, see Editorial in the Citizen June 25, 1896, page 4, col. 2
re promises to make Ottawa the Washington of the North.
by Ottawa candidates during the election.

Too, see speech in which Sir Wilfrid said "Ottawa is not a handsome city and does not appear destined to become one." (year 1882).
in "Laurier on the Platform, 1871-1890.
page 173

Prepared by H. D. Throop,
March, 1928.
Library of Parliament

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C 19769

see overleaf

Did you obtain your High School entrance certificate?..... Yes or No

At what age did you obtain same?.....

High Schools attended	Dates From	Dates To	Address	Name of Principal
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Have you a High School diploma?.....

Have you Junior Matriculation standing in full?.....

In what subjects?.....

And in what subjects did you obtain honour standing?.....

.....

Also, in what subjects were you unsuccessful?.....

Have you a Senior Matriculation Diploma?.....In what subjects?

.....

In what subjects did you obtain honour standing?.....

.....And in what subjects were you unsuccessful?.....

What Business College, if any, have you attended?.....

For what subjects?.....

For how long?.....Did you obtain a Diploma for the complete course?.....

What correspondence school courses, if any, have you taken and from what institutions?..... .....

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Speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier -
Ottawa Free Press, August 6, 1896:

Ottawa - The Washington of the North.

"No people can ever be a great nation unless it has an art and literature of its own. It will be our endeavour to encourage literature, art and science and to make Ottawa the seat of arts, learning and letters of the Dominion. I have not forgotten what I said of making Ottawa the Washington of the North and I intend as much as I can to live by what I have said." Referring to the pride any country should have in its capital city, the premier spoke of Paris and Washington, not as being excelled by Ottawa, but Ottawa being made a city to which every Canadian might point with pride. It is the purpose of the Liberal administration to make Canada such a country that when a man leaves these shores and visits any other place elsewhere it shall be the pride of his heart to say "I am a Canadian."

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Too, see speech in which Sir Wilfrid said "Ottawa is not a handsome city and does not appear destined to become one, etc." (year 1882) in "Laurier on the Platform, 1871-1890.

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(year 1882) in "Laurier on the Platform, 1871-1890.
page 173.

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C 19772

Referances to Speeches re Ottawa - The Washington of the North:

(1) Speech of Dr. Sproule, Hansard 1899, August 5th, page 9621 - as to what Sir Wilfrid said about making Ottawa the Washington of the North.

(2) Editorial in Citizen, June 25, 1896, page 4, col.2, as to promises to make Ottawa the Washington of the North. - by Ottawa candidates during the election.

(3) Speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 1882, in which he said "Ottawa is not a handsome city and does not appear destined to become one, etc."
Laurier on the Platform - 1871-1890, page 173.

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(2) Editoral in Citizen, June 25, 1896, page 4, col. 2, as to promises to make Ottawa the Washington of the North. - by Ottawa candidates during the election.

(3) Speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 1882, in which he said "Ottawa is not a handsome city and does not appear destined to become one, etc."
Laurier on the Platform - 1871-1890, page 173.

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C 19776

U.o-W.

SIR WILFIRD LAURIER

Speech at Constitutional Club, London, Eng.,

7th July, 1902.

Reported in London 'TIMES' of 8th July, 1902

Sir Wilfird Laurier, who was received with loud cheers, after acknowledging the welcome accorded to the guests, said -

The guests who are here assembled at this board have come from all over the globe; and in coming here their object was first and last to testify to the loyalty of His Majesty's possessions beyond the sea to the person of His Majesty the King and to British institutions.

Five years ago it was the privilege of many assembled at this board from beyond the sea to visit England in order to take their share in the celebration of the Jubilee year of a Sovereign whose life was the pride of her subjects and the honour of mankind. On both occasions the opportunity was seized to discuss problems and questions which affect the welfare, not only of the Colonies, but of the motherland as well. Scoffers there may be, not, I hope, within the bounds of the British Empire; sceptics there may be, perhaps within the bounds of this Empire; but the most confirmed sceptic must admit that the spectacle of the representatives of so many nations and races coming at short intervals to testify to and attest the unity of the British Empire, the loyalty of all to its dynasty, and to treat grave and important questions,

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C 19777 E 2

is a spectacle of singular grandeur.

You may search the annals of history, so far as the human eye can plunge into them, and you shall not find a parallel to the spectacle of which you are today the witnesses. The Empire of Rome in the heyday of her splendid power never reached that level of moral attitude. And the reason is obvious. The Empire of Rome was composed of slave States; the British Empire is a galaxy of free nations. In order to find any parallel, if indeed, you can find any parallel, or even as I should better say, to find anything approaching it, or even suggesting it, you must go to that remote period when the Hellenic nations were accustomed to assemble periodically at certain sacred places; and even here what a difference ! The civilization of the world at that time was centred and had its highest exposition and expression in the Hellenic civilization. The civilization of the British Empire encircles the whole surface of the globe. Again, among the Greeks, none were admitted except those who were of pure Hellenic stock, for those proud and exclusive peoples indiscriminately conferred the term of barbarians on all those who were not of their kith and kin. The bond of the British Empire, let me tell you this, my fellow-countrymen, and accept it from a man not of your own race, the bond of union of the British Empire is not the race, it is allegiance to the King without distinction of race or colour.

Again, with these ancient assemblies the motive, the inspiration, was purely aesthetic. The object was sports, arts and letters; and it was in accordance with the genius of a race

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which, though to some extent commercial and, in a high degree, politic, was the most aesthetic of all the races the world has ever seen.

But in the British Empire, whose charateristic is strong common-sense, the first object is to assert the authority of all, to provide that there shall be no revolution in the British Empire.

The first thought is for loyalty. The second is gravely to sit down and discuss and debate the problems which affect us all. And if I gather well the expression in the mind of all those whom I see assembled before me, the thought uppermost is - What is to be done ?

Shall the British Empire be maintained on the lines on which it was created, or shall new departures be taken. Perhaps there are some, perhaps there are many, who believe that the British Empire must be maintained by war measures. For my part I believe that it can be well defended by the arts of peace. You are the one nation in Europe which never would be carried away by militarism. You are the one nation in Europe which, whilst other nations were bled white to create and maintain armies, resolved that no standing army should be created by the British Parliament. You are the one nation in Europe which has founded an Empire by the arts of peace far more than by the arts of war.

Napoleon once called you a nation of shopkeepers, in a fit of temper, or, perhaps in a moment of irritability. But the Colossus was brought down chiefly by that nation called

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shopkeepers. He surrendered to that nation, and admitted that she had been the most powerful, the most competent and the most generous of his enemies.

My conviction is great that what is has gained, the British Empire shall keep; and it is not so much by war as by cultivating the arts in which England has an undoubted supremacy that it shall be maintained.

I am a believer in those old doctrines that have made England great, and it is a firm conviction of my heart that if persisted in they will make her still greater.

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WLMK

C 19789

May 19,1909.

Rough Draft from memory of remarks of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on being presented with a crayon portrait of himself at Liberal Caucus this morning.

Sir Wilfrid commenced by saying that the caucus had been a surprise to him,though he had anticipated,inasmuch as he had not sent out the call himself,that it must have been gotten up for the purpose of conveying some expression of affection from his followers to himself. He referred to the friendships which he had always had from the Liberal party from the time of becoming its leader now twenty years ago. He said he was sorry that twenty years had gone by,but that the ~~insistent~~ insidious hand of time was now laying hold of him. He continued in a strain somewhat as follows:

"Mr.Chairman and Gentlemen: I should rather say, 'My friends,' I thank you for this beautiful gift. I value it as a work of art,but I value it still more as coming from your hearts. I thank you for the good wishes you have expressed. The insidious hand of time has been laying hold of me,and I must confess that I have not the fight in me that I once had,-- not that my health is not good,my health is very good,-- but I do not care for the strife. There was a time when there was always joy in giving a Tory a knock,and I do not say that if the occasion were to require it,I would not be found equal to getting out and showing the old fight again,but strife

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must give way to repose,and I feel that peace is better than conflict. I was born in a lazy dawn (?) but once I got to work no activity was too much,but now I seek for the rest again.

I shall prize this picture as an expression of your affection. I shall take it to my home. Alas! I have not any children to whom I can leave it (Here Sir Wilfrid broke down completely,and then said) but I must not be a child myself. Pardon this momentary emotion. I have not any children,but I shall leave it to my wife,who,as you know,has been ill through this winter,but who is getting stronger and will take care of and cherish it.

We willall meet again in November--I have fixed the date,and we will,I hope,return with fresh vigour for the work that is ahead.

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SIR WILFRID LAURIER C 19782

Oct. 27, 1909

Laurier, Sir Wilfrid

Lecture by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in Montreal
October 27, 1909.

"During the last century, the great American Statesman, Daniel Webster, was a visitor in the old city of Quebec. At that time there was a detachment of the English army doing garrison duty in that Gibraltar of the American Continent. One evening the ears of Webster were saluted by the tattoing of the English troops, and a thought crossed his mind which, shortly afterwards, in a speech delivered in Congress, he expressed in these words - Speaking of England he said it was:-

'A power, to which, for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, Rome, in the height of her glory, is not to be compared; a power which has dotted over thee surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England.'

"This beautiful language graphically expresses the power which has been reached by the small Island whose modest beginning has just been explained. If to-day Webster were to speak upon the same subject, if he could gaze upon what we to-day see with our own eyes, and were to descant upon the same subject, with what images could he describe the power of England. He could speak of her, not as encircling the globe with her garrisons, but as the centre of a group of daughter nations who have found in the adoption and application

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to themselves of the British Constitution, not only a charter of liberty, but a closer ~~x~~ bond of union with the Motherland. Proud as we ~~ax~~ may be as British subjects, of these achievements of a country to which we belong, there is another respect in which, it seems to me, the British Subjects can derive still greater pride. The British Constitution in another way encircles the globe. It has been carried over the globe not only by British hands, but by friends and lovers of Liberty."

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C 19784

HOUSE OF COMMONS
CANADA
Leader of the Opposition

East Section

Mr White

Mr Speaker

Mr Mayhew

Mr Henderson

Miss Bracken-Lee

old age pensions
Provincial Municipalities Finance
a Land (Trust & Loan
& Public Improvement

Transportation Committee
Amend
Bill for Montreal Harbour
Commissioners
& Montreal Terminals

Mr Duncan

Mr Duncan

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Sir Wilfrid Laurier left Ottawa some time after May 11, 1911, and returned to Canada some time before the House met again, on July 18, 1911.

The Imperial Conference opened, May 23, 1911.

The Coronation ceremonies were on June 22, 1911.

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C 19786

Byfd L.M.
re Laurier

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

The Laurier Cabinet as of 6th October, 1911:

The Right Honourables: Sir Wilfrid Laurier
Sir R. J. Cartwright

The Honourables: Sir F. W. Borden
Sydney Fisher
W. S. Fielding
Wm. Paterson
W. Templeman
F. Oliver
Sir A. B. Aylesworth
R. Lemieux
W. Pugsley
G. P. Graham
C. Murphy
W. L. Mackenzie King
H. S. Béland

The last meeting of the Cabinet at which minutes were passed was held on the 6th October, 1911, the following being the Ministers absent from that meeting:

The Honourables: Sir F. W. Borden
W. Templeman
G. P. Graham
H. S. Béland

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C 19787

Central Liberal Information Office

MEMO.

for books on November 29th, 1912.

Laurier on the plat form by Ulric Barch 1871 to 1890

Quebec 1890 published by Turcott & Hurd.

Reform Government 1878 published by The Globe

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C 19788

EARLY RECORD OF LAURIER GOVERNMENT.

Elected June 23rd, 1896.

Sworn in July 11th, 1896.

First meeting of Parliament August 19th 1896.

Parliament prorogued October 5th, 1896.

This Parliament was called for a brief session to secure supply to carry on the Government and otherwise clear up the chaotic tangle in which public affairs had been left by the retiring Conservative administration.

Second Parliament March 25th 1897.

Fielding Preference Tariff brought down April 25th, 1897.

This Tariff with the Imperial Preference was received in Parliament, throughout Canada and the Empire with a wave of extraordinary enthusiasm, it being considered everywhere that it must marked a new epoch in Imperial relationships. Beside a general revision downward of the ordinary tariff it provided for an immediate reduction of 12½% on British goods and for a further reduction to 25% on July 1st 1898. (In 1900 this Preference was further increased to 33⅓% below the general tariff).

On June 3rd, 1897 Sir Wilfrid Laurier left Parliament still in session and proceeded to England, where with great distinction he represented Canada at Queen Victoria Jubilee and at the Imperial Conference. As a result of these Imperial services the then Mr. Laurier was relunctantly prevailed upon to accept knighthood from Queen Victoria.

Parliament prorogued June 29th, 1897.

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C 19789

20th Century Liberal Assn

folder 20th cent.

Concluding words of speech by
Sir Wilfrid Laurier
at the Annual Banquet of the Liberal Club
Federation of Ontario, London.
October 11, 1916

"After forty years of public life in Canada, I must give you a safe guide, an unfailing light for your guidance. Faith is better than doubt, and love better than hate. Banish doubt. Banish hate. Let your souls ever be fixed upon high impulses, strengthened by generous thoughts. Be adamant against the haughty, be kind and gentle to the weak, in good report and ill, in victory and defeat. Let your souls be guided by strong faith and inspiration, that you may rise to still greater and greater heights."

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SIR WILFRID LAURIER

C 19739 OCT. 11, 1916.

Laurier & Young People

Laurier, Sir Wilfrid

Concluding words of Speech by
Sir Wilfrid Laurier
at the Annual Banquet of the Liberal Club
Federation of Ontario, London, Ontario
October 11, 1916.

"I speak for a moment to the young men of the Federation of Liberal Clubs. I tell you young men that there is a long career of usefulness for your native land ahead of you. Already there are many problems, there will be more problems for you to solve, problems of national aspirations, problems of economics, problems of race division, problems of creed divisions, and you must find a solution for them."

"After forty years of public life in Canada, I must give you a safe guide, an unfailing light for your guidance. Faith is better than doubt, and love better than hate. Banish doubt. Banish hate. Let your souls ever be fixed upon high impulses, strengthened by generous thoughts. Be adamant against the haughty, be kind and gentle to the weak, in good report and ill, in victory and defeat, Let your souls be guided by strong faith and inspiration, that you may rise to still greater and greater heights."

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[Election of 1917]

C 19731

All government in free countries derives its powers from the consent of the governed. The twelfth parliament of Canada was elected by the people of Canada in 1911. The term expired in 1916. An election at that date was rendered necessary under the constitution; it could be avoided only by an amendment to the constitution. Ordinarily there would have been no justification for the representatives of the people, without authority derived from the people, asking the British Government to amend the British North America Act for an extension of the term of parliament. The circumstance, however, that the people of Canada generally were known to be anxious to avoid an election during the period of the war made extension desirable, if at all possible. There was one ground only which made this course possible, and that was that extension could be effected without depriving the people of their just rights to be consulted on questions on which it was known that there were serious differences of opinion. Believing that this view rightly interpreted the wishes of the Canadian people, the Liberal party in parliament gave its unanimous consent to an extension of the life of parliament for one year, but that consent was given upon the understanding that it was for the purpose of maintaining unity in the prosecution of the war and that no controversial legislation should be introduced.

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There has never been any difference in the attitude of the political parties as to the necessity of winning the war and the desirability of Canada presenting a united front in her endeavours to command the men, resources, and money necessary to this end. Wherever the Government avoided the introduction of controversial legislation, they received the Opposition's most loyal support.

Of all measures, that of conscription was the most highly controversial. But for the assurances of the Prime Minister that the Government did not contemplate introducing it in parliament, it would have been impossible in 1916 to secure agreement amongst the members to an extension of the term of parliament for one year. The unanimous consent of parliament having been obtained on the understanding mentioned, it became necessary for me, as the Leader of one of the consenting parties, and the custodian of its honour, to see that the spirit of that undertaking, and, so far as possible, its letter should be honourably adhered to. When, therefore, extension of the life of parliament having been obtained on the basis it was, the Prime Minister some months later, without any previous warning or notification, announced in parliament the Government's intention to introduce a conscription act, I felt that only one of two courses was possible, either to demand

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an immediate appeal to the electorate on the issue, or if it were the desire of the Government to avoid an election in war time, to ask for a referendum upon it. To this course I was bound alike by what I regarded as honorable obligation and constitutional procedure. The Government was unwilling to grant a referendum; it therefore became my duty as one of the representatives of the people to oppose the measure so far as was within my power until such time as the people were accorded their constitutional right to pass upon it themselves.

It was after the introduction of the conscription bill that I was asked by the Prime Minister to enter his Cabinet, but for the purpose of finding a common policy between the parties to aid in the prosecution of the war, but as a consenting party to the enactment of the measure and forcing its passage through parliament without any reference to the wishes of the people. To union on such a basis, I could not be other than unalterably opposed.

The referendum provided a means of settling this issue without a general election. But it was not this that the Government desired.

(Take in clause re intention of Government to have an election)

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C 19794

THIS TICKET IS NOT TRANSFERABLE AND MUST BE PRESENTED TO PROCURE ADMISSION

No. 425

State Funeral

OF THE LATE

THE RT. HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER, P.C., G.C.M.G.

ADMIT TO THE VICTORIA MUSEUM AND THE BASILICA

The Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

THOMAS MULVEY,
UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE.

THOSE WHO INTEND TAKING PART IN THE FUNERAL PROCESSION SHOULD BE PRESENT AT THE VICTORIA MUSEUM AT 10 A.M. MASS AT THE BASILICA WILL COMMENCE AT 11 O'CLOCK, AND NO PERSON WILL BE ADMITTED UNTIL THOSE IN THE FUNERAL PROCESSION HAVE TAKEN THEIR PLACES.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19795

State Funeral Procession

OF THE LATE

The Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier

P.C., G.C.M.G.

ADMIT THE BEARER

TO THE VICTORIA MUSEUM AND THE PROCESSION

THOMAS MULVEY,
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE HOLDERS OF THESE TICKETS WILL ASSEMBLE AT 9.45 A.M. IN THE BALCONY ABOVE THE MAIN LOBBY AND THE CORRIDORS ADJOINING.

C 19796

State Funeral Procession

OF THE LATE

The Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier

P.C., G.C.M.G.

ADMIT THE BEARER

TO THE VICTORIA MUSEUM AND THE PROCESSION

THOMAS MULVEY,
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE HOLDERS OF THESE TICKETS WILL ASSEMBLE AT 9.45 A.M. IN THE BALCONY ABOVE THE MAIN LOBBY AND THE CORRIDORS ADJOINING.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19737

Lady Laurier
desires to convey her grateful appreciation
of the kind expression of sympathy
extended to her in her recent bereavement.

C 19733

Mr. Robert Laurier
and Lady Laurier's immediate relatives
wish to offer you the expression of their
deep gratitude for your kind sympathy.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 19799

The Government of the Dominion of Canada
requests the presence of
The Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King. C. M. G.
to attend the Funeral of the late
The Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier,
P. C., G. C. M. G., M. P.,
on the morning of Saturday,
the Twenty-second day of February, 1919.

An answer is requested
to the Under Secretary of State.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19800

THE MASS

AND

FUNERAL SERVICE

OF THE LATE

Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier

P.C., G.C.M.G.

AT THE

BASILICA

OTTAWA

22ND FEBRUARY, 1919

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19801

Le Très Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

AVOCAT, DÉPUTÉ À LA CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES, ANCIEN PREMIER-MINISTRE DU CANADA, CONSEILLER PRIVÉ DE SA MAJESTÉ LE ROI D'ANGLETERRE, CHEVALIER GRAND CROIX DE L'ORDRE DE SAINT-MICHEL ET DE SAINT-GEORGES, GRAND OFFICIER DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR.

NÉ À SAINT-LIN, PROVINCE DE QUÉBEC LE 20 NOVEMBRE 1841.

DÉCÉDÉ À OTTAWA, PROVINCE D'ONTARIO, LE 17 FÉVRIER 1919.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 19802

SHORT INSTRUCTION ON HOLY MASS.

Holy Mass is the most solemn act of the worship of God. It is now more than eighteen hundred years since our Lord Jesus Christ hung for three long hours on the Cross on Mount Calvary, and then died on it for our salvation—that is, to save us from sin and hell.

Mass is the same sacrifice as that of Calvary; the manner only in which it is offered is different: so that when you assist at it, you may think you are standing with our Blessed Lady and St. John at the foot of the cross.

The bread and wine are changed by the Priest in the middle of the Mass, at the Consecration, into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, who then offers Himself again to his Eternal Father for the salvation of mankind. The graces obtained for us by the shedding of our Lord's Blood on Calvary are given in an especial manner to those who hear Holy Mass devoutly.

You know that our Lord died once only, on Good Friday. But in the Mass His death on the Cross is commemorated by the separate Consecration of the Bread and Wine. He cannot *really* die again. His Body and Blood cannot really be separated, for His glorious risen Body cannot suffer any more—it is immortal. But in the Mass the Bread is *first* changed into our Lord's Body, and *then* the Wine is changed into His Blood. Thus it looks as though the Body and Blood were separated, and this recalls the real separation, the real shedding of our Lord's Blood on Mount Calvary. *Then* he really died for us. In the Mass His death is represented, or "shown forth," as St. Paul says. Both on Mount Calvary and in the Mass the victim (that which is offered) is the same—the Body and Blood of Christ; and the Priest is the same—Christ our Lord, who offered Himself on Calvary through the executioners who put Him to death, and who offers Himself in the Mass on the altar through His priests, who say the words of Consecration. So the sacrifice of Calvary and the Mass are the same sacrifice, only the manner in which they are offered is different. On Calvary our Lord's Blood was really shed, and He really died; in the Mass His Blood appears to be shed, and His death is represented. Thus our Lord offers Himself for us every time Mass is said.

To pray well during Mass is the best way to worship God and to obtain His blessing, for Jesus Christ Himself then prays *with us* and *for us* and His sacrifice is offered for us.

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C 19803

THE MASS.

The Priest at the foot of the Altar, begins, saying.

IN Nomine Patris, + et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. *Amen.*

Ant. Introibo ad altare Dei.

R. Ad Deum, qui lætificat juventutem meam.

P. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

R. Qui fecit cœlum et terram.

IN the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

Ant. I will go unto the altar of God.

R. To God, who rejoiceth my youth.

P. Our help is in the name of the Lord.

R. Who made heaven and earth.

Then, joining his hands and humbly bowing down, he says the confiteor.

P. Confiteor, etc.

R. Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, et dismissis peccatis tuis, perducat te ad vitam æternam.

P. *Amen.*

R. Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, beatæ Mariæ semper Virgini, beato Michaeli Archangelo, beato Joanni Baptistæ, sanctis Apostolis Petro et Paulo, omnibus sanctis, et tibi, Pater, quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo et opere, mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa. Ideo precor beatam Mariam semper Virginem, beatum Michælem Archangelum, beatum Joannem Baptistam, sanctos Apostolos Petrum et Paulum, omnes sanctos, et te, Pater, orare pro me ad Dominum Deum nostrum.

P. I confess, etc.

R. May Almighty God be merciful to thee, and, forgiving thy sins, bring thee to everlasting life.

P. *Amen.*

R. I confess to Almighty God, to blessed Mary ever Virgin, to blessed Michael the Archangel, to blessed John the Baptist, to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, to all the saints, and to you, Father, that I have sinned exceedingly, in thought, word, and deed, through my fault, through my fault, through my most grievous fault. Therefore I beseech the blessed Mary ever Virgin, blessed Michael the Archangel, blessed John the Baptist, the holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, and all the saints, and you, Father, to pray to our Lord God for me.

Then the Priest with his hands joined, says:

P. Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus, et dimissis peccatis vestris, perducat vos ad vitam æternam.

R. *Amen.*

P. May Almighty God be merciful unto you, and, forgiving you your sins, bring you to life everlasting.

R. *Amen.*

Signing himself with the sign of the cross, he says:

P. + Indulgentiam, absolutionem, et remissionem peccatorum nostrorum, tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus.

R. *Amen.*

P. + May the almighty and merciful Lord grant us pardon, absolution, and remission of our sins.

R. *Amen.*

Then, bowing down, he proceeds:

P. Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos.

R. Et plebs tua lætabitur in te.

P. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

R. Et salutare tuum da nobis.

P. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

P. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

P. Thou, O, God, being turned, will enliven us.

R. And thy people will rejoice in thee.

P. Show us, O Lord, thy mercy.

R. And grant us thy salvation.

P. O Lord, hear my prayer.

R. And let my cry come unto thee.

P. The Lord be with you.

R. And with thy spirit.

Ascending to the altar, he says secretly:

AUFER a nobis quæsumus, Domine, iniquitates nostras; ut ad Sancta Sanctorum puris mereamur mentibus introire. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.*

TAKE away from us our iniquities, we beseech thee, O Lord, that we may be worthy to enter with pure minds into the Holy of Holies. Through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

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Bowing down over the altar, he says:

ORAMUS te, Domine, per merita sanctorum tuorum quorum reliquiæ hic sunt, et omnium sanctorum, ut indulgere digneris omnia peccata mea. Amen.

We beseech thee, O Lord, by the merits of thy saints, whose relics are here, and of all the saints, that thou wouldst vouchsafe to forgive me all my sins. Amen.

THE INTROIT.

Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine; et lux perpetua luceat eis. (Ps. 64.) Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion; et tibi reddetur votum in Jerusalem; exaudi orationem meam; ad te omnis caro veniet. Requiem aeternam, etc.

Eternal rest give to them, O Lord; and let perpetual light shine upon them. A hymn, O God, becometh Thee in Sion; and a vow shall be paid to Thee in Jerusalem: O Lord, hear my prayer; all flesh shall come to Thee. Eternal rest, etc.

THE KYRIE.

Kyrie eleison.	Lord have mercy.
Kyrie eleison.	Lord have mercy.
Kyrie eleison.	Lord have mercy.
Christe eleison.	Christ have mercy.
Christe eleison.	Christ have mercy.
Christe eleison.	Christ have mercy.
Kyrie eleison.	Lord have mercy.
Kyrie eleison.	Lord have mercy.
Kyrie eleison.	Lord have mercy.

THE COLLECT, OR PRAYER.

Deus, cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere, te supplices exoramus pro anima famuli tui quam hodie de hoc sæculo migrare jussisti: ut non tradas eam in manus inimici, neque obliviscaris in finem, sed jubeas eam a sanctis Angelis suscipi, et ad patriam Paradisi perduci; ut, quia, in te speravit et credidit, non pœnas inferni sustineat, sed gaudia æterna possideat. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

O God, whose property is ever to have mercy and to spare, we humbly beseech Thee in behalf of the soul of Thy servant, whom Thou hast this day called out of this world, that Thou wouldst not deliver him into the hands of the enemy, nor forget him forever, but command the holy angels to take him and lead him to the Home of Paradise, that forasmuch as in Thee he put his hope and trust, he may not endure the pains of hell, but come to the possession of eternal joys, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

THE EPISTLE. 1 *Thess.* 4.

Fratres:—Nolumus vos ignorare de dormientibus ut non contristemini, sicut et cæteri qui spem non habent. Si enim credimus quod Jesus mortuus est et resurrexit, ita et Deus eos, qui dormierunt per Jesum, adducet cum eo. Hoc enim vobis dicimus in verbo Domini, quia nos, qui vivimus, qui residui sumus in adventum Domini, non præveniemus eos, qui dormierunt. Quoniam ipse Dominus in jussu, et in voce Archangeli, et in tuba Dei descendet de cœlo; et mortui qui in Christo sunt, resurgent primi. Deinde nos, qui vivimus, qui relinquimur, simul rapiemur cum illis in nubibus obviam Christo in aera, et sic semper cum Domino erimus. Itaque consolamini invicem in verbis istis.

Brethren:—We will not have you ignorant concerning those who sleep, that ye sorrow not, as even the others who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, so also those who are asleep through Jesus, God will bring with Him. For this we say to you on the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who remain to the coming of the Lord, shall not precede those who are asleep. For the Lord Himself, with command, and with the voice of Archangel, and with trumpet of God, shall come down from heaven: and the dead who are in Christ shall rise first. Then we who are alive, who are left, shall be caught up with them in the clouds to meet Christ in the air, and so we shall be always with the Lord. Therefore comfort one another with these words.

Gradual.—Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine; et lux perpetua luceat eis. V. Ps. 111. In memoria æterna erit justus; ab auditione mala non timebit.

Tract.—Absolve, Domine, animas omnium fidelium defunctorum ab omni vinculo delictorum. V. Et gratia tua illis succurrente, mereantur evadere judicium ultionis. V. Et lucis æternæ beatitudine perfrui.

Eternal rest give to them, O Lord; and let perpetual light shine upon them. The just shall be in everlasting remembrance; he shall not fear the evil hearing.

Absolve, O Lord, the souls of all the faithful departed from every bond of sins. And by the help of thy grace, may they be enabled to escape the judgment of punishment, and enjoy the happiness of light eternal.

THE SEQUENCE.

Dies iræ, dies illa	Day of wrath, O Day of mourning,
Solvet sæclum in favilla,	Lo, the world in ashes burning—
Teste David cum Sibylla.	Seer and Sibyl gave the warning.
Quantus tremor est futurus,	O what fear man's bosom rendeth,
Quando judex est venturus,	When from heaven the judge descendeth,
Cuncta, stricte discussurus!	On whose sentence all dependeth.
Tuba mirum spargens sonum	Wondrous sound the trumpet flingeth,
Per sepulchra regionum,	Through earth's sepulchres it ringeth,
Coget omnes ante thronum.	All before the Throne it bringeth.
Mors stupebit et natura,	Death is struck, and Nature quaking,
Cum resurget creatura,	All creation is awaking—
Judicanti responsura.	To its Judge an answer making.
Liber scriptus proferetur,	Lo, the Book, exactly worded,
In quo totum continetur,	Wherein all hath been recorded—
Unde mundus judicetur.	Thence shall judgment be awarded.
Judex ergo cum sedebit,	When the Judge his seat attaineth,
Quidquid latet, apparebit:	And each hidden deed arraigneth,
Nil inultum remanebit.	Nothing unavenged remaineth.
Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?	What shall I, frail man, be pleading?
Quem patronum rogaturus,	Who for me be interceding
Cum vix justus sit securus?	When the just are mercy needing?
Rex tremendæ majestatis,	King of majesty tremendous,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,	Who dost free salvation send us,
Salve me, fons pietatis.	Fount of pity, then befriend us.
Recordare, Jesu pie,	Think, kind Jesus, my salvation
Quod sum causa tuæ viæ:	Caused Thy wondrous incarnation—
Ne me perdas illa die.	Leave me not to reprobation.
Quærens me, sedisti lassus:	Faint and weary Thou hast sought me,
Redemisti crucem passus;	On the Cross of suffering bought me;
Tantus labor non sit cassus.	Shall such grace be vainly brought me?
Juste judex ultionis,	Righteous Judge of retribution,
Donum fac remissionis	Grant Thy gift of absolution
Ante diem rationis.	Ere that reck'ning Day's conclusion.
Ingemisco, tanquam reus:	Guilty, now I pour my moaning,
Culpa rubet vultus meus:	All my shame with anguish owning;
Supplicanti parce, Deus.	Spare, O God, Thy suppliant groaning.
Qui Mariam absolvisti,	Thou the sinful Mary savest,
Et latronem exaudisti,	Thou the dying thief forgavest,
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.	And to me a hope vouchsafest.
Preces meæ non sunt dignæ,	Worthless are my prayers and sighing,
Sed tu bonus fac benigne,	Yet, Good Lord, in grace complying,
Ne perenni cremer igne.	Rescue me from fires undying.
Inter oves locum præsta,	With Thy favoured sheep O place me,
Et ab hœdis me sequestra,	Nor among the goats abase me,
Statuens in parte dextra.	But to Thy right hand upraise me.
Confutatis maledictis,	While the wicked are confounded,
Flammis acribus addictis,	Doomed to flames of woe unbounded,
Voca me cum benedictis.	Call me, with Thy saints surrounded.
Oro supplex et acclinis,	Low I kneel, with heart-submission,
Cor contritum quasi cinis,	See, like ashes, my contrition—
Gere curam mei finis.	Help me in my last condition.
Lacrymosa dies illa,	Ah, that day of tears and mourning,
Qua resurget ex favilla,	From the dust of earth returning,
Judicandus homo reus.	Man for judgment must prepare him—
Huic ergo parce, Deus:	Spare, in mercy spare him,
Pie Jesu Domine,	Lord, who didst our souls redeem,
Dona eis requiem.	Grant a blessed Requiem.
Amen.	Amen.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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C 19806

THE GOSPEL. *St. John* 11.

In illo tempore:—Dixit Martha ad Jesum: Domine, si fuisses hic, frater meus non fuisset mortuus. Sed et nunc scio, quia quæcumque poposceris a Deo, dabit tibi Deus. Dicit illi Jesus: Resurget frater tuus. Dicit ei Martha: Scio quia resurget in resurrectione in novissimo die. Dixit ei Jesus: Ego sum resurrectio et vita: qui credit in me, etiamsi mortuus fuerit, vivet: et omnis, qui vivit, et credit in me, non morietur in æternum. Credis hoc? Ait illi: Utique, Domine, ego credidi, quia tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi, qui in hunc mundum venisti.

At that time:—Martha said to Jesus: Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. But now also I know that whatever Thou wilt ask of God, God will give Thee. Jesus said to her: Thy brother shall rise again. Martha saith to Him: I know that he will rise again in the resurrection at the last day. Jesus said to her: I am the Resurrection and the Life: he that believeth in Me, although he be dead, shall live: and every one who liveth, and believeth in Me, shall never die. Believest thou this? She saith to Him: Yea; Lord, I believe that Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, who art come into this world.

P. Dominus vobiscum.
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.
P. Oremus.

P. The Lord be with you.
R. And with thy spirit.
P. Let us pray.

THE OFFERTORY.

Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriæ, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de pœnas inferni, et de profundo lacu: libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum; sed signifer sanctus Michael repræsentet eas in lucem sanctam: * Quam olim Abrahæ promisisti, et semini ejus.

V. Hostias et preces tibi, Domine, laudis offerimus: tu suscipe pro animabus illis, quarum hodie memoriam facimus: fac eas, Domine, de morte transire ad vitam.

Quam olim Abrahæ promisisti, et semini ejus.

O Lord Jesus Christ, King of glory, deliver the souls of all the faithful departed from the pains of hell, and from the depths of the pit: deliver them from the mouth of the lion, lest hell swallow them up, lest they fall into darkness; but let the standard-bearer, St. Michael, bring them into the holy light. Which thou didst promise of old to Abraham and to his seed.

V. We offer Thee, O Lord, a sacrifice of praise and prayers: do Thou accept them in behalf of those souls whom we this day commemorate. Grant, O Lord, that they may pass from death to life.

Which Thou didst promise of old to Abraham, and to his seed.

Taking the paten with the Host.

SUSCIPE, sancte Pater, omnipotens, æterne Deus, hanc immaculatam Hostiam, quam ego indignus famulus tuus offero tibi Deo meo vivo et vero, pro innumerabilibus peccatis, offensionibus et negligentiis meis, et pro omnibus circumstantibus; sed et pro omnibus fidelibus Christianis vivis atque defunctis; ut mihi et illis proficiat ad salutem in vitam æternam. *Amen.*

ACCEPT, O holy Father, almighty and eternal God, this unspotted Host, which I, thy unworthy servant, offer unto thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offences, and negligences, and for all here present; as also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead; that it may avail both me and them unto life everlasting. *Amen.*

Pouring wine and water unto the Chalice.

DEUS, + qui humanæ substantiæ dignitatem mirabiliter condidisti, et mirabilius reformasti; da nobis per hujus Aquæ et Vini mysterium, ejus divinitatis esse consortes qui humanitatis nostræ fieri dignatus est particeps Jesus Christus Filius tuus Dominus noster; qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. *Amen.*

O GOD, + who in creating human nature hast wonderfully dignified it, and still more wonderfully reformed it; grant that by the mystery of this Water and Wine, we may be made partakers of his divine nature, who vouchsafed to become partaker of our human nature, namely, Jesus Christ our Lord, thy Son, who with thee, in the unity of, etc. *Amen.*

Offering up the Chalice, he says:.

OFFERIMUS tibi, Domine, Calicem salutaris, tuam deprecantes clementiam, ut in conspectu divinæ Majestatis tuæ, pro nostra et totius mundi, salute, cum odore suavitatis ascendat. *Amen.*

WE offer unto thee, O Lord, the Chalice of salvation, beseeching thy clemency, that it may ascend before thy divine Majesty, as a sweet odour, for our salvation, and for that of the whole world. *Amen.*

C 19807

Bowing down.

IN spiritu humilitatis, et in animo contrito, suscipiamur a te, Domine; et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo hodie, ut placeat tibi Domine Deus.

ACCEPT us, O Lord, in the spirit of humility and contrition of heart; and grant that the sacrifice we offer this day in thy sight, may be pleasing to thee, O Lord God.

Blessing the Bread and Wine.

VENI, sanctificator, omnipotens, æterne Deus, et benedic + hoc sacrificium tuo sancto nomini preparatum.

COME, O Almighty and eternal God, the Sanctifier, and bless + this sacrifice prepared for the glory of thy holy name.

Washing his hands, he recites the following,
(*Ps.* xxv. 6.)

LAVABO inter innocentes manus meas, et circumdabo altare tuum, Domine.

Ut audiam vocem laudis, et enarrem universa mirabilia tua.

Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ, et locum habitationis gloriæ tuæ.

Ne perdas cum impiis animam meam, et cum viris sanguinum vitam meam.

In quorum manibus iniquitates sunt; dextera eorum repleta est muneribus.

Ego autem in innocentia mea ingressus sum; redime me et miserere mei.

Pes meus stetit in directo: in ecclesiis benedicam te, Domine.

Gloria Patri, etc.

I WILL wash my hands among the innocent, and will compass thy altar, O Lord.

That I may hear the voice of thy praise, and tell all thy wondrous works.

I have loved, O Lord, the beauty of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwelleth.

Take not away my soul with the wicked, nor my life with men of blood.

In whose hands are iniquities: their right hand is filled with gifts.

But I have walked in my innocence: redeem me and have mercy on me.

My foot hath stood in the direct way: in the churches I will bless thee, O Lord.

Glory be, etc.

Bowing before the Altar.

SUSCIPE, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus ob memoriam Passionis, Resurrectionis, et Ascensionis Jesu Christi Domini nostri, et in honorem beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis, et beati Joannis Baptistæ, et sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et istorum et omnium Sanctorum; ut illis proficiat ad honorem nobis autem ad salutem; et illi pro nobis intercedere dignentur in cœlis, quorum memoriam agimus in terris. Per eumdem, etc. *Amen.*

RECEIVE, O holy Trinity, this oblation which we make to thee in memory of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in honour of the blessed Mary, ever a Virgin, of blessed John the Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the Saints; that it may be available to their honour and our salvation; and that they may vouchsafe to intercede for us in heaven, whose memory we celebrate on earth. Through, etc. *Amen.*

Turning to the people.

ORATE, fratres, ut meum ac vestrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat apud Deum Patrem omnipotentem.

R. Suscipiat Dominus sacrificium de manibus tuis ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui, ad utilitatem quoque nostram, totiusque Ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ.

BRETHREN, pray that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God the Father Almighty.

R. May the Lord receive the sacrifice from thy hands to the praise and glory of his own name, and to our benefit, and that of all his holy Church.

THE SECRET PRAYER.

Propitiare, quæsumus Domine, anima famuli tui, N., pro qua hostiam laudis tibi immolamus; majestatem tuam suppliciter deprecantes, ut, per hæc piæ placationis officia, pervenire mereatur ad requiem sempiternam. Per Dominum, etc.

Be merciful, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to the soul of Thy servant N., for which we offer Thee the sacrifice of praise; humbly beseeching Thy Majesty, that, by these offices of loving reconciliation, it may be found worthy to attain everlasting rest. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

THE PREFACE

Priest.—Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.
Choir.—Amen.
Priest.—Dominus vobiscum.

Priest.—World without end.
Choir.—Amen.
Priest.—The Lord be with you.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19806

THE GOSPEL. *St. John* 11.

In illo tempore:—Dixit Martha ad Jesum: Domine, si fuisses hic, frater meus non fuisset mortuus. Sed et nunc scio, quia quæcumque poposceris a Deo, dabit tibi Deus. Dicit illi Jesus: Resurget frater tuus. Dicit ei Martha: Scio quia resurget in resurrectione in novissimo die. Dixit ei Jesus: Ego sum resurrectio et vita: qui credit in me, etiamsi mortuus fuerit, vivet: et omnis, qui vivit, et credit in me, non morietur in æternum. Credis hoc? Ait illi: Utique, Domine, ego credidi, quia tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi, qui in hunc mundum venisti.

At that time:—Martha said to Jesus: Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. But now also I know that whatever Thou wilt ask of God, God will give Thee. Jesus said to her: Thy brother shall rise again. Martha saith to Him: I know that he will rise again in the resurrection at the last day. Jesus said to her: I am the Resurrection and the Life: he that believeth in Me, although he be dead, shall live: and every one who liveth, and believeth in Me, shall never die. Believest thou this? She saith to Him: Yea; Lord, I believe that Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, who art come into this world.

P. Dominus vobiscum.
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.
P. Oremus.

P. The Lord be with you.
R. And with thy spirit.
P. Let us pray.

THE OFFERTORY.

Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriæ, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de pœnas inferni, et de profundo lacu: libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum; sed signifer sanctus Michael repræsentet eas in lucem sanctam: *Quam olim Abrahæ promisisti, et semini ejus.

O Lord Jesus Christ, King of glory, deliver the souls of all the faithful departed from the pains of hell, and from the depths of the pit: deliver them from the mouth of the lion, lest hell swallow them up, lest they fall into darkness; but let the standard-bearer, St. Michael, bring them into the holy light. Which thou didst promise of old to Abraham and to his seed.

V. Hostias et preces tibi, Domine, laudis offerimus: tu suscipe pro animabus illis, quarum hodie memoriam facimus: fac eas, Domine, de morte transire ad vitam.

V. We offer Thee, O Lord, a sacrifice of praise and prayers: do Thou accept them in behalf of those souls whom we this day commemorate. Grant, O Lord, that they may pass from death to life.

Quam olim Abrahæ promisisti, et semini ejus.

Which Thou didst promise of old to Abraham, and to his seed.

Taking the paten with the Host.

SUSCIPE, sancte Pater, omnipotens, æterne Deus, hanc immaculatam Hostiam, quam ego indignus famulus tuus offero tibi Deo meo vivo et vero, pro innumerabilibus peccatis, offensionibus et negligentiis meis, et pro omnibus circumstantibus; sed et pro omnibus fidelibus Christianis vivis atque defunctis; ut mihi et illis proficiat ad salutem in vitam æternam. *Amen.*

ACCEPT, O holy Father, almighty and eternal God, this unspotted Host, which I, thy unworthy servant, offer unto thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offences, and negligences, and for all here present; as also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead; that it may avail both me and them unto life everlasting. *Amen.*

Pouring wine and water unto the Chalice.

DEUS, + qui humanæ substantiæ dignitatem mirabiliter condidisti, et mirabilius reformasti; da nobis per hujus Aquæ et Vini mysterium, ejus divinitatis esse consortes qui humanitatis nostræ fieri dignatus est particeps Jesus Christus Filius tuus Dominus noster; qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. *Amen.*

O GOD, + who in creating human nature hast wonderfully dignified it, and still more wonderfully reformed it; grant that by the mystery of this Water and Wine, we may be made partakers of his divine nature, who vouchsafed to become partaker of our human nature, namely, Jesus Christ our Lord, thy Son, who with thee, in the unity of, etc. *Amen.*

Offering up the Chalice, he says:.

OFFERIMUS tibi, Domine, Calicem salutaris, tuam deprecantes clementiam, ut in conspectu divinæ Majestatis tuæ, pro nostra et totius mundi, salute, cum odore suavitatis ascendat. *Amen.*

WE offer unto thee, O Lord, the Chalice of salvation, beseeching thy clemency, that it may ascend before thy divine Majesty, as a sweet odour, for our salvation, and for that of the whole world. *Amen.*

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Bowing down.

IN spiritu humilitatis, et in animo contrito, suscipiamur a te, Domine; et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo hodie, ut placeat tibi Domine Deus.

ACCEPT us, O Lord, in the spirit of humility and contrition of heart; and grant that the sacrifice we offer this day in thy sight, may be pleasing to thee, O Lord God.

Blessing the Bread and Wine.

VENI, sanctificator, omnipotens, æterne Deus, et benedic + hoc sacrificium tuo sancto nomini preparatum.

COME, O Almighty and eternal God, the Sanctifier, and bless + this sacrifice prepared for the glory of thy holy name.

Washing his hands, he recites the following,
(*Ps.* xxv. 6.)

LAVABO inter innocentes manus meas, et circumdabo altare tuum, Domine.
Ut audiam vocem laudis, et enarrem universa mirabilia tua.
Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ, et locum habitationis gloriæ tuæ.
Ne perdas cum impiis animam meam, et cum viris sanguinum vitam meam.
In quorum manibus iniquitates sunt; dextera eorum repleta est muneribus.
Ego autem in innocentia mea ingressus sum; redime me et miserere mei.
Pes meus stetit in directo: in ecclesiis benedicam te, Domine.
Gloria Patri, etc.

I WILL wash my hands among the innocent, and will compass thy altar, O Lord.
That I may hear the voice of thy praise, and tell all thy wondrous works.
I have loved, O Lord, the beauty of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwelleth.
Take not away my soul with the wicked, nor my life with men of blood.
In whose hands are iniquities: their right hand is filled with gifts.
But I have walked in my innocence: redeem me and have mercy on me.
My foot hath stood in the direct way: in the churches I will bless thee, O Lord.
Glory be, etc.

Bowing before the Altar.

SUSCIPE, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus ob memoriam Passionis, Resurrectionis, et Ascensionis Jesu Christi Domini nostri, et in honorem beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis, et beati Joannis Baptistæ, et sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et istorum et omnium Sanctorum; ut illis proficiat ad honorem nobis autem ad salutem; et illi pro nobis intercedere dignentur in cœlis, quorum memoriam agimus in terris. Per eumdem, etc. *Amen.*

RECEIVE, O holy Trinity, this oblation which we make to thee in memory of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in honour of the blessed Mary, ever a Virgin, of blessed John the Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the Saints; that it may be available to their honour and our salvation; and that they may vouchsafe to intercede for us in heaven, whose memory we celebrate on earth. Through, etc. *Amen.*

Turning to the people.

ORATE, fratres, ut meum ac vestrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat apud Deum Patrem omnipotentem.
R. Suscipiat Dominus sacrificium de manibus tuis ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui, ad utilitatem quoque nostram, totiusque Ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ.

BRETHREN, pray that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God the Father Almighty.
R. May the Lord receive the sacrifice from thy hands to the praise and glory of his own name, and to our benefit, and that of all his holy Church.

THE SECRET PRAYER.

Propitiare, quæsumus Domine, anima famuli tui, N., pro qua hostiam laudis tibi immolamus; majestatem tuam suppliciter deprecantes, ut, per hæc piæ placationis officia, pervenire mereatur ad requiem sempiternam. Per Dominum, etc.

Be merciful, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to the soul of Thy servant N., for which we offer Thee the sacrifice of praise; humbly beseeching Thy Majesty, that, by these offices of loving reconciliation, it may be found worthy to attain everlasting rest. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

THE PREFACE

Priest.—Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.
Choir.—Amen.
Priest.—Dominus vobiscum.

Priest.—World without end.
Choir.—Amen.
Priest.—The Lord be with you.

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Choir.—Et cum spiritu tuo.
Priest.—Sursum corda.
Choir.—Habemus ad Dominum.
Priest.—Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Choir.—Dignum et justum est.
Priest.—Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem Majestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates cœli cœlorumque virtutes, ac beata seraphim, socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces, ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes:—

The Choir.—Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.

Choir.—And with thy spirit.
Priest.—Lift up your hearts.
Choir.—We have lifted them up unto the Lord.
Priest.—Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.
Choir.—It is meet and just.
Priest.—It is truly meet and just, right and salutary, that we should always, and in all places, give thanks to Thee, O Holy Lord, Father Almighty, eternal God. Through Christ our Lord: through whom the angels praise Thy Majesty, the dominations adore, the powers do hold in awe, the heavens, and the virtues of the heavens, and the blessed seraphim, do celebrate with united joy. In union with whom, we beseech Thee that Thou wouldst command our voices also to be admitted, with suppliant confession, saying:—

The Choir.—Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

Canon of the Mass.

TE igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum, Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus ac petimus uti accepta habeas, et benedicas, hæc + dona, hæc + munera, hæc + sancta sacrificia illibata imprimis quæ tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta Catholica: quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro N., et Antistite nostro N., et omnibus orthodoxis atque Catholicæ et Apostolicæ fidei cultoribus.

WE therefore humbly pray and beseech thee, most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ thy Son, our Lord, that thou wouldst vouchsafe to accept and bless these + gifts, these + presents, these + holy unspotted sacrifices, which in the first place we offer thee for thy holy Catholic Church, to which vouchsafe to grant peace, as also to preserve, unite, and govern it throughout the world, together with thy servant, our Pope N., our Bishop N., as also all orthodox believers and professors of the Catholic and Apostolic faith.

Commemoration of the Living.

MEMENTO, Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum, N. et N.

BE mindful, O Lord, of thy servants, men and women, N. and N.

[Make commemoration of the living you intend to pray for.]

ET omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nota devotio, pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis, pro se, suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ, tibique reddunt vota sua, æterno Deo, vivo et vero.

Communicantes, et memoriam venerantes imprimis gloriosæ semper Virginis Mariæ, Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi; sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum, Petri et Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Joannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Joannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani et omnium Sanctorum tuorum: quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.*

AND of all here present, whose faith and devotion are known unto thee, for whom we offer, or who offer up to thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves, their families, and friends, for the redemption of their souls, for the health and salvation they hope for, and for which they now pay their vows to thee, the eternal, living, and true God.

Communicating with, and honoring in the first place, the memory of the ever-glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of our Lord and God Jesus Christ; as also of the blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian and of all thy Saints, through whose merits and prayers grant that we may be always defended by the help of thy protection. Through the same Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Spreading his hands over the Oblation, he says:

HANC igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias; diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.*

Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus quæsumus, benedic + tam, adscrip + tam, ra + tam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris; ut nobis cor + pus et san + guis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, et elevatis oculis in cœlum, ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes, HOC EST ENIM CORPUS MEUM.

WE therefore beseech thee, O Lord, graciously to accept this oblation of our servitude, as also of thy whole family; and to dispose our days in thy peace, preserve us from eternal damnation, and rank us in the number of thine elect. Through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Which oblation do thou, O God, vouchsafe in all respects to bless, + approve, + ratify, + and accept; that it may be made for us the body + and blood of thy most beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

Who, the day before he suffered, took bread into his holy and venerable hands, and with his eyes lifted up towards heaven, giving thanks to thee, Almighty God, his Father, he blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this, FOR THIS IS MY BODY.

After pronouncing the words of Consecration, the Priest, kneeling, adores the Sacred Host, and rising, elevates it.

[At the Elevation the bell is rung thrice.]

SIMILI modo, postquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc preclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias, agens benedixit, + deditque discipulis suis, dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes, HIC EST ENIM CALIX SANGUINIS MEI NOVI ET ÆTERNI TESTAMENTI: MYSTERIUM FIDEI: QUI PRO VOBIS ET PRO MULTIS EFFUNDETUR IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM.

Hæc quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.

IN like manner, after he had supped, taking also this excellent chalice into his holy and venerable hands, giving thee also thanks, he blessed + and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take and drink ye all of this, FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL TESTAMENT, THE MYSTERY OF FAITH: WHICH SHALL BE SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY, TO THE REMISSION OF SINS.

As often as ye do these things ye shall do them in remembrance of me.

[The bell rings thrice.]

Kneeling, he adores, and, rising, elevates the Chalice.

UNDE et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta, ejusdem Christi Filli tui Domini nostri tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ ascensionis, offerimus præclaræ Majestati tuæ, de tuis donis as datis, Hostiam + puram, Hostiam + sanctam, Hostiam + immaculatam Panem + sanctum vitæ æternæ, et Calicem + salutis perpetuæ.

WHEREFORE, O Lord, we thy servant, as also thy holy people, calling to mind the blessed passion of the same Christ, thy Son, our Lord, his resurrection from the dead, and admirable ascension into heaven, offer unto thy most excellent Majesty, of thy gifts bestowed upon us, a pure + Host, a holy + Host, an unspotted + Host, the holy + Bread of eternal life, and Chalice + of everlasting salvation.

Extending his hands, he proceeds:

SUPRA quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium Patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam Hostiam.

UPON which vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene countenance, and to accept them, as thou wert graciously pleased to accept the gifts of thy just servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which thy high priest Melchisedech offered to thee,—a holy sacrifice and unspotted victim.

Bowing down, he says:

SUPPLICES te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinæ Majestatis tuæ, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus + et + sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur. Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.*

WE most humbly beseech thee, Almighty God, to command these things to be carried by the hand of thy holy angels to thy altar on high, in the sight of thy divine Majesty, that as many as shall partake of the most sacred body + and + blood of thy Son at this altar may be filled with every heavenly grace and blessing. Through the same Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

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COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD.

MEMENTO etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et., N. qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis.

BE mindful, O Lord, of thy servants N. and N., who are gone before us with the sign of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace.

Here particular mention is silently made of such of the Dead as are to be prayed for.

IPSIS, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum. refrigerii,. lucis. et .pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur; per eumden Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.*

TO these, O Lord, and to all that sleep in Christ, grant, we beseech thee, a place of refreshment, light and peace; through the same Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Here, striking his breast, and raising his voice, he says:

NOBIS quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris, cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus; cum Joanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et omnibus sanctis tuis; intra quorum nos consortium, non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ, quæsumus largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sancti + ficas, vivifi + cas, bene + dicis et præstas nobis. Per ip + sum, et cum ip + so, et in ip + so, est tibi, Deo Patri + omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus + Sancti, omnis honor et gloria.

ALSO, to us sinners, thy servants, confiding in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy apostles and martyrs; with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Pêter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecily, Anastasia, and with thy saints, into whose company we beseech thee to admit us, not in consideration of our merit, but of thy own gratuitous pardon. Through Christ our Lord.

By whom, O Lord, thou dost always create, sanctify, + quicken, + bless, + and give us all these good things. By him, and with him, + and in him, + is to thee, God the + Father Almighty. in the unity of the Holy + Ghost, all honour and glory.

Priest.—Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.
Choir.—Amen.

Priest.—World without end.
Choir.—Amen.

Priest.—Oremus. Præceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere:

Priest.—Let us pray. Admonished by Thy saving precepts, and following Thy divine institution, we presume to say:

Pater noster, qui es in cœlis: sanctificetur nomen tuum: adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cœlo et in terra, panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie: et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation.

Choir.—Sed libera nos a malo.

Choir.—But deliver us from evil.

He then says, in a low voice, "Amen," and continues:

LIBERA nos, quæsumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis, præteritis, præsentibus et futuris; et intercedente beata et gloriosa semper Virgine Dei Genitrice Maria, cum beatis apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, atque Andrea, et omnibus sanctis, da propitius pacem in diebus nostris; ut ope misericordiæ tuæ adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum; qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sanctis Deus.

DELIVER us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evils, past, present, and to come; and by the intercession of the blessed and ever-glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and of the holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of Andrew, and of all the saints, mercifully grant peace in our days, that through the assistance of thy mercy we may be always free from sin, and secure from all disturbance. Through the same Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord, who, with thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, God.

Breaking the Host, he makes the sign of the Cross thrice, with a Particle thereof, over the Chalice, saying:

P. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.
R. Amen.
P. Pax + Domini sit +semper vobis + cum.
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

P. World without end.
R. Amen.
P. The peace + of the Lord be + always with + you.
R. And with thy spirit.

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He puts the Particle into the Chalice saying:

HÆC commixtio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat accipientibus nobis in vitam æternam. *Amen.*

MAY this mixture and consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us that receive it effectual to eternal life. *Amen.*

AGNUS DEI.

The Choir.—Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona eis requiem.
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona eis requiem.
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona eis requiem sempiternam.

The Choir.—Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, grant them rest.
Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, grant them rest.
Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, grant them everlasting rest.

Domine Jeus Christe, qui dixisti Apostolis tuis, Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis, ne respicias peccata mea, sed fidem Ecclesiæ tuæ, eamque secumdum voluntatem tuam pacificare et coadunare digneris; qui vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. *Amen.*

Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst to thy Apostles, I leave you peace, I give you my peace, regard not my sins, but the faith of thy Church; and grant her that peace and unity which is agreeable to thy will; who livest and reignest God for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cöoperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti libera me per hoc sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem tuum ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis, et universis malis et fac me tuis semper inhærere mandatis, et a te nunquam separari permittas; qui cum eodem Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus in sæcula sæculorum. *Amen.*

Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who according to the will of thy Father, hast by thy death, through the cöoperation of the Holy Ghost, given life to the world, deliver me by this thy most sacred body and blood from all my iniquities, and from all evils; and make me always adhere to thy commandments, and never suffer me to be separated from thee; who livest and reignest with God the Father, etc. *Amen.*

Perceptio corporis tui, Domine Jesu Christe, quod ego indignus sumere præsumo, non mihi proveniat in judicium et condemnationem; sed pro tua pietate prosit mihi ad tutamentum mentis et corporis, et ad medelam percipiendam; qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Dens, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. *Amen.*

Let not the participation of thy body, O Lord Jesus Christ, which I, though unworthy, presume to receive, turn to my judgment and condemnation; but through thy mercy may it be a safeguard and remedy, both to soul and body; who with God the Father in the unity of the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Taking the Sacred Host in his hands:

PANEM cœlestem accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo.

I WILL take the bread of heaven, and call upon the name of our Lord.

Striking his breast with humility and devotion, he says, three times:

DOMINE, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum; sed tantum dic verbo, et sanabitur anima mea.

LORD, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof; say but the word, and my soul shall be healed.

The bell rings thrice, after which he says:

CORPUS Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam æternam. *Amen.*

MAY the body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul to life everlasting. *Amen.*

He then reverently receives the Sacred Host, and, after a short pause, says:

QUID retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo. Laudans invocabo Dominum, et ab inimicis meis salvus ero.

WHAT return shall I make the Lord for all he has given to me? I will take the chalice of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord. Praising I will call upon the Lord, and shall be saved from my enemies.

Receiving the Precious Blood:

SANGUIS Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam æternam. *Amen.*

MAY the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul to everlasting life. *Amen.*

Taking the first ablution, he says:

QUOD ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus, et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum.

GRANT, O Lord, that what we have taken with our mouth, we may receive with a pure mind, that of a temporal gift it may become to us an eternal remedy.

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C 19812

Taking the second ablution:

CORPUS tuum, Domine, quod sumpsi, et sanguis quem potavi, adhæreat visceribus meis; et præsta ut in me non remaneat scelerum macula, quem pura et sancta refecerunt sacramenta. Qui vivis et regnas in sæcula sæculorum. *Amen.*

MAY thy body, O Lord, which I have received, and thy blood which I have drunk, cleave to my bowels; and grant that no stain of sin may remain in me, who have been fed with this pure and holy sacrament. Who livest, etc.

COMMUNION.

The Choir.—Lux æterna luceat ei, Domine: Cum sanctis tuis in æternum, quia pius es.

Requiem æternam dona ei, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat ei.

Cum sanctis tuis in æternum, quia pius es.

The Choir.—May light eternal shine upon him, O Lord; with Thy saints forever, because Thou art merciful.

Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon him.

With Thy saints for ever, because Thou art merciful.

THE POST COMMUNION.

Priest.—Præsta, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus: ut anima famuli tui quæ hodie de hoc sæculo migravit, his sacrificiis purgata, et a peccatis expedita, indulgentiam pariter et requiem capiat sempiternam. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, etc.

Priest.—Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, that the soul of Thy servant which has this day departed out of this world, being purified by this sacrifice, and delivered from sins, may receive both pardon and everlasting rest. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

This prayer being finished, the Deacon turns to the people and intones the words, REQUIESCANT IN PACE, *to which the Choir answers,* AMEN. *The Priest then goes to the side of the Altar and reads a portion of the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, as follows:*

In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum; et Deus erat Verbum; hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est; in ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominum; et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebræ eam non comprehenderunt.

Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Joannes. Hic venit in testimonium, ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine, ut omnes crederent per illum. Non erat ille lux; sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat lux vera quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum .

In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est. et mundus eum non cognovit. In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt. Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri; his qui credunt in nomine ejus, qui non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt. ET VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST (*hic genuflectitur*), et habitavit in nobis; et vidimus gloriam ejus, gloriam quasi Unigeniti a Patre, plenum gratiæ et veritatis.

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word; the same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was made nothing that was made, in him was life, and the life was the light of men; and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it.

There was a man sent from God whose name was John. This man came for a witness to give testimony of the light, that all men might believe through him. He was not the light, but came to give testimony of the light. He was the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world.

He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them he gave power to become the sons of God; to those that believe in his name, who are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. AND THE WORD WAS MADE FLESH (*kneel in reverence to the Incarnation,*) and dwelt among us; and we saw his glory as it were the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.

C 19813

THE FUNERAL SERVICE.

Immediately after Mass the Priest changes his chasuble for a cope, and advancing to the head of the Bier, attended by cross-bearer and acolytes, says:

Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo Domine, quia nullus apud te justificabitur homo, nisi per te omnium peccatorum ei tribuatur remissio. Non ergo eum, quæsumus, tua judicialis sententia premat, quem tibi vera supplicatio fidei Christianæ commendat: sed gratia tua illi succurrente, mereatur evadere judicium ultionis, qui dum viveret, insignitus est signaculo Sanctæ Trinitatis: Qui vivis et regnas in sæcula sæculorum. *Amen.*

Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, O Lord, for in Thy sight shall no man be justified unless through Thee, remission of all his sins be granted unto him. Let not, therefore, we beseech Thee, the sentence of Thy judgment weigh heavily upon him whom the true supplication of Christian Faith doth commend unto Thee; but, by the succour of Thy grace, may he be found worthy to escape the judgment of vengence, who, while he lived, was sealed with the seal of the Holy Trinity; Who livest and reignest world without end. *Amen.*

Then is said or sung the RESPONSORY:

Libera me, Domine, de morte æterna, in die illa tremenda; Quando cœli movendi sunt et terra: Dum veneris judicare sæculum per ignem.

Tremens factus sum ego, et timeo, dum discussio venerit atque ventura ira.

Quando, etc.

Dies illa, dies iræ, calamitatis et miseriæ, dies magna et amara valde.

Dum veneris, etc.

Requiem æternam, dona ei, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat ei.

Libera me, etc.

Deliver me, O Lord, from eternal death in that awful day; when the heavens and the earth shall be shaken; when Thou shalt come to judge the world by fire.

I am seized with fear and trembling, until the trial shall be at hand, and the wrath to come.

When the heavens, etc.

That day, a day of wrath, of wasting, and of misery, a great day, and exceeding bitter.

When Thou shalt come, etc.

Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon him.

Deliver me, etc.

Whilst the above RESPONSORY *is being sung, the Priest puts incense into the censer. At the end of the* RESPONSORY *is said:*

Kyrie eleison.
Christie eleison.
Kyrie eleison.
Priest.—Pater noster (*secreto*).

Lord, have mercy.
Christ, have mercy.
Lord, have mercy.
Priest.—Our Father (*inaudibly*).

Meanwhile the Priest receives the sprinkler from the assistant, and, having made a low bow to the crucifix, goes round the Bier, and sprinkles the Corpse thrice on each side; then, returning to his place, he receives the censer from the assistant, and in like manner goes round the Bier, and incenses the Corpse in the same way as he sprinkled it; then, having returned the censer to the assistant, he says:

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.
Choir.—Sed libera nos a malo.
Priest.—A porta inferi.
Choir.—Erue, Domine, animam ejus.
Priest.—Requiescat in pace.
Choir.—Amen.
Priest.—Domine, exaudi orationem meam.
Choir.—Et clamor meus ad te veniat.
Priest.—Dominus vobiscum.
Choir.—Et cum spiritu tuo.

And lead us not into temptation.
Choir.—But deliver us from evil.
Priest.—From the gate of hell.
Choir.—Deliver his soul, O Lord.
Priest.—May he rest in peace.
Choir.—Amen.
Priest.—O Lord, hear my prayer.
Choir.—And let my cry come unto Thee.
Priest.—The Lord be with you.
Choir.—And with thy spirit.

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C 19814

Oremus.

Priest.—Deus, cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere, te supplices exoramus pro anima famuli tui——, quam hodie de hoc sæculo migrare jussisti; ut non tradas eam in manus inimici, neque obliviscaris in finem, sed jubeas eam a sanctis Angelis suscipi, et ad patriam Paradisi perduci: ut, quia in te speravit et credidit, non pœnas inferni sustineat, sed gaudia æterna possideat. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

V. Requiem æternam dona ei Domine.
R. Et lux perpetua luceat ei.
V. Requiescat in pace.
R. Amen.
V. Anima ejus et animae omnium fidelium defunctorum, per misericordiam Dei, requiescant in pace.
R. Amen.

Let us Pray.

Priest.—O God, whose property is always to have mercy and to spare, we humbly beseech Thee for the soul of Thy servant—— which Thou hast this day commanded to depart out of this world; that Thou deliver it not into the hands of the enemy, nor forget it unto the end; but command it to be received by Thy holy Angels, and conducted into Paradise, its true country; that, as in Thee, it hath hoped and believed, it may not suffer the pains of hell, but may take possession of eternal joys. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

V. Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord.
R. And let perpetual light shine upon him.
V. May he rest in peace.
R. Amen.
V. May his soul and the souls of all the faithful departed, through the mercy of God, rest in peace.
R. Amen.

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C 19815

Montréal
10 mai,
1920

SOUSCRIPTION AU MONUMENT
DE SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

Argent perçu au bureau (Organisation Libérale)
Sur premier rapport: ..... $ 50.20

Argent perçu au bureau (Organisation Libérale)
Sur deuxième rapport: ..... $ 18.00

Argent perçu au bureau du journal "Le Canada"
Sur deuxième rapport: $127.70

Argent perçu au bureau (Organisation Libérale)
Sur cinquième rapport: ..... $ 5.00

Total: $200.90

Plus le total des montants pour tous les comtés du district de Montréal: ..... $9867 .00

Montant total : $10,067.90

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19816

Montréal,
10 mai
1920.

SOUSCRIPTION AU MONUMENT LAURIER

RECAPITULATION

DES CINQ RAPPORTS FAITS à DATE, À

SIR LOMER GOUIN.

COMTE	1er R.	2è R.	3è R.	4è R.	5è R.	Total
ARGENTEUIL					$77.00	$ 77.00
BAGOT	$ 60.45		$ 11.45	$6.00		$ 77.90
BEAUHARNOIS	$ 26.85	$ 22.00				$ 48.85
BERTHIER		$184.15				$184.15
BROME	$ 26.05		$ 13.00			$ 39.05
CHAMBLY-VERCHÈRES			$833.60			$833.60
CHATEAUGUAY-HUNTINGDON	$268.60	$ 5.10	$ 11.25			$284.95
COMPTON						
DRUMMOND-ARTHABASKA		$399.35				$399.35
HOCHELAGA					$332.07	$332.07
HULL	$273.40					$273.40
JACQUES-CARTIER						
JOLIETTE						
LABELLE			$356.00	$5.00		$361.00
LAPRAIRIE-NAPIERVILLE	$ 64.40	$ 47.25		$ 10.15		$121.80
DEUX-MONTAGNES LAVAL			$ 11.40	$ 28.00	$284.05	$323.45
L'ASSOMPTION-MONTCALM	$165.20	$ 5.10	$ 21.35	$ 13.25		$204.90
MAISONNEUVE	$ 56.25	$148.75	$130.50			$335.50
MASKINONGE	$211.00					$211.00
MISSISQUOI	$115.68		$ 13.75	$ 34.25	$ 84.75	$248.43

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COMTE	1er R.	2è R.	3è R.	4è R.	5è R.	Total
MONTREAL STE-ANNE			$269.50	$ 46.40		$315.90
MONTREAL-ST-ANTOINE					$158.65	$158.65
MONTREAL ST-DENIS	$ 3.00			$ 94.35		$ 97.35
MONTREAL ST-JACQUES	$382.10			$756.40		$1138.50
ST-LAURENT-ST-GEORGES						
MONTREAL-STE-MARIE	$310.20	$ 30.15				$ 340.35
GEO.-ETIENNE CARTIER	$105.60		$ 10.45			$ 116.05
LAURIER-OUTREMONT		$510.10	$ 30.00			$ 540.10
WESTMOUNT-ST-HENRI						
NICOLET	$437.75					$ 437.75
PONTIAC						
RICHELIEU	$ 19.25		$109.45			$ 128.70
RICHMOND & WOLFE						
ST-HYACINTHE ROUVILLE						
ST-JEAN IBERVILLE	$ 15.00	$129.00			$ 29.35	$ 173.35
SHEFFORD						
SHERBROOKE			$158.05	$ 1.60	$ 53.30	$ 212.95
STANSTEAD	$ 14.75					$ 14.75
TERREBONNE		$657.20				$ 657.20
TROIS-RIVIÈRES ST-MAURICE		$406.25			$182.80	$ 589.05
VAUDREUIL-SOULANGES			$423.75			$ 423.75
WRIGHT	$109.20	$ 12.20	$ 13.20			$ 134.60
YAMASKA	$ 25.40				$ 6.20	$ 31.60

Grand total : $ 9867.00

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C 19818

The meeting of the Sub-Committee in charge of the erection of a monument over the grave of the late Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier was held in the offices of the National Liberal Committee, 115 Sparks Street, Ottawa, on Saturday, January 22nd., 1921, at 11 o'clock. Those present were:-

Hon. Sydney Fisher, Chairman,
Hon. Senator Dandurand.
Hon. Senator Beique.
Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux.
Mr. P. C. Larkin.

There were also present - Hon. Justice Brodeur, one of the Executors of the Estate, Hon. Senator Belcourt, Solicitor for the Estate, and Hon. Senator Bostock.

The five remaining designs and supplementary designs were carefully considered.

The Hon. Mr. King being unable to attend had carefully looked over the designs a day or two previous to the meeting and submitted a carefully prepared statement giving his views. Mr. McGivern, another member also unable to attend, conveyed through Senator Belcourt, his opinion.

The Committee were about equally divided as to whether the Cote and Laliberte design or a chapel should be erected. They were unanimous in the opinion that Lady Laurier should be consulted in the matter and Hon. Justice Brodeur was asked by the Committee to lay the matter before Lady Laurier and report back to the Committee. If Lady Laurier prefers the Cote Laliberte design steps will be taken immediately to have the work started. If, however, Lady Laurier favours a chapel the Committee will again meet and call into consultation Messrs Pearson and Marchand, Architects, and a suitable design will be selected.

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The design of the monument to be erected over the grave of the
Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

C 19819



In the competition which closed on October 15th, 1920, fifty-seven designs were submitted. The final selection was made after five of the competitors had been asked to make slight alterations.

The prize money amounting to $1000 was divided equally among these five competitors, namely: Messrs. Laliberte and Cote of Montreal (whose design was finally accepted); W. D. Cromarty, of Ottawa; Messrs. George, Moorehouse and King, Toronto; Emanuel Hahn, Toronto and B. A. Dore, Ottawa.

The money for this monument has been raised throughout Canada by popular subscriptions in sums ranging from ten cents to five dollars. The subscription list is still open.

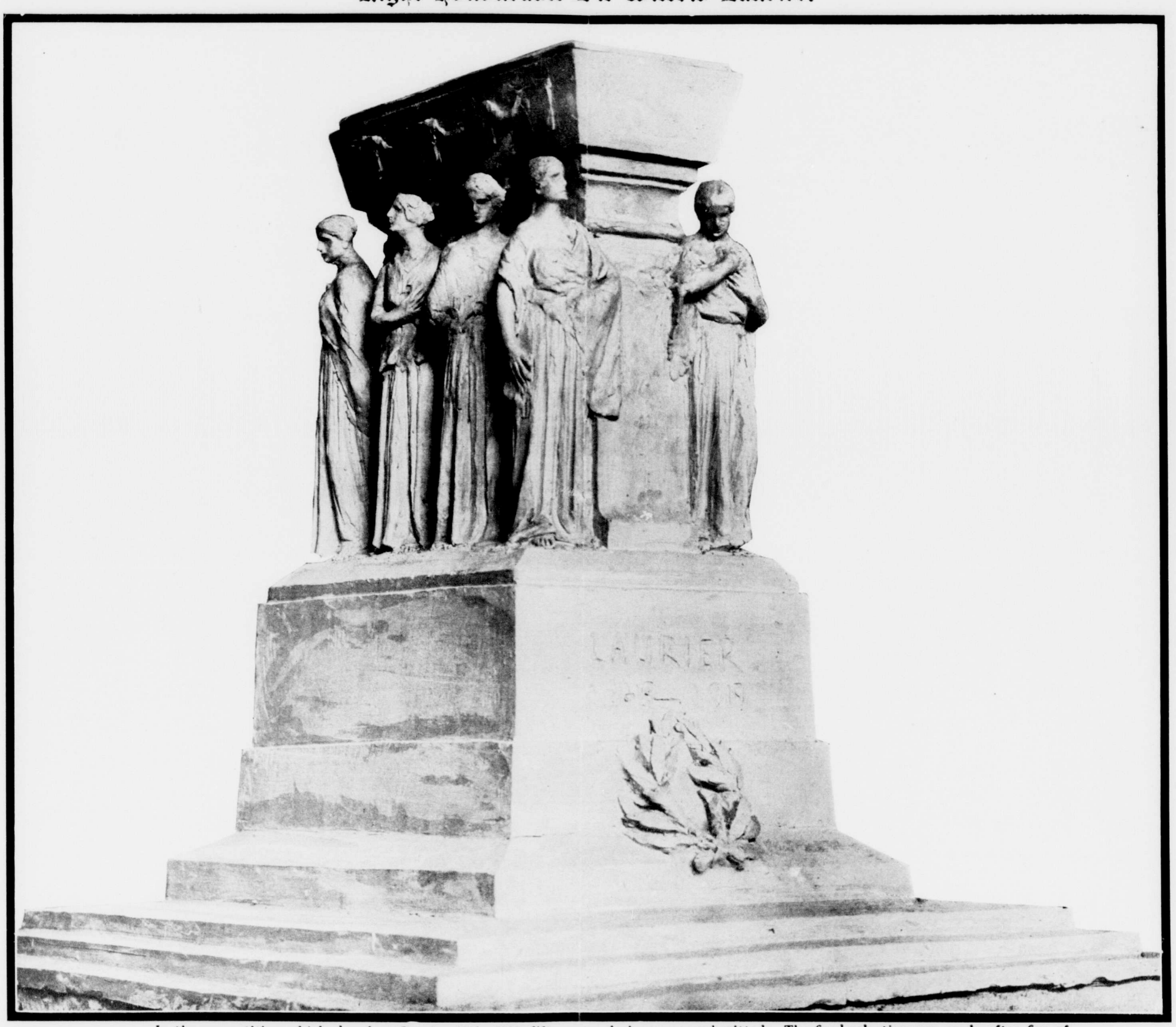
Issued from the office Laurier Monument Committee, 115 Sparks Street, Ottawa.

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C 19829

The design of the monument to be erected over the grave of the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier.



In the competition which closed on October 15th, 1920, fifty-seven designs were submitted. The final selection was made after five of the competitors had been asked to make slight alterations.

The prize money amounting to $1000 was divided equally among these five competitors, namely: Messrs. Laliberte and Cote of Montreal (whose design was finally accepted); W. D. Cromarty, of Ottawa; Messrs. George, Moorehouse and King, Toronto; Emanuel Hahn, Toronto and B. A. Dore, Ottawa.

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Issued from the office Laurier Monument Committee, 115 Sparks Street, Ottawa.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 19871

- MONUMENT A SIR WILFRID LAURIER -

DEVIS DESCRIPTIF

Des divers travaux à exécuter et des matériaux à fournir pour la construction et l'achèvement d'un Monument à être érigé sur la Tombe de Sir Wilfrid Laurier, au Cimetière Notre-Dame, Ottawa, Province d'Ontario, pour le Comité du Monument Laurier, d'après ce devis et les plans qui l'accompagnent.

- CONDITIONS GENERALES -

Les conditions générales suivantes s'appliquent à toutes les industries mises en oeuvre dans ce devis.

DESSINS.- Les travaux compris dans ce contrat sont indiqués sur les dessins qui accompagnent ce devis, numérotés de 1 à 6 inclusivement, pour les plans généraux. Ils seront aussi exécutés d'après d'autres dessins de détail et d'ouvrage qui seront fournis de temps en temps, durant le cours des travaux.

- LISTE DES DESSINS GENERAUX -

No. 1 Plan des empattements et fondations.
" 2 Demi-plan sur la ligne A-B et demi-plan au-dessus.
" 3 Elévation de face.
" 4 Elévation de l'un des côtés.
" 5 Demi-élévation postérieure et demi-coupe.
" 6 Détails du béton armé.

NATURE DES TRAVAUX.- Tous les différents travaux seront faits d'une manière solide, d'après les règles de l'art, avec les meilleurs matériaux, d'après les dessins et le devis, et suivant les ordres qui seront donnés de temps à autre. Ces travaux seront exécutés sous le contrôle de l'architecte en charge des travaux, et à la satisfaction pleine et entière du Comité du Monument Laurier ou de son délégué autorisé.

AUCUNS MATERIAUX DEFECTUEUX.- Tous les matériaux employés devront être de la meilleure qualité. On ne devra employer dans la construction aucuns matériaux défectueux.

PROTECTION DE L'OUVRAGE.- On devra prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour protéger les ouvrages contre les intempéries des saisons, les accidents, le feu, ou contre les dommages qui pourraient être causés malicieusement ou autrement, durant le cours des travaux. Si l'ouvrage était endommagé de quelque façon que ce soit, il faudra refaire ou réparer ces dommages, à la satisfaction du Comité.

SOIN DES OUVRAGES.- Depuis le commencement des travaux jusqu'à leur achèvement, l'entrepreneur en aura la charge et la responsabilité. Le Comité ne sera tenu en aucune manière responsable de ce qui pourrait être endommagé, volé ou perdu.

DEVIS ET DESSINS DOIVENT ÊTRE COMPLETIFS.- Les devis et les dessins seront complétifs les uns des autres, de manière que les travaux indiqués sur les dessins et qui ne sont pas décrits dans le devis, ou vice-versa, soient exécutés comme s'ils eussent été mentionnés ou décrits d'une manière particulière dans les deux.

Les dessins et le devis devront être produits chaque fois que la chose sera demandée.

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C 19822

Dans tous les cas, les dimensions chiffrées devront être suivies de préférence à celles que l'on peut prendre à l'échelle.

SITE.- Les travaux seront exécutés sur le terrain choisi par le Comité. L'entrepreneur devra se bien renseigner sur la nature et la conformation du terrain, et enlever toutes obstructions.

EAU, PERMIS ET HONORAIRES.- L'entrepreneur devra s'entendre avec l'autorité civique pour l'approvisionnement d'eau nécessaire pour les travaux, permis de construction et d'autre nature, et payer à la Ville les honoraires voulus.

GARDIEN.- L'entrepreneur devra fournir un gardien pour surveiller les ouvrages durant la nuit, le dimanche et les jours de fête légale.

TRACE DE L'OUVRAGE.- L'entrepreneur sera seul responsable du tracé de l'ouvrage; il devra donc remédier à ses frais aux erreurs qu'il pourrait commettre.

RESPONSABILITE.- L'entrepreneur sera responsable de tous dommages ou accidents qui pourraient survenir aux personnes, aux animaux, aux voitures, ou autrement, durant l'édification du Monument ou autour d'icelui, depuis le commencement des travaux jusqu'à leur acceptation.

L'entrepreneur sera tenu de se conformer aux règlements civiques quant à clôturer sur le chemin public, établir des lumières rouges, etc., ainsi qu'à toutes les ordonnances municipales, des compagnies d'assurance et autres pouvoirs publics.

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C 13823

- E X C A V A T I O N -

TRACE DE L'OUVRAGE.- L'entrepreneur devra s'en rapporter à la ligne de repère établie sur le site par le Comité. Il devra tracer et fournir tous les niveaux, etc.

EXCAVATIONS- Faire les excavations jusqu'aux profondeurs et niveaux indiqués sur les dessins, et suivant les instructions du Comité.

- OUVRAGES EN BETON ET BETON ARME -

MATERIAUX - CIMENT.- Tout le ciment employé pour les travaux devra être de première qualité de ciment Portland, de manufacture canadienne, livré d'avance dans de solides barils ou des sacs et mis à l'abri dans un endroit convenable.

EPREUVES- Le ciment devra passer par les épreuves suivantes:
Finesse: Au moins 90 pour 100 en poids devra passer à travers un tamis No.100, ayant 10,000 mailles au pouce carré.
Séchage: Tout le ciment devra sécher lentement, la première couche ne devant pas sécher en moins de 30 minutes, et la couche définitive entre 4 et 8 heures.
Gerçures et courbures: Du ciment de 3 dans 1, fait en briquettes sur des carreaux de verre, ne devra pas craquer, s'écailler ou dévier d'une forme rigide, quand il est soumis à l'épreuve suivante:

Trois briquettes seront faites et soumises à l'air humide de 60 à 70 degrés de température; l'une de ces briquettes sera soumise pendant trois heures à de la vapeur d'eau à 176 degrés, après quoi elle sera déposée dans de l'eau chaude mais non bouillante, où on la laissera pendant 48 heures; une autre sera placée dans l'eau à une température de 70 degrés, et la troisième sera laissée dans l'air humide.

Force de résistance: Les briquettes devront avoir la force de résistance suivante par pouce carré:
après 12 heures d'exposition à l'air et 12 heures dans l'eau, 200 livres;
24 heures d'exposition à l'air et 6 jours dans l'eau, 400 lbs.
12 " " " " " 27 " " " 600 "

Des briquettes de sable et ciment, contenant une partie de ciment et trois parties de quartz pulvérisé:
une journée à l'air et 6 jours dans l'eau, 125 livres.
" " " " " 27 " " " 200 " par pouce carré.

Pour les fins d'inspection et des épreuves précitées, il sera pris des échantillons de ciment d'autant de barils que l'officier en charge jugera à propos, comme aussi de chaque lot livré.

SABLE.- Le sable employé dans la préparation du béton devra être tel qu'il puisse s'échapper à travers un tamis No.20 et être retenu par un tamis No.30; il devra être libre de glaise ou de toute matière végétale.

PIERRE ECRASEE.- La pierre écrasée employée dans la préparation du béton devra être de grain serré et d'une nature résistante, de qualité approuvée, concassée en fragments pouvant passer à travers un anneau de 1½", et être retenue sur un crible dont les trous ronds auront un diamètre de 7/8". La pierre écrasée employée dans le béton armé ne devra pas être plus grosse que ¾"

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C 19824

COMPOSITION.- Le béton devra se composer d'une partie de ciment et trois de sable, mêlés ensemble à sec sur un lit de planches; de l'eau pure sera ensuite graduellement ajoutée en quantité suffisante pour former du mortier; puis cinq parties de pierre concassée, mouillée, seront ajoutées au mortier. Le tout devra être bien mélangé jusqu'à ce que les fragments de pierre soient entièrement couverts de mortier.

Le béton armé devra se composer d'une partie de ciment, deux de sable et quatre parties de pierre concassée pas plus grosse que ¾", bien mélangés ensemble, avec une quantité d'eau suffisante pour former une masse plutôt liquide, suffisamment consistante pour que les divers ingrédients adhèrent bien les uns aux autres.

MOULES.- Les moules que le maçon devra fournir seront construits de planches ou madriers rigides, embouvetés, formant des cadres solides. On ne devra pas enlever ces moules avant que 48 heures ne se soient écoulées après qu'on y aura déposé le béton.

Le béton sera déposé dans ces moules pas plus tard que 30 minutes après qu'on y aura ajouté l'eau pour bien assimiler le mélange; il y sera bien tassé par couches n'excédant pas 6" d'épaisseur.

FORMES.- Les formes seront faites en bois. Elles devront cependant être construites de façon à ce qu'elles ne se déforment pas, avec exactitude et précision, de niveau, d'aplomb et de profils parfaits.

Aucune forme ne sera enlevée avant que le béton n'ait durci complètement, c'est-à-dire ne soit suffisamment développé quant à sa force pour pouvoir supporter sa propre charge ou toute charge accidentelle. Aucune forme ne devra être enlevée sans consultation au préalable avec le Comité.

L'entrepreneur du béton, malgré tout ce qui vient d'être dit, au sujet des formes, s'assurera par lui-même de la précision et de la correction des diverses mesures, des niveaux, etc., épaisseurs, profils, etc., et ce avant de couler son béton.

Le béton devra être constamment foulé, afin d'obtenir un fini uniforme, lorsque ces dernières seront enlevées. Toutes les formes devront être bien mouillées avant que le béton y soit déposé. L'entrepreneur devra prendre soin de fouler continuellement tout le béton, afin d'en expulser les bulbes d'air qui auraient pu se former durant le versement du béton, et ce au moyen d'une foulure d'un pouce par deux, et ayant l'extrémité aigue en forme de biseau ou autre baguette analogue.

Quand toutes les formes auront été enlevées, l'entrepreneur devra remplir avec du mortier de ciment toutes cavités ou autres défectuosités, dans quelque endroit que ce soit du travail.

ARMATURE.- Toute l'armature de la charpente sera du type fourni par la "Trussed Concrete Steel Co. of Canada Ltd.", connu et exploité sous le nom de Système de béton armé Kahn. Cette armature devra être disposée et placée telle que démontrée et requise par les plans de détail qui seront fournis par la dite compagnie à l'entrepreneur faisant le travail en béton, ou tout autre système approuvé.

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-M A C O N N E R I E-

PARTMENT.- Le parement extérieur, de même que les marches et palier du monument, devront être en granit provenant des carrières de Stanstead; ce granit devra être de premier choix, sans défectuosités quelconques.

PROTECTION.- Le granit devra être protégé avec soin contre tous dommages pendant le cours des travaux, afin qu'au parachèvement d'iceux, toutes les arêtes, moulures,etc.,soient dans un état parfait. Toutes les pierres endommagées devront être enlevées du mur et remplacées par de nouvelles pierres. On ne permettra pas de remplissage ni de coins.

REMPLISSAGE.- Le remplissage des murs sera fait en béton tel que déjà décrit. En quelques endroits, on pourra employer des cales de pierre ou de la brique.

MORTIER DE CIMENT.- Tout l'ouvrage en granit, cales ou brique, sera fait avec du mortier de ciment, composé d'une partie de ciment et trois parties de sable.

JOINTOIEMENT.- Le jointoiement du granit devra être fait de la manière indiquée sur les élévations et coupes; nettoyer tout l'ouvrage en granit, gratter les joints sur une profondeur de 3/8", jointoyer en mortier de ciment, de couleur convenant au granit.

FINI DU GRANIT.- Le granit sera taillé tel que l'échantillon fourni. On aura soin dans cet ouvrage de taillage de respecter les formes démontrées sur les dessins généraux et de détail.

La pierre devra avoir les lits indiqués sur les plans.

SCULPTURE.- La sculpture et le lettrage dans le granit devront être faits de la manière la plus artistique, d'après modèles grandeur d'exécution et approuvés par le Comité, avant l'exécution.

NETTOYAGE.- Le parement extérieur, les marches et palier seront proprement nettoyés.

STATUES.- Les statues ou autres pièces de bronze démontrées sur les plans et sur la maquette du sculpteur, seront posées par le sous-entrepreneur; elles seront assujetties et devront bien adhérer au parement du granit.

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C 19826
(1919)

(J.S. Ewart)
K.C.

With reference to Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which is as follows:

> "The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

what is the understanding of the Government as to Canada's obligation:

A. If the Council formulates an advice, is Canada bound to act in accordance with it?

B. If upon occasion of "external aggression" as contemplated by the article, the Council does not unanimously agree upon an advice, is Canada under any obligation because of the first sentence of the article?

C. Do the words "preserve as against external aggression" extend to prevention of the invasion of the territory of every Member of the League, or merely to prevention of the annexation of its territory after the termination of successful invasion?

D. Does the obligation of the article extend in favor of Members of the League to preservation "as against external aggression" of territory recently acquired by aggression?

E. Does it compel Canada to assist in the preservation of Japan's annexation of Korea as against the endeavor of some Power to set the Koreans free?

F. Will Canada be in any way bound to concur in the opinions which the United Kingdom may from time to time entertain with reference to the obligations imposed by the article?

G. If not, ~~will~~ to be bound, will Canada nevertheless be in a state of war or peace according as the United Kingdom may from time to time range itself?

H. ~~If so, will Canada be under obligation to participate in war operations in conformity with the advice which may be formulated by the Council?~~ Can Canada be at peace with a state with which the United Kingdom is at war? as against to by the United Kingdom?

I. Is the obligation of the article a joint obligation?, or is it several?, or is it both joint and several?

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1. Did any of the Canadian representatives at Paris present to the representatives of the Great Powers, or to any committee, any document containing any protest aginst the imposition upon Canada of any specified obligation with reference to war, or containing any expression of desire for some limitation of Canada's obligation in that respect?

2. If no such document was presented, were any oral representations of the character indicated made by any Canadian representative?

3. What was the effect of the document or of the representation?

4. If a document was presented, will it be laid upon the table?

1. Is it a fact that when the draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations was reported to the Peace Conference on 14 February 1918, the inclusion of Canada, Australia, &c., as original members of the League was not part of the design of the draftsmen?

2. Is it a fact that throughout ~~the~~ that draft the parties to the Covenant were always referred to as "the High Contracting Parties" or "States"?

3. Is it a fact that the inclusion of Canada, Australia, &c., as original members of the League led to the ~~insertion~~ elimination of the quoted words (in all places except one), and to the substitution of the words "Members of the League"?

4. If so, at whose instance were Canada, Australia, &c., added as original members of the League?

5. And what was the reason for the change of phraseology from "States" to "Members of the League"?

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Does the Government understand that the status of Canada and of India, as members of the League, is equal to that of any other of the smaller nations?

If so, why in the Annex containing the names of the original members do the names of Canada, India, &c., appear in a wider margin than the names of all the other members?

What are the "fully self-governing" colonies referred to in Article 1 of the treaty?

What does the Government understand to be the meaning of "fully self-governing"?

With reference to Article 119 of the treaty, which is as follows:

"Germany renounces in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her oversea possessions."

does the Government understand that the title to those territories is to pass to the five Powers?

Will Japan, for example, be possessed of a fifth interest in the German possessions south of the equator?

Is the Government aware why it was that Denmark, Norway, and Sweden refrained from becoming members of the League?

If parliament does not "approve" of the treaty between the United Kingdom and France, will Canada, nevertheless, be in a state of war with Germany in the event of the United Kingdom becoming so engaged?

2. Or, will Canada be a neutral state, and under obligations to observe all the rules of neutrality as between belligerents?

3. Or in ~~that~~ what other position will Canada be placed?

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Was any attempt made by any of the Canadian representatives to insert a time limit for the operation of the treaty between the United Kingdom and France?

2. Will the obligation of the treaty continue forever, unless the Council of the League at some time "agrees that the League itself affords sufficient protection"?

3. Was President Wilson correct in saying that the reason for the treaty was

"to meet the possibility of delay in action on the part of the Council of the League"?

4. Will not that possibility always exist?

5. And will there not always be the possibility, too, of the Council not arriving at unanimous agreement as to the advice to be given under emergent circumstances?

6. And will there not always be the possibility of some of the members of the League disagreeing with the Council, and refusing to act in accordance with any formulated advice?

Was the Canadian Government consulted as to the advisability of the United Kingdom entering, during the war, into the various treaties and agreements with other nations, and, more particularly:

A. The agreement of March 1915 between the United Kingdom, France, and Russia, which, among other things, allotted Constantincople, &c., to Russia, and included the "neutral zone" in Persia within the British sphere of influence;

B. The agreement of the spring of 1916 between the United Kingdom, France, and Russia making allotments of Asiatic Turkish territory;

C. The agreement of March 1917 between the United Kingdom, France and Russia with reference to Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar Valley, and to "Russia's complete liberty in establishing her western frontiers";

D. The treaty of 26 April 1915 between the United Kingdom, France, ~~and Russia~~ Russia, and Italy making provision for the terms upon which Italy agreed to participate in the war;

E. The agreement of August 1918 between the United King, France, Russia, and Roumania making provision for the terms upon which Roumania agreed to participate in the war;

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F. The agreement with Japan contained in the letter of the British ambassador at Tokio, dated 16 February 1917, giving an assurance that the British government would "support Japan's claims with regard to the disposal of Germany's rights in Shantung and possessions in the islands north of the equator, on the occasion of the Peace Conference"?

2. If the Canadian Government was consulted, did the Government give its assent to the treaties and agreements, or any of them?

3. If the Government was not consulted, when did it first become aware of the existence of the treaties and agreements?

Was the Canadian Government invited to send a representative to the Conference of the Allies at Versailles on 5 November 1918, at which they declared ~~that~~,—

> "Subject to the qualifications which follow, ~~they declare their~~ their willingness to make terms with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enumerated in his subsequent addresses";?

and at which the conditions of the armistice with Germany were formulated?

2. If not, was the Government consulted as to the advisability of making a declaration in the form above quoted?

3. And if not, was the Government consulted as to the advisability of agreeing to an armistice upon the terms fixed at the above time and place?

Has this government requested the British government to delay making deposit of British ratification of the peace treaty?

2. If so, what was the reason for the request?

3. And if so, will the request and the reply be laid upon the table?

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C 19831

Draft Recommendations to Council
also copy of Order in Council appointing
Hon R. Lemieux special envoy to
Japan re immigration.

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CANADA

C 19832

P.C. 2256

Certified copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 12th October 1907.

The Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier recommends that in view of the recent unfortunate occurrences which have taken place in British Columbia, as a resu t of the largely increased influx of Oriental labourers into that Province, and in view of the fact that there has been a Treaty of Peace and Commerce between His Majesty the King and the Emperor of Japan since the year 1894 and that Canada became a party to that Treaty less than two years ago, the Honourable Rodolphe Lemieux, Postmaster General and Minister of Labour, do proceed immediately to Japan to discuss the situation with His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio and the Japanese authorities, with the object, by friendly means, of preventing the recurrence of such causes as might disturb the happy relations which have, under the said Treaty, existed between the subjects of His Majesty the King, in Canada and elsewhere, and the subjects of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

The Committee, concurring in the foregoing recommendation, submit the same for approval.

(Sgd) RODOLPHE BOUDREAU

Clerk & the Privy Council.

The Honourable
The Minister of Labour.

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C 1883

P.C. 2256

Certified copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 12th October 1907.

The Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier recommends that in view of the recent unfortunate occurrences which have taken place in British Columbia, as a resu t of the largely increased influx of Oriental labourers into that Province, and in view of the fact that there has been a Treaty of Peace and Commerce between His Majesty the King and the Emperor of Japan since the year 1894 and that Canada became a party to that Treaty less than two years ago, the Honourable Rodolphe Lemieux, Postmaster General and Minister of Labour, do proceed immediately to Japan to discuss the situation with His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio and the Japanese authorities, with the object, by friendly means, of preventing the recurrence of such causes as might disturb the happy relations which have, under the said Treaty, existed between the subjects of His Majesty the King, in Canada and elsewhere, and the subjects of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

The Committee, concurring in the foregoing recommendation, subjit the same for approval.

(Sgd) RODOLPHE BOUDREAU

Clerk & the Privy Council.

The Honourable
The Minister of Labour.

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C 19834

Draft Order in Council
re appointment of Hon R. Lemieux
as special envoy to Japan.

C 19835

Draft Report to
Council appointing
Hon Rodolphe Lemieux
special envoy to Japan
re Japanese immigration

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Vessel D

Condition of labour in mines

Chap 104 - Sec

Consideration of trade relations

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C 19837

Mr Ghent to remind of conversation

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C 19838

(1)

Whereas within the recent past there has been a greater influx to our shores, than previously, of Oriental peoples;

And Whereas most regrettable incidents have already occurred, and unrest been occasioned among a portion of the population, more particularly in the Province of British Columbia in consequence of this immigration;

And Whereas the whole question of Oriental immigration involves considerations of the first importance to the commercial and industrial interests of the Dominion, as well as to the welfare of its working classes;

And Whereas, ~~because of~~ national and Imperial considerations alike render it is ~~most~~ desirable that the most friendly relations should at all times exist between the peoples of the Orient and of Canada;

THE UNDERSIGNED is of the opinion that it is in the public interest that a full enquiry should be made into the causes of the recent increased immigration of Oriental peoples to this country, the channels through which this immigration has come and the circumstances under which it has been induced.

Also, that it is desirable to confer, in reference to the said immigration, with the authorities of the several countries ~~from~~ whence these immigrants have come;

THE UNDERSIGNED THEREFORE RECOMMENDS that it be referred to The Honourable Rodolphe Lemieux, K.C., M.P., Postmaster General and Minister of Labour and William Lyon Mackenzie King, Esq., Deputy Minister of Labour as Commissioners under the provisions of Part I of Chapter 104, Revised Statutes, 1906, commonly called the Enquiries Act, to hold and conduct such enquiry, with all the powers conferred upon Commissioners by the said Part; also that the said Commissioners be authorised to proceed to the countries from whence the aforesaid immigrants have come, and to confer with the authorities of these countries in the name of and on behalf of the Government of Canada.

The undersigned further recommends that the Commissioners

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C 19839

report to His Excellency in Council the results of their enquiry and conferences.

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C 19840 (a)

Department of Labour,

Ottawa,

To

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

Whereas within the recent past there has been a greater influx to our shores, than previously, of Oriental peoples;

And Whereas most regrettable incidents have already occurred and unrest been occasioned among a portion of the population, more particularly in the Province of British Columbia, in consequence of this immigration;

And Whereas the whole question of Oriental immigration involves considerations of the first importance to the commercial and industrial interests of the Dominion, as well as to the welfare of its wage-earning classes;

And Whereas national and Imperial considerations alike render it desirable that the most friendly relations should at all times exist between the peoples of the Orient and of Canada;

THE UNDERSIGNED is of the opinion that it is in the public interest that a full inquiry should be made into the causes of the recent increased immigration of Oriental peoples to this country, the channels through which this immigration has come, and the circumstances under which it has been induced. Also, that it is desirable to confer, in reference to the said immigration, with the authorities of the several countries whence these immigrants have come.

THE UNDERSIGNED THEREFORE RECOMMENDS that it be referred to.....

.....

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as Commissioners under the provisions of Part I of Chapter 104, Revised Statutes, 1906, commonly called the Inquiries Act, to hold and conduct such inquiry, with all the powers conferred upon Commissioners by the said Part; also, that the said Commissioners be authorised to proceed to the countries whence the aforesaid immigrants have come, and to confer with the authorities of these countries in the name of and on behalf of the Government of Canada.

The undersigned further recommends that the Commissioners report to His Excellency in Council the results of their enquiry and conferences.

Sheet 3

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MINISTER OF LABOUR.

C 19842

150-21-11-1935.—Req. 173.

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C 19843

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

To His Excellency, the Governor General in Council.

Whereas within the recent past there has been a greater influx to our shores, than previously, of ~~Oriental peoples~~ Japanese;

And Whereas ~~many~~ regrettable incidents have already occurred and unrest been occasioned among a portion of the population more particularly in the Province of British Columbia in consequence of this immigration;

And Whereas the ~~whole~~ question of ~~Oriental~~ Japanese immigration involves considerations of the first importance to the commercial and industrial interests of the Dominion, as well as to the welfare of its working classes;

And Whereas national and Imperial considerations alike render it desirable that friendly relations should at all times exist between the peoples of ~~the Orient~~ Japan and of Canada;

THE UNDERSIGNED is of the opinion that it is in the public interest that ~~a full~~ enquiry should be made into the causes of the recent increased immigration of ~~Oriental peoples~~ Japanese to this country, the channels through which this immigration has come and the circumstances under which it has been induced. Also, that it is desirable to confer in reference to the said immigration, ~~with the authorities of the several countries whence these immigrants have come~~ Japan.

THE UNDERSIGNED THEREFORE RECOMMENDS that it be

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referred to the Hon. the Secretary of State, the Hon. the Minister of Labour and the Hon. the Postmaster General as Special Representatives of the Government of Canada as Commissioners under the provisions of Part I of Chapter 104, Revised Statutes, 1906, commonly called the Inquiries Act, to hold and conduct such inquiry, with all the powers conferred upon Commissioners by the said Part, to hold such inquiry and confer, also that the said Special Representatives be authorised to proceed to Japan and to confer with the authorities of Japan in the name of and on behalf of the Government of Canada.

THE UNDERSIGNED FURTHER RECOMMENDS that the said Special Representatives report to His Excellency in Council the results of their inquiry and conference.

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C 19845

Department of Labour,

Ottawa, October 1907.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

Whereas within the recent past there has been a greater influx to our shores, than previously of Japanese;

And Whereas regrettable incidents have already occurred and unrest been occasioned among a portion of the population, more particularly in the Province of British Columbia in consequence of the increased immigration of Japanese and other Orientals;

And Whereas the question of Japanese immigration involves considerations of the first importance to the commercial and industrial interests of the Dominion, as well as to the welfare of its working classes;

And Whereas national and Imperial considerations alike render it desirable that friendly relations and a proper understanding on questions of mutual concern should at all times exist between the peoples of Japan and ~~of~~ Canada;

THE UNDERSIGNED is of the opinion that it is in the public interest that an enquiry should be made into the causes of the recent increased immigration of Japanese to this country, the channels through which this immigration has come and the circumstances under which it has been induced' ~~Also that it is~~ and in the public interest desirable that a representative Special Envoy ~~of the Government of~~ Canada should be sent to Japan to make representations on behalf of the Government ~~of Canada~~ of Canada, and to confer with the Japanese authorities in reference to the said immigration.

THE UNDERSIGNED therefore recommends that ~~it be referred to~~ the Honourable Rodolphe Lemieux, LL.D., K.C., M.P., Postmaster General and Minister of Labour of Canada ~~as special representative of~~ be appointed Special Envoy to the Government

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of Canada to make such enquiry. Also that the said representative be authorised to proceed to Japan to confer with the Japanese authorities in the name of and on behalf of the Government of Canada.

THE UNDERSIGNED further recommends that the said representative report to His Excellency in Council the results of his enquiry and conference.

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MINISTER OF LABOUR.

150-21-11-965.—Reg. 173.

C 19847

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C 19848

October.....1907.

Whereas within the recent past there has been a greater influx to our shores,than previously.of Japanese;

And Whereas regrettable incidents have already occurred and unrest been occasioned among a portion of the population,more particularly in the Province of British Columbia,in consequence of the increased immigration of Japanese and other Orientals;

And Whereas the adherence of the Government of Canada to the treaty between Great Britain and Japan adopted in the year 1894 and the supplementary convention of 1895.was made absolute and without reserve only after the most careful consideration of the question of Japanese immigration,and with a full reliance upon the good faith of the Japanese in the assurance given on behalf of the Japanese Government that Japanese immigration to Canada would be effectively restricted:

And Whereas national and Imperial considerations alike render it desirable that friendly relations and a proper understanding of questions of mutual concern should at all times exist between the peoples of Japan and Canada;

THE UNDERSIGNED is of the opinion that it is desirable and in the public interest that a special envoy should be sent to Japan to make representations on behalf of the Government of Canada,and to confer with the Japanese authorities in reference to the said immigration.

THE UNDERSIGNED THEREFORE RECOMMENDS that the Honourable Rodolphe Lemieux,LL.D., K.C., M.P., Postmaster General and Minister of Labour of Canada be appointed special envoy to the Government of Japan

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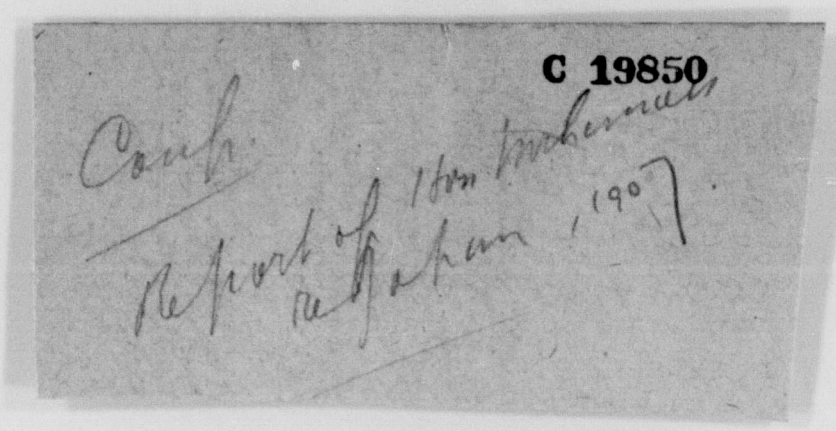
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to confer with the Japanese authorities in the name of and on behalf of the Government of Canada.

THE UNDERSIGNED FURTHER RECOMMENDS that the said Honourable Rodolphe Lemieux report to His Excellency in Council the result of his conference.

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C 19851

To His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Albert George, Earl Grey, Viscount Howick, Baron Grey of Howick, in the County of Northumberland, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, and a Baronet; Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, &c.,&c., Governor General of Canada.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,-

The undersigned has the honour to present to Your Excellency the report of his mission to Japan on the subject of the influx of Oriental labourers in the Province of British Columbia.

Minister of Labour.

Ottawa, January 1908.

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OBJECT OF MY MISSION

The object of my mission to Japan is clearly defined in the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council on the 12th of October 1907. It reads as follows: "The Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier recommends that, in view of the recent un-"fortunate occurrences which have taken place in British Colum-"bia, as a result of the largely increased influx of Oriental "labourers into that province, and in view of the fact that "there has been a Treaty of Peace and Commerce between His Ma-"jesty the King and the Emperor of Japan since the year 1894 "and that Canada became a party to that Treaty less than two "years ago, the Honourable Rodolphe Lemieux, Postmaster General "and Minister of Labour, do proceed immediately to Japan, to "discuss the situation with His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio "and the Japanese Authorities, with the object, by friendly "means, of preventing the recurrence of such causes as might "disturb the happy relations which have, under the said Treaty, "existed between the subjects of His Majesty the King in Canada "and elsewhere, and the subjects of His Majesty the Emperor of "Japan.

"The Committee, concurring in the foregoing recommen-"dation, submit the same for approval.

(Signed) F.K.Bennett,

Assistant Clerk of the Privy Council."

Having received the above direction from Council and being specially requested, before my departure, by the Prime Minister to return on the 15th January proximo, I accordingly left Ottawa on the 23rd of October, proceeded to Vancouver, British Columbia, where I sailed for Japan on the 29th, reaching Yokohama on the 13th November following.

Before relating the negotiations which have taken place at Tokio, between the Japanese Authorities, the British Ambassa-

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dor and myself, I may state briefly the causes of the anti-Asiatic agitation existing in British Columbia and which, as Your Excellency is aware, culminated in the deplorable riots of Vancouver in the month of September last. For many years past, and beginning with the discovery of the gold mines of Cassiar and Caribou, and later on tith the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, what is known as Oriental labour has been gradually imported in British Columbia. Practically, it is the only province in the Dominion where any strong feeling exists against Asiatic immigration, it being the only one where that immigration is settled. The Chinese coolies were the first to come. As long as the construction work of the Canadian Pacific Railway went on, their presence was not considered so objectionable. Labour was scarce and the speedy construction of the new transcontinental in the mountain section, required a large number of labourers. But soon after the completion of the road, when the coolies left the railway camps to become residents of cities, towns and villages, there to compete in the field of labour connected with the various industries, a strong prejudice began to manifest itself-- a prejudice more or less apparent wherever the two races, Mongolian and Caucasian, have come into contact in every part of the world.

Commissions.

In 1884, a Commission was appointed by the Dominion Government to investigate and report upon the question of Chinese immigration, from its various aspects. Soon after, in 1885, the Government of the day, introduced a measure imposing a head tax of $50.00 on every Chinese immigrant. Later on, as the Chinese still came in large numbers, this head tax was doubled. The legislation imposing a head tax of $100.00 was

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passed in 1900. As the agitation against Asiatic labour was not abated, and that exclusion was demanded, a new Commission was appointed. After a thorough investigation, the Commissioners came, as regards Chinese immigrants, to the following conclusions:

"In reference to the representations made by the peo-
"ple and Legislature of British Columbia, wherein it is alleged:

"That the province is flooded with an undesirable
"class of people, non-assimilative and most detrimental to the
"wage-earning classes of the people of the province, and that
"this extensive immigration of Orientals is also a menace to
"the health of the community;

"That there is probability of a great disturbance to
"the economic conditions in the province and of grave injury
"being caused to the working classes by the large influx of la-
"bourers from China, as the standard of living of the masses
of the people in that country differs so widely from the stan-
"dard prevailing in the province, thus enabling them to work
"for a much less wage;

"That it is in the interests of the empire that the
"Pacific province of the Dominion should be occupied by a large
"and thoroughly British population rather than by one in which
"the number of aliens would form a large proportion;

"We find that these representations are substantially
"true and urgently call for a remedy;

"We also find that the increase of the capitation tax
"from $50.00 to $100.00 is ineffective and inadequate;

"Your Commissioners are of opinion that the further
"immigration of Chinese labourers into Canada ought to be pro-
"hibited;

"That the most desirable and effective means of attain-
ing this end is by treaty supported by suitable legislation;

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"That in the meantime and until this can be obtained, "the capitation should be raised to $800.00."

As no treaty as the one contemplated by the Commissioners could hardly be negotiated with China, Parliament increased de novo the capitation tax from $100.00 to $500.00.

Whilst it can not be said that this head tax has stopped immigration from China, it has, however, effectually restricted it to such numbers as to cause no more alarm.

Besides, the Anti-Asiatic feeling existing in British Columbia today, is not so much directed against the Chinese population as against the Japanese and the Hindus. This differentiation is due to the fact that the Chinese do not assert a position of equality with the whites. They confine their activities to certain limited menial work, thus avoiding competition with the whites who look after more profitable work. They are generally in demand as domestic servants, laundrymen, cooks, labourers in clearing forest lands, market gardeners, inside workers in canneries and above ground workers at collieries.

As already stated, the importation of Oriental labour into Canada, was at first chiefly confined to Chinese coolies.

The Japanese immigrants were also coming to British Columbia, but in much smaller numbers. In the last report alludded to, the Commissioners (page 399) expressed the opinion that as long as their immigration to Canada did not annormally increase, the imposition of a head tax on the Japanese might be differed.

"Your Commissioners fully appreciate the action ta-
" ken by the Government of Japan on Aug. 2nd,1900, whereby the
" Governors of the préfectures of Japan were instructed to pro-
" hibit entirely, for the time being, the emigration of Japanese
" labourers for the Dominion of Canada. It is stated in a pamph-

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"let purporting to be published by the Japanese Consul at Van-
"couver the principal reason for the measure thus taken was to
"avoid any friction that might occur by allowing them to come
"into British Columbia where their immigration was not desired
"by a certain element of that province" and that "the Govern-
ment of Japan wholly stopped the issuance of passports to any
"intending emigrants for Canada since the 1st of August last
"(1900) and still continues to do so, under a provision of the
"Immigration Protection Law (Law No.70, 1896)."

After having commended this policy of the Japanese Government as "most opportune and eliminating all cause of fric-
"tion and irritation between Canada and Japan" the Commissioners state:

"Nothing further is needed to settle this most diffi-
"cult question upon a firm basis than some assurance that the
"action already taken by the Government of Japan will not be
"revoked.

"Your Commissioners desire to express the earnest hope
"that in the continuance of this friendly policy, legislation
"on this subject by the Canadian Government may be rendered un-
"necessary. Should, however, a change of policy be adopted in
"this regard by the Japanese Government, whereby Japanese la-
"bourers may again be permitted to emigrate to Canada, the wel-
"fare of the Province of British Columbia imperatively demands
"that effective measures be adopted to take the place of the in-
"hibition now imposed by the Japanese Government.

"Your Commissioners recommend that, in that event an
"Act be passed by the Dominion Government on the lines of what
"is known as the Natal Act, made sufficiently stringent and ef-
"fective to accomplish the desired result."

That such an assurance as suggested by the Commissioners was given, at the time, is quite certain. There was, so to speak, between the Japanese Authorities and the Dominion Govern-

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ment, a tacit understanding that the flow of immigration from Japan would be so regulated by the Governors of the several préfectures, as not to exceed four or five hundred annually.

The existence of that understanding is disclosed by the many communications exchanged on this subject between His Imperial Majesty's Consul General in Canada, Mr. T. Nosse, and the Prime Minister. I will have to refer at some length to that correspondence, but the outstanding fact remains that the Japanese Authorities so regulated the emigration from Japan as to cause no feeling of alarm in the labour market of British Columbia. It was only after Canada's adherence to the treaty concluded in 1894 between Great Britain and Japan, that the question of Japanese immigration became acute.

The Treaty of 1894.

But before dealing with the sudden influx of Japanese immigrants in British Columbia and its consequences, it may be of interest to state here, that until 1894, the only treaties which Japan had concluded with other nations, were owing to peculiar circumstances, one-sided and considered by many as highly detrimental to the interests of Japan. The presence in them of provisions about extra territorial rights, tariff rates, etc., had long subjected Japan to serious material disadvantages and to a keen sense of humiliation.

For many years, Japan almost concentrated her efforts in the problem to what is now known as treaty revision, and every possible obstacle that stood in the way of that great goal, was steadily removed. When, in 1892, this long standing affair was taken up, Great Britain was of all the Powers, the first approached, being the one which held the larger of interests than any other in the question. The negotiations bore fruit and a revised treaty was concluded with Great Britain on July 17th 1894. The other Powers followed suit. The revised treaties were put into force on the 17th July 1899. Thus, for the first time,

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Japan gained admittance into the Comity of nations on the status of equality.

By clause XIX of the treaty of 1894, it was made optional to Canada and other British Colonies to adhere to the treaty. Article XIX of the treaty reads as follows: "The applications of the present treaty shall be applicable, so far as the "laws permit, to all the colonies and foreign possessions of Her "Britannic Majesty, excepting to those herein after named, that "is to say, except to:

"India,	Victoria,
"The Dominion of Canada,	Queensland,
"Newfoundland,	Tasmania,
"The Cape,	South Australia,
"Natal,	Western Australia,
"New South Wales,	New Zealand.

"Provided always that the stipulations of the present treaty "shall be made applicable to any of the above named Colonies "or foreign possessions on whose behalf notice to that effect "shall have been given to the Japanese Government by Her Bri- "tannic Majesty's representative at Tokio, within two years "from the date of the exchange of ratifications of the present "treaty."

For various reasons which will be mentioned later on, in this report, it was only in 1905, that by Minute of Council dated September 26th, Canada became a party to the treaty. This minute of Council is based upon a report from the Secretary of State, in which he recommends "that a cable despatch be sent to "Mr.Lyttelton advising him that the Government of Canada is pre- "pared to adhere absolutely and without reserve to the treaty "of Commerce and Navigation made between Great Britain and Ja- "pan in 1894 and supplementary Convention signed at Tokio in Ju- "ly 1895." In view of the expiration of the two years allowed by Article XIX of the treaty of 1894, for the adhesion of Bri-

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tish Colonies, it became necessary to conclude a special convention so as to give effect to the stipulations of the treaty applicable to the intercourse, commerce and navigation between the Empire of Japan and the Dominion of Canada. The Convention was signed at Tokio, on the 31st January 1906. It came into effect immediately after the exchange of ratifications and as stipulated "It shall remain in force until the expiration of six "months from the day on which one of the high contracting par- "ties shall have announced the intention of terminating it."

The treaty was submitted and sanctioned by Parliament during the session of 1907. It will be noticed by the first paragraph of Art.I of the treaty, that the Japanese are unequivocally given the same rights as any British subjects in Canada. It reads as follows: "The subjects of each of the two high con- "tracting parties shall have full liberty to enter, travel or "reside in any part of the dominions and possessions of the other "contracting party, and shall enjoy full and perfect protection "for their persons and property."

REAL CAUSE OF THE AGITATION.

It is the unreserved interpretation of that article I by some enterprising Emigration Companies that has, of late, given rise to the agitation against the Japanese immigrants in Canada. I have already stated that prior to the treaty, there existed between the Governments of the two countries a tacit understanding by which Japanese emigration was to be restricted within certain reasonable limits. Due discretion was to be exercised in the issuance of permits to intending emigrants. This due discretion, on the part of the Japanese Authorities, was fully contemplated by the provisions of a special law passed by the Diet in 1896, under the title "Law for the Protection of Emigrants." It enacts that no emigrant shall proceed to foreign countries without first obtaining a permit from the Executive

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Authorities. Such permit loses its validity if the Emigrant does not leave within six months from the day of issue.(Art.3) It also enacts that "for the protection of the emigrant himself, "the maintenance of public security, or when deemed necessary, "for reasons of foreign policy, the Authorities may forbid an "emigrant's proceeding abroad for a time, or cancel a permit al- "ready granted" (Art.4). Article 21 provides that "any emig- "rant proceeding abroad without a permit, or with a permit ob- "tained by false representations of his destination, or in de- "fiance of an embargo laid upon his departure, shall be liable "to a fine of not less than five yen or not more than fifty yen."

According to the provisions of that law, emigration agents are under the control of the Government. They must obtain a license before entering into business, a security is exacted from them. They are subject to penalties and the authorities may suspend their business, cancel their license where their conduct is in violation of laws or departmental orders, or is deemed dangerous to public safety, or when they have neglected duly to furnish security, etc.

It is also provided that "detailed regulations neces- "sary for the enforcement of this law shall be enacted by de- "partmental order." The application of the "Law for the Protection of Emigrants" being, so to speak, concomitant with the tacit understanding between the two governments, had the desired effect.

I. It prevented any undue inflation of the labour market in British Columbia;

II. It justified the Dominion Government in refusing to give their assent to any drastic legislation adopted by the Legislature of British Columbia against the subjects of a friendly Power.

III. It also justified the Prime Minister to use the following language, when on January 15th 1907, he moved the second

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reading of Bill (No.28) respecting the treaty between Canada and Japan. "I would, however, observe that, so far as Japanese "labourers are concerned, my hon. friend will agree that for "the last five or six years, there has been no Japanese immi- "gration to speak of into British Columbia. Some few years ago "when we increased to $500.00 the poll-tax which had been in "existence for many years, against China immigration, we persis- "tently refused to extend the same prohibition against Japanese "immigration. "The reason which we gave at that time was that "Japan was an ally of Great Britain, and we could not treat Ja- "panese as we had treated the Chinese population. This was ac- "cepted by British Columbia itself, and I may say that our task "in that respect was made easy because the Japanese Government "has restricted the immigration of their own people. At the "present time the Japanese Government do not allow immigration "from their own provinces, with the exception of a very few from "each province, I think it is not more than four or five from "each province, that is all that the Japanese permit to leave "the Empire of Japan and therefore practically there has been "no emigration to British Columbia from that country."

Thus, it was on the faith of the tacit understanding above referred to, that Parliament gave its sanction to the treaty. It is in that light that Canada's unreserved and absolute adhesion must be read.

Our expectations that Japan would not avail herself of the letter of Art.I of the treaty, were, however, frustrated. No sooner had the Government notified Japan of their adhesion to the treaty and immediately after it had been sanctioned by Parliament that the gates were thrown wide open and an incessant tide of emigrants from both Japan and Hawaii poured in British Columbia. Some of them were bearers of permits, others had permits for the United States or Hawaii only, and many, relying on treaty rights alone, had no permits at all.

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During our fiscal year 1904-05, that is to say, from the 1st July 1904 to the 30th June 1905, three hundred and fifty four (354) Japanese arrived in Canada. From the 1st July 1905 to the 30th June 1906, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two (1922) Japanese arrived. (In 1906, the beginning of the fiscal year was changed from the 1st July to the 1st April.) In the six months, from the 1st July to the 31st December 1906, two thousand two hundred and thirty-three (2233) Japanese arrived, and from the 1st January to the 29th October of 1907, eight thousand, three hundred and fifty-six (8356) Japanese reached the Dominion, thus showing an exceptionally large and progressive increase.

The above mentioned statistics have been compiled by our own officers of the Interior Department, of the Customs Department, at Ottawa and at Vancouver and Victoria.

I have already explained why the Chinese, who are heavily taxed and are satisfied with confining their activities to menial work, are less objectionable as immigrants, than the Japanese and the Hindus. As the question of the Hindu immigration does not come within the purview of this report, I will not state what reasons, ethnical and others, militate against their entry into Canada. But, as regards the Japanese, the strong objection against them is owing to the fact that they enter into closer competition with white labour than the Chinese. The concensus of opinion is that they do not and can not assimilate with the white people; that while in some respects, they are less undesirable than the Chinese, in that they adopt more readily our habits of life and spend more of their earnings in the country, yet in all that goes to make for the permanent settlement of British Columbia, they are more serious a menace than the Chinese and keener competitors against the working men, as they have more energy and more independence than the others. The Japanese are employed in the

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fisheries and lumber industries and occupations incidental to these,such as boat building and getting out shingle bolts, cordwood,etc. They are also employed in the mining industry, on railways, in sealing, as domestic servants, in farming, land clearing, and market gardening, and as tailors. Many are also employed as waiters in hotels. The sudden influx of Japanese immigrants was brought about by the combined action of emigration companies operating at Vancouver, Tokio and Honolulu.

There are, according to Mr. McInnes's report dated October 2nd 1907, three large agencies having head quarters in Vancouver, which are engaged in bringing Japanese labourers under contract direct from Japan, one large agency bringing them both from Honolulu and Japan, and several smaller agencies which bring them from Japan under contract in connection with their own business--the larger agencies supplying labourers to employers and contractors in general. These agencies are:

1. The Japanese Boarding House Keepers Union of Vancouver, British Columbia, Limited;
2. The Canada Nippon Supply Company, Limited;
3. S.Gotoh;
4. The Nittoh Employment Company;
5. The Japanese General Contract Company Limited.

I need not dwell at any length on the modus operandi of these various companies. Mr. McInnes, in his very able report to the Minister of the Interior, shows clearly how their combined efforts at Vancouver, Honolulu and Tokio have brought about the present crisis in British Columbia.

To prevent the recurrence of such influx in the future, and to revert by friendly means to the understanding which had heretofore existed between Canada and Japan, was the chief object of my mission.

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The Anti-Asiatic Prejudice

That there is an British Columbia as well as in some of the Western States of the American Union, a strong prejudice against the Asiatics in general, is too obvious. The increased membership of the Exclusion Leagues at Vancouver, Seattle, San Francisco, the dissemination of anti-Asiatic literature and the several riots that have taken place during the last few months, clearly indicate the existence of an organization, the influence of which cannot be underestimated.

Whilst it may be argued that the present agitation in British Columbia is the outcome of--one the one hand, the greed of employers who import cheap labour, and on the other the resentment of labour unions who as a result, clamour against the lowering of wages, yet it must be borne in mind that the interests at stake in the Asiatic immigration problem are far more serious, far more complex, than the quarrel between the Unions and the corporations.

I have already stated that the anti-Asiatic prejudice has always asserted itself wherever Mongolian and Caucasian had come into contact. More especially so, in an Anglo-Saxon community like ours, where democratic institutionsprevail, the introduction in large numbers of alien races inherently ignorant of the most elementary principles of self government, can not but by itself be inimical to the best interests of Canada. One must bear in mind that there are now over 25,000 Asiatics in British Columbia, practically all of whom are male adults. There are not 75,000 white male adults in the Province. So that, if today every fourth man in that province competing for a living is an Asiatic, are not the reasons for effectual restriction far more compelling than one would at first imagine? Those Orientals belong to a civilization developed through the centuries, along lines totally and radically divergent from ours. There is a well nigh impassable gulf between the two. On the other hand, a circum-

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stance which makes this question still more complex and exceedingly difficult to handle, is the fact that the stream was started by our own people. Otherwise, the Orientals would have found no employment in Canada. It is by the difference of interests among Labour and Capital that these races enter in, and it is by virtue of that difference that the tremendous economic weight of their industrial efficiency is brought to bear upon the whole industrial system of British Columbia. It is a truism in political economy that men who can work fourteen and fifteen hours a day, who live with a frugality of which we have no conception, must prove formidable competitors in the field of labour.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that British Columbians object to a vast alien Colony, exclusive, inscrutable, unassimilative, with fewer wants and a lower standard of living than themselves, maintaining intact their peculiar customs and characteristics, ideals of home and family life, with neither the wish nor the capacity to amalgamate, which gradually by the mere pressure of numbers may undermine the very foundations of their province.

They have to safeguard the future and the distinctiveness of their race and civilization, and in their passionate and unalterable conviction, they cannot be protected unless the free ingress of Orientals is restricted and regulated.

As in every Anglo-Saxon community, there exists a deep-seated popular determination to exclude from even the sparsely-settled territories, the concentrated masses of the Orient.

Such are the economic factors coupled with race antipathy and incompatibility of ideals, that are at the bottom of all the agitation now going on for the exclusion of the Orientals.

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PUBLIC OPINION IN JAPAN.

I have dwelt briefly upon the strong racial prejudices that exist against the presence of Asiatic labour in British Columbia as well as in all white communities, I will now endeavour to sum up in a few lines the result of my investigation as regards public opinion in Japan on that vexed question.

In doing this, I am merely enunciating in the briefest and perhaps crudest form, such views as were expressed to me, privately and publicly in unofficial circles.

Being a proud and senstive people, the Japanese cannot admit that such racial prejudices, as are being nurtured by labour unions and by a section of the press in both Canada and the United States, will last forever. Japan, they say, owes her recognition by the nations of the world, to her successful wars and the proof of military and naval power which these have displayed. But above all, her new form of Government, her educational progress, should be an object lesson to dispassionate any fair-minded observers, that her standards of civilization are on a par with those of Western nations.

Japan can not, will not and must not be expected to sign away either in the form of a treaty, a law or protocol, the rights which belong to her subjects as units of a nation claiming and deserving to receive at the hands of Western countries, the consideration that marks their intercourse with one another. The utmost she can do is to declare that in the interests of expediency and friendly relations, she will exercise close discretion in limiting the number of immigrants to the North American Continent.

But what they regard as the crux of their grievance against not only Canada but even to a greater extent, the United States, it is this: America admits immigrants from Europe and refuses or proposes to refuse admission to those of Japan. This, they claim, is not only unfair in itself, but is a flagrant con-

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travention of the treaty, in which they are guaranteed equal treatment with that accorded the subjects of all other countries. They can not well refrain from viewing this as an aspersion on their nationality and consequently will not be satisfied until this discriminating treatment is removed. Being somewhat congested in their own country, they must find an outlet for their surplus population. They are not willing, they say, to be dumped down in a land with scant possibilities of development. The whole nation is instinct with the ambition that, though it has come up rather late to enter the race for colonization, it is not going to be left behind without an effort to compete and expand. Thrilled with the consciousness of her newly discovered potentialities as a nation, Japan is determined to make herself felt in a practical way in her own interests. Her people have more endurance than her competitors and are therefore as ready as others--if not more--to enter the contest for a national expansion.

They say further,- and this was the view taken by Count Okuma in a speech delivered a few weeks ago--that British Columbia and the Western Coast generally, is not in a position to refuse any competent labour that offers. Are not its mines crying out, so to speak to be worked, its fields to be tilled, its forsts to be cleared, its fruits to be picked? For years, has not the development of British Columbia and the Western States been checked by a shortage of labour?

As proof of their contention, they point out that, whereas the province of British Columbia measures 395,610 square miles and is therefore twice as large as Japan, it contains a population of 250,000 or 0.63 per square mile. Possessing as it does boundless resources, British Columbia is undoubtedly in need of labour from abroad for the development of enterprise. It follows, therefore, that cheap Japanese labour is indispensable for the purpose.

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The immediate interest of both California and British Columbia is to import all the labour they can lay hands on. Such material progress as they have already compassed, would unquestionably have been beyond their capacity to produce had it not been for Asiatic labour. In all the rougher forms of labour, their presence on the Pacific Coast has been invaluable.

The European workers who pour in through the Atlantic ports rarely reach the Pacific Coast and without Oriental labour, vast areas of a most productive territory would remain uncleared and unimproved.

The Japanese immigrants can contribute vitally to the economic and industrial fabric of the communities where they settle. They are industrious, peaceable, living simply and inocuously, publishing their own papers and above all providing the unskilled labour of which neither the railroads, nor the farmers, nor the fruit growers, nor the mines, nor the canneries can ever have enough.

From a purely business point of view, the Japanese naturally deplore that such unfortunate incidents as the Vancouver riots, should be allowed to occur, as it is most seriously to be feared that unless they are speedily prevented, the ill-feeling which their countrymen are now constrained to harbor against the people of a single section, may finally have an unhappy effect upon the development of commercial relations between the two countries.

Assurances given by the Consul General of Japan.

Before I proceed to fully acquaint Your Excellency with the negotiations which have taken place at Tokio during the months of November and December 1907, I wish to refer again to the tacit understanding, the violation of which was the immediate cause of the riots in Vancouver. This understanding was based upon the written assurances given by Mr. Nossé, Con-

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sul General of Japan, of a voluntary restriction on the part of the Japanese Authorities, assurances supplemented by verbal promises to the same effect.

The letters and telegrams addressed by His Imperial Majesty's Consul General to the Prime Minister, on various occasions, establish beyond the shadow of a doubt the existence of such an understanding. A brief synopsis of Mr. Nossé's correspondence bearing on this point, naturally finds its place here.

In a letter dated Montreal, June 3rd, 1902, he says: "The Japanese Government, by the timely advice of Hon.S.Shimi-"zu, my predecessor in office, has been restricting the emig-"ration of her people to Canada for last two years, by allow-"ing only those who are furnished with certificates issued by "her Consul at Vancouver, to return to their destination and "this restriction has so well carried out that the number of "Japanese coming into British Columbia is now greatly limited."

In a letter dated Montreal, February 3rd,1903, Mr. Nossé answers as follows, a query made by the Prime Minister about the number of Japanese who are allowed to emigrate each year: "In answer to your enquiry as to why so large a num-"ber of Japanese were allowed to emigrate to Canada during the "past year or so, I beg to say that the Japanese Government "has been restricting for more than the last two years, the "issuing of new passports to all intending emigrants to Canada. "It is total and absolute restriction, and there is not any "limited number allowed for each year as you have stated. "The only Japanese who are allowed to leave Japan, under the "present system, for Canada, are:

"(1) Those who hold passports and also certificates of "the Japanese Consul at Vancouver certifying that they are re-"sidents in Canada and only returning to Canada.

"(2) The families of Japanese residents to Canada coming "out to join them, upon approval of the Japanese Consul at

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Vancouver.

"(3) The merchants and students duly qualified."

On the 5th February 1903, the Prime Minister again enquires from Mr. Nossé to know what regulations are made by his Government as to the number of Japanese allowed every year to emigrate from Japan to Canada.

He answers as follows, in a letter dated Montreal, February 6th,1903: "I beg leave to state that prior to the "fall of 1900, the number of her passports issued to Japanese "emigrants for Canada used to be about fifty each month, but "since then the Japanese Government have wholly stopped the "issuance of new passports to any intending emigrants for Ca- "nada, under a provision of the 'Emigration Protection Law' "and no passports are, therefore, issued at present to the new "emigrants, except to the merchants, students and tourists,duly "justified. It is therefore, practically the total restriction, "on the part of the Japanese Government, of the emigration of "of their people to Canada. The system is most rigidly ob- "served in Japan as every passenger is examined on board of "the steamer prior to her departure, and those who are found "without passports are ordered back on shore by the police "authorities under the penalty of heavy fines."

On February 2nd 1903, Mr. Nossé writes as follows from Montreal:

"I have the honour of transmitting to you herewith en- "closed, the lists of Japanese arrivals in British Columbia for "the months of November and December 1902. I beg to call your "special attention to the considerable decrease of the arrivals "in British Columbia of Japanese who intend to stay there per- "manently, the proof of the Japanese Government strictly ob- "serving their policy towards the immigration of their people "into this country. I regret to note, however, that there

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"was unusually a large number of Japanese arrivals at Vancouver "from the Hawaiian Islands, through a notoriously dishonourable "work of an American concern there, but I am glad to know by "the combined efforts on the part of the Japanese Consuls at "Vancouver and Honolulu, the practice was timely stopped. As "you may understand through the newspaper cuttings herein en-closed, and I am informed by the Japanese Consul at Vancouver, "that these passengers were ordered to leave British Columbia "for the United States, where they originally expected to go, "but never to British Columbia."

In the lists referred to in the above letter, it appears that 255 Japanese had arrived at Vancouver and Victoria in November 1902, and 261 in December 1902.

The next communication from Mr. Nosse to the Prime Minister is in the form of a telegram, dated Montreal, March 30th 1903. It reads as follows: "In answer to my cablegram "to the Imperial Japanese Government advising them to continue "the policy of restricting their people emigrating in any lar-"ge number into British Columbia, I have received a cable in-"struction to the effect that I have to give your Government "the renewed assurance that the Japanese Government are not "desirous of forcing their people into British Columbia against "the wish of the province, and that they are willing to enter "into an agreement with your Government by which they may bind "themselves, if their present policy of rigid restriction is "not deemed satisfactory to your Government."

(Signed) T.Nosse,

Consul General of Japan.

In a letter dated Montreal, July 18th,1903, he says: "I have the honour to assuring you once again that the Japa-"nese Government is not disposed to issue the passports any "more than necessary. Any number of new permits under 200 per "annum can not be said to be very large, considering the fact

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"that in this number not only the wives and children of the "old residents, but also merchants and students and even the "Consul and his family are included."

On the 13th of August 1903, Mr. Nossé transmits a statement, showing the number of passports issued by the Japanese Government for emigrants to Canada in the years 1901-02-03, and he adds:

"In this table, you will please notice that during "last three years, the number of passports issued has not ex- "ceeded over 800, and not a simple? permit was given to an im- "migrant."

In a letter dated Montreal, March 19th, 1904, Mr.Nossé informs the Prime Minister that he has served His Excellency the Governor General with an official protest on behalf of his government against the re-enactment of a British Columbia Immigration Act and he adds:

"My personal explanations to you at our last inter- "view, I trust, have convinced you that the Japanese Government "has been faithful to her promises and the people in British "Columbia have no real cause of agitation."

He concludes by asking the disallowance of the Act. In his answer of the 21st of the same month, the Prime Minister says: "I told you at our last interview that the Government of "Japan had fulfilled their engagement towards us and that on "our side we should act accordingly."

In a letter dated Ottawa, May 9th,1905, Mr. Nossé tenders thanks on behalf of his Government for the prompt measures taken by the Dominion Government in disallowing British Columbia Legislation,and he adds: "While trusting in the Cana- "dian Government's justice and good faith, the Japanese Govern "ment will always adhere to their policy of voluntary restric- "tion on their people emigrating to British Columbia."

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After the treaty was discussed in the House, he wrote (January 18th 1907) a letter to thank the Prime Minister for his attitude taken in Parliament, in which he again refers to the policy of voluntary restriction of the Japanese Government. He uses the following language: "The Japanese Government, how-"ever will issue no passport under any pretext whatever."

I have carefully quoted the extracts of those of Mr. Nossé's letters which contain his assurances. Your Excellency will observe that all of these letters, with the exception of the last one, are prior to the treaty and that he invariably speaks of a voluntary restriction on the part of his government. I have no doubt whatsoever that before and after the treaty, his verbal assurances were stronger in their meaning and conveyed the impression that the Japanese Government had agreed to a limitation by number-i.e. 500 to 600 annually--but this is only verbal.

His telegram of March 30,1908 is more explicit and so is the statement made in his letter of January 18th 1907. I will state further on, what view was taken by the Japanese Government of Mr. Nossé's pledges as contained in his telegram of March 30th 1908, and in his letter of January 18th, 1907.

Negotiations with the Foreign Office at Tokio.

Upon my arrival at Tokio, on November the 14th, I immediately called at the British Embassy. Our Ambassador, Sir Claude Macdonald, was already well aware of the object of my mission to Japan. He had been instructed by the Foreign Office in London, to present my credentials to His Excellency, Count Hayashi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, which he had already done. We immediately repaired to the Foreign Office, where he introduced me to Count Hayashi. It was agreed that the negotiations would be opened at the next meeting when both sides would represented as follows:

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Japan: By His Excellency Count Hayashi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Chinda, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Ishii, director of the Bureau of Commerce;

Canada: By His Excellency, Sir Claude Macdonald, British Ambassador; the Hon.F.C.Lindley, Secretary of the British Embassy; Mr. Joseph Pope, Under Secretary of State for Canada and myself.

I can not refrain from stating here at once, that whatever may be the result of the negotiations, Canada owes a debt of gratitude of His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio. From the early stage of the proceedings, he took a deep interest in the question itself. Not only did he identify himself with our case, but--a circumstance of the greatest advantage and of far reaching consequence--he also secured for the Canadian contention the "full support" of His Majesty's Government. He was present at every meeting and spared no effort to bring the negotiations to a speedy and successful issue. It is my duty to declare that I received from this experienced diplomat so well versed in all the intricacies and undercurrents of politics in the Far East, such aid and counsel as proved invaluable to me. I also received from the Hon.Mr.Lindley and Mr. Pope all the assistance, which a long experience and a thorough knowledge of the various points at issue could give. Indeed, none could have evinced more interest and displayed more intelligence and more loyalty in the discharge of their duties.

On the 25th November, after several interviews with Sir Claude Macdonald, I proceeded to the Foreign Office,where I fully explained to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the circumstances of my mission to Japan, and laid before him the proposals of my government for dealing with the question of immigration to Canada.

Having referred to the increased influx of Japanese

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immigrants to British Columbia, to the recent disturbances at Vancouver and alluded to the regret expressed by the Prime Minister at this unfortunate occurrence and to the settlement through Mr. Mackenzie King of all just claims for damages incurred by the Japanese residents, I stated that the unexpectedly large immigration of labourers and artisans to British Columbia, considered in relation to the understanding which our unreserved adherence to the treaty had been given, might, if permitted to go unchecked, impair the happy relations existing between the two countries--which it was the main desire of the Canadian Government in accepting the treaty to further.

As to Canada's attitude towards Japan, it had even been one of amity and good will. It was the natural outcome of our allegiance to His Majesty the King, friend and ally of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

Besides, we were inspired by feelings of warm admiration for a nation that had achieved such distinction as had Japan. I recalled our encouragement of the Osaka Exhibition, where,Canada, being officially represented by a Cabinet Minister, had cordially co-operated with their Government, to promote the success of that display of Japanese industries.

As a further evidence of good will on the part of the Dominion Government, I laid particular stress on the fact that between the years 1897 and 1901, no fewer than nine Statutes of the Legislature of British Columbia prohibiting the immigration of Japanese into that province, had been disallowed. I then stated that the paramount consideration of our policy with regard to Japanese immigration in the past, had been the pledges repeatedly given by the Consul General for Japan, Mr. Nossé, of the desire and intention of the Japanese authorities to regulate and limit the immigration of their subjects to Canada. As a confirmation to Mr. Nossé's statements, the "Law for the Protection of Emigrants", a law of restrictive character, had been

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brought to our notice before our acceptance of the treaty. The assurances given by Mr. Nossé were most positive. They had been officially given in writing by him to the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet, at various periods during the last four or five years, and could admit of only one interpretation. Relying upon these engagements and having regard to the close alliance existing between the Mother Country and Japan, the Government had submitted for approval the treaty to Parliament and obtained its unanimous sanction, feeling that it would not be necessary to insist upon any specific limitation of the number of Japanese immigrants.

I then gave the statistics already quoted, showing the sudden and exceptionally large increase of Japanese immigrants to British Columbia during the last few months.

I pointed out the peculiar geographical situation of British Columbia, how, on the one hand, it lay separated from the older portions of the Dominion by vast stretches of prairie and by four ranges of well nigh impassable mountains, how on the other, it adjoined the western portion of the United States, where the same irritating question was agitating the public mind.

Having established the proportion of aliens with regard to the total population of British Columbia, I submitted that in a community where one man in every four is of a foreign race, and where the disparity is rapdily growing less, there was some ground for the uneasiness of the people of British Columbia.

The Dominion Government thus found themselves in this position. On the other hmnd,- as British subjects, apart from the gratification which they experiences in the alliance between Great Britain and Japan, they were not insensible to the advantages of the commercial treaty recently entered into-; on the other- in view of the recent troubles and the unsettled

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condition of the labouring classes in British Columbia, of the continuance of the present disquietude in the province, of the possibility of further disturbances entailing subsequent enquiries into and indemnification for losses sustained, they realised the responsibility resting upon them for the peace,order and good government of Canada.

I concluded by the following words:-

"The Canadian Government, h ving regard to the circum-
"stances I have endeavoured to lay before Your Excellency, feel
"themselves constrained to invite the serious consideration of
"the Government of Japan to the present condition of affairs in
"British Columbia, and to request them to render effective the
"assurances they have already given through their Consul General
"by restricting the immigration of labourers and artisans to a
"number which can be absorbed without unduly disturbing the pro-
"portion of races in that province. They consider that a year-
"ly immigration not exceeding 300 labourers and artisans in any
"one year would satisfy this requirement, with a further stipu-
"lation that Canada be not required to admit any Japanese la-
"bourer or artisan who is not the bearer of a permit issued by
"the competent Japanese Authorities, authorising him to land in
"the Dominion.

"The Canadian Government are persuaded that such an ar-
"rangement, which has the full support of His Majesty's Govern-
"ment, would go far towards the removal of all sources of fric-
"tion between the two peoples in the province of British Colum-
"bia, and to promote the harmony which they earnestly desire
"should exist between the subjects of His Britannic Majesty and
"those of His Majesty's friend and ally, the Emperor of Japan."

Having thus presented the views of the Dominion Govern-ment, I formally laid before the Minister of Foreign Affairs a memorandum fully stating our case.

This memorandum together with the official reply of the Japanese Government are published as an appendix to my re-

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port. In view of what subsequently happened, it was agreed that both memoranda should be treated as confidential documents.

Your Excellency will observe that my memorandum dated November 15th, was laid before the Minister of Foreign Affairs on November 25th. The memorandum in reply, was only handed to me by Count Hayashi on December 21st.

No want of courtesy on the part of the Japanese Government should be inferred from this. On the contrary, I am pleased to state that the attitude of the Foreign Office has been one of unvaried friendship and cordiality. The delay in presenting their written reply did not preclude the negotiations from progressing during the interval. As explained to me by Count Hayashi, his memorandum contained the formal answer of the Japanese Government, but would only serve as a document of record, in case all negotiations failed. It is in that light that his memorandum in reply should be read. I will therefore confine myself, for the intelligence of this report, to the discussions which took place at our several interviews and which ended by the proposals offered as a compromise by the Japanese Government.

Having presented the views of the Canadian Government, Count Hayashi replied to the effect that my memorandum would be carefully considered by him, and that a written answer would be given in due course. He then went on to observe that he fully appreciated the kindly feeling of the Government of Canada towards the Japanese Government, and that the sentiments expressed by me were fully reciprocated. He added that he also quite understood and appreciated the difficulties of the Canadian Government arising out of this question, but that Japan had also hers; that their people were high-spirited and senstive, and would not brook any fresh treaty or convention imposing restrictions upon them in respect of immigration; that

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they could not tolerate being regarded as inferior to other races against whom no restrictions were enforced.

I then explained that our Government had always differentiated between the Japanese and Chinese. I laid stress on the fact that the moving causes which influences to adhere to the treaty were the assurances of Mr. Nossé, some of whose letters I proceeded to read.

Your Excellency will have observed in perusing the extracts of these letters, that the assurances given by Mr.Nossé are of two natures.

I. In mostly all of his letters, Mr. Nossé speaks of voluntary measures already taken or to be taken by his Government to restrict the immigration of Japanese to Canada.

II. Inan telegram dated March 30th 1908, addressed to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, he assures him that the Japanese Government are willing to enter into an agreement with the Canadian Government to bind themselves to keep the Japanese out of British Columbia.

It is to be noted that Count Hayashi and his Vice-Minister, Baron Chinda, declared most positively that Mr.Nossé had exceeded his instructions and was not authorized to give any such assurance as the last one.

The Japanese Government were, however, quite willing to meet our views in any practical way, but that it should be voluntary on their part and that they could not in justice to themselves, enter into any fresh formal convention on the subject. Count Hayashi also explained that the present increase in immigration,-although his figures did not agree with ours,- was due to exceptional causes, and instanced the rush from Hawaii, which he said was to be ascribed to the San Francisco earthquake and would not recur.

I pointed out to him that upwards of (6000) six thousand Japanese had entered the Dominion during the present year, coming direct from Japan.

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I may state here that the Japanese Government do not admit the accuracy of our figures. They claim that a large proportion of Japanese who have landed in British Columbia have subsequently gone to the United States.

In view, however, of the uniformly friendly attitude of the Canadian Government, Count Hayashi again reiterated the statement that he would so frame his regulations as to prevent in the future any such influx of immigrants. He did not intend to force the entry of Japanese in British Columbia against the wish of that province. As a matter of fact, he had already taken effective measures to counteract the work of certain emigration companies, which relying on the letter of the treaty, had acted injudiciously in the matter.

The immigration of Japanese to America meant, from a purely economical point of view, a loss to Japan and it was the policy of his Government to discourage it and to divert it towards Korea and Manchuria.

He would, at another interview, explain more fully the nature of the restrictive measures, he intended to take so as to achieve that result.

I should mention that the American Ambassador at Tokio had been pressing the Japanese Government for a convention limiting the number of Japanese immigrants to the United States. He had also approached the British Ambassador with a view to make a common case of the two--a proposal which, of course, could not be entertained. Count Hayashi, during the conversation, used an argument which he evidently had employed with the United States Ambassador. He referred to Commander Perry's landing in Japan in 1853 and his plea to the Japanese people to throw open their ports and become citizens of the world, telling them that the only way by which they could ever achieve a place among the nations was by welcoming all races to their shores. The Japanese Government had much difficulty in persuading their

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people to accept this policy. They did so, however, and now find the portals of the very nation which pressed this policy upon them, shut in their faces.

The next meeting was held on the 2nd of December, at the Foreign Office. Count Hayashi said that after having consulted the Cabinet, he could not agree to amend the treaty so as to limit the number of emigrants to Canada, as it would be resented as national humiliation on the part of Japan. He could, however, by a process of voluntary restrictions which he had absolute power to enforce, reach the same object as we had in view. He then handed me a draft copy of the instructions which he intended to issue, prohibiting all emigration to Canada, except as regards the following classes:

1. "Emigrants having previously had their residence "in Canada and holding the certificates of such residence is- "sued by the Japanese Consular Authorities there and the wives "and children of those emigrants.

2. "Emigrants specially invited by the Japanese re- "sidents or other nationals in Canada and holding the letters "of such invitation attested by the competent Japanese Consu- "lar Authorities.

3, "Contract emigrants whose terms of the contracts. "works to be done and standing of the intended employers are "satisfactorily specified.

"As an exception to the above, it is the intention of "the Imperial Government to afford reasonable facilities to the "emigrants specially required for promoting various enterprises "started by the Japanese in Canada who shall have acquired or "leased certain ground for agricultural purposes or obtained "mining concessions there, either independently or in conjunc- "tion with other nationals."

On being handed this document, I immediately stated that I could not agree to any such terms; that far from being restrictive, the new instructions were lax; that instead of

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removing the cause of the agitation, they would accentuate it.

Count Hayashi, in answer, said that the official translator of the Foreign Office being absent, it was quite possible that the wording of the document might be ambiguous.

He therefore would proceed to explain the meaning that each clause purported to convey, consider our objections, accept or reject the suggestions offered and after a thorough examination of each clause, and without committing ourselves, leave the document with us to redraft. A long and detailed discussion followed, in the course of which, several important concessions were made by Count Hayashi, who finally agreed to a recast of the document on the following lines:

Clause I. It would apply only to Japanese residents. They surely could not be prevented from coming to Japan and returning to Canada with their wives and children, as they already had vested rights.

Clause II. It would apply to bona fide domestics for Japanese residents only. The Japanese Residents, said Count Hayashi, may require domestics. They cannot expect to have white servants. We therefore should not object to bona fide domestics for Japanese residents who may want them. In each case, however, the Japanese Consul would have to issue a certificate attesting the good faith of the applicant.

ClauseIII. It would apply to contract labourers. They would be allowed to come to Canada subject, however, to the consent of the Dominion Government, having been previously obtained by the labour contractors. Special instructions would be given to Consuls to that effect.

Paragraph 2 of Clause III would apply only to Japanese resident agricultural holders, requiring labour for their lands. They could import such labour at the

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rate of five to ten per 100 acres. This, said Count Hayashi, is the same regulation accepted by the United States, where many Japanese are interested in rice plantations,etc., etc.

I may state at once that strong objection was taken by us, against this last paragraph, and at a later stage of the negotiations it was modified.

Sir Claude Macdonald said that the new instructions or regulations might perhaps check the immigration from Japan to Canada direct, but the immigrants could evade them by simply going to Hawaii and thence to Canada. Count Hayashi answered that the Japanese going to Hawaii were beyond their jurisdiction and that no regulation could apply to them, once they had landed there.

I then suggested that Hawaii, being an American possession, and Canada having passed an Alien Labour Law against the United States, there should be no objection to our enforcing the law against Japanese contract labourers coming from Hawaii. Count Hayashi stated, in answer, that as long as there was no discrimination against the Japanese, he would no objectbut at all events, he would consider the question and give me an answer at the next meeting.

Mr. Pope submitted that our officers should be authorized to refuse those coming without passports.

Count Hayashi said that as long as passports were not required from other immigrants,he could not understand why of all others, the Japanese should be singled out. Your Excellency will observe that on this point, we obtained at a later stage, another important concession.

Before the adjournment, I asked Count Hayashi, if besides those regulations, I would obtain an assurance from the Japanese Government, that they would effectually restrict the immigration to Canada, an assurance that would be made public before Parliament.

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He answered in the affirmative.

On the 3rd, the 4th, the 6th and 7th of December, informal meetings took place at the British Embassy and at the Foreign Office, at which the instructions to the governors of the préfectures and to the consuls were recast. At the meeting of December 5th, Count Hayashi stated that on Monday the 9th, at 3 p.m. he would formally present the Counter-proposals of the Japanese Government.

Briefly analysed they would be as follows:

The Japanese Government will prohibit all immigration to Canada, except the following classes:

I. Resident Japanese returning to Canada for the second time;

II. Bona fide domestics for Japanese residents only;

III. Emigrants brought in under contract approved, in each case, by the Dominion Government;

IV. Agricultural labourers for work on farms owned by Japanese under the same restrictions as their arrangement with the United States, namely,- from five to ten labourers per hundred acres.

The Japanese Government would also agree:

I. To give me a letter to be made public stating their intention to effectually restrict emigration to Canada in the future;

II. To raise no objection against our enforcing the Alien Labour Law against the Japanese labourers coming from Hawaii;

III. To deposit with the British Ambassador at Tokio, the new regulations issued to Governors and Consuls, as a guarantee of observance.

I again stated that although I appreciated the spirit in which the counter proposals were made, I did not wish to be

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understood as agreeing unreservedly to any alternative scheme, without submitting to my Government. I again pressed for a numerical limitation of the immigrants to Canada, as being the simplest and most satisfactory mode of dealing with this vexed question.

The meeting of the 9th December was, at our request, postponed, and as a matter of fact, no other, except informal interviews could conveniently be held until my departure. I wish to state, however, that during that interval of time, we settled what we thought to be important points.

I. The Japanese Government would agree to appoint an officer at Victoria or Vancouver, who would reject all immigrants coming from Japan without permits to Canada;

II. In his confidential letter to the British Ambassador enclosing the regulations to Governors and Consuls with respect to immigration, Count Hayashi would further state "with re- "ference to domestics and agricultural labourers "mentioned in the regulations, the Japanese Go- "vernment do not contemplate that under exis- "ting circumstances, these two classes will ex- "ceed four hundred annually."

QUEENSLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

It has been suggested to me, in the course of these negotiations, that we might obtain an arrangement similar in terms to that of Queensland.

The special arrangement with Queensland is contained in the Protocol signed at Tokio, March 16th,1897. As Your Excellency is aware, Queensland acceded to the Treaty of 1894, subject, however, to the following condition:

I "That the stipulations contained in the first and "third articles of the above named treaty shall not in any way

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"affect the Laws, Ordinances and Regulations with regard to "trade, the immigration of labourers and artisans, police and "public security which are in force, or may hereafter be en- "acted in Japan or in the said colony of Queensland."

The Foreign Office at Tokio emphatically declare that there is no other arrangement with Queensland than the one provided in the Protocol. Cable enquiries were made during the negotiations by the British Ambassador from the authorities in Queensland, and no information could be obtained. During our discussions, when reference was made to the Protocol, Count Hayashi and aBaron Chinda invariably told us that Queensland had never availed herself of the above mentioned stipulation.

It is quite evident, that for Queensland as well as for any other British Colony acceding to the Treaty with a similar proviso, Japan desired to be in a position to terminate the treaty whenever the free immigration of labour would have been legislated against. (See letter of Sir Ernest Satow to Lord Salisbury, dated February 7th 1896) On the other hand, one must bear in mind that in 1896, when the Japanese Government was willing to give Canada the benefit of the reservation regarding labour legislation, we refused to accept it. (See Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, October 13th 1896) Later on, on the 14th July 1905, we were asked if our desire to accede to the treaty was subject to the same terms and conditions as Queensland in 1897. (See letter of Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to Lord Grey, July 14th 1905).

Our reply was that "Canada is prepared to adhere "absolutely and without reserve to the treaty of commerce and "navigation made between Great Britain and Japan in 1894 and "supplementary convention signed at Tokio in July 1895." (See Report of Committee of Privy Council, September 26, 1905)

It is only fair to state here that Council was influenced in taking this course, by the promise made at that

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that by Mr. Nossé, that the Japanese Authorities would of themselves restrict the immigration of labourers to Canada. His letter to the Hon. Mr. Fisher on this subject is quite clear.

It would seem, however, as far as the United States are concerned, that even a proviso similar in terms to that of Queensland, would not stop the agitation against Japanese immigration.

Paragraph 3 of Article II of the Treaty between United States and Japan, 1894, contains the following clause: "It "is, however, understood that the stipulations contained in this "and the preceding article do not in any way affect the laws, or- "dinances and regulations with regard to trade, the immigration "of labourers, police and public security, which are in force or "which may hereafter be enacted in either of the two Countries."

This proviso in the Treaty is supplemented by most stringent regulations regarding Japanese and Korean labourers. (See Rule 21 of the Immigration Laws and Regulations of July 1st 1907).

Notwithstanding the proviso and the regulations, the problem of Japanese immigration is as complex and as difficult, if not more, in the United States as it is in British Columbia.

It is a well known fact in Tokio that for some time, negotiations of a desultory sort have been going on between the Governments of Japan and the United States, with as yet no satisfactory adjustment of the immigration problem. It will be remembered that color was given to this rumor some time ago when the Minister of Foreign Affairs intimated that Japan had been asked for acquescence in a new treaty formally excluding Japanese immigrants from the United States, and that she had refused. It is averred that since then, Japan has been asked if she would consent to a revision of the immigration clause in exchange for America's concession of the right of naturalization to Japanese

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domiciled in the United States, and that Japan likewise declined that offer. The last move on the part of the United States is said to have been the proposal to approve a new tariff union between Korea and Japan in exchange for the latter's consent to a new treaty excluding immigrants, which it is affirmed, Japan also declined to entertain.

The successive failures of the United States to arrive at an understanding would throw some light in the attitude of the American Ambassador at Tokio during our negotiations. As I have stated before, he discretly approached the British Ambassador, with a view to make a common case of the two, stating that he was well aware that the United States could not get better terms than Canada, in view of the alliance existing between Great Britain and Japan.

THE PROPOSED ARRANGEMENT.

I will now lay before Your Excellency the full text of the documents which, as a result of the negotiations, were agreed between both sides, to form the basis of the proposed arrangement, whereby the immigration of Japanese to Canada would be so effectually restricted as to stop any further agitation in British Columbia.

I. My letter to His Excellency Count Hayashi requesting him to give me an official assurance, as to the intentions of the Japanese Government for the future, would read as follows:

"British Embassy,
Tokio, 23rd December,1907.

"Monsieur le Ministre,-

" After the several interviews which have ta-
"ken place at the Foreign Office since my arrival here on the
"subject of Japanese immigration to Canada, I have come to the
"conclusion that His Imperial Majesty's Government cannot ac-
"cede to my request for a numerical limitation to emigration.
"At this stage of the negotiations, it would be quite unneces-

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"sary for me to offer any further arguments as to why the re-
"quest of the Canadian Government should be complied with, but
"it has appeared to me in the course of these friendly inter-
"views, that the Japanese Government has evinced a sincere de-
"sire to see any further agitation in British Columbia effectua-
"lly stopped. In order to further this object, I understand
"they are willing to restrict voluntarily, within reasonable
"limits, the volume of immigration. I have the honour, there-
"fore, to request that before returning to Canada and reporting
"to my Government, Your Excellency would be so good as to give
"me an official assurance as to the intentions of His Imperial
"Majesty's Government in the matter. The Canadian Government
"is above all desirous that the happy relations which have always
"existed between the two countries shall remain unimpaired, and
"I feel confident that His Imperial Majesty's Government are
"anxious to find a solution of the difficulty which, as I have
"already explained to Your Excellency, exists in the Province of
"British Columbia.

" I have the honour to be,

" Your Excellency's Most obedient servant,

" (Signed) Rodolphe Lemieux.

"His Excellency Count Hayashi,

" Minister of Foreign Affairs,

" T o k i o."

II. The answer of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, giving the official assurance of the Japanese Government, would couched in the following terms:

"Tokio, 23rd December, 1907.

"Monsieur le Ministre,-

"In reply to your note of even date, I have
"the honour to state that although the existing treaty between
"Japan and Canada absolutely guarantee to Japanese subjects full
"liberty to enter, travel, and reside in any part of the Dominion

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"of Canada, yet it is not the intention of the Imperial Govern-
"ment to insist upon the complete enjoyment of the rights and
"privileges guaranteed by those stipulations when that would in-
"volve disregard of special conditions which may prevail in Ca-
"nada from time to time.

" Acting in this spirit and having particular regard to
"circumstances of recent occurrence in British Columbia, the
"Imperial Government have decided to take efficient means to
"restrict emigration to Canada. In carrying out this purpose,
"the Imperial Government, in pursuance of the policy above
"stated, will give careful consideration to local conditions
"prevailing in Canada, with a view to meeting the desires of the
"Government of the Dominion as far as is compatible with the
"spirit of the treaty and the dignity of the State.

" Although, as stated in the note under reply, it was
"not possible for me to acquiesce in all of the proposals made
"by you on behalf of the Canadian Government, I trust that you
"will find in the statement herein made proof of the earnest
"desire of the Imperial Government to promote by every means
"within their power, the growth and stability of the cordial
"and mutually beneficial relations which exist between our
"countries. I venture to believe, also that this desirable
"result will be found to have been materially advanced by the
"full exchange of views which has taken place between us, and
"it gives me special pleasure to acknowledge the obligation
"under which I have been placed by your frank and considerate
"explanations regarding the attitude and wishes of your Govern-
"ment.

" I avail myself, etc. etc.,

" (Signed) Tadasu Hayashi

"The Honourable Mr. Rodolphe Lemieux,

" Postmaster General and Minister of Labour for Canada,

"Tokio."

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The two letters would be read before Parliament.

III. The regulations (a) would be sent at once to the Governors of the several préfectures of Japan, and the regulations (b) to the Consuls of Japan in Canada.

-- A --

The following classes of emigrants only are those to whom the Japanese Government will grant permission to emigrate to Canada.

---

1. Emigrants having previously resided in Canada and holding certificates of such residence issued by the Japanese Consular Authorities in the Dominion, and the wives and children of such emigrants.

2. Emigrants specially engaged by Japanese residents in Canada for bona fide personal or domestic service, upon production of written evidence of such engagement, attested by the competent Japanese Consular Authorities.

3. Contract emigrants, where terms of the contract, works to be done, names and standing of the intended employers are satisfactorily specified; such contracts to be accompanied by a certificate from the Japanese Consul to the district where the labourers are to be employed.

In addition to the above, emigrants brought in under contract by Japanese resident agricultural hol ders in Canada and specially required for the promotion of such agriculture; such contract to be accompanied by the certificate of the Japanese Consular Authority in the district where the labourers are to be employed.

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-- B --

COPY OF MEMORANDUM TO CONSULAR AUTHORITIES.

To Consular Authorities to whom application is made for the issue of a certificate attesting the genuineness of contracts for the employment of Japanese labour in Canada shall not issue the certificate unless he receives satisfactory evidence that such contract has the approval of the Canadian Government.

As an exception to this rule, Japanese Consular Authorities in Canada may issue certificates to Japanese resident agricultural holders who require Japanese labour for the working of their agricultural lands at the rate of from five to ten labourers per one hundred acres held by the applicant. It is necessary, however, that before issuing these certificates all Japanese Consular Authorities shall exercise great care to ascertain the bona fides of the applicant and will take into close consideration the existing state of the labour market and of public feeling.

IV. As an evidence of good faith and guarantee of observance, the above regulations would be handed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the British Ambassador, with a letter couched in this language:

"With reference to the official assurance I have com-
"municated to the Canadian Commissioner on the subject of Ja-
"panese emigration, I have the honour to transmit, herewith,
"for Your Excellency's information, a memorandum embodying the
"regulations which are to be issued to local and consular au-
"thorities with the object of restricting emigration.

"With reference to domestics and agricultural labourers

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"mentioned in the regulations, the Japanese Government do not "contemplate that under existing circumstances these two "classes shall exceed four hundred (400) annually."

V. A letter from myself to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, promising on behalf of the Canadian Government that the regulations would be construed in a fair and reasonable spirit:

"British Embassy,

"Tokio, 23rd December,1907.

"Monsieur le Ministre,-

With reference to the arrangements ar- "rived at between us on the subject of emigration, I desire to "state that the Canadian Government will construe the regulations "under which the engagement of contract labour call for their "approval in each case, in a fair and reasonable spirit.

" I have also much pleasure in assuring you that bona "fide merchants, tourists, and students coming from Hawaii, "will not be affected by the opeation of the Alien Labour Act. "Needless to add that similar classes arriving from Japan will "continue to enjoy freedom of entrance into the Dominion.

" I have the honour to be, Your Excellency's

" Most obedient servant,

" (Signed) Rodolphe Lemieux.

"His Excellency Count Hayashi,

" Minister of Foreign Affairs,

" Tokio.

On the 24th December, I received a cable from the Prime Minister advising me that the Dominion Government wished to personally consult with me before accepting or rejecting the proposed arrangement. I immediately wrote the following letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

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"Tokio, 25th December,1907.

"Monsieur le Ministre,

" As you are aware, I have been in communi-
"cation with the Dominion Government since my arrival here, on
"the subject of our negotiations. While appreciating the
"courteous spirit with which I have been met, my colleagues feel
"that before coming to a final conclusion, it would be advanta-
"geous for them to personally discuss with me the proposals
"which Your Excellency has been good enough to make and which
"at this great distance a brief telegraphic summary does not
"enable them fully to understand. With that object in view,
"I am sailing on Thursday for Canada where I expect to be early
"next month. I trust that the interests involved will not suf-
"fer by this necessary delay.

" Before taking my departure, I wish to convey to you
"my personal gratitude for the kindly attention, the patient con-
"sideration and unvaried courtesy with which the negotiations
"on the subject of my delicate mission to Japan have been car-
"ried on under your direction at the Foreign Office.

" I sincerely hope that a happy solution mutually sa-
"tisfactory to Japan and Canada may soon be reached.

" I have the honour to be,

" Monsieur le Ministre,

" Yours faithfully,

" (Signed) Rodolphe Lemieux.

"His Excellency Count Hayashi,

" Minister of Foreign Affairs,

" Tokio.

I received the following reply:

"Foreign Office,

Tokio, December 25th,1907.

"Monsieur le Ministre,-

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"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your note of your "note of this date informing me of the desire of your colleagues "of the Canadian Cabinet to confer with you personally before "coming to a final decision regarding the negotiations we have "been carrying on during the past few weeks, and of your conse- "quent purpose to leave for Canada by to-morrow's steamer.

"I appreciate the force of the considerations which "have led to this decision, although regretting that they should "have rendered it necessary, but share in your hope that they "may entail only brief delay in reaching a happy solution mutu- "ally satisfactory to Canada and Japan. Being confident that "your colleagues, after the personal explanations you will be "able to give them will find in the terms to which we have ag- "reed ample proof of the sincere desire of the Imperial Govern- "ment to reach a solution by meeting the wishes of the Canadian "Government as far as it was possible for them to do so, it "only remains for me cordially to reciprocate the kind senti- "ments expressed in your note, and to wish you a safe and plea- "sant journey.

"With sentiments of high esteem,

"I remain, Monsieur le Ministre,

"Yours very sincerely,

"(Signed) Tadasu Hayashi.

"The Honourable Mr. Rodolphe Lemieux,
" Postmaster General and
" Minister of Labour for Canada,
" Tokio.

My last interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs took place on the 26th December, on the eve of my departure, when he informed me that the Cabinet had decided to extend the delay so as to give me an opportunity of personally explaining to my colleagues the nature of the proposals

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made. If, on my return to Canada, the arrangement was accepted, then the exchange of notes could take place at Tokio, between the British Ambassador and himself.

I asked if besides reading to Parliament his letter stating in general terms the policy of His Imperial Majesty's Government with respect to emigration in the future, I could, by way of illustration, refer to the regulations to be given to the Governors and Consuls.

In answer, Count Hayashi stated that he would not object to such a reference being made, provided the text of the regulations was not made public.

I enquired if the statement published in the press, with respect to the suppression of emigration companies was true,- Count Hayashi answered that (1st) he had practically suppressed the emigration companies by increasing the amount of the deposit required by the Government. Very few had been able to satisfy the new regulation; (2nd) he would repeat before the Diet, in a few days, the statement already published, that in the future as between commercial and diplomatic interests and those of the emigrants, the latter would be sacrificed; (3rd) that for the future, the emigration companies in existence would not be allowed by the Government to carry on any emigration work to Canada and the United States.

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Conclusion.

There are three alternatives:

I. The statu quo;

II. The abrogation of the Treaty;

III. The acceptance of the proposed arrangement.

The present condition of affairs in British Columbia demands our most serious consideration.

In their formal reply to our Memorandum, the Japanese Government promise to exercise due discretion in the future.

As I have already explained, the Memorandum which contains that reply is meant to give the Japanese policy, in case only the negotiations should fail and the proposed arrangement be refused.

It is quite evident that the mere promise of the exercise of a due discretion with regard to the influx of Japanese immigration is too vague and too general in terms. It will not be effective. It will not satisfy public opinion, and we will have to face the same situation next spring.

Canada must therefore either abrogate the Treaty or accept the proposed arrangement.

Assuming that we would abrogate the Treaty, which can be done by giving six months notice, what better arrangement could we adopt so as to regulate Japanese immigration?

Would Canada impose upon the Japanese a poll-tax of $500.00, as was done in the case of the Chinese? This is practically exclusion, and it is contrary to our policy, in so far as the Japanese are concerned. We have always differentiated between the Japanese and the Chinese. Moreover, exclusion would

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mean a very serious breach in the treaty of alliance between the Mother Country and Japan. It would be resented as a most unfriendly act by Japan, who admittedly, during the last half century, has risen to a high level of civilisation, and who after her campaigns against China and Russia, has become one of the world's Great Powers.

On the other hand, the abrogation of the treaty would, in so far as we are concerned, result in the loss of important tradal advantages, with a market of 50,000,000 people. The question of our wheat trade alone with Japan--where during the last ten years, the consumption has increased by 800%--should ever be borne in mind, not to speak of the many other articles which Canada can supply her with, such as oatmeal and oats, lumber and pulp, lead, copper, asbestos, aluminum, leather and hides, butter, cheese, fish, horses, cattle, canned milk, canned fruits, wool, bacon and ham, agricultural implements and machinery of all kinds. We may not, as yet, have derived from the treaty such advantages as were anticipated, although our exports to Japan have risen from nothing to the half million dollars mark, in a very short time, but the completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific, the increase of transportation facilities, with cheaper rates than the existing ones, cannot fail, especially in the case of our cereal trade, to be productive of satisfactory results.

The proposed arrangement is, in my humble judgment, a fair and convenient compromise and should be given a trial.

The assurance given by Count Hayashi on behalf of the Japanese Government is a solemn engagement which Canada is bound to accept in good faith.

The fact that it is given of her own free will makes it the more binding on Japan.

True, there are some reservations in the letter of Count Hayashi, but we must remember that it is intended for

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publication and that we can not expect the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Japan to publicly cross out with the stroke of his pen any rights to which Japanese subjects are entitled by Treaty. After all, this question of limited immigration brings us, to say the least, on very delicate ground.

Can we consistently ask the allies and friends of Great Britain to brand themselves before the whole world as an inferior race?

I have already stated that the revision of the treaties in 1894 had been for Japan the means of entering the comity of civilised nations on a status of equality. To now recede from that position would arouse her national pride and rekindle with renewed intensity the anti-foreigner's movement in Japan.

Indeed, this question is of supreme interest to Japan. The San Francisco and Vancouver riots have only made it more prominent then ever. No government, no public man in Japan, could attempt, without courting popular anger, to abridge, amend, or alter Article I of the Treaty.

On the other hand, the Japanese Government are not anxious to encourage the emigration of their labourers where they are not wanted, more especially where their presence is liable to draw their country into international entanglements.

Acting in that spirit, and with a view to meet our desires so as to stop any further agitation in British Columbia, they are ready to voluntarily take such measures as will prevent any future trouble.

Upon examination of the proposed arrangement, I find that all the avenues through which Japanese immigrants can come to Canada are closed.

I. The Hawaiians are shut off by the enforcement of the Alien Labour Act. (See sections 2-8 10-12 R.S.C. ch.97)

Over 2000 Japanese came from Hawaii last year. They were brought in British Columbia by the "Japanese Boarding House

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Union of Vancouver." Under the provisions of the Act, labour contractors and masters of vessels are subject to very severe penalties for importing alien labour. The labourers themselves can be deported.

II. An officer of the Japanese Government stationed at Victoria or Vancouver, will reject all immigrants coming to Canada without permits or in defiance of the regulations above referred to.

III. No contract labourers are allowed to come to Canada, without the consent of the Dominion Government previously obtained. This is, of all others, the class of immigrants against which so much objection has been raised. It includes skilled and unskilled labour, such as miners, fishermen, etc., etc., and artisans as well.

IV. Domestics are allowed for Japanese only and agriculturists for Japanese farmholders only, 5 to 10 per 100 acres.

The written assurance given by the Japanese Government to the British Ambassador, that they do not contemplate that these two classes united shall exceed 400 annually, makes it as good as understood that they will not exceed that number.

The Japanese Government will, if their own accord, redeem Mr. Nossé's pledges given before the treaty, to voluntarily restrict. They will do so in the manner and form already explained, i.e. by stringent regulations addressed to their Governors and Consuls. The regulations shall be scrupulously carried out, under the supervision of the Central Authority at Tokio, and the British Ambassador will see that they do not evade them. True, the regulations are not made public, but quite naturally, the Japanese Government are not anxious to divulge to the whole world, the means they intend to take, so as to prevent their people to emigrate to Canada.

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The fact that they have already suppressed the emigration companies on the ground that they became a dangerously exasperating factor, shows plainly what course the Japanese Government are determined to take.

Under these circumstances, I can not but conscientiously recommend the acceptance of the proposed arrangement.

Respectfully submitted,

Minister of Labour.

Ottawa, January, 1908.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

REPORT

BY THE HONOURABLE RODOLPHE LEMIEUX, K. C.,
MINISTER OF LABOUR, OF HIS MISSION TO JAPAN
ON THE SUBJECT OF THE INFLUX OF ORIENTAL
LABOURERS INTO THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH
COLUMBIA.

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To His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Albert Henry George, Earl Grey, Viscount Howick, Baron Grey of Howick, in the County of Northumberland, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, and a Baronet; Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, &c., &c., Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Dominion of Canada.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

The undersigned has the honour to submit to Your Excellency the report of his mission to Japan on the subject of the influx of Oriental labourers into the province of British Columbia.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

RODOLPHE LEMIEUX,
Minister of Labour.

OTTAWA, January 12, 1908.

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OBJECT OF THE MISSION.

The object of my mission to Japan is clearly defined in the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by Your Excellency on the 12th of October, 1907. It reads as follows: 'The Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier recommends 'that, in view of the recent unfortunate occurrences which have taken place in British 'Columbia, as a result of the largely increased influx of Oriental labourers into that 'province, and in view of the fact that there has been a Treaty of Peace and Com-'merce between His Majesty the King and the Emperor of Japan since the year 1894, 'and that Canada became a party to that Treaty less than two years ago, the Honour-'able Rodolphe Lemieux, Postmaster General and Minister of Labour, do proceed 'immediately to Japan to discuss the situation with His Majesty's Ambassador at 'Tokio and the Japanese authorities, with the object, by friendly means, of preventing 'the recurrence of such causes as might disturb the happy relations which have, 'under the said Treaty, existed between the subjects of His Majesty the King in 'Canada and elsewhere, and the subjects of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

'The Committee, concurring in the foregoing recommendation, submit the same 'for approval.

(Signed) 'F. K. BENNETTS,

'Assistant Clerk of the Privy Council.'

Having received the above direction, and being specially requested, before my departure, by the Prime Minister to return by the 15th January proximo, I accordingly left Ottawa on the 23rd of October, and proceeded to Vancouver, British Columbia, where I sailed for Japan on the 29th, reaching Yokohama on the 13th November following.

Before relating the negotiations which have taken place at Tokio, between the Japanese authorities, the British Ambassador and myself, I may state briefly the causes of the anti-Asiatic agitation existing in British Columbia, and which, as Your Excellency is aware, culminated in the deplorable riots of Vancouver in the month of September last. For many years past, and beginning with the discovery of the gold mines of Cassiar and Caribou, and later on with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, what is known as Oriental labour has been gradually imported in British Columbia. Practically, it is the only province in the Dominion where any strong feeling exists against Asiatic immigration, it being the only one where that immigration is settled. The Chinese coolies were the first to come. As long as the construction work of the Canadian Pacific Railway went on, their presence was not considered so objectionable. Labour was scarce and the speedy construction of the new transcontinental in the mountain section, required a large number of labourers. But soon after the completion of the road, when the *coolies* left the railway camps to become residents of cities, towns and villages, there to compete in the field of labour connected with the various industries, a strong prejudice began to manifest itself—a prejudice more or less apparent wherever the two races, Mongolian and Caucasian, have come into contact in every part of the world.

COMMISSIONS.

In 1884, a Commission was appointed by the Dominion Government to investigate and report upon the question of Chinese immigration, from its various aspects. Soon after, in 1885, the Government of the day introduced a measure imposing a head tax of $50 on every Chinese immigrant. Later on, as the Chinese still came in large numbers, this head tax was doubled. The legislation imposing a head tax of $100 was passed in 1900. As the agitation against Asiatic labour was not abated,

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and that exclusion was demanded, a new Commission was appointed. After a thorough investigation, the Commissioners came, as regards Chinese immigrants, to the following conclusions:—

'In reference to the representations made by the people and Legislature of 'British Columbia, wherein it is alleged:

'That the province is flooded with an undesirable class of people, non-assimila- 'tive and most detrimental to the wage-earning classes of the people of the province, 'and that this extensive immigration of Orientals is also a menace to the health of the 'community;

'That there is probability of a great disturbance to the economic conditions in 'the province and of grave injury being caused to the working classes by the large 'influx of labourers from China, as the standard of living of the masses of the people 'in that country differs so widely from the standard prevailing in the province, thus 'enabling them to work for a much less wage;

'That it is in the interests of the Empire that the Pacific province of the 'Dominion should be occupied by a large and thoroughly British population rather 'than by one in which the number of aliens would form a large proportion;

'We find that these representations are substantially true and urgently call for 'a remedy;

'We also find that the increase of the capitation tax from $50 to $100 is 'ineffective and inadequate;

'Your Commissioners are of opinion that the further immigration of Chinese 'labourers into Canada ought to be prohibited;

'That the most desirable and effective means of attaining this end is by treaty 'supported by suitable legislation;

'That in the meantime and until this can be obtained, the capitation should be 'raised to $500.'

As no treaty as the one contemplated by the Commissioners could hardly be negotiated with China, Parliament increased *de novo* the capitation tax from $100 to $500.

Whilst it can not be said that this head tax has stopped immigration from China, it has, however, effectually restricted it to such numbers as to cause no more alarm.

Besides, the anti-Asiatic feeling existing in British Columbia to-day, is not so much directed against the Chinese population as against the Japanese and the Hindoos. This differentiation is due to the fact that the Chinese do not assert a position of equality with the whites. They confine their activities to certain limited menial work, thus avoiding competition with the whites who look after more profitable work. They are generally in demand as domestic servants, laundrymen, cooks, labourers in clearing forest lands, market gardeners, inside workers in canneries and above ground workers at collieries.

As already stated, the importation of Oriental labour into Canada was at first chiefly confined to Chinese coolies.

The Japanese immigrants were also coming to British Columbia, but in much smaller numbers. In the last report alluded to, the Commissioners (page 399) expressed the opinion that as long as their immigration to Canada did not abnormally increase, the imposition of a head tax on the Japanese might be deferred.

'Your Commissioners fully appreciate the action taken by the Government of 'Japan on August 2nd, 1900, whereby the Governors of the *préfectures* of Japan were 'instructed to prohibit entirely, for the time being, the emigration of Japanese 'labourers for the Dominion of Canada. It is stated in a pamphlet purporting to be 'published by the Japanese Consul at Vancouver the principal reason for the measure 'thus taken was to avoid any friction that might occur by allowing them to come into 'British Columbia where their immigration was not desired by a certain element of 'that province' and that 'the Government of Japan wholly stopped the issuance of 'passports to any intending emigrants for Canada since the 1st of August last (1900), 'and still continues to do so, under a provision of the Immigration Protection Law '(Law No. 70, 1896).'

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The Commissioners had been made aware of the following instructions issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Japan:—

'DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
'TOKIO, August 2, 1900.

'To the Governors of the Prefectures:

'You are hereby instructed to prohibit entirely for the time being the emigra-
'tion of Japanese labourers for the Dominion of Canada or for the United States.

'(Sgd.) VISCOUNT AOKI,
'Minister of Foreign Affairs.'

After having commended this policy of the Japanese Government as 'most oppor-
'tune and eliminating all cause of friction and irritation between Canada and Japan' the Commissioners state:—

'Nothing further is needed to settle this most difficult question upon a firm basis
'than some assurance that the action already taken by the Government of Japan will
'not be revoked.

'Your Commissioners desire to express the earnest hope that in the continuance
'of this friendly policy, legislation on this subject by the Canadian Government may
'be rendered unnecessary. Should, however, a change of policy be adopted in this
'regard by the Japanese Government, whereby Japanese labourers may again be per-
'mitted to emigrate to Canada, the welfare of the Province of British Columbia
'imperatively demands that effective measures be adopted to take the place of the
'inhibition now imposed by the Japanese Government.

'Your Commissioners recommend that, in that event an Act be passed by the
'Dominion Government on the lines of what is known as the Natal Act, made
'sufficiently stringent and effective to accomplish the desired result.'

That such an *assurance* as suggested by the Commissioners was given, at the time, is quite certain. There was, so to speak, between the Japanese Authorities and the Dominion Government, a tacit understanding that the flow of immigration from Japan would be so regulated by the Governors of the several *préfectures,* as not to exceed four to five hundred annually.

The existence of that understanding is disclosed by the many communications exchanged on this subject between His Imperial Majesty's Consul General in Canada, Mr. T. Nossé, and the Prime Minister. I will have to refer at some length to that correspondence, but the outstanding fact remains that the Japanese Authorities so regulated the emigration from Japan as to cause no feeling of alarm in the labour market of British Columbia. It was only after Canada's adherence to the treaty concluded in 1894 between Great Britain and Japan, that the question of Japanese immigration became acute.

THE TREATY OF 1894.

But before dealing with the sudden influx of Japanese immigrants in British Columbia and its consequence, it may be of interest to state here, that until 1894, the only treaties which Japan had concluded with other nations, were owing to peculiar circumstances, one-sided and considered by many as highly detrimental to the interests of Japan. The presence in them of provisions about extra territorial rights, tariff rates, &c., had long subjected Japan to serious material disadvantages and to a keen sense of humiliation.

For many years, Japan almost concentrated her efforts in the problem of what is now known as *treaty revision,* and every possible obstacle that stood in the way of that great goal, was steadily removed. When, in 1892, this long standing affair was taken up, Great Britain was of all the Powers, the first approached, being the one which held the larger interests than any other in the question. The negotiations bore fruit and a revised treaty was concluded with Great Britain on July 17th, 1894. The other Powers followed suit. The revised treaties were put into force on the 17th July, 1899. Thus, for the first time, *Japan gained admittance into the comity of nations on a status of equality.*

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By clause XIX. of the treaty of 1894, it was made optional to Canada and other British Colonies to adhere to the treaty. Article XIX. of the treaty reads as follows: 'The applications of the present treaty shall be applicable, so far as the laws permit, 'to all the colonies and foreign possessions of Her Britannic Majesty, excepting to 'those hereinafter named, that is to say, except to:

'India,
'The Dominion of Canada,
'Newfoundland,
'The Cape,
'Natal,
'New South Wales,
'Victoria,
'Queensland,
'Tasmania,
'South Australia,
'Western Australia,
'New Zealand.

'Provided always that the stipulations of the present treaty shall be made applicable 'to any of the above-named Colonies or foreign possessions on whose behalf notice to 'that effect shall have been given to the Japanese Government by Her Britannic 'Majesty's representative at Tokio, within two years from the date of the exchange 'of ratifications of the present treaty.'

For various reasons which will be mentioned later on, in this report, it was only in 1905, that by Minute of Council dated September 26th, Canada became a party to the treaty. This Minute of Council is based upon a report from the Secretary of State, in which he recommends 'that a cable despatch be sent to Mr. Lyttelton advis-'ing him that the Government of Canada is prepared to adhere absolutely and without 'reserve to the treaty of Commerce and Navigation made between Great Britain and 'Japan in 1894 and supplementary Convention signed at Tokio in July, 1895.' In view of the expiration of the two years allowed by Article XIX. of the treaty of 1894, for the adhesion of British Colonies, it became necessary to conclude a special convention so as to give effect to the stipulations of the treaty applicable to the intercourse, commerce and navigation between the Empire of Japan and the Dominion of Canada. The Convention was signed at Tokio, on the 31st January, 1906. It came into effect immediately after the exchange of ratifications, and as stipulated 'it shall remain in force until the expiration of six months from the day on which 'one of the high contracting parties shall have announced the intention of terminating it.'

The treaty was submitted and sanctioned by Parliament during the session of 1907. It will be noticed by the first paragraph of Article I. of the treaty, that the Japanese are unequivocally given the same rights as any British subjects in Canada. It reads as follows: 'The subjects of each of the two high contracting parties shall 'have full liberty to enter, travel or reside in any part of the dominions and posses-'sions of the other contracting party, and shall enjoy full and perfect protection for 'their persons and property.'

REAL CAUSE OF THE AGITATION.

It is the *unreserved* interpretation of that Article I. by some enterprising Emigration Companies that has, of late, given rise to the agitation against the Japanese immigrants in Canada. I have already stated that prior to the treaty, there existed between the Governments of the two countries a tacit understanding by which Japanese emigration was to be restricted within reasonable limits. Due discretion was to be exercised in the issuance of permits to intending emigrants. This due discretion, on the part of the Japanese authorities, was fully contemplated by the provisions of a special law passed by the Diet in 1896, under the title '*Law 'for the Protection of Emigrants.*' It enacts that no emigrant shall proceed to foreign countries without first obtaining a permit from the Executive authorities. Such permit loses its validity if the emigrant does not leave within six months from the day of issue (Article 2). It also enacts that '*for the protection of the emigrant 'himself, the maintenance of public security*, or when deemed necessary, *for reasons 'of foreign policy*, the Authorities may forbid an emigrant's proceeding abroad for a

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'time, or cancel a permit already granted' (Article 4). Article 21 provides that 'any emigrant proceeding abroad without a permit, or with a permit obtained by 'false representations of his destination, or in defiance of an embargo laid upon his 'departure, shall be liable to a fine of not less than five yen or not more than fifty 'yen.'

According to the provisions of that law, emigration agents are under the control of the Government. They must obtain a license before entering into business and a security is exacted from them. They are subject to penalties and the authorities may suspend their business, cancel their license where their conduct is in violation of laws or departmental orders, or is deemed dangerous to public safety, or when they have neglected duly to furnish security, &c.

It is also provided that 'detailed regulations necessary for the enforcement of this 'law shall be enacted by departmental order.' The application of the 'Law for the 'Protection of Emigrants' being, so to speak, concomitant with the tacit understanding between the two governments, had the desired effect.

I. It prevented any undue inflation of the labour market in British Columbia ;

II. It justified the Dominion Government in refusing to give their assent to any drastic legislation adopted by the Legislature of British Columbia against the subjects of a friendly Power.

III. It also justified the Prime Minister to use the following language, when on January 15, 1907, he moved the second reading of Bill (No. 23) respecting the treaty between Canada and Japan : 'I would, however, observe that, so far as Japanese 'labourers are concerned, my hon. friend will agree that for the last five or six years, 'there has been no Japanese immigration to speak of into British Columbia. Some 'few years ago when we increased to $500 the poll-tax which had been in existence for 'many years against Chinese immigration, we persistently refused to extend the same 'prohibition against Japanese immigration. The reason which we gave at that time 'was that Japan was an ally of Great Britain, and we could not treat Japanese as we 'had treated the Chinese population. This was accepted by British Columbia itself, 'and I may say that our task in that respect was made easy because the Japanese Gov-'ernment has restricted the immigration of their own people. At the present time the 'Japanese Government do not allow immigration from their own provinces, with the 'exception of a very few from each province, I think it is not more than four or five 'from each province, that is all that the Japanese permit to leave the Empire of 'Japan and therefore practically there has been no emigration to British Columbia 'from that country."'

Thus, it was on the faith of the tacit understanding above referred to, that Parliament gave its sanction to the treaty. It is in that light that Canada's unreserved and absolute adhesion must be read.

Our expectations that Japan would not avail herself of the letter of Article I. of the treaty were, however, frustrated. No sooner had the Government notified Japan of their adhesion to the treaty and immediately after it had been sanctioned by Parliament that the gates were thrown wide open and an incessant tide of emigrants from both Japan and Hawaii poured into British Columbia. Some of them were bearers of permits, others had permits for the United States or Hawaii *only*, and many, relying on treaty rights alone, had no permits at all. During our fiscal year 1904-5, that is to say, from the first July, 1904, to the thirtieth June, 1905, three hundred and fifty-four Japanese arrived in Canada. From the first July, 1905, to the thirtieth June, 1906, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two Japanese arrived. In 1906, the beginning of the fiscal year was changed from July first to April first. In the six months, from the first of July to the thirty-first of December, two thousand two hundred and thirty-three Japanese arrived, and from the first of January to the thirty-first of October, 1907, eight thousand one hundred and twenty-five Japanese arrived in the Dominion, thus showing an exceptionally large and progressive increase.

The above-mentioned statistics have been compiled by our own officers of the Interior Department, of the Customs Department, at Ottawa, Vancouver and Victoria.

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I have already explained why the Chinese, who are heavily taxed and are satisfied with confining their activities to menial work, are less objectionable as immigrants, than the Japanese and the Hindoos. As the question of the Hindu immigration does not come within the purview of this report, I will not state what reasons, ethnical and others, militate against their entry into Canada. But, as regards the Japanese, the strong objection against them is owing to the fact that they enter into closer competition with white labour than the Chinese. The consensus of opinion is that they do not and can not assimilate with the white people; that while, in some respects, they are less undesirable than the Chinese, in that they adopt more readily our habits of life and spend more of their earnings in the country, yet in all that goes to make for the permanent settlement of British Columbia, they are more serious a menace than the Chinese and keener competitors against the workingmen, as they have more energy and more independence than the others. The Japanese are employed in the *fisheries and lumber industries and occupations incidental to these, such as boat-building and getting out shingle bolts, cordwood, etc. They are also employed in the mining industry, on railways, in sealing, as domestic servants, in farming, land clearing and market gardening, and as tailors.* Many are also employed as *waiters in hotels.* The sudden influx of Japanese immigrants was brought about by the combined action of emigration companies operating at Vancouver, Tokio and Honolulu.

There are, according to Mr. McInnes's report dated October 2nd, 1907, three large agencies having headquarters in Vancouver, which are engaged in bringing Japanese labourers under contract direct from Japan, one large agency bringing them both from Honolulu and Japan, and several smaller agencies which bring them from Japan under contract in connection with their own business—the larger agencies supplying labourers to employers and contractors in general. These agencies are:

1. The Japanese Boarding House Keepers' Union of Vancouver, British Columbia, Limited;
2. The Canada Nippon Supply Company, Limited;
3. S. Gotoh;
4. The Nittoh Employment Company;
5. The Japanese General Contract Company, Limited.

I need not dwell at any length on the *modus operandi* of these various companies. Mr. McInnes, in his very able report to the Minister of the Interior, shows clearly how their combined efforts at Vancouver, Honolulu and Tokio have brought about the present crisis in British Columbia.

To prevent the recurrence of such influx in the future, and to revert by *friendly means* to the understanding which had heretofore existed between Canada and Japan, was the chief object of my mission.

THE ANTI-ASIATIC PREJUDICE.

That there is in British Columbia as well as in some of the Western States of the American Union, a strong prejudice against the Asiatics in general, is too obvious. The increased membership of the Exclusion Leagues at Vancouver, Seattle, San Francisco, the dissemination of anti-Asiatic literature and the several riots that have taken place during the last few months, clearly indicate the existence of an organization, the influence of which cannot be underestimated.

Whilst it may be argued that the present agitation in British Columbia is the outcome of—on the one hand, the greed of employers who import cheap labour, and on the other the resentment of labour unions who as a result, clamour against the lowering of wages, yet it must be borne in mind that the interests at stake in the Asiatic immigration problem are far more serious, far more complex, than the quarrel between the Unions and the corporations.

I have already stated that the anti-Asiatic prejudice has always asserted itself wherever Mongolian and Caucasian had come into contact. More especially so, in an Anglo-Saxon community like ours, where democratic institutions prevail, the

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introduction in large numbers of alien races inherently ignorant of the most elementary principles of self-government, can not but by itself be inimical to the best interests of Canada. One must bear in mind that there are now over 25,000 Asiatics in British Columbia, practically all of whom are male adults. There are not 75,000 white male adults in the province. So that, if to-day every fourth man in that province competing for a living is an Asiatic, are not the reasons for effectual restriction far more compelling than one would at first imagine? Those Orientals belong to a civilization developed through the centuries, along lines totally and radically divergent from ours. There is a well nigh impassable gulf between the two. On the other hand, a circumstance which makes this question still more complex and exceedingly difficult to handle, is the fact that the stream was started by our own people. Otherwise, the Orientals would have found no employment in Canada. It is by the difference of interests among Labour and Capital that these races enter in, and it is by virtue of that difference that the tremendous economic weight of their industrial efficiency is brought to bear upon the whole industrial system of British Columbia. It is a truism in political economy that men who can work fourteen and fifteen hours a day, who live with a frugality of which we have no conception, must prove formidable competitors in the field of labour.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that British Columbians object to a vast alien Colony, exclusive, inscrutable, unassimilative, with fewer wants and a lower standard of living than themselves, maintaining intact their peculiar customs and characteristics, ideals of home and family life, with neither the wish nor the capacity to amalgamate, which gradually by the mere pressure of numbers may undermine the very foundations of *their province*.

They have to safeguard the future and the distinctiveness of their race and civilization, and in their passionate and unalterable conviction, they cannot be protected unless the free ingress of Orientals is restricted and regulated.

As in every Anglo-Saxon community, there exists a deep-seated popular determination to exclude from even the sparsely-settled territories, the concentrated masses of the Orient.

Such are the economic factors coupled with race antipathy and incompatibility of ideals, that are at the bottom of all agitation now going on for the exclusion of the Orientals.

PUBLIC OPINION IN JAPAN.

I have dwelt briefly upon the strong racial prejudices that exist against the presence of Asiatic labour in British Columbia as well as in all white communities, I will now endeavour to sum up in a few lines the result of my investigation as regards public opinion in Japan on that vexed question.

In doing this, I am merely enunciating in the briefest and perhaps crudest form, such views as were expressed to me, privately and publicly in unofficial circles.

Being a proud and sensitive people, the Japanese cannot admit that such racial prejudices, as are being nurtured by labour unions and by a section of the press in both Canada and the United States, will last forever. Japan, they say, owes her recognition by the nations of the world, to her successful wars and the proof of military and naval power which these have displayed. But above all, her new form of government, her educational progress, should be an object lesson to dispassionate and fair-minded observers, that her standards of civilization are on a par with those of western nations.

Japan can not, will not and must not be expected to sign away either in the form of a treaty, a law or protocol, the rights which belong to her subjects as units of a nation claiming and deserving to receive at the hands of Western countries, the consideration that marks their intercourse with one another. The utmost she can do is to declare that in the interests of expediency and friendly relations, she will exercise close discretion in limiting the number of immigrants to the North American Continent.

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But what they regard as the crux of their grievance against not only Canada but even to a greater extent, the United States, is this: America admits immigrants from Europe and refuses or proposes to refuse admission to those of Japan. This, they claim, is not only unfair in itself, but is a flagrant contravention of the treaty, in which they are guaranteed equal treatment with that accorded the subjects of all other countries. They can not well refrain from viewing this as an aspersion on their nationality and consequently will not be satisfied until this discriminating treatment is removed. Being somewhat congested in their own country, they must find an outlet for their surplus population. They are not willing, they say, to be dumped down in a land with scant possibilities of development. The whole nation is instinct with the ambition that, though it has come up rather late to enter the race for colonization, it is not going to be left behind without an effort to compete and expand. Thrilled with the consciousness of her newly discovered potentialities as a nation, Japan is determined to make herself felt in a practical way in her own interests. Her people have more endurance than her competitors, and are, therefore, as ready as others—if not more—to enter the contest for a national expansion.

They say further,—and this was the view taken by Count Okuma in a speech delivered only a few weeks ago—that British Columbia and the Western coast generally is not in a position to refuse any competent labour that offers. Are not its mines crying out, so to speak to be worked, its fields to be tilled, its forests to be cleared, its fruits to be picked? For years, has not the development of British Columbia and the Western States been checked by a shortage of labour?

As proof of their contention, they point out that, whereas the province of British Columbia measures 365,610 square miles and is, therefore, twice as large as Japan, it contains a population of 250,000 or 0·63 per square mile. Possessing as it does boundless resources, British Columbia is undoubtedly in need of labour from abroad for the development of enterprise. It follows, therefore, that cheap Japanese labour is indispensable for the purpose.

The immediate interest of both California and British Columbia is to import all the labour they can lay hands on. Such material progress as they have already compassed, would unquestionably have been beyond their capacity to produce had it not been for Asiatic labour. In all the rougher forms of labour, their presence on the Pacific Coast has been invaluable.

The European workers who pour in through the Atlantic ports rarely reach the Pacific Coast and without Oriental labour, vast areas of a most productive territory would remain uncleared and unimproved.

The Japanese immigrants can contribute vitally to the economic and industrial fabric of the communities where they settle. They are industrious, peaceable, living simply and innocuously, publishing their own papers and above all providing the unskilled labour of which neither the railroads, nor the farmers, nor the fruit-growers, nor the mines, nor the canneries can ever have enough.

From a purely business point of view, the Japanese naturally deplore that such unfortunate incidents as the Vancouver riots, should be allowed to occur, as it is most seriously to be feared that unless they are speedily prevented, the ill-feeling which their countrymen are now constrained to harbour against the people of a single section, may finally have an unhappy effect upon the development of commercial relations between the two countries.

ASSURANCES GIVEN BY THE CONSUL GENERAL OF JAPAN.

Before I proceed to fully acquaint Your Excellency with the negotiations which have taken place at Tokio during the months of November and December 1907, I wish to refer again to the tacit *understanding*, the violation of which was the immediate cause of the riots in Vancouver. This *understanding* was based upon the written assurances given by Mr. Nossé, Consul General of Japan, of a voluntary restriction on the part of the Japanese Authorities, assurances supplemented by verbal promises to the same effect.

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The letters and telegrams addressed by His Imperial Majesty's Consul General to the Prime Minister, on various occasions, establish beyond the shadow of a doubt the existence of such an understanding. A brief synopsis of Mr. Nossé's correspondence bearing on this point, naturally finds its place here.

In a letter dated Montreal, June 3rd, 1902, he says:—'The Japanese Government, 'by the timely advice of Hon. S. Shimizu, my predecessor in office, has been restrict-'ing the emigration of her people to Canada for last two years, by allowing only those 'who are furnished with certificates issued by her Consul at Vancouver, to return to 'their destination and this restriction has so well carried out that the number of 'Japanese coming into British Columbia is now greatly limited.'

In a letter dated Montreal, February 3rd, 1903, Mr. Nossé answers as follows, a query made by the Prime Minister about the number of Japanese who are allowed to emigrate each year:—'In answer to your enquiry as to why so large a number of 'Japanese were allowed to emigrate to Canada during the past year or so, I beg to 'say that the Japanese Government has been restricting for more than the last two 'years, the issuing of new passports to all intending emigrants to Canada. It is total 'and absolute restriction, and there is not any limited number allowed for each year 'as you have stated. The only Japanese who are allowed to leave Japan, under the 'present system, for Canada, are:—

'(1) Those who hold passports and also certificates of the Japanese Consul at Vancouver certifying that they are residents in Canada and only returning to Canada;

'(2) The families of Japanese residents to Canada coming out to join them, 'upon approval of the Japanese Consul at Vancouver.'

'(3) The merchants and students duly qualified.'

On the 5th February, 1903, the Prime Minister again inquires from Mr. Nossé to know what regulations are made by his Government as to the number of Japanese allowed every year to emigrate from Japan to Canada.

He answers as follows, in a letter dated Montreal, February 6th, 1903: 'I beg 'leave to state that prior to the fall of 1900, the number of her passports issued to 'Japanese emigrants for Canada used to be about fifty each month, but since then 'the Japanese Government have wholly stopped the issuance of new passports to any 'intending emigrants for Canada, under a provision of the "Emigration Protection 'Law," and no passports are, therefore, issued at present to the new emigrants, 'except to the merchants, students and tourists, duly qualified. It is, therefore, 'practically the total restriction, on the part of the Japanese Government, of the 'emigration of their people to Canada. The system is most rigidly observed in Japan, 'as every passenger is examined on board of the steamer prior to her departure, and 'those who are found without passports are ordered back on shore by the police 'authorities under the penalty of heavy fines.'

On February 2nd, 1903, Mr. Nossé writes as follows from Montreal:—

'I have the honour of transmitting to you herewith inclosed, the lists of Japanese 'arrivals in British Columbia for the months of November and December, 1902. I 'beg to call your special attention to the considerable decrease of the arrivals in 'British Columbia of Japanese who intend to stay there permanently, the proof of 'the Japanese Government strictly observing their policy towards the immigration of 'their people into this country. I regret to note, however, that there was unusually 'a large number of Japanese arrivals at Vancouver from the Hawaiian Islands, 'through a notoriously dishonourable work of an American concern there, but I am 'glad to know by the combined efforts on the part of the Japanese Consuls at Van-'couver and Honolulu, the practice was timely stopped. As you may understand 'through the newspaper cuttings herein inclosed, and I am informed by the Japanese 'Consul at Vancouver, that these passengers were ordered to leave British Columbia 'for the United States, where they originally expected to go, but never to British 'Columbia.'

In the lists referred to in the above letter, it appears that 255 Japanese had arrived at Vancouver and Victoria in November, 1902, and 261 in December, 1902.

The next communication from Mr. Nossé to the Prime Minister is in the form

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of a telegram, dated Montreal, March 30th, 1903. It reads as follows: 'In answer 'to my cablegram to the Imperial Japanese Government advising them to continue 'the policy of restricting their people emigrating in any large number into British 'Columbia, I have received a cable instruction to the effect that I have to give your 'Government the renewed assurance that the Japanese Government are not desirous 'of forcing their people into British Columbia against the wish of the province, and 'that they are willing to enter into an agreement with your Government by which 'they may bind themselves, if their present policy of rigid restriction is not deemed 'satisfactory to your Government.

'(Signed) T. Nossé,
'*Consul General of Japan.*'

In a letter dated Montreal, July 18th, 1903, he says: 'I have the honour to 'assure you once again that the Japanese Government is not disposed to issue the 'passports any more than necessary. Any number of new permits under 200 per 'annum cannot be said to be very large, considering the fact that in this number not 'only the wives and children of the old residents, but also merchants and students 'and even the Consul and his family are included.'

On the 13th of August, 1903, Mr. Nossé transmits a statement, showing the number of passports issued by the Japanese Government for emigrants to Canada in the years 1901-2-3, and he adds :

'In this table, you will please notice that during last three years, the number 'of passports issued has not exceeded over 200, and not a single permit was given to 'an immigrant.'

In a letter dated Montreal, March 19, 1904, Mr. Nossé informs the Prime Minister that he has served His Excellency the Governor General with an official protest on behalf of his government against the re-enactment of a British Columbia Immigration Act, and he adds :

'My personal explanations to you at our last interview, I trust, have convinced 'you that the Japanese Government has been faithful to her promises and the 'people in British Columbia have no real cause of agitation.'

He concludes by asking the disallowance of the Act. In his answer of the 21st of the same month, the Prime Minister says : 'I told you at our last interview that 'the Government of Japan had fulfilled their engagement towards us and that on our 'side we should act accordingly.'

In a letter dated, Ottawa, May 9, 1905, Mr. Nossé tenders thanks on behalf of his Government for the prompt measures taken by the Dominion Government in disallowing British Columbia Legislation, and he adds : 'While trusting in the Canadian 'Government justice and good faith, the Japanese Government will always adhere to 'their policy of voluntary restriction on their people emigrating to British Columbia.'

After the treaty was discussed in the House, he wrote (January 18, 1907) a letter to thank the Prime Minister for his attitude taken in Parliament, in which he again refers to the policy of voluntary restriction of the Japanese Government. He uses the following language: 'The Japanese Government, however, will issue no pass-'port under any pretext whatever.'

I have carefully quoted the extracts of those of Mr. Nossé's letters which contain his *assurances*. Your Excellency will observe that all of these letters, with the exception of the last one, are prior to the treaty and that he invariably speaks of a *voluntary restriction* on the part of his government. I have no doubt whatsoever that before and after the treaty, his verbal assurances were stronger in their meaning and conveyed the impression that the Japanese Government had agreed to a limitation by number, *i.e.*, 500 to 600 annually—but this is only verbal.

His telegram of March 30, 1903, is more explicit and so is the statement made in his letter of January 18, 1907. I will state further on, what view was taken by the Japanese Government of Mr. Nossé's pledges as contained in his telegram of March 30, 1903, and in his letter of January 18, 1907.

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NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FOREIGN OFFICE AT TOKIO.

Upon my arrival at Tokio, on November the 14th, I immediately called at the British Embassy. Our Ambassador, Sir Claude MacDonald, was already well aware of the object of my mission to Japan. He had been instructed by the Foreign Office in London, to present my credentials to His Excellency, Count Hayashi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, which he had already done. We immediately repaired to the Foreign Office, where he introduced me to Count Hayashi. It was agreed that the negotiations would be opened at the next meeting when both sides would be represented as follows :—

JAPAN: By His Excellency Count Hayashi, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Baron Chinda, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Mr. Ishii, Director of the Bureau of Commerce;

CANADA: By His Excellency Sir Claude MacDonald, British Ambassador; the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Special Envoy of the Canadian Government; the Hon. F. O. Lindley, Secretary of the British Embassy; and Mr. Joseph Pope, Under Secretary of State of Canada.

I cannot refrain from stating here at once, that whatever may be the result of the negotiations, Canada owes a debt of gratitude to His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio. From the early stage of the proceedings, he took a deep interest in the question itself. Not only did he identify himself with our case, but—a circumstance of the greatest advantage and of far-reaching consequence—he also secured for the Canadian contention the *'full support'* of His Majesty's Government. He was present at every meeting and spared no effort to bring the negotiations to a speedy and successful issue. It is my duty to declare that I received from this experienced diplomat, so well versed in all the intricacies and undercurrents of politics in the far East, such aid and counsel as proved invaluable to me. I also received from the Hon. Mr. Lindley and Mr. Pope all the assistance which a long experience and a thorough knowledge of the various points at issue could give. Indeed, none could have evinced more interest and displayed more intelligence and more loyalty in the discharge of their duties.

On the 25th November, after several interviews with Sir Claude MacDonald, I proceeded to the Foreign Office, where I fully explained to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the circumstances of my mission to Japan, and laid before him the proposals of my government for dealing with the question of immigration to Canada.

Having referred to the increased influx of Japanese immigrants to British Columbia, to the recent disturbances at Vancouver, and alluded to the regret expressed by the Prime Minister at this unfortunate occurrence and to the settlement through Mr. Mackenzie King of all just claims for damages incurred by the Japanese residents, I stated that the unexpectedly large immigration of labourers and artisans to British Columbia, considered in relation to the understanding upon which our unreserved adherence to the treaty had been given, might, if permitted to go unchecked, impair the happy relations existing between the two countries—which it was the main desire of the Canadian Government in accepting the treaty to further.

As to Canada's attitude towards Japan, it had ever been one of amity and goodwill. It was the natural outcome of our allegiance to His Majesty the King, friend and ally of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

Besides, we were inspired by feelings of warm admiration for a nation that had achieved such distinction as had Japan. I recalled our encouragement of the Osaka Exhibition, where Canada, being officially represented by a Cabinet Minister, had cordially co-operated with their Government, to promote the success of that display of Japanese industries.

As a further evidence of good-will on the part of the Dominion Government, I laid particular stress on the fact that between the years 1897 and 1901, no fewer than nine Statutes of the Legislature of British Columbia prohibiting the immigration of Japanese into that province, had been disallowed. I then stated that the paramount

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consideration of our policy with regard to Japanese immigration in the past, had been the *pledges* repeatedly given by the Consul General for Japan, Mr. Nossé, of the desire and intention of the Japanese authorities to regulate and limit the immigration of their subjects to Canada. As a confirmation to Mr. Nossé's statements, the 'Law for the Protection of Emigrants,' a law of restrictive character, had been brought to our notice before our acceptance of the treaty. The assurances given by Mr. Nossé were most positive. They had been officially given in writing by him to the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet, at various periods during the last four or five years, and could admit of only one interpretation. Relying upon these engagements and having regard to the close alliance existing between the Mother Country and Japan, the Government had submitted for approval the treaty to Parliament and obtained its unanimous sanction, feeling that it would not be necessary to insist upon any specific limitation of the number of Japanese immigrants.

I then gave the statistics already quoted, showing the sudden and exceptionally large increase of Japanese immigrants to British Columbia during the last few months.

I pointed out the peculiar geographical situation of British Columbia; how, on the one hand, it lay separated from the older portions of the Dominion by vast stretches of prairie, and by four ranges of well nigh impassable mountains, how on the other, it adjoined the western portion of the United States, where the same irritating question was agitating the public mind.

Having established the proportion of aliens with regard to the total population of British Columbia, I submitted that in a community where one man in every four is of a foreign race, and where the disparity is rapidly growing less, there was some ground for the uneasiness of the people of British Columbia.

The Dominion Government thus found themselves in this position. On the one hand—as British subjects, apart from the gratification which they experienced in the alliance between Great Britain and Japan, they were not insensible to the advantages of the commercial treaty recently entered into; on the other—in view of the recent troubles and the unsettled condition of the labouring classes in British Columbia, of the continuance of the present disquietude in the province, of the possibility of further disturbances entailing subsequent enquiries into and indemnification for losses sustained, they realized the responsibility resting upon them for the peace, order and good government of Canada.

I concluded by the following words:—

'The Canadian Government, having regard to the circumstances I have endeav-
'oured to lay before Your Excellency, feel themselves constrained to invite the
'serious consideration of the Government of Japan to the present condition of affairs
'in British Columbia, and to request them to render effective the assurances they
'have already given through their Consul General by restricting the immigration
'of labourers and artisans to a number which can be absorbed without unduly dis-
'turbing the proportion of races in that province. They consider that a yearly
'immigration not exceeding 300 labourers and artisans in any one year would satisfy
'this requirement, with a further stipulation that Canada be not required to admit
'any Japanese labourer or artisan who is not the bearer of a permit issued by the
'competent Japanese Authorities, authorising him to land in the Dominion.

'The Canadian Government are persuaded that such an arrangement, which has
'the full support of His Majesty's Government, would go far towards the removal of
'all sources of friction between the two peoples in the province of British Columbia,
'and to promote the harmony which they earnestly desire should exist between the
'subjects of His Britannic Majesty and those of His Majesty's friend and ally, the
'Emperor of Japan.'

Having thus presented the views of the Dominion Government, I formally laid before the Minister of Foreign Affairs a meromandum fully stating our case.*

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* See Appendix A.

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This memorandum together with the official reply of the Japanese Government, are published as appendices to this report. In view of what subsequently happened, it was agreed that both *memoranda* should be treated as confidential documents.

Your Excellency will observe that my *memorandum* dated November 15th, was laid before the Minister of Foreign Affairs on November 25th. The *memorandum* in reply,† was only handed to me by Count Hayashi on December 21st.

No want of courtesy on the part of the Japanese Government should be inferred from this. On the contrary, I am pleased to state that the attitude of the Foreign Office has been one of unvaried friendship and cordiality. The delay in presenting their written reply did not preclude the negotiations from progressing during the interval. As explained to me by Count Hayashi, his memorandum contained the formal answer of the Japanese Government, but would only serve as a document of record, in case all negotiations failed. It is in that light that his memorandum in reply should be read. I will, therefore confine myself, for the better understanding of this report, to the discussions which took place at our several interviews and which ended in the proposals offered as a compromise by the Japanese Government.

Having presented the views of the Canadian Government, Count Hayashi replied to the effect that my memorandum would be carefully considered by him, and that a written answer would be given in due course. He then went on to observe that he fully appreciated the kindly feeling of the Government of Canada towards the Japanese Government, and that the sentiments expressed by me were fully reciprocated. He added that he also quite understood and appreciated the difficulties of the Canadian Government arising out of this question, but that Japan had also hers; that their people were high-spirited and sensitive, and would not brook any fresh treaty or convention imposing restrictions upon them in respect of immigration; that they could not tolerate being regarded as inferior to other races against whom no restrictions were enforced.

I then explained that our government had always differentiated between the Japanese and Chinese. I laid stress on the fact that the moving causes which influenced Canada to adhere to the treaty were the assurances of Mr. Nossé, some of whose letters I proceeded to read.

Your Excellency will have observed in perusing the extracts of these letters, that the assurances given by Mr. Nossé are two-fold.

I. In mostly all of his letters, Mr. Nossé speaks of *voluntary measures* already taken or to be taken by his government to restrict the immigration of Japanese to Canada.

II. In a telegram dated March 30th, 1903, addressed to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, he assures him that the Japanese Government *are willing to enter into an agreement with the Canadian Government to bind themselves to keep the Japanese out of British Columbia.*

It is to be noted that Count Hayashi and his Vice-Minister, Baron Chinda, declared most positively that in making the latter statements Mr. Nossé had exceeded his instructions as he was not authorized to give any such assurance.

The Japanese Government were, however, quite willing to meet our views in any practical way, but that it should be voluntary on their part, and that they could not in justice to themselves, enter into any fresh formal convention on the subject. Count Hayashi also explained that the present increase in immigration—although his figures did not agree with ours—was due to exceptional causes, and instanced the rush from Hawaii, which he said was to be ascribed to the San Francisco earthquake and would not recur.

I pointed out to him that upwards of six thousand (6,000) Japanese had entered the Dominion during the present year, coming direct from Japan.

I may state here that the Japanese Government do not admit the accuracy of our figures. They claim that a large proportion of Japanese who have landed in British Columbia have subsequently gone to the United States.

In view, however, of the uniformly friendly attitude of the Canadian Government, Count Hayashi again reiterated the statement that he would so frame his

† See Appendix B.

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regulations as to prevent in the future any such influx of immigrants. He did not intend to force the entry of Japanese into British Columbia against the wish of that province. As a matter of fact, he had already taken effective measures to counteract the work of certain emigration companies, which relying on the letter of the treaty, had acted injudiciously in the matter.

The immigration of Japanese to America meant, from a purely economical point of view, a loss to Japan and it was the policy of his Government to discourage it and to divert it towards Korea and Manchuria.

He would, at another interview, explain more fully the nature of the restrictive measures, he intended to take so as to achieve that result.

I should mention that the American Ambassador at Tokio had been pressing the Japanese Government for a convention limiting the number of Japanese immigrants to the United States. He had also approached the British Ambassador with a view to make a common case with Canada—a proposal which, of course, could not be entertained. Count Hayashi, during the conversation, used an argument which he evidently had employed with the United States Ambassador. He referred to Commander Perry's landing in Japan in 1853 and his plea to the Japanese people to throw open their ports and become citizens of the world, telling them that the only way by which they could ever achieve a place among the nations was by welcoming all races to their shores. The Japanese Government had much difficulty in persuading their people to accept this policy. They did so, however, and now find the doors of the very nation which pressed this policy upon them, shut in their faces.

The next meeting was held on the 2nd of December, at the Foreign Office. Count Hayashi said that after having consulted the Cabinet, he could not agree to amend the treaty so as to limit the number of emigrants to Canada, as it would be resented as a national humiliation on the part of Japan. He could, however, by a process of voluntary restrictions which he had absolute power to enforce, reach the same object as we had in view. He then handed me a draft copy of the instructions which he intended to issue, prohibiting all emigration to Canada, except as regards the following classes:—

I. 'Emigrants having previously had their residence in Canada and holding 'the certificates of such residence issued by the Japanese Consul Authorities there 'and the wives and children of those emigrants.

2. 'Emigrants specially invited by the Japanese residents or other nationals in 'Canada and holding the letters of such invitation attested by the competent Japanese 'Consular Authorities.

3. 'Contract emigrants whose terms of the contracts, works to be done and stand- 'ing of the intended employers are satisfactorily specified.

'As an exception to the above, it is the intention of the Imperial Government to 'afford reasonable facilities to the emigrants specially required for promoting various 'enterprises started by the Japanese in Canada who shall have acquired or leased 'certain ground for agricultural purposes or obtained mining concessions there, either 'independently or in conjunction with other nationals.'

On being handed this document, I immediately stated that I could not agree to any such terms; that far from being restrictive, the new instructions were lax; that instead of removing the cause of the agitation, they would accentuate it.

Count Hayashi, in answer, said that the official translator of the Foreign Office being absent, it was quite possible that the wording of the document might be ambiguous.

He therefore would proceed to explain the meaning that each clause purported to convey, consider our objections, accept or reject the suggestions offered, and after a thorough examination of each clause, and without committing ourselves, leave the document with us to redraft. A long and detailed discussion followed, in the course of which several important concessions were made by Count Hayashi, who finally agreed to a recast of the document on the following lines:—

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Clause I.—*It would apply only to Japanese residents.* They surely could not be prevented from coming to Japan and returning to Canada with their wives and children, as they already had vested rights.

Clause II.—*It would only apply to bona fide domestics for Japanese residents only.* The Japanese residents, said Count Hayashi, may require domestics. They cannot expect to have white servants. We therefore should not object to *bona fide* domestics for Japanese residents who may want them. In each case, however, the Japanese Consul would have to issue a certificate attesting the good faith of the applicant.

Clause III.—*It would apply to contract labourers. They would be allowed to come to Canada subject, however, to the consent of the Dominion Government having been previously obtained by the labour contractors.* Special instructions would be given to Consuls to that effect.

Paragraph 2 of Clause III. would apply only to Japanese resident agricultural holders, requiring labour for their lands. They could import such labour at the rate of five to ten per 100 acres. This, said Count Hayashi, is the same regulation accepted by the United States, where many Japanese are interested in rice plantations, &c., &c.

I may state at once that strong objection was taken by us against this last paragraph, and at a later stage of the negotiations it was modified.

Sir Claude MacDonald said that the new instructions or regulations might perhaps check the immigration from Japan to Canada direct, but the immigrants could evade them by simply going to Hawaii and thence to Canada. Count Hayashi answered that the Japanese going to Hawaii were beyond their jurisdiction, and that no regulation could apply to them, once they had landed there.

I then suggested that Hawaii, being an American possession, and Canada having passed an Alien Labour Law against the United States, there should be no objection to our enforcing the law against Japanese contract labourers coming from Hawaii. Count Hayashi stated, in answer, that as long as there was no discrimination against the Japanese, he would not object; but at all events, he would consider the question and give me an answer at the next meeting.

Mr. Pope submitted that our officers should be authorized to refuse those coming without passports.

Count Hayashi said that as long as passports were not required from other immigrants, he could not understand why of all others, the Japanese should be singled out. Your Excellenecy will observe that on this point, we obtained at a later stage, another important concession.

Before the adjournment, I asked Count Hayashi, if besides these regulations, I would obtain an assurance from the Japanese Government, that they would effectually restrict the immigration to Canada, an assurance that would be laid before Parliament.

He answered in the affirmative.

On the 3rd, the 4th, the 5th and 7th of December, informal meetings took place at the British Embassy and at the Foreign Office, at which the instructions to the governors of the *préfectures* and to the consuls were recast. At the meeting of December 5, Count Hayashi stated that on Monday the 9th, at 3 p.m. he would formally present the counter-proposals of the Japanese Government.

Briefly analysed they would be as follows :—

The Japanese Government will prohibit all immigration to Canada, except the following classes :—

I. Resident Japanese returning to Canada for the second time ;

II. *Bona fide* domestics for Japanese residents only ;

III. Emigrants brought in under contract approved, in each case, by the Dominion Government ;

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IV. Agricultural labourers for work on farms owned by Japanese under the same restrictions as their arrangement with the United States, namely, from five to ten labourers per hundred acres.

The Japanese Government would also agree :

I. To give me a letter to be made public stating their intention to effectually restrict emigration to Canada in the future ;

II. To raise no objection against our enforcing the Alien Labour Law against the Japanese labourers coming from Hawaii ;

III. To deposit with the British Ambassador at Tokio, the new regulations issued to Governors and Consuls, as a guarantee of observance.

I again stated that although I appreciated the spirit in which the counter proposals were made, I did not wish to be understood as agreeing unreservedly to any alternative scheme, without submitting it to my Government. I again pressed for a numerical limitation of the immigrants to Canada, as being the simplest and most satisfactory mode of dealing with this vexed question.

The meeting of the 9th December was, at our request, postponed, and as a matter of fact, no other, except informal interviews could conveniently be held until my departure. I wish to state, however, that during that interval of time, we settled what we thought to be important points.

I. The Japanese Government would agree to appoint an officer at Victoria and Vancouver, who would reject all immigrants coming from Japan without permits to Canada;

II. In his confidential letter to the British Ambassador enclosing the regulations to Governors and Consuls with respect to immigration, Count Hayashi would further state: "With reference to domestics and agri-'cultural labourers mentioned in the regulations, the Japanese Gov-'ernment do not contemplate that under existing circumstances, 'these two classes will exceed four hundred annually."

QUEENSLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

It has been suggested to me, in the course of these negotiations, that we might obtain an arrangement similar in terms to that of Queensland.

The special arrangement with Queensland is contained in the Protocol signed at Tokio, March 16th, 1897. As Your Excellency is aware, Queensland acceded to the Treaty of 1894, subject, however, to the following condition:—

I. 'That the stipulations contained in the first and third articles of the above-'named treaty shall not in any way affect the Laws, Ordinances and Regulations 'with regard to trade, *the immigration of labourers and artisans,* police and public 'security which are in force, or may hereafter be enacted in Japan or in the said 'colony of Queensland.'

The Foreign Office at Tokio emphatically declare that there is no other arrangement with Queensland than the one provided in the Protocol. Cable enquiries were made during the negotiations by the British Ambassador from the authorities in Queensland, and no information could be obtained. During our discussions, when reference was made to the Protocol, Count Hayashi and Baron Chinda invariably told us that Queensland had never availed herself of the above-mentioned stipulation.

It is quite evident, that for Queensland as well as for any other British colony acceding to the Treaty with a similar proviso, Japan desired to be in a position to terminate the treaty whenever the free immigration of labour would have been legislated against. (See letter of Sir Ernest Satow to Lord Salisbury, dated February 7th, 1896.) On the other hand, one must bear in mind that in 1896, when the Japanese Government was willing to give Canada the benefit of the reservation regarding labour legislation, we refused to accept it. (See Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, October 13th, 1896.) Later on, on the 14th July, 1905, we were asked if our

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desire to accede to the treaty was subject to the same terms and conditions as Queensland in 1897. (See letter of Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to Lord Grey, July 14th, 1905.)

Our reply was that 'Canada is prepared to adhere absolutely and without reserve 'to the treaty of commerce and navigation made between Great Britain and Japan in '1894 and supplementary convention signed at Tokio in July, 1895.' (See Report of Committee of Privy Council, September 26, 1905.)

It should be pointed out here that the Cabinet was influenced, in taking this course, by the promise made at that time by Mr. Nossé, that the Japanese Authorities would of themselves restrict the immigration of labourers to Canada. His letter to the Hon. Mr. Fisher on this subject is quite clear.

It would seem, however, as far as the United States are concerned, that even a proviso similar in terms to that of Queensland, would not stop the agitation against Japanese immigration.

Paragraph 3 of Article II of the Treaty between United States and Japan, 1894, contains the following clause: 'It is, however, understood that the stipulations con-"tained in this and the preceding article do not in any way affect the laws, ordinances 'and regulations with regard to trade, *the immigration* of labourers, police and 'public security, which are in force or which may hereafter be enacted in either of 'the two countries.'

This proviso in the Treaty is supplemented by most stringent regulations regarding Japanese and Korean labourers. (See Rule 21 of the Immigration Laws and Regulations of July 1, 1907).

Notwithstanding the proviso and the regulations, the problem of Japanese immigration is as complex and as difficult, if not more, in the United States as it is in British Columbia.

It is a well-known fact in Tokio that for some time, negotiations of a desultory sort have been going on between the Governments of Japan and the United States, with as yet no satisfactory adjustment of the immigration problem. It will be remembered that colour was given to this rumour some time ago when the Minister of Foreign Affairs intimated that Japan had been asked for acquiescence in a new treaty formally excluding Japanese immigrants from the United States, and that she had refused. It is averred that since then, Japan has been asked if she would consent to a revision of the immigration clause in exchange for America's concession of the right of naturalization to Japanese domiciled in the United States, and that Japan likewise declined that offer. The last move on the part of the United States is said to have been the proposal to approve a new tariff union between Korea and Japan in exchange for the latter's consent to a new treaty excluding immigrants, which it is affirmed, Japan also declined to entertain.

The successive failures of the United States to arrive at an understanding would throw some light on the attitude of the American Ambassador at Tokio during our negotiations. As I have stated before, he discreetly approached the British Ambassador, with a view to make a common case of the two, stating that he was well aware that the United States could not get better terms than Canada, in view of the alliance existing between Great Britain and Japan.

THE PROPOSED ARRANGEMENT.

I will now lay before Your Excellency the full text of the documents which, as a result of the negotiations, were agreed between both sides, to form the basis of the proposed arrangement, whereby the immigration of Japanese to Canada would be so effectually restricted as to stop any further agitation in British Columbia.

I. My letter to His Excellency Count Hayashi requesting him to give me an official assurance, as to the intentions of the Japanese Government for the future, would read as follows:—

'British Embassy,
'Tokio, 23rd December, 1907.

'Monsieur le Ministre,—After the several interviews which have taken place at 'the Foreign Office since my arrival here on the subject of Japanese immigration to

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'Canada, I have come to the conclusion that His Imperial Majesty's Government 'cannot accede to my request for a numerical limitation to emigration. At this stage 'of the negotiations, it would be quite unnecessary for me to offer any further arguments as to why the request of the Canadian Government should be complied with, 'but it has appeared to me in the course of these friendly interviews, that the Japanese 'Government has evinced a sincere desire to see any further agitation in British 'Columbia effectually stopped. In order to further this object, I understand they are 'willing to restrict voluntarily, within reasonable limits, the volume of immigration. 'I have the honour, therefore, to request that before returning to Canada and reporting 'to my Government, Your Excellency would be so good as to give me an official 'assurance as to the intentions of His Imperial Majesty's Government in the matter. 'The Canadian Government is above all desirous that the happy relations which have 'always existed between the two countries shall remain unimpaired, and I feel confident that His Imperial Majesty's Government are anxious to find a solution of the 'difficulty which, as I have already explained to Your Excellency, exists in the 'Province of British Columbia.

'I have the honour to be,
'Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

(Signed) 'RODOLPHE LEMIEUX.

'His Excellency COUNT HAYASHI,
'Minister of Foreign Affairs,
'Tokio.'

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II. The answer of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, giving the *official assurance* of the Japanese Government, would be couched in the following terms:—

'TOKIO, 23rd December, 1907.

'MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,—In reply to your note of even date, I have the honour 'to state that although the existing treaty between Japan and Canada absolutely 'guarantees to Japanese subjects full liberty to enter, travel and reside in any part 'of the Dominion of Canada, yet it is not the intention of the Imperial Government 'to insist upon the complete enjoyment of the rights and privileges guaranteed by 'those stipulations when that would involve disregard of special conditions which 'may prevail in Canada from time to time.

'Acting in this spirit and having particular regard to circumstances of recent 'occurrences in British Columbia, the Imperial Government have decided to take 'efficient means to restrict emigration to Canada. In carrying out this purpose, the 'Imperial Government, in pursuance of the policy above stated, will give careful 'consideration to local conditions prevailing in Canada, with a view to meeting the 'desires of the Government of the Dominion as far as is compatible with the spirit 'of the treaty and the dignity of the State.

'Although, as stated in the note under reply, it was not possible for me to 'acquiesce in all of the proposals made by you on behalf of the Canadian Government, 'I trust that you will find in the statement herein made proof of the earnest desire 'of the Imperial Government to promote by every means within their power, the 'growth and stability of the cordial and mutually beneficial relations which exist 'between our countries. I venture to believe, also that this desirable result will be 'found to have been materially advanced by the full exchange of views which has 'taken place between us, and it gives me special pleasure to acknowledge the obligation under which I have been placed by your frank and considerate explanations 'regarding the attitude and wishes of your Government.

'I avail myself, &c., &c.,

(Sgd.) 'TADASU HAYASHI.

'The Honourable Mr. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX,
'Postmaster General and Minister of Labour for Canada,
'Tokio.'

The two letters would be read before Parliament.

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TREATY SERIES, No. 558

TREATY AND PROTOCOL

BETWEEN

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

Commerce and Navigation

SIGNED AT WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 21, 1911

RATIFICATION ADVISED BY THE SENATE, WITH AMENDMENT, FEBRUARY 24, 1911

RATIFIED BY THE PRESIDENT, MARCH 2, 1911

RATIFIED BY JAPAN, MARCH 31, 1911

RATIFICATIONS EXCHANGED AT TOKYO, APRIL 4, 1911

PROCLAIMED, APRIL 5, 1911

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1911

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By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan, was concluded and signed by their respective Plenipotentiaries at Washington on the twenty-first day of February, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, the original of which Treaty, being in the English language is, as amended by the Senate of the United States, word for word as follows:

The President of the United States of America and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, being desirous to strengthen the relations of amity and good understanding which happily exist between the two nations, and believing that the fixation in a manner clear and positive of the rules which are hereafter to govern the commercial intercourse between their respective countries will contribute to the realization of this most desirable result, have resolved to conclude a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation for that purpose, and to that end have named their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

The President of the United States of America, Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State of the United States; and

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Baron Yasuya Uchida, Jusammi, Grand Cordon of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I.

The citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall have liberty to enter, travel and reside in the territories of the other to carry on trade, wholesale and retail, to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses and shops, to employ agents of their choice, to lease land for residential and commercial purposes, and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade upon the same terms as native citizens or subjects, submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established.

They shall not be compelled, under any pretext whatever, to pay any charges or taxes other or higher than those that are or may be paid by native citizens or subjects.

The citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall receive, in the territories of the other, the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy

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in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to native citizens or subjects, on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the native citizens or subjects.

They shall, however, be exempt in the territories of the other from compulsory military service either on land or sea, in the regular forces, or in the national guard, or in the militia; from all contributions imposed in lieu of personal service, and from all forced loans or military exactions or contributions.

ARTICLE II.

The dwellings, warehouses, manufactories and shops of the citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties in the territories of the other, and all premises appertaining thereto used for purposes of residence or commerce, shall be respected. It shall not be allowable to proceed to make a domiciliary visit to, or a search of, any such buildings and premises, or to examine or inspect books, papers or accounts, except under the conditions and with the forms prescribed by the laws, ordinances and regulations for nationals.

ARTICLE III.

Each of the High Contracting Parties may appoint Consuls General, Consuls, Vice Consuls, Deputy Consuls and Consular Agents in all ports, cities and places of the other, except in those where it may not be convenient to recognize such officers. This exception, however, shall not be made in regard to one of the Contracting Parties without being made likewise in regard to all other Powers.

Such Consuls General, Consuls, Vice Consuls, Deputy Consuls and Consular Agents, having received exequaturs or other sufficient authorizations from the Government of the country to which they are appointed, shall, on condition of reciprocity, have the right to exercise the functions and to enjoy the exemptions and immunities which are or may hereafter be granted to the consular officers of the same rank of the most favored nation. The Government issuing exequaturs or other authorizations may in its discretion cancel the same on communicating the reasons for which it thought proper to do so.

ARTICLE IV.

There shall be between the territories of the two High Contracting Parties reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation. The citizens or subjects of each of the Contracting Parties, equally with the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, shall have liberty freely to come with their ships and cargoes to all places, ports and rivers in the territories of the other which are or may be opened to foreign commerce, subject always to the laws of the country to which they thus come.

ARTICLE V.

The import duties on articles, the produce or manufacture of the territories of one of the High Contracting Parties, upon importa-

tion into the territories of the other, shall henceforth be regulated either by treaty between the two countries or by the internal legislation of each.

Neither Contracting Party shall impose any other or higher duties or charges on the exportation of any article to the territories of the other than are or may be payable on the exportation of the like article to any other foreign country.

Nor shall any prohibition be imposed by either country on the importation or exportation of any article from or to the territories of the other which shall not equally extend to the like article imported from or exported to any other country. The last provision is not, however, applicable to prohibitions or restrictions maintained or imposed as sanitary measures or for purposes of protecting animals and useful plants.

ARTICLE VI.

The citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall enjoy in the territories of the other exemption from all transit duties and a perfect equality of treatment with native citizens or subjects in all that relates to warehousing, bounties, facilities and drawbacks.

ARTICLE VII.

Limited-liability and other companies and associations, commercial, industrial, and financial, already or hereafter to be organized in accordance with the laws of either High Contracting Party and domiciled in the territories of such Party, are authorized, in the territories of the other, to exercise their rights and appear in the courts either as plaintiffs or defendants, subject to the laws of such other Party.

The foregoing stipulation has no bearing upon the question whether a company or association organized in one of the two countries will or will not be permitted to transact its business or industry in the other, this permission remaining always subject to the laws and regulations enacted or established in the respective countries or in any part thereof.

ARTICLE VIII.

All articles which are or may be legally imported into the ports of either High Contracting Party from foreign countries in national vessels may likewise be imported into those ports in vessels of the other Contracting Party, without being liable to any other or higher duties or charges of whatever denomination than if such articles were imported in national vessels. Such reciprocal equality of treatment shall take effect without distinction, whether such articles come directly from the place of origin or from any other foreign place.

In the same manner, there shall be perfect equality of treatment in regard to exportation, so that the same export duties shall be paid, and the same bounties and drawbacks allowed, in the territories of each of the Contracting Parties on the exportation of any article which is or may be legally exported therefrom, whether such exporta-

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tion shall take place in vessels of the United States or in Japanese vessels, and whatever may be the place of destination, whether a port of the other Party or of any third Power.

ARTICLE IX.

In all that regards the stationing, loading and unloading of vessels in the ports of the territories of the High Contracting Parties, no privileges shall be granted by either Party to national vessels which are not equally, in like cases, granted to the vessels of the other country; the intention of the Contracting Parties being that in these respects the respective vessels shall be treated on the footing of perfect equality.

ARTICLE X.

Merchant vessels navigating under the flag of the United States or that of Japan and carrying the papers required by their national laws to prove their nationality shall in Japan and in the United States be deemed to be vessels of the United States or of Japan, respectively.

ARTICLE XI.

No duties of tonnage, harbor, pilotage, lighthouse, quarantine, or other similar or corresponding duties of whatever denomination, levied in the name or for the profit of Government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations or establishments of any kind shall be imposed in the ports of the territories of either country upon the vessels of the other, which shall not equally, under the same conditions, be imposed on national vessels in general, or on vessels of the most favored nation. Such equality of treatment shall apply reciprocally to the respective vessels from whatever place they may arrive and whatever may be their place of destination.

ARTICLE XII.

Vessels charged with performance of regular scheduled postal service of one of the High Contracting Parties, whether belonging to the State or subsidized by it for the purpose, shall enjoy, in the ports of the territories of the other, the same facilities, privileges and immunities as are granted to like vessels of the most favored nation.

ARTICLE XIII.

The coasting trade of the High Contracting Parties is excepted from the provisions of the present Treaty and shall be regulated according to the laws of the United States and Japan, respectively. It is, however, understood that the citizens or subjects of either Contracting Party shall enjoy in this respect most-favored-nation treatment in the territories of the other.

A vessel of one of the Contracting Parties, laden in a foreign country with cargo destined for two or more ports of entry in the

territories of the other, may discharge a portion of her cargo at one of the said ports, and, continuing her voyage to the other port or ports of destination, there discharge the remainder of her cargo, subject always to the laws, tariffs and customs regulations of the country of destination; and, in like manner and under the same reservation, the vessels of one of the Contracting Parties shall be permitted to load at several ports of the other for the same outward voyages.

ARTICLE XIV.

Except as otherwise expressly provided in this Treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree that, in all that concerns commerce and navigation, any privilege, favor or immunity which either Contracting Party has actually granted, or may hereafter grant, to the citizens or subjects of any other State shall be extended to the citizens or subjects of the other Contracting Party gratuitously, if the concession in favor of that other State shall have been gratuitous, and on the same or equivalent conditions, if the concession shall have been conditional.

ARTICLE XV.

The citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same protection as native citizens or subjects in regard to patents, trade-marks and designs, upon fulfillment of the formalities prescribed by law.

ARTICLE XVI.

The present Treaty shall, from the date on which it enters into operation, supersede the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation dated the 22nd day of November, 1894; and from the same date the last-named Treaty shall cease to be binding.

ARTICLE XVII.

The present Treaty shall enter into operation on the 17th of July, 1911, and shall remain in force twelve years or until the expiration of six months from the date on which either of the Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other of its intention to terminate the Treaty.

In case neither of the Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other six months before the expiration of the said period of twelve years of its intention to terminate the Treaty, it shall continue operative until the expiration of six months from the date on which either Party shall have given such notice.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Tokyo as soon as possible and not later than three months from the present date.

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tion shall take place in vessels of the United States or in Japanese vessels, and whatever may be the place of destination, whether a port of the other Party or of any third Power.

ARTICLE IX.

In all that regards the stationing, loading and unloading of vessels in the ports of the territories of the High Contracting Parties, no privileges shall be granted by either Party to national vessels which are not equally, in like cases, granted to the vessels of the other country; the intention of the Contracting Parties being that in these respects the respective vessels shall be treated on the footing of perfect equality.

ARTICLE X.

Merchant vessels navigating under the flag of the United States or that of Japan and carrying the papers required by their national laws to prove their nationality shall in Japan and in the United States be deemed to be vessels of the United States or of Japan, respectively.

ARTICLE XI.

No duties of tonnage, harbor, pilotage, lighthouse, quarantine, or other similar or corresponding duties of whatever denomination, levied in the name or for the profit of Government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations or establishments of any kind shall be imposed in the ports of the territories of either country upon the vessels of the other, which shall not equally, under the same conditions, be imposed on national vessels in general, or on vessels of the most favored nation. Such equality of treatment shall apply reciprocally to the respective vessels from whatever place they may arrive and whatever may be their place of destination.

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A vessel of one of the Contracting Parties, laden in a foreign country with cargo destined for two or more ports of entry in the

territories of the other, may discharge a portion of her cargo at one of the said ports, and, continuing her voyage to the other port or ports of destination, there discharge the remainder of her cargo, subject always to the laws, tariffs and customs regulations of the country of destination; and, in like manner and under the same reservation, the vessels of one of the Contracting Parties shall be permitted to load at several ports of the other for the same outward voyages.

ARTICLE XIV.

Except as otherwise expressly provided in this Treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree that, in all that concerns commerce and navigation, any privilege, favor or immunity which either Contracting Party has actually granted, or may hereafter grant, to the citizens or subjects of any other State shall be extended to the citizens or subjects of the other Contracting Party gratuitously, if the concession in favor of that other State shall have been gratuitous, and on the same or equivalent conditions, if the concession shall have been conditional.

ARTICLE XV.

The citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same protection as native citizens or subjects in regard to patents, trade-marks and designs, upon fulfillment of the formalities prescribed by law.

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In case neither of the Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other six months before the expiration of the said period of twelve years of its intention to terminate the Treaty, it shall continue operative until the expiration of six months from the date on which either Party shall have given such notice.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Tokyo as soon as possible and not later than three months from the present date.

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In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done at Washington the 21st day of February, in the nineteen hundred and eleventh year of the Christian era, corresponding to the 21st day of the 2nd month of the 44th year of Meiji.

PHILANDER C KNOX [SEAL]
Y. UCHIDA [SEAL]

AND WHEREAS, the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States to the ratification of the said Treaty was given with the understanding "that the treaty shall not be deemed to repeal or affect any of the provisions of the Act of Congress entitled 'An Act to Regulate the Immigration of Aliens into the United States,' approved February 20th 1907;"

AND WHEREAS, the said understanding has been accepted by the Government of Japan;

AND WHEREAS, the said Treaty, as amended by the Senate of the United States, has been duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two Governments were exchanged in the City of Tokyo, on the fourth day of April, one thousand nine hundred and eleven;

NOW, THEREFORE, be it known that I, WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Treaty, as amended, and the said understanding to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this fifth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven, and of [SEAL.] the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-fifth.

WM H TAFT

By the President:
P C KNOX
Secretary of State.

DECLARATION.

In proceeding this day to the signature of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and the United States the undersigned, Japanese Ambassador in Washington, duly authorized by his Government has the honor to declare that the Imperial Japanese Government are fully prepared to maintain with equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have for the past three years exercised in regulation of the emigration of laborers to the United States.

Y. UCHIDA

FEBRUARY 21, 1911.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS a Protocol of a provisional tariff arrangement between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan was concluded and signed by their respective Plenipotentiaries at Washington, on the twenty-first day of February, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, the original of which Protocol, being in the English language is, as amended by the Senate of the United States, word for word as follows:

PROTOCOL.

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of Japan have, through their respective Plenipotentiaries, agreed upon the following stipulation in regard to Article V of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan signed this day to replace on the 17th of July, 1911, the Treaty of the 22nd of November, 1894:

Pending the conclusion of a treaty relating to tariff, the provisions relating to tariff in the Treaty of the 22nd of November, 1894, shall be maintained.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this Protocol in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done at Washington the 21st day of February, in the nineteen hundred and eleventh year of the Christian era, corresponding to the 21st day of the 2nd month of the 44th year of Meiji.

(SEAL) PHILANDER C KNOX
(SEAL) Y. UCHIDA

AND WHEREAS, the said Protocol, as amended by the Senate of the United States, has been duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two governments were exchanged in the City of Tokyo, on the fourth day of April, one thousand nine hundred and eleven;

NOW, THEREFORE, be it known that I, WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Protocol to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof, as amended, may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this fifth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven, and of the Independence of the United States of America [SEAL] the one hundred and thirty-fifth.

WM H TAFT

By the President:
P C KNOX
Secretary of State.

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III. The regulations (*a*) would be sent at once to the Governors of the several préfectures of Japan, and the regulations (*b*) to the Consuls of Japan in Canada.

(a)

The following classes of emigrants only are those to whom the Japanese Government will grant permission to emigrate to Canada.

1. Emigrants having previously resided in Canada and holding certificates of such residence issued by the Japanese Consular Authorities in the Dominion, and the wives and children of such emigrants.
2. Emigrants specially engaged by Japanese residents in Canada for *bona fide* personal or domestic service, upon production of written evidence of such engagement, attested by the competent Japanese Consular Authorities.
3. Contract emigrants, where terms of the contract, works to be done, names and standing of the intended employers are satisfactorily specified; such contracts to be accompanied by a certificate from the Japanese Consul of the district where the labourers are to be employed.

In addition to the above, emigrants brought in under contract by Japanese resident agricultural holders in Canada and specially required for the promotion of such agriculture; such contract to be accompanied by the certificate of the Japanese Consular Authority in the district where the labourers are to be employed.

(b)

COPY OF MEMORANDUM TO CONSULAR AUTHORITIES.

The Consular Authorities to whom application is made for the issue of a certicate attesting the genuineness of contracts for the employment of Japanese labour in Canada shall not issue the certificate unless they receive satisfactory evidence that such contract has the approval of the Canadian Government.

As an exception to this rule, Japanese Consular Authorities in Canada may issue certificates to Japanese resident agricultural holders who require Japanese labour for the working of their agricultural lands at the rate of from five to ten labourers per one hundred acres held by the applicant. It is necessary, however, that before issuing these certificates all Japanese Consular Authorities shall exercise great care to ascertain the bona fides of the applicant and will take into close consideration the existing state of the labour market and of public feeling.

IV. As an evidence of good faith and guarantee of observance, the above regulations would be handed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the British Ambassador, with a letter couched in this language:—

'With reference to the official assurance I have communicated to the Canadian 'Commissioner on the subject of Japanese emigration, I have the honour to transmit, 'herewith, for Your Excellency's information, a memorandum embodying the regula-'tions which are to be issued to local and consular authorities with the object of 'restricting emigration.

'With reference to domestic and agricultural labourers mentioned in the regula-'tions, the Japanese Government do not contemplate that under existing circum-'stances these two classes shall exceed four hundred (400) annually.'

V. A letter from myself to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, promising on behalf of the Canadian Government that the regulations would be construed in a fair and reasonable spirit:—

'British Embassy,

'Tokio, 23rd December, 1907.

'Monsieur le Ministre,—

'With reference to the arrangements arrived at between us on the subject of 'emigration, I desire to state that the Canadian Government will construe the

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'regulations under which the engagement of contract labour call for their approval 'in each case, in a fair and reasonable spirit.

'I have also much pleasure in assuring you that *bona fide* merchants, tourists, 'and students coming from Hawaii, will not be affected by the operation of the Alien 'Labour Act. Needless to add that similar classes arriving from Japan will continue 'to enjoy freedom of entrance into the Dominion.

'I have the honour to be,
'Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
'(Signed) RODOLPHE LEMIEUX.

'His Excellency Count HAYASHI,
'Minister of Foreign Affairs,
'Tokio.'

On the 24th December, I received a cable from the Prime Minister advising me that the Dominion Government wished to personally consult with me before accepting or rejecting the proposed arrangement. I immediately wrote the following letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:—

'TOKIO, 25th December, 1907.

'Monsieur le Ministre,—

'As you are aware, I have been in communication with the Dominion Govern- 'ment since my arrival here, on the subject of our negotiations. While appreciating 'the courteous spirit with which I have been met, my colleagues feel that before 'coming to a final conclusion, it would be advantageous for them to personally dis- 'cuss with me the proposals which Your Excellency has been good enough to make 'and which at this great distance a brief telegraphic summary does not enable them 'fully to understand. With that object in view, I am sailing on Thursday for Canada 'where I expect to be early next month. I trust that the interests involved will not 'suffer by this necessary delay.

'Before taking my departure, I wish to convey to you my own personal gratitude 'for the kindly attention, the patient consideration and unvaried courtesy with which 'the negotiations on the subject of my delicate mission to Japan have been carried 'on under your direction at the Foreign Office.

'I sincerely hope that a happy solution mutually satisfactory to Japan and Can- 'ada may soon be reached.

'I have the honour to be,
'Monsieur le Ministre,
'Yours faithfully,
'(Signed) RODOLPHE LEMIEUX.

'His Excellency Count HAYASHI,
'Minister of Foreign Affairs,
'Tokio.'

I received the following reply :—

'FOREIGN OFFICE,
'TOKIO, December 25, 1907.

'Monsieur le Ministre,—

'I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this date informing me of the 'desire of your colleagues of the Canadian Cabinet to confer with you personally 'before coming to a final decision regarding the negotiations we have been carrying 'on during the past few weeks, and of your consequent purpose to leave for Canada by 'to-morrow's steamer.

'I appreciate the force of the considerations which have led to this decision, 'although regretting that they should have rendered it necessary, but share in your 'hope that they may entail only brief delay in reaching a happy solution mutually 'satisfactory to Canada and Japan. Being confident that your colleagues, after the 'personal explanations you will be able to give them, will find in the terms to which

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'we have agreed ample proof of the sincere desire of the Imperial Government to 'reach a solution by meeting the wishes of the Canadian Government as far as it 'was possible for them to do so, it only remains for me cordially to reciprocate the 'kind sentiments expressed in your note, and to wish you a safe and pleasant journey.

'With sentiments of high esteem,
'I remain, Monsieur le Ministre,
'Yours very sincerely,

'(Signed) TADASU HAYASHI.

'The Honourable Mr. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX,
'Postmaster General and Minister of Labour for Canada,
'Tokio.'

My last interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs took place on the 25th December, on the eve of my departure, when he informed me that the Cabinet had decided to extend the delay so as to give me an opportunity of personally explaining to my colleagues the nature of the proposals made. If, on my return to Canada, the arrangement was accepted, then the exchange of notes could take place at Tokio, between the British Ambassador and himself.

I asked if besides reading to Parliament his letter stating in general terms the policy of His Imperial Majesty's Government with respect to emigration in the future, I could, by way of illustration, refer to the regulations to be given to the Governors and Consuls.

In answer, Count Hayashi stated that he would not object to such a reference being made, provided the text of the regulations was not made public.

I enquired if the statement published in the press, with respect to the suppression of emigration companies was true—Count Hayashi answered that (1st) he had practically suppressed the emigration companies by increasing the amount of the deposit required by the Government. Very few had been able to satisfy the new regulation; (2nd) he would repeat before the Diet, in a few days, the statement already published, that in the future as between commercial and diplomatic interests and those of the emigrants, the latter would be sacrificed; (3rd) that for the future, the emigration companies in existence would not be allowed by the Government to carry on any emigration work to Canada and the United States.

CONCLUSION.

There are three alternatives:—

I. The *status quo;*

II. The abrogation of the Treaty;

III. The acceptance of the proposed arrangement.

The present condition of affairs in British Columbia demands our most serious consideration.

In their formal reply to our Memorandum, the Japanese Government promise to exercise due discretion in the future.

As I have already explained, the Memorandum which contains that reply is meant to give the Japanese policy, in case only the negotiations should fail and the proposed arrangement be refused.

It is quite evident that the mere promise of the exercise of a *due discretion* with regard to the influx of Japanese immigration is too vague and too general in terms. It will not be effective. It will not satisfy public opinion, and we shall have to face the same situation next spring.

Canada must, therefore, either abrogate the Treaty or accept the proposed arrangement.

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Assuming that we would abrogate the Treaty, which can be done by giving six months' notice, what better arrangement could we adopt so as to regulate Japanese immigration?

Would Canada impose upon the Japanese a poll-tax of $500, as was done in the case of the Chinese? This is practically *exclusion*, and it is contrary to our policy, in so far as the Japanese are concerned. We have always differentiated between the Japanese and the Chinese. Moreover, exclusion would mean a very serious breach in the treaty of alliance between the Mother Country and Japan. It would be resented as a most unfriendly act by Japan, who admittedly, during the last half century, has risen to a high level of civilization, and who after her campaigns against China and Russia, has become one of the world's Great Powers.

On the other hand, the abrogation of the treaty would, in so far as we are concerned, result in the loss of important commercial advantages, with a market of 50,000,000 people. The question of our wheat trade alone with Japan—where during the last ten years, the consumption has increased by 800 per cent—should ever be borne in mind, not to speak of the many other articles which Canada can supply her with, such as oatmeal and oats, lumber and pulp, lead, copper, asbestos, aluminum, leather and hides, butter, cheese, fish, horses, cattle, canned milk, canned fruits, wool, bacon and ham, agricultural implements and machinery of all kinds. We may not, as yet, have derived from the treaty such advantages as were anticipated, although our exports to Japan have risen from nothing to the half-million dollar mark, in a very short time, but the completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific, the increase of transportation facilities with cheaper rates than the existing ones, cannot fail, especially in the case of our cereal trade, to be productive of satisfactory results.

The proposed arrangement is, in my humble judgment, a fair and convenient compromise and should be given a trial.

The assurance given by Count Hayashi on behalf of the Japanese Government is a solemn engagement which Canada is bound to accept in good faith.

The fact that it is given of her own free will makes it the more binding on Japan.

True, there are some reservations in the letter of Count Hayashi, but we must remember that it is intended for publication and that we can not expect the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Japan to publicly cross out with the stroke of his pen any rights to which Japanese subjects are entitled by Treaty. After all, this question of limited immigration brings us, to say the least, on very delicate ground.

Can we consistently ask the allies and friends of Great Britain to brand themselves before the whole world as an inferior race?

I have already stated that the revision of the treaties in 1894 had been for Japan the means of entering the comity of civilized nations on a status of equality. To now recede from that position would arouse her national pride and rekindle with renewed intensity the anti-foreigner's movement in Japan.

Indeed, this question is of supreme interest to Japan. The San Francisco and Vancouver riots have only made it more prominent than ever. No government, no public man in Japan, could attempt, without courting popular anger, to abridge, amend, or alter Article 1 of the Treaty.

On the other hand, the Japanese Government are not anxious to encourage the emigration of their labourers where they are not wanted, more especially where their presence is liable to draw their country into international entanglements.

Acting in that spirit, and with a view to meet our desires so as to stop any further agitation in British Columbia, they are ready to voluntarily take such measures as will prevent any further trouble.

Upon examination of the proposed arrangement, I find that all the avenues through which Japanese immigrants can come to Canada are closed.

I. The Hawaiians are shut off by the enforcement of the *Alien Labour Act*. (See sections 2-8-10-12, R.S.C., ch. 97).

Over 2,000 Japanese came from Hawaii last year. They were brought into

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British Columbia by the '*Japanese Boarding House Union of Vancouver.*" Under the provisions of the Act, labour contractors and masters of vessels are subject to very severe penalties for importing alien labour. The labourers themselves can be deported.

II. An officer of the Japanese Government stationed at Victoria or Vancouver, will reject all immigrants coming to Canada without permits or in defiance of the regulations above referred to.

III. No contract labourers are allowed to come to Canada, without the consent of the Dominion Government previously obtained. This is, of all others, the class of immigrants against which so much objection has been raised. It includes skilled and unskilled labour, such as miners, fishermen, &c., &c., and artisans as well.

IV. Domestics are allowed for Japanese *only* and agriculturists for Japanese farm-holders only, five to ten per one hundred acres.

The written assurance given by the Japanese Government to the British Ambassador, that they do not contemplate that these two classes united shall exceed four hundred annually, makes it as good as understood that they will not exceed that number.

The Japanese Government will, of their own accord, redeem Mr. Nossé's pledges given before the treaty, to voluntarily restrict. They will do so in the manner and form already explained, i.e., by stringent regulations addressed to their Governors and Consuls. The regulations shall be scrupulously carried out, under the supervision of the Central Authority at Tokio, and the British Ambassador will see that they do not evade them. True, the regulations are not made public, but quite naturally, the Japanese Government are not anxious to divulge to the whole world, the means they intend to take, so as to prevent their people to emigrate to Canada.

The fact that they have already suppressed the emigration companies on the ground that they became a dangerously exasperating factor, shows plainly what course the Japanese Government are determined to take.

Under these circumstances, I cannot but conscientiously recommend the acceptance of the proposed arrangement.

Respectfully submitted,

RODOLPHE LEMIEUX,
Minister of Labour.

OTTAWA, 12th January, 1908.

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APPENDIX A.

MEMORANDUM presented to Count Hayashi on the 25th November, 1907, by the Honourable Mr. Lemieux on behalf of the Canadian Government, setting forth the circumstances of his mission and the proposals of his Government for dealing with the question of Japanese immigration into Canada, proposals which have the support of His Majesty's Government.

The object of my mission has reference to the recent largely increased influx of Japanese immigrants to Canada, which, in view of the negotiations between the two countries during the last few years, I may say, was quite unlooked for on the part of the Canadian Government. This unexpected volume of immigration has unfortunately given rise to certain disturbances and to a strong racial prejudice in the Province of British Columbia, whereby a number of Japanese residents have recently suffered maltreatment. The Prime Minister of Canada has expressed the deep regret of the Canadian Government at this unfortunate occurrence, and when I left Vancouver, a Commission, appointed by the Governor General-in-Council, was taking evidence with a view to the payment of all just claims for damages incurred by the Japanese residents.

The circumstances attending the unprecedented influx of Japanese considered in relation to the understanding upon which the unreserved adherence of Canada to the treaty was given, has, in the opinion of my colleagues, been such as to warrant their despatching to the Japanese Court a member of the Cabinet, duly accredited by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, authorized to discuss in their name and in conjunction with his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, the question of the immigration of Japanese labourers and artizans into Canada, which if permitted to go unchecked, might impair the happy relations existing between the subjects of our King and those of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, which it was the main desire of the Canadian Government in accepting the treaty to further. It is with that object that I wait upon Your Excellency.

In addressing myself to the discharge of this delicate and important mission, I am encouraged by the reflection that the attitude of Canada towards Japan has ever been one of amity and goodwill. That we should be animated by such sentiments towards the friend and ally of our Sovereign is of course the natural outcome of our allegiance, but it also proceeds from the respect of the Canadian people themselves for the Japanese nation. That we should be inspired by feelings of warm admiration for a nation that has achieved such distinction as has Japan, is to be expected. That before the alliance between Great Britain and Japan was concluded, the Canadian Government gave unequivocal evidence of its friendly feelings and goodwill towards Japan, the disallowance of certain measures imposing disabilities upon Japanese immigrants to our shores, is sufficient to show. Between the years 1897 and 1901 no fewer than nine statutes of the Legislature of British Columbia prohibiting the immigration of Japanese into that province were annulled by the Dominion Government. Since the latter date, Canada has repeatedly disallowed laws having that object in view. Altogether, twenty-two statutes of the Provincial Legislature of British Columbia, directed in whole or in part against the Japanese, have been annulled on the advice of the Government of which I am a member. Moreover, it will be within Your Excellency's recollection, that on the occasion of the Osaka Exhibition, a few years ago, Canada was represented by a Minister of the Crown, who cordially

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co-operated with your Government to promote the success of that great display of Japanese industries. Having regard to their course in the past, the Canadian Government feel that they can approach this question, confident that their sentiments towards the subjects of His Imperial Majesty are recognized and appreciated by Your Excellency.

The paramount consideration in the determination of the policy of the Canadian Government with regard to Japanese immigration in the past has been, as Your Excellency is doubtless aware, the pledges repeatedly given by the Consul General for Japan at Ottawa, Mr. Nossé, of the desire and intention of the Japanese authorities to regulate and limit the immigration of their subjects to Canada. Mr. Nossé's statements found confirmation in the restrictive character of the Japanese immigration laws, which were brought to our notice during the negotiations preceding the acceptance of the treaty, by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. These assurances were not merely general expressions of goodwill on the part of Mr. Nossé,—spoken without premeditation upon occasions when such utterances are not always to be taken literally. They are positive declarations of policy on behalf of the Japanese Government, by their Consul General officially communicated in writing to the Prime Minister and other members of the Government of Canada, at various periods during the last four or five years, and admit of only one interpretation. Relying upon these engagements, and having regard to the close alliance existing between the Mother country and Japan, my Government submitted for approval the treaty to Parliament and obtained its unanimous sanction, feeling that it would not be necessary to insist upon any specific limitation of the number of Japanese immigrants, though the prospect of an unrestricted influx of such immigrants was the determining cause which led the Canadian Government to decline to adhere to the treaty at an earlier date.

I regret to be obliged to say that the expectations founded upon these assurances of Mr. Nossé have not been realized. During our fiscal year 1904-05, that is to say from the 1st July, 1904, to the 30th June, 1905, three hundred and fifty-four Japanese arrived in Canada. From the 1st July, 1905, to the 30th June, 1906, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two Japanese arrived. (In 1906 the fiscal year was changed from the 1st July to the 1st April.) In the six months from the 1st July to the 31st December, 1906, two thousand two hundred and thirty-three Japanese arrived, and from the 1st January, to the 27th October of the present year, 1907, eight thousand three hundred and fifty-six Japanese reached the Dominion, most of whom have remained there, thus showing an exceptionally large and progressive increase.

Were Canada's geographical position other than it is, the circumstances might be different. In considering this question, however, the peculiar situation of British Columbia must ever be borne in mind. That province lies separated from the older portions of the Dominion by vast stretches of prairie and by four ranges of well-nigh impassable mountains. On the other hand, it adjoins the western portions of the United States, where the same question is agitating the public mind, and threatens to combine all classes, irrespective of boundaries, in one common cause, a contingency greatly to be deplored. Vancouver, the scene of the recent disturbances, is three thousand miles from the seat of Government. The adult white male population of British Columbia to-day does not exceed eighty thousand, and there are at least thirty thousand foreigners in the province. It is submitted that in a community where one man in every four is of a foreign race, and where the disparity is rapidly growing less, there is some ground for the uneasiness of the people of British Columbia.

My Government thus find themselves in this position. On the one hand—apart from the gratification they experience at their participation as British subjects in an alliance with a people so distinguished among the nations as is Japan—they are not insensible to the advantages of the commercial treaty recently entered into by them and desire its continuance; on the other—in view of the recent disturbances that have taken place, and the unsettled condition of the labouring classes in British Columbia—they realize the responsibility resting upon them for the peace, order and good government of Canada.

It is impossible to ignore the fact that the situation in British Columbia to-day

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is one of grave concern. A continuance of the present public disquietude in that province, with the possibility of further disturbances, entailing subsequent inquiries into and indemnification for losses sustained, is greatly to be deprecated, as injurious, not merely to the peace of the community immediately concerned, but indirectly to the whole Dominion.

The Canadian Government, having regard to the circumstances I have endeavoured to lay before Your Excellency, feel themselves constrained to invite the serious consideration of the Government of Japan to the present condition of affairs in British Columbia, and to request them to render effective the assurances they have already given through their Consul-General, by restricting the immigration of labourers and artizans to a number which can be absorbed without unduly disturbing the proportion of races in that province. They consider that a yearly immigration not exceeding three hundred (300) labourers and artizans in any one year would satisfy this requirement, with a further stipulation that Canada be not required to admit any Japanese labourer or artizan who is not the bearer of a permit issued by the competent Japanese authorities authorizing him to land in the Dominion.

The Canadian Government are persuaded that such an arrangement, which has the full support of His Majesty's Government, would go far towards the removal of all sources of friction between the two peoples in the Province of British Columbia, and to promote that harmony which they earnestly desire should exist between the subjects of His Britannic Majesty and those of His Majesty's friend and ally, the Emperor of Japan.

RODOLPHE LEMIEUX.

Tokio, 15th November, 1907.

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APPPENDIX B.

MEMORANDUM.—The undersigned, His Imperial Japanese Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the memorandum which the Honourable Mr. Lemieux, under date the 15th of November last, handed to him on behalf of the Canadian Government, with the support of His Britannic Majesty's Government, setting forth the circumstances of his mission and the proposals of his Government for dealing with the question of Japanese immigration into Canada.

Before entering upon the consideration of the subject matter of the memorandum the undersigned desires to express the Imperial Government's profound appreciation of the constant and cordial friendship displayed by the Canadian Government toward Japan. The prompt and decisive action taken when measures subversive of Japanese interests were adopted by the Legislature of British Columbia was a source of sincere satisfaction to the Japanese Government and people, who regarded it as convincing proof of the genuine friendship of Canada and of the firm intention of the Government of the Dominion to maintain that friendship unimpaired. So also, on the occasion of the regrettable disturbances at Vancouver in September last, the steps taken to prevent a recurrence of the disturbances and to compensate Japanese residents for losses incurred were esteemed conclusive evidence of the sincere goodwill toward Japan which animates the Canadian Government and people.

The undersigned is gratified to have this opportunity of testifying to the value attached to these manifestations of friendship by the Government and people of Japan, as well as of assuring the Honourable Mr. Lemieux of the cordial reciprocation of the friendly sentiments expressed in his memorandum.

Turning to the consideration of the memorandum itself, it should be noted, in the first place, that in the explanation of the circumstances which decided the Government of the Dominion to send a member of the Cabinet to Japan, it is virtually stated that the unreserved adhesion of Canada to the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and Great Britain was the result of an understanding between the Canadian Government and Mr. Nossé, Japanese Consul General at Ottawa. In confirmation of this version of the circumstances it is further stated that although the prospect of an unrestricted influx of Japanese immigrants was the determining cause of the refusal of the Canadian Government at an earlier date to adhere to the Treaty between Japan and the Mother country, the Canadian Government nevertheless submitted in 1906 the Treaty to the Dominion Parliament for unreserved adhesion because of the reliance placed upon the assurances and engagements repeatedly made during the intervening period by Mr. Nossé.

The bearing of the foregoing statements upon the question of Japanese emigration to Canada is highly important, and justifies a somewhat detailed explanation of the circumstances to which they relate based upon the official record.

Article I. of the Protocol of March 16th, 1897, arranging for the adhesion of Queensland to the Treaty of 1894, provides that the stipulations of the first and third Articles of that Treaty shall not in any way affect the laws, ordinances and regulations with regard to trade, the immigration of labourers and artisans, police and public security, which were in force or might thereafter be enacted in Japan or in the Colony of Queensland. On the same date the Imperial Government, in reply to a communication from the British Minister at Tokio, engaged that any of the British Colonies and Possessions enumerated in Article XIX. of the Treaty, which had not already declared their adhesion to the Treaty, might do so upon the same terms and

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conditions as Queensland. The Japanese Consul General at Montreal, under instructions from the Imperial Government, thereupon invited the accession of the Canadian Government to the Treaty on that basis. The Canadian Government was, however, reluctant to acquiesce, because, as was explained to the Consul General by Sir Richard Cartwright, Minister of Commerce, and the Honourable Mr. Fisher, Minister of Agriculture, of their objection to the presence in the Treaty of a most favoured nation clause. The importance attached to this stipulation as the determining reason for Canada's non-adherence was subsequently emphasized in a speech delivered by the Honourable Mr. Scott in the Senate (May 14th, 1897), in the following words:—

'The policy of the Government was adopted by an Order in Council, and it was decided that it was not expedient for Canada to adhere to that Treaty (i.e. of 1894). We have suffered so much from the most favoured nation clauses in treaties that we prefer not to be included in them.'

It seems clear from the foregoing resumé that Canada's refusal in 1897 to adhere to the Treaty of 1894 was dictated by motives wholly distinct from the apprehension of an unrestricted influx of Japanese immigrants. Moreover, apart from the reason officially assigned as shown by the above citations, it should be remembered that Canada was not invited to adhere to the Treaty in its original form, but as modified by the stipulations, inserted in the Queensland agreement, whereby Canada would have reserved the right to legislate, if deemed necessary, regarding the immigration of Japanese labourers and artisans; and that, consequently, the decision of the Canadian Government was taken with a clear understanding of the import and bearing of the Queensland proviso, and despite the legislative freedom therein guaranteed.

On July 18th, 1897, Mr. Gerard Lowther, British Charge d'Affaires at Tokio, stated in a despatch to Count Okuma, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, that Canada had decided not to adhere to the Treaty. The question of Canada's adhesion was not officially revived until late in 1905, when Sir Claude MacDonald, British Ambassador, informed the Japanese Government of Canada's desire to adhere absolutely and unreservedly to the Treaty of July 16th, 1894, and to the Supplementary Convention of July 16th, 1895. It is true that the Honourable Mr. Fisher, Minister of Agriculture, on the occasion of his visit to Japan in 1903, informally approached Count Komura, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the subject, but Count Komura pointed out that the situation had materially changed since Canada had the choice of adhering or not, and that under the circumstances it would be impossible for the Imperial Government to consent to anything in the nature of conditional adherence on Canada's part.

The assurances or understandings which according to the memorandum of the Honourable Mr. Lemieux, led the Government of Canada to adhere to the Treaty unreservedly are ascribed to the interval between 1897, when Canada categorically refused to adhere, and 1905, when Sir Claude MacDonald formally proposed adhesion without reserve. During that interval, Canada had as a matter of cause the right freely to legislate reparding Japanese immigration, and undoubtedly complications were to be apprehended from this source. This was shown by repeated attempts on the part of the Legislature of British Columbia to legislate adversely to Japanese immigration, attempts which, as has been noted in another place, were frustrated by the action of the Government of the Dominion. The Imperial Government, realizing the gravity of the embarrassments thus occasioned, and desirous of doing what they could under the circumstances then existing to assist in obviating the difficulties which might arise, determined spontaneously to put restrictions upon emigration to Canada. This step did not, however, in any wise involve a permanent pledge intended to survive the establishment of formal treaty relations not then contemplated by them. Had the assurances and understandings referred to really been the chief reason for Canada's adhesion to the Treaty, it is incomprehensible that no allusion should have been made to this important circumstance in the proposal made through the British Ambassador for adhesion unconditionally and without reserve. It seems more reasonable, and more in harmony with the facts as they appear of record, to infer that the choice of the Canadian Government in 1905 was not between conditional adhesion and unconditional adhesion qualified by assurances and understand-

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ings, but between unconditional adhesion and no adhesion at all. The consent of the Imperial Government to Canada's adhesion in 1905, long after the term for voluntary choice had expired, was given willingly, chiefly because the adhesion was absolute and unconditional. In fact one of the inducements which appealed most strongly to the Imperial Government was that such adhesion would strengthen the position of the Canadian Government in dealing with restrictive measures passed by the Legislature of British Columbia. In the event of such legislation being adopted, the Government of the Dominion could justify action negativing it not only on the broad ground of international comity and of the exceptionally close relations existing between Japan and Great Britain, but upon the binding force, also, of specific treaty stipulations to which Canada was a party.

Taking into account these various considerations, and with all deference to the views expressed in the memorandum under reply, the Imperial Government are of opinion that the assurances and understandings mentioned in the memorandum cannot properly be regarded as the reasons which led to Canada's unreserved adhesion to the Treaty of 1894. As further confirmation of this view, an interview which occurred between the Honourable Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Nossé, in January, 1903, is of especial interest. On that occasion Mr. Fielding stated that the reason the Canadian Government did not originally adhere to the Treaty of 1894 was the existence at the time of commercial treaties between Great Britain and Germany and Belgium, respectively, in both of which it was stipulated that imports from those countries should enjoy in British colonies and possessions the same treatment as British imports. Mr. Fielding added that as those treaties had been abrogated, Canada could then (in 1903) safely adhere to the Japanese Treaty, which contained only the ordinary form of most favoured nation clause. This statement appears to the undersigned to be especially worthy of note as cumulative evidence of the fact that afterward, equally as in 1897 when Canada declined to adhere to the Treaty, the question of the favoured nation clause and not that of immigration was regarded by the Canadian Government as the obstacle to adherence.

The Imperial Government did not fail, however, to take into account the peculiar conditions prevailing in British Columbia, and were anxious then as now to eliminate so far as they consistently could, with due regard for Japanese rights and interests, every cause for reasonable complaint. The cordial relations existing between the Government of the Dominion and themselves, which the friendly attitude of the former had done so much to promote, strengthened this feeling and made them especially anxious, voluntarily and without solicitation, to avoid taking any measures with reference to emigration which could possibly embarrass the Canadian Government. For this reason, on the 9th of August, 1906, they instructed Mr. Nossé that although as a result of Canada's adhesion to the Treaty they felt themselves at liberty to remove the restrictions which hitherto they had imposed of their own initiative upon Japanese emigration to Canada, nevertheless before doing so they wished to know whether there were any reasons which would render this step inconvenient to the Canadian Government; stating at the same time that if any such reasons existed, they would receive most careful consideration. The Consul General replied that the question had been considered at a Cabinet meeting held on the 1st of September, at which it had been decided that although the Government of the Dominion did not have the power to take exception to Japanese immigration, yet, since the influx of a large number of Japanese immigrants at one time might arouse the opposition of the labour party, it was highly desirable that the Japanese Government, taking into account the conditions prevailing in British Columbia, should, for the present, place more or less restrictions upon the emigration of their subjects to Canada. This exchange of views on the subject between the Governments of Canada and Japan, coupled with the circumstances attending the formal adhesion of Canada to the Treaty as above related, confirm the conclusion that assurances or understandings made on Japan's behalf, whether explicit or implied, had no part in determining Canada's unreserved adhesion to the Treaty. They appear, moreover, conclusively to demonstrate that Japan, so far from failing to fulfill pledges alleged to have been made on her behalf by her consular representative, has, on the contrary, displayed

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throughout an earnest desire spontaneously and of her own accord to regulate Japanese emigration in accordance with local exigencies in Canada.

It is furthermore stated in the memorandum of the Honourable Mr. Lemieux that the expectations based on the assurances of Mr. Nossé regarding the number of Japanese immigrants have not been fulfilled, and in confirmation of this statement figures purporting to represent the number of immigrants arriving in British Columbia are given. Regarding these figures it should be noted, in the first place, that as they include all Japanese arriving in British Columbia, irrespective of profession or of class, the percentage of actual labour immigration is uncertain. In the second place, the number of alleged immigrants is greater than that shown by the statistics appended to this memorandum. Japanese going to British Columbia from the Hawaiian Islands are not included in the latter statistics, but even with the addition of those, 2,914 in number, the Canadian figures are still far in excess of the Japanese. The difference is probably accounted for by the fact that the Canadian figures include all Japanese who pass through Victoria en route to the United States.

The Honourable Mr. Lemieux concludes his memorandum with the request, made in the name of his Government, that the Japanese Government shall restrict the number of labourers and artisans emigrating to Canada to a number not to exceed three hundred annually, and, in addition, that Canada shall not be required to admit any labourer or artisan who is not the bearer of a permit issued by the competent Japanese authorities authorizing him to land in the Dominion. In view of the existing Treaty and for other reasons which it is not necessary to explain here, the undersigned has no other recourse than to say that it is impossible for him to comply with these requests. The Imperial Government, however, cordially reciprocating the desire of the Canadian Government to strengthen the friendly relations of the peoples of Japan and Canada, and fully confident that the Government of the Dominion will take every possible precaution to prevent the recurrence of regrettable incidents like those of September last at Vancouver and to check movements antagonistic to Japanese residents in the Dominion, take pleasure in stating that they are prepared to exercise due discretion in dealing with the emigration of Japanese subjects to Canada, having in view especially the condition prevailing in some of the Dominion Provinces.

(Signed) TADASU HAYASHI.

December 21st, 1907.

JAPANESE PASSENGERS, FROM YOKOHAMA, KOBE AND NAGASAKI, TO CANADA.

Date.	Emigrants.			Non-Laborers.			Grand Total		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
1902	22	12	34	303	20	323	325	32	357
1903	8	4	12	339	41	380	347	45	392
1904	4	9	13	256	49	305	260	58	318
1905	23	31	54	365	70	435	388	101	489
1906	129	40	169	1,550	195	1,745	1,679	235	1,914
1907 Jan to Nov	1,995	201	2,196	1,510	180	1,690	3,505	381	3,886
Total	2,181	297	2,478	4,323	555	4,878	6,504	852	7,356

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OFFICE MEMO.

TOPICS FOR SPECIAL ARTICLES.

The Borden Administration

Imperialism

The policy of Mr. Borden and Sir Wilfrid Laurier contrasted

The Liberal Administration 15 years of progressive Government.

Liberalism and peoples rights an outline of Reform union by Liberalism in Canada.

Militarism vs Industrialism --- contrast in the attitudes of Conservative and Liberal parties in Canada.

The trade question --- points of view of the Liberal and Conservative parties explained.

The cost of living --- the pressing problem of today.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier the Liberal leader.

Liberalism vs Conservatism

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NOTES OF SPEECHES.

London speech re Borden Administration.

Note tariff needs revision by cost of living.

Liberal party enacted Combines Act.

Conservative party brought in bill for tariff Commission.

Significance of American elections.

Revolt of people against special interests.

Republican party appointed Tariff Commission.

Democratic party attacked Tariff and cost of living.

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NOTES OF SPEECHES CONT.

Plutocracy and its influence in the Cabinet.

Militarism

Sam Hughes

MacBride

Concerning British born

Borden's relation with Nationalists.

Offering of portfolio to Lavergne.

C. P. R. strike.

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My remarks are simply on the organization end. I have nothing to say about the House or the work which the Opposition Committees have undertaken to do. There does not seem to be any doubt in the mind of any person but that the Opposition in the House will give an excellent account of itself, fine indeed, and our good friends of the press may rally to the value of incessant and persistent fighting on the small things as well as the great.

With these favourable conditions an organization can be all the more effective.

I enclose you a copy of a circular I issued indirectly early in 1909 to which I received several hundreds of replies. The idea was very favourably received but the Toronto Association seemed jealous of the suggestion and as no one in authority lent a hand, the matter dropped.

Meetings held and Committees formed during themonths of January, February and March 1912, in the above eight centres, would keep things moving until after the next General Election. The effort required to be put forth for a basis of organization is but light after all, and each centre could arrange for expenses of the meetings on its own resources. Funds would be necessary for the Central Organization to prepare organization documents, printing and distribution.

The first step is to get some one visit each of these centres, and get some promising men - a rising hope to write you as outlined in the beginning of this letter, and encourage some of the leading men to take hold. In the start one thing is required, and that is above all, be careful in choosing.

Yours faithfully,

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[WLMK]

✓ Nat. Labour Advisory C[illegible] C 19947 Pub. Comm. on Social Reform & Health Legislation

[JAN. 18 1916.]

Social Reform Committee

✓ Labour Advisory Cttee 1916

A preliminary meeting of the Committee was held at the Roxborough this evening, January 18, 1916. Present: Hon. W. S. Fielding, Alphonse Verville, M.P., J. J. Hughes, M.P., J. E. Atkinson, and myself.

Other members

Sam. Jacobs
A.K. Cameron
John Muir
Fred Pearson
J.A. Calder
P.C. Larkin
J.H. Ashdown

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Coll - Liberal Party - Nat'l Liberal Advisory Committee

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MINUTES OF A MEETING AT WHICH THE NATIONAL LIBERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE WAS ORGANIZED, AND ALSO OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.

On the initiative of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and in accordance with plans which will be explained hereinafter, thirty-two representative Liberals met in Room No. 9, in the House of Commons on Monday, December 20th, 1915, for the purpose of constituting an Advisory Committee of the Liberal Party. Those present were:—

Hon. A. B. Warburton, Charlottetown.
G. F. Pearson, Halifax.
Hon. W. S. Fielding, Ottawa.
F. B. Carvell, M.P., Woodstock, N.B.
Hon. Wm. Pugsley, M.P., St. John, N.B.
H. B. McGiverin, Ottawa.
Hon. Senator W. C. Edwards, Ottawa.
Alex. Smith, Ottawa.
Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P., Ottawa.
Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, Ottawa.
John Bain, Ottawa.
C. M. Bowman, M.P.P., Southampton, Ont.
G. H. Watson, K.C., Toronto.
Stewart Lyon, Toronto.
P. C. Larkin, Toronto.
J. E. Atkinson, Toronto.
Gordon D. Conant, Oshawa, Ont.
Thos. McMillan, Seaforth, Ont.
John Muir, Brantford, Ont.
A. Verville, M.P., Montreal.
A. K. Cameron, Montreal.
Andrew R. McMaster, K.C., Montreal.
Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P., Ottawa.
Hon. Senator R. Dandurand, P.C., Montreal.
Severin Letourneau, Montreal.
Phillipe Paradis, Quebec.
E. Lapointe, M.P., Fraserville, Que.

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S. W. Jacobs, K.C., Montreal.
Hon. Sydney Fisher, Ottawa.
Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson, Montreal.
Hon. Alexander Taschereau, Quebec.
J. G. Turriff, M.P., Regina, Sask.
Hon. Walter Scott, Regina, Sask.
F. T. Congdon, Dawson City, Y.T.
J. F. Cairns, Saskatoon, Sask.
C. M. Goddard, Ottawa.

Sir Wilfrid, who occupied the chair, opened the meeting by explaining at length the purport and meaning of the movement. Briefly stated, he said, that being convinced that the conditions resulting from the War would bring about a new political and economic era in Canada, he felt it to be necessary that the Liberal Party should direct its special attention towards a profound study of the very serious and important problems with which the country will be faced. Apart too from the great problems created by the War, reforms of many long standing abuses were necessary. There never was a time in the history of Canada when it was more imperative that the best minds of the community should give the most serious thought to our political and financial conditions and problems, and in this respect Liberalism must be in the van. Liberalism would be derelict in its duty to its country if it did not look into the future and be prepared for a solution of the grave difficulties confronting us.

There was necessity also, he said, for more aggressive and earnest work in spreading the doctrines and principles of Liberalism, in bringing about cohesion of the interests of the party in the various provinces, and generally in welding Liberalism into a strong, effective fighting force for the good of the country. The attainment of these objects he considered would be greatly facilitated, if not best accomplished, by the appointment of a committee of able Liberals to act as an Advisory body, which would be representative of Liberalism throughout Canada, both outside and inside of Parliament. He emphasized the point that one of the underlying principles of the plan was to give Liberals outside of Parliament a voice

in the active councils and direction of the Party, which he thought was very much to be desired.

But for the War, Sir Wilfrid said it had been his intention to call a general convention of the Party for last June, similar to that held in 1893, and he holds the view that it would be desirable to call such a convention, at which the full voice of Liberalism from the Atlantic to the Pacific may have expression, when the time is opportune after the War. In this connection, the Advisory Committee would be of great service in arranging the necessary preliminaries and in assisting in the shaping of a forward policy for discussion and approval by the convention.

Sir Wilfrid then explained the plan adopted for the organization of the Committee, which was as follows:—

For the purpose of the composition of the Committee the Dominion was divided into four districts, namely,—

Ontario.
Quebec.
Western Canada and the Yukon.
Maritime Provinces.

The Membership of the Committee to be 55 and the appointments to be made as follows:—

Ontario.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate (one of whom to be a Senator)	3
Liberal Provincial Leader to nominate	1
Ontario Reform Association to nominate	1
Ontario Liberal Clubs " "	1
Sir Wilfrid to nominate	4
Total	10

Quebec.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate (one of whom to be a Senator)	3
Provincial Liberal Leader to nominate	1
Quebec Liberal Clubs " "	1
Montreal Liberal Clubs " "	1
Sir Wilfrid Laurier to nominate	4
Total	10

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Manitoba.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	1
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1

Saskatchewan.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	1
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1

Alberta.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	1
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1

British Columbia.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	1
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1
Sir Wilfrid Laurier to nominate from the four Western Provinces	2
Total for West	10

Prince Edward Island.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	1
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1

Nova Scotia.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	2
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1

New Brunswick.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	2
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1
Sir Wilfrid Laurier to select two members from the Maritime Provinces	2
Total from Maritime Provinces	10

Sir Wilfrid Laurier also had the right to name five members at large and the Committee itself ten members or more.

In closing his speech Sir Wilfrid submitted the whole question as to the appointment of the Committee and the nature of its composition to the meeting for consideration and decision.

On motion the Committee was declared to be duly constituted with the title of "The National Liberal Advisory Committee" and with the following powers.

1. To promote the spread of Liberal education.
2. To assist in shaping the policy of the party.
3. Generally to promote efficiency in the party ranks.

It was declared and ratified that,—

(a) Regular meetings of the Committee would be held twice a year and special meetings when necessary.

(b) That the membership of the Committee shall consist of 56, with power in the Committee to add to that number, and that the original membership shall consist of the following gentlemen,—

Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, P.C., G.C.M.G., M.P.
Hon. A. B. Warburton, Charlottetown, P.E.I.
Hon. John Richards, Charlottetown, P.E.I.
Hon. W. S. Fielding, Ottawa.
A. K. McLean, Esq., M.P., Halifax.
G. Fred Pearson, Esq., Halifax.
Hon. Wm. Pugsley, M.P., St. John, N.B.
F. B. Carvell, Esq., M.P., Woodstock, N.B.
O. Turgeon, Esq., M.P., Bathurst, N.B.
E. M. Macdonald, Esq., M.P., Pictou, N.S.

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J. J. Hughes, Esq., M.P., Souris, P.E.I.
Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P., Ottawa.
Hon. Senator Dandurand, Montreal.
E. Lapointe, Esq., M.P., Fraserville, Que.
Hon. A. Taschereau, Quebec.
Hon. Sydney Fisher, Ottawa.
Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson, Montreal.
Phillippe Paradis, Esq., Quebec
A. Verville, Esq., M.P., Montreal
S. Letourneau, Esq., M.P.P., Montreal.
Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M.P., Brockville, Ont.
F. F. Pardee, Esq., M.P., Sarnia, Ont.
Hon. Senator W. C. Edwards, Ottawa.
Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, Ottawa.
P. C. Larkin, Esq., Toronto.
C. M. Bowman, Esq., M.P.P., Southampton,Ont
Gordon D. Conant, Esq., Oshawa, Ont.
Thos. McMillan, Esq., Seaforth, Ont.
Geo. H. Watson, Esq., K.C., Toronto.
John Muir, Esq., Brantford, Ont.
N. W. Rowell, Esq., M.P.P., Toronto.
Hon. Walter Scott, Regina, Sask.
Hon. J. A. Calder, M.P.P., Regina, Sask.
J. F. Cairns, Esq., Saskatoon, Sask.
Hon. Frank Oliver, M.P., Edmonton, Alberta.
Dr. Michael Clarke, M.P., Olds, Alberta.
J. G. Turriff, Esq., M.P., Regina, Sask.
T. W. Quayle, Esq., Edmonton, Alberta.
John Bain, Esq., Ottawa.
Alex. Smith, Esq., Ottawa.
A. R. McMaster, K.C., Montreal.
F. T. Congdon, Esq., Dawson City, Y.T.
Hon. Senator Bostock, Monte Creek, B.C.
Fred C. Wade, Esq., Vancouver, B.C.
W. M. Martin, M.P., Regina, Sask.
J. H. Ashdown, Esq., Winnipeg.
S. W. Jacobs, K.C., Montreal.
Stewart Lyon, Esq., Toronto
J. E. Atkinson, Esq., Toronto, Ont.
H. B. McGiverin, Esq., Ottawa.
A. K. Cameron, Esq., Montreal.
Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P., Ottawa.
W. C. Kennedy, Esq., Windsor, Ont.
Hon. James Ross, Moose Jaw, Sask.
Hon. W. G. Mitchell, Montreal.
F. O. Fowler, Esq., Winnipeg.

(c) That Sir Wilfrid Laurier be Chairman and Convenor of the Committee and Mr. John Bain, Honorary Secretary.

(d) That the members of the Committee shall hold office until after the next General Dominion Election.

The remainder of the first day's meeting was taken up with addresses, each of the gentlemen present taking advantage of the opportunity offered to submit his views on the present and future political situation and problems and respecting the aims and objects of Liberalism, with special reference to the work of the Committee.

On Tuesday, December 21st, Sir Wilfrid opened the proceedings by introducing the following resolution which was heartily received and passed with unanimity.

"This National Liberal Committee is of opinion that so long as the War lasts the Liberal Party should continue, as it has from the first, to give its chief attention to the tremendous struggle in which the Country is engaged; that to that end it should continue to give a loyal support to all necessary war measures whilst exercising a vigilant supervision of the conduct of the Government both in Military and Civil matters; and that in the meantime the members of this Committee should actively apply themselves to the study of the important questions and problems which the Country will have to face when peace is restored."

The meeting then devoted their attention to a serious discussion of various highly important matters submitted for their consideration with the result that Resolutions were adopted creating a separate Sub-Committee for each of the following purposes,—

(1) To consider the finances of Canada with special reference to the greatly increased National financial obligations, and ways and means to distribute the necessary charges or taxation among the people in the most equitable manner.

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(2) To consider the problems of Rural Life in Canada with a view to Federal Legislation by which Agricultural production may be promoted and our unemployed and our immigrants, may be encouraged and enabled to engage in farming.

(3) To study and report upon the establishment of a Rural Credit system, and such additions to the laws affecting Banking, as may tend to make capital and loans for agricultural operations available on terms more favorable than at present obtained.

(4) To inquire into and study the welfare of our returned soldiers involving a consideration of the necessity for adequate pensions, vocational training, and such other assistance as may be required to enable them to again take their proper places in our National Life.

(5) To study and report upon the adoption of a scheme of technical education and industrial training, in co-operation with existing Provincial systems.

(6) To study and report upon the question of exercising Federal control over Limited Liability Companies so as to prevent fraud on the public by undue capitalization and in other ways, also the question of adopting a Federal Insolvency Law.

(7) To study and report upon a comprehensive programme of Social reform and health legislation which shall include measures such as:—

(1) Old Age Pensions.
(2) National insurance for sickness and invalidity.
(3) Insurance of unemployment in certain occupations and industries.

(8) To study and report upon Railway questions and the various transportation problems of the country.

(9) To study and report upon the best methods of publicity of Liberal principles and policy and political information generally.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Hon. Sydney Fisher, Hon. R. Dandurand, C. M. Bowman, M.P.P., Alex. Smith were appointed to strike the various Sub-Committees which they afterwards did as follows,—

Sub-Committee on Finances, as per Resolution No. 1.

Hon. W. S. Fielding, (Chairman)

Hon. Sydney Fisher,	Thomas MacMillan,
John Bain,	Hon. W. G. Mitchell,
Stewart Lyon,	E. M. Macdonald, M.P.,
Hon. J. A. Calder, M.P.P.,	P. C. Larkin,
A. K. MacLean, M.P.,	W. M. Martin, M.P.,
Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson,	J. H. Ashdown,
Hon. W. Pugsley, M.P.,	A. R. McMaster, K.C.,
Geo. H. Watson, K.C.,	Dr. Michael Clarke, M.P.

Sub-Committee on Rural Life Problems and Agricultural Development, as per Resolution No. 2.

Hon. Sydney Fisher, (Chairman)

C. M. Bowman, M.P.P.,	F. F. Pardee, M.P.,
Thos. MacMillan,	Hon. John Richards,
Hon. A. B. Warburton,	F. B. Carvell, M.P.,
J. G. Turriff, M.P.,	O. Turgeon, M.P.,
Hon. Alexander Taschereau,	Hon. Senator H. Bostock,
F. O. Fowler,	E. Lapointe, M.P.
J. F. Cairns,	

Sub-Committee on Rural Credits and Banking, as per Resolution No. 3.

John Bain, (Chairman)

C. M. Bowman, M.P.P.,	Hon. W. Pugsley, M.P.,
Hon. Walter Scott,	J. F. Cairns,
Hon. Frank Oliver,	Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M.P
Hon. Senator R. Dandurand,	Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P.
Hon. Senator W. C. Edwards,	Gordon D. Conant.
J. G. Turriff, M.P.,	

Sub-Committee on Welfare of returned soldiers, as per Resolution No. 4.

H. B. McGiverin, (Chairman)

A. K. Cameron,	Dr. Michael Clarke, M.P.,
A. Verville, M.P.,	S. Letourneau,
G. Fred Pearson,	W. M. Martin, M.P.,
John Muir,	A. K. McLean, M.P.,
F. O. Fowler,	Geo. H. Watson, K.C.,
Hon. Frank Oliver, M.P.,	Fred C. Wade, K.C.
W. C. Kennedy,	

Sub-Committee on Technical Education, as per Resolution No. 5.

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Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, (Chairman)

Hon. A. Taschereau,	N. W. Rowell, M.P.P.,
Philippe Paradis,	Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P.,
Gordon D. Conant,	P C. Larkin,
G. Fred Pearson,	E. M. Macdonald, M.P.

Sub-Committee on Control Limited Liability Companies, as per Resolution No. 6.

S. W. Jacobs, K.C., (Chairman)

John Bain,	Hon. Senator R. Dandurand,
A. R. McMaster, K.C.,	F. B. Carvell, M.P.,
N. W. Rowell, M.P.P.,	W. M. Martin, M.P.,
H. B. McGiverin,	Hon. A. B. Warburton,
G. D. Conant, Esq.,	Alex. Smith.
Hon. Walter Scott	

Sub-Committee on Social Reform and Health Legislation, as per Resolution No. 7.

J. E. Atkinson, (Chairman)

A. K. Cameron,	Hon. J. A. Calder, M.P.P.,
John Muir,	W. L. MacKenzie King,
A Verville, M.P.,	Hon. W. S. Fielding,
J. J. Hughes, M.P.,	P. C. Larkin,
S. W. Jacobs, K.C.,	J. H. Ashdown.
G. Fred Pearson,	

Sub-Committee on Railway and Transporation Problems, as per Resolution No. 8.

Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M.P., (Chairman)

Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P.,	F. F. Pardee, M.P.,
Hon. Senator James Ross,	Hon. J. A. Calder, M.P.P.,
E. M. Macdonald, M.P.,	Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson,
Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P.,	J. H. Ashdown,
E. Lapointe, M.P.,	Stewart Lyon,
F. B. Carvell, M.P.,	F. T. Congdon.
N. W. Rowell, M.P.P.,	

Sub-Committee on Publicity, as per Resolution No. 9.

Alex. Smith, (Chairman)

Hon. Sydney Fisher,	F. T. Congdon,
G. Fred Pearson,	John Bain,
Stewart Lyon,	Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M.P.,
J. E. Atkinson,	T. W. Quayle,
Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P.,	F. C. Wade.

The proceedings were brought to a close on Tuesday, December 21st at noon, after a very hearty and highly appreciative vote of thanks and confidence had been tendered to the Chief, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on the motion of Mr. J. F. Cairns and seconded by Mr. P. C. Larkin.

JOHN BAIN,

Hon. Secretary.

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(Mackenzie King)
J.C.

Ottawa, December 21, 1915.

At a meeting in Sir Wilfrid's office to-day, whilst expressing approval of the particular measures of social reform to which the attention of a Committee of the National Liberal Party was invited in a resolution prepared by Mr. Atkinson, I suggested, instead of citing the particular measures, amending the resolution to include some such words ~~as the following~~:

> To inquire into the social and economic conditions of certain industries with a view to improve the well-being of persons engaged in industry and solving the problem to which existing industrial conditions give rise; also the applicability to Canada of measures of social legislation which have been of service to Labor in other countries.

Sir Wilfrid was inclined to accept this amendment, and gave reasons for the wisdom of so doing; but other members seemed to feel that specific measures were what the Party should advocate.

I pointed out that I had no objection to the Party so doing, but I doubted whether the Liberal Party as a party would be prepared to accept the programme of social legislation as definitely outlined, when it came to its advocacy in public and the enactment of measures in Parliament; that I wished to draw the attention of the meeting to the fact that if the resolution was allowed to stand in the form in which it was presented, the Party was committing itself to these measures, and could not later say that a Committee formed to consider

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them had only been formed for the purpose of reporting upon them; that the action of the meeting would be viewed by the public at large as a commitment on the part of the Liberal Party to certain particular measures; that I wanted this understood now, so that there could be no question later on and no attempt to get under cover when the chance came to further the legislation.

It was after this statement that the meeting decided to hold to the resolution with the concrete measures included, and accepted it unanimously. My action was designed purposely to commit the Party by drawing attention to the fact that its action was to be considered a commitment. I congratulated Atkinson on his resolution going through with the understanding that from now on it was to become a part of the programme of the Liberal Party.

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Sheet 3

C 19961

SUBSCRIPTION LIST FOR THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY

Poll No. _____

City, Town, Village or Township of _____

Provincial Constituency of _____

Federal Constituency of _____

We, the undersigned, wish to subscribe for the Canadian Liberal Monthly for one year, and enclose herewith 25c. to cover the cost of same.

PLEASE WRITE PLAINLY

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C 19962

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C 19963

THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY

ISSUED UNDER AUTHORITY OF
THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR WILFRID LAURIER
P.C., G.C.M.G., M.P.

TELEPHONE QUEEN 8700
601-612 HOPE CHAMBERS, SPARKS STREET
OTTAWA, ONT.

November 3rd, 1916.

My Dear Sir,

Please read Sir Wilfrid Laurier's message:

Ottawa, October 26th., 1916.

Mr. C.M.Goddard,
Secretary, Central Liberal Office,
Ottawa.

My dear Goddard,

I wish you would write to every active Liberal in Canada, and ask if it would not be possible for each one of them to devote a little time to the Liberal Monthly during the coming winter months.

There is reason for believing that scores of electors throughout Canada would subscribe to the Monthly, if it were brought to their attention. This can be done either through Liberal Clubs, or through existing organizations, or by individual canvass.

Please give this matter your prompt attention.

Yours very sincerely,

Wilfrid Laurier

The price of *The Liberal Monthly* is 25 cents a year. It tells what the Liberals are doing. It exposes graft and scandal. It gives the electors the information they want.

Our present subscription list is 51,000, which proves that in many polls good work has been accomplished. In other polls little or nothing has been done. Sir Wilfrid's desire is to increase this subscription list to 200,000. Will you help.

Sample copies sent on application.

Yours faithfully,
C. M. GODDARD,
Secretary.

[OVER]

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READ SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S MESSAGE ON REVERSE SIDE C 19964

Subscription List for the Canadian Liberal Monthly

The Liberal Monthly is published in the English and French languages

City, Town, Village or Township of.....

Federal Constituency of.....

We, the undersigned, wish to subscribe for the Canadian Liberal Monthly for one year, and enclose herewith 25 cents to cover the cost of same.

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If enclosing Bank Bills or Silver, register letter.

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C 19965

Central Information Office
OF THE
Canadian Liberal Party

CONDUCTED UNDER AUTHORITY OF
THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR WILFRID LAURIER
P.C., G.C.M.G., M.P.

TELEPHONE NO. QUEEN 8700
ROOMS 601-612 HOPE CHAMBERS
63 SPARKS STREET

OTTAWA November, 22nd, 1915.

MY DEAR SIR,—

Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Members of the Committee in charge of the Central Liberal Information Office have decided to reduce the price of the Liberal Monthly to 25c. a year.

Our aim now is to secure 200,000 subscribers throughout Canada. This means,

1000 from each Federal Constituency

Or

From 15 to 20 from each poll.

Will you help?

First, by writing two or three leading Liberals in each poll in your constituency, asking them to make a canvass of each elector for subscriptions to the Monthly.

Second, by drawing to the attention of as many Liberals as possible this low rate and asking them to subscribe.

If this is done systematically in each constituency success is assured and we will have, within the next six weeks, a subscription list of at least 100,000.

I enclose herewith some blank subscription forms and more may be had on application. We shall also be glad to send you sample copies of the Liberal Monthly if you desire them.

Will you please let us hear from you

Yours faithfully,

C. M. Goddard
Secretary

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW CURRENT POLITICS AND THE POLICY OF THE LIBERAL PARTY
READ THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY

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To the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier,

Chairman of the National Liberal Advisory Committee,

Ottawa, O n t.

Sir:

PUBLICITY OF LIBERAL PRINCIPLES AND POLICY

Gibbon says that the human character however it may be exalted or depressed by a temporary enthusiasm, will return by degrees to its proper and natural level, and will resume those passions that seem most adapted to its present condition.

In September, 1911, the Nationalist-Conservative Party may have been exalted and the Liberal Party may have been depressed. The proper and natural level has about resumed and in order to further encourage this desired comsumation, the National Liberal Advisory Committee on December 20th, 1915, appointed a Sub-Committee.

TO STUDY AND REPORT UPON THE BEST METHODS OF PUBLICITY OF LIBERAL PRINCIPLES AND POLICY AND POLITICAL INFORMATION GENERALLY.

Shortly after this Sub-Committee was appointed a Memorandum of Suggestions was drafted by the Chairman and a copy of the same sent to each member of the Sub-Committee and to a few other Liberals.

To each person receiving a copy of these suggestions was sent a personal letter requesting him to express his views by correspondence, in order that a more comprehensive memorandum could be prepared for further discussion and revision.

Letters and other communications have been received from members of the Committee and their views have been to a considerable extent supplemented by communications from other Liberals.

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The chief means to obtain the desired end by way of Publicity are the following:

1. Information Office.
2. Monthly Publications.
3. The Press.
4. Literature.
5. Platform work.
6. Conferences.
7. Meetings of regular associations
8. Local public meetings.
9. Meetings that would appeal to a large district to be addressed by members of Parliament and others.
10. Sustain the hands of the Leader upon all occasions and at all times by furnishing him with full information and personal advice and Counsel on every matter that arises.

In all these things order and regularity are required.

Chaos is great but less great than the order and regulated greatness of the world.

Early in 1912 several suggestions were submitted to the Federal Liberal Leader with the view to reviving in the Liberal party the modern and progressive spirit so as to enlist the support of all Liberal and Radical thinkers throughout the country, as this is the twentieth century and Canada is in the Western Hemisphere.

To assist in this desired end it was felt that an Information Office was necessary in order that political information could be freely secured and readily distributed. The main energy seems to have been directed towards this end, and the work of enlisting the services of men from among the classes of persons who sustained the Liberal cause for many years (in the Province of Ontario particularly) not only on Provincial, but Federal affairs was neglected.

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This however can be dealt with later, as at the outset it is advisable to deal with things in their order.

From enquiries it would appear that the Information Office was established more as a mechanical device for collecting volunteer information and distributing the same.

1.-INFORMATION OFFICE

Excellent work has been done in the way of gathering compiled political data, and from what has been attempted it is anticipated even better results will accrue, so that in a very short time any Liberal speaker or thinker may be able to secure from the Information Office any political information and data which he may require. The success of a system of this kind largely depends on the enthusiasm, activity, experience and capacity of the persons in charge of the Office. It is a matter of growth and cannot be said to depend very much upon specific instructions.

2.-MONTHLY PUBLICATION

The idea of the Monthly Publication is cordially and firmly approved by everybody who has taken an interest in the suggestion. Those who are most enthusiastic for a Monthly Publication say that if it were properly edited and managed it could be made a force for good and would commend a very wide and extensive circulation. Members of the Committee, however, report that there is great room for improvement in the Liberal Monthly. It is, they assert, so obviously partisan as to defeat its own purposes, and in addition to this it is much of a second hand affair. It is also criticised because it is not a source of information to the persons in the Liberal party who endeavour to form public opinion, and, in this connection, it is suggested that the cartoons be eliminated and superlatives cut out.

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At present there is no editor of the Liberal Monthly. The Publication is a feature that has grown and has become attached to the Information Office as an extra unforeseen responsibility to be attended to by the mechanical staff of the office. The system for obtaining circulation for, and securing distribution of the Monthly appears to be well in hand and grows and improves as time passes. It is however a matter of agreeable surprise that without central responsibility for the editing of the Monthly it has proven useful.

If someone were appointed editor (with salary) in full charge of issuing the Monthly, members of the Publicity Committee would be willing to undertake the work of providing articles and data for insertion. As an aid to their work members of the Publicity Committee would keep in close touch with all the members of the Press Gallery who are correspondents for Liberal papers. The editor of the Monthly, the members of the Publicity Committee and the Liberal members of the Press Gallery would form a consultative body to discuss matters as they arise and keep the leader of the party fully advised of matters that come to their attention. This consultative body could also keep in close touch with the editors of leading newspapers throughout Canada and these editors no doubt would be pleased to occasionally contribute articles for the Monthly on the progress of Liberalism in their part of Canada. This consultative body should have general access to the newspaper clipping and blue book branch of the Information Office so that appropriate articles could from time to time be sent out to various sections of the country.

If the foregoing suggestions are entertained and en-

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dorsed it will not be necessary to present directions or instructions as to how certain results may be attained in accordance with the excellent and timely recommendations received from members of the Committee and others in response to the memorandum sent out by the Chairman of the Publicity Committee in the month of January. These letters will be useful as a guide and direction to the consultative body and it is not necessary to embody them in this report.

The foregoing is sufficient to open up discussion on the features dealt with and it is to be hoped the offer of services above made will be duly appreciated for the Liberal Press Correspondents fully concur in the same.

3 - THE PRESS

The weekly newspapers could be greatly assisted if the Information Office kept in close contact with the Editors by furnishing special information from time to time, and, besides establishing in the minds of the Editors generally the fact that "when in doubt ask the Information Office". It is not the business of men in the Press Gallery to dig up hidden material, but rather to purvey the daily incidents. As an example of what might be brought to light by the editor of the Monthly it may be stated that he could associate himself with each M.P. who calls for a return. He could assist in the perusal of these returns and the Auditor-General's reports, and make record of any facts required, always bearing in mind that day and date and apt quotations assist in establishing the facts in the public mind. This Committee cannot very well deal with the Press except as an existing institution. All speak glowingly of the freedom of the Press, and Liberals do not control or direct any publication (except the Liberal Monthly).

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The newspaper situation, particularly so far as Ottawa is concerned is being looked into apart from the Publicity Committee and it is to be hoped that good will result.

From letters received the following extracts are given : Editors of weeklies will not set type for political articles and they prefer matter not too partisan. They often use plate matter to fill in. This plate matter is frequently against the Liberals as witness "Made in Canada" campaign and articles from the Financial Post. Plates sent out should be set in eightpoint or ten point slug which would help make face harmonize with local matter. Weekly letters should not be too discursive, but should deal and make clear one single fact. Some scheme of co-operation between Liberal editors should be devised. Meetings of the editors should take place occasionally especially just before and just after the meeting of Parliament. Items sent to the Press should as much as possible have local colouring and puffery stuff is non-effective. It is suggested that "Back to Business" would be a good battle cry.

4- LITERATURE

A carpenter cannot get along at work without his tools, nor can a builder build without material. In the conduct of political discussion the development of political thought and the establishment of political principles literature on subjects to be treated is, therefore required. To this purpose there should be prepared:

1. A hand book of political Information compiled to date following the lines of the books for speakers issued in 1896, 1900, 1904, 1908 and 1911. This would embody the matter in thepamphlets issued since the elections

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of 1911, and any useful material in other pamphlets all the facts to be brought up to date of issue (which should be shortly before the general election contest.) This volume to be historical and moderate in its presentation with extended table of contents and ready reference index. To be a brief for the platform in party controversy; to be a record of both political parties, the taxation and revenue of the country and the financial situation generally.

2. A special pamphlet on the main outline of cleavage between Liberal principles and Conservative assertions with British and Canadian historical references to illustrate as well as the citation of Canadian enactments for the betterment of the condition of the people. This could be embodied in the hand-book later on. The Western people are very desirous to have a pamphlet on this subject. They insist on it.

3. A special pamphlet on the programme suggested in the resolutions adopted by the Liberal Advisory Committee. To be embodied in the hand-book also.

4. Smaller pamphlets of special separate subjects and leaflets on a particular idea or fact.

5. Cartoons prepared on the eve of the election and selected with great care.

5 - PLATFORM WORK

Without discussion on the platform or stump all the Parliamentary debates, press comments and literature will serve but little to achieve the end desired. It is hard to discern what the people really desire, and, even more difficult, to be able to grasp what lines they wish to proceed upon to obtain their wishes. Frequently it happens that only near the close of a campaign do the campaigners begin to realize what the people

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have had in view. The platform gives personality to the campaign. To assist in maintaining the platform it is advisable to consider plans and methods of inducing men to take an interest in the work and developing them for the same. It is personality that counts. It is fortunately not the speech. Platform work involves the best methods of providing that speakers are well advised of the local conditions, and also that the public to be addressed are thoroughly informed of when and where the speaking is to take place. As an illustration of what the platform can do it is well to recall that in 1894,a dangerous organization imported from the United States swept over Ontario. It was a revival of the "Know-nothings" of fifty years before and when transplanted was known as the P.P.A. This organization secretly upset many well regulated municipal bodies at the municipal elections 1894 and gave promise of carrying its peculiar views to a dangerous practical conclusion. It was checked and eventually destroyed by firm and leading Protestants- lay and clerical - at great risk of their livelihood denouncing the aims of the movement. This is an illustration demonstrating that fanatical movements can best be fought at home by the people who understand them best, and when people in Ontario or elsewhere are disturbed by "high emotion" existing in Quebec let them remember that the Liberals or Rouges have had to meet that kind of onslaught all their days and they are not yet relieved. Without regard to race or colour the fanatic is always Tory, be he Catholic or P.P.A. jingo or blue.

In 1911, the people of Canada were inflamed to a fury on racial and religous differences, and the adepts in these

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methods will be succeeded by greater adepts. It behooves the Liberals to present the Liberal programme in such a way that the mists and clouds of passion and prejudice cannot turn the electors from what is in their own best interests.

6- CONFERENCE

The suggestion that conferences be held has been well received and the precedent set by the meeting of the National Liberal Advisory Committee is commended. These conferences could discuss the condition of country in the districts represented and the best methods to more fully present the issue of the day on the publicplatform. It would be well to have leaders in platform work in the district present at the conferences and also others to take up such work. A Province could be divided into districts each district to embody (in Ontario) about 10 Federal electoral ridings and in the same area there would be probably 12 Provincial ridings. The conference should be composed of:

1. Candidates in the last Federal general election.
2. Candidates in the field for the approaching Federal general election.
3. The presidents of the Federal Riding Associations.
4. The secretaries of the Federal Riding Associations.
5. Candidates in the last Provincial general elections.
6. Candidates nominated for the next Provincial general elections.
7. The presidents of the Provincial Riding Associations.
8. The Secretary of the Provincial Riding Associations.
9. Secretaries and Presidents of Liberal Clubs.

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10. Five to be chosen at large by the above (for each combined Federal and Provincial Riding.)

11. The Chairman of the National Liberal Advisory Committee, the Chairmen of the Sub-Committees of the same and members of said Committees resident in the district.

To the area covered by a Federal riding the above would provide an average of 10 delegates or 100 for ten such areas. It will be readily seen that such conferences would prove useful and each conference might be asked to designate a representative to the National Liberal Advisory Committee. In the Province of Ontario about 8 or 10 conferences could be arranged for and in the Western Provinces a conference could be arranged for the area covered by each Federal riding. The Eastern Provinces could arrange conferences according to local conditions.

7 - MEETINGS OF REGULAR ASSOCIATIONS

Too often these meetings are looked upon as a mere formality whereas they should be an excellent means of taking stock of local conditions where local men take chief part. As a rule it is not advisable to have outside campaigners present at such gatherings. It is not fair to the visitor nor valuable to the association which has or should have local business to attend to.

8 - LOCAL PUBLIC MEETINGS

These are not sufficiently encouraged. The local men are the best judges of local conditions, and should themselves deal with the same, but at such gatherings an outside speaker adds interest and induces attendance.

9 - MEETINGS - LARGE GATHERINGS

It is not necessary to go into detail on this phase. It is sufficient to refer as a guide for future gatherings to the splendid arrangements for Sir Wilfrid Laurier's opening speeches, in Ontario in 1900, 1904, 1908 and 1911.

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The opening day on each occasion was well staged, and excellently presented through the press. With reference to meetings it would be advisable to have an interchange of speakers not only between districts, but between provinces. The correspondence received insists on this latter phase.

10 - SUSTAIN THE LEADER

The best way to sustain the hands of the leader is to keep him thoroughly posted **not** through one or two **but** through many persons. This however is but a small part to play. Let the good work through the channels above outlined be ever on the boards for there can be no rest under present conditions. It is persistance that wins.

The record of the present Government for each session since it assumed office should be written large, and clear for it is hard to get the mind to grasp the sordid tale of the story in the mass. The mind should be led on - and then the avalanche.

On the other hand we must recruit - fill up our own ranks by means of local meetings, meetings of associations, general meetings, conferences&c. This applies particularly to Ontario which by management and votes made the turn in 1896, and it can do so again when given opportunity.

Vancouver Example for Toronto.

About four years ago the Liberals of Vancouver undertook to get up some system of organization. Previous to that the Liberals there **had** no cohesion although they had among them many, very many able men. So soon as the organization got started there was trouble here and there, because of the new and improved conditions. One result of the new movement was the purging of the lists of thousands of illegal voters.

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Other useful results followed. Without the movement started four years ago in Vancouver and to some extent throughout the entire Provinceof B.C. the recent results in that Province would not have been so specially pleasing. Toronto can also do well if the Liberals there proceed upon simple, plain lines. Let them secure the services of a man who would take the blue book of census of 1911 and tabulate the people in each ward by nationality and church or religious bodies. Let them then proceed to choose a Liberal Committee of 100 for each ward giving each nationality or religious body representation according to the percentage of its population. With this Committee of 100 in each ward further organization would be effected. All these steps would be under the direction of whatever there is of a central Liberal Association for the City of Toronto and let the association remember that they might even have a harder time to progress than the Liberals of Vancouver had for those in authority in Liberal Clubs or Associations here and there throughout the city will be sure to object. The Liberal Press in Toronto should welcome such a proposal as the above for through the Committee of 100 in each of the seven wards two or three Liberal public meetings in each ward could be held in each year and the Liberals in that city would not be subject to stampedes. Toronto Liberals have an opportunity to render excellent service to the Liberals throughout Canada. All that is required is to proceed systematically, calmly and firmly. It is not for this Advisory Committee to go into details. The silent Toronto Liberal has endured certain conditions too long, but if given a chance will welcome the opportunity with gladness and useful active service.

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SOME OF THE ASSISTANCE RENDERED BY MEN NOW MEMBERS
OF THIS COMMITTEE

During the early part of the year 1915, Mr. John Bain and I collaborated in preparing documents. A few thousand copies of these pamphlets have been printed and distributed from the Information Office as follows:

1. The Railway Question.
2. A review of Liberal Administration.
3. Reciprocity (A Retrospect).
4. Canadian Defence.
5. Debt Deficits, Taxes (A Record of the Borden Government to 1915).
6. Qualification of Voters and Naturalization of Aliens.
7. Committeemen's and Scrutineer's Book.

In addition to this the Information Office in association with members of the press gallery prepared the booklet on the war contract scandals, and distributed many thousand copies of the same with marked effect and appreciable results.

The distribution of the copies of the above eight pamphlets and the pamphlets on the Navy Question in 1913 prepared by the Liberal Parliamentary Committee under the direction of Hon. W. L. M. King and the numerous other publications has done much to establish the Information Office as a useful institution for political information. The information however has to be prepared and compiled and afterwards money has to be secured for printing and distributing the same.

There is a tendency for more open discussion of various

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topics by bodies not allied with any political party, and it behooves the Liberals to prepare documents on constitutional and other subjects in a full and ample manner by way of information, copies of which should reach the hands of the active spirits in the bodies above referred to.

Unless the Liberals give a lead the energy of the people will be diverted into uneffective channels.

I might also point out that the associated press which furnishes to the newspapers the greater amount of news and information published by them is almost entirely in Conservative hands, and is, therefore, imbued with Conservative ideas and information. It is noticeable also that the Liberal members of the House of Commons do not put forward sufficient effort to furnish information to the members of the press gallery. Conservative M.P.'s lose no opportunity to supply what they can to both sides of the Press Gallery, and thus obtain a wide circulation for their suggestions and assertions.

An old question in a new guise has come forward. It is the question of Imperialism and will need to be dealt with in pamphlets etc. before long.

The foregoing is respectfully submitted.

ALEXANDER SMITH,

Chairman.

June 20th, 1916.

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INFORMATION OFFICE AND CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY.

Since my report was prepared I have received information which affords me much pleasure to submit with reference to the foregoing and it is as follows:

The Central Liberal Information Office was started in May, 1912, for the purpose of conducting throughout Canada a campaign of education in the interests of the Federal Liberal party. The first work undertaken was the collection of a list of the active workers from each poll comprising approximately, 115,000 names.

The educational work carried on may be divided into five classes, namely, the preparation of pamphlets and leaflets and other information, and the distribution of the same to newspaper editors, public speakers, the general electorate, to special classes of persons, and general correspondence.

To the 500 Liberal and Independent newspapers throughout Canada specially prepared articles have been mailed weekly and oftener when thought advisable.

To the public speakers, (a special list of between 8,000 and 9,000 names having been collect), copies of all pamphlets and leaflets issued have been sent together with other information such as hand-books, and data specially compiled for public speakers.

To the general electorate such pamphlets and leaflets as the Committee considered of special interest.

To the special classes such as clergymen, lawyers, school-teachers, doctors, etc., etc. pamphlets of special interest have been periodically mailed.

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The office is equipped with the most modern facilities for rapidly sending out literature, having two addressing machines capable of addressing envelopes at the rate of 50,000 per day. There is installed ready for use in the office between 500,000 and 6000,000 stencils, exclusive of other special lists which are stenciled, such as the active workers, newspaper editors, public speakers, members, senators, candidates and Presidents and Secretaries of Liberal Clubs.

During the past four years 45 pamphlets and 5 leaflets have been printed, totalling 5,959,700 copies, or 90,396,000 pages. With the exception of a few hundred copies of each, all have been distributed.

An extensive reference library has been established, covering Canadian Parliamentary blue books, agricultural and other papers from Canada, United States, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand. A newspaper clipping bureau each week, clips, pastes and fyles under 108 different headings or classifications, between 40 and 50 daily and weekly Canadian papers, five British daily newspapers, 2 Australian newspapers, two New Zealand daily newspapers.

In April and May 1915 in preparation for the general election then imminent, a supply of campaign literature was prepared and made ready for distribution which consisted of over 40,000,000 pages of literature, the hand-book in four sections, the securing of 2000 bill boards, size 9 x 14 feet, and an adequate supply of large cartoons, (4, 500 in number to place on these bill boards), 700,000 small cartoons and streamers, all of which with the exception of the cartoons and streamers have been distributed.

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THE LIBERAL MONTHLY

Entirely exclusive of the above is the Canadian Liberal Monthly, the first issue of which appeared in September, 1913. For the first year the subscription list was approximately 9,500 notwithstanding the fact that over 400,000 sample copies had been distributed and a second and third appeal made to all the active Liberal workers throughout Canada.

At the end of the second year this subscription list had dwindled to less than 6,000 and the people generally, while satisfied with the contents of the Monthly, were complaining that for general distribution the price of $1.00 per year was somewhat high for a publication of this size. On December 1st, 1915, the price was reduced to 25¢ a year. This reduction in price has resulted in increasing the subscription list of the Monthly to over 45,000.

Of the Monthly 1,144,000 copies have been distributed embodying 27,456,000 pages of printed matter. This with the pamphlets give 7,103,000 copies of documents sent out, making a total of 117,852,000 pages.

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PUBLICITY COMMITTEE KEEPS INFORMATION
OFFICE ADVISED.

As Chairman of the Publicity Committee I have kept the Information Office informed on any criticisms or suggestions received by me. These have been conveyed to the Information Office in an impersonal way, not disclosing names of the writers, and in fact my report is based almost entirely upon suggestions verbal and written I have received, and from one of the latest letters received I quote the following:

"Yours of recent date received, also the copy of the memo sent Sir. Wilfrid Laurier. I do not know that I have much further in the way of suggestions to make at present and feel sure that the programme outlined will give a wide scope for the activity of the Committee. As regards the criticism of the Liberal Monthly there is one objection with which I do not agree. That is the opposition to cartoons. My view has been that the cartoons were among the best features and certainly they appeal to a lot of people especially these who may not be as well educated as the parties objecting. It is quite possible to reach many through the eye and I have always held the view that the ideas embodied in the Monthly cartoons were excellent. I do not hear much criticism of the Monthly in the West where I think it is highly appreciated. I think possibly it would help out some if there was a column devoted to platform hints, which might cover a variety of ideas. Suggestions as to the strongest points in favour of the party; hints as to the need of studying locality, with a view to ascertaining nationality, predominating prejudice etc. which are often the course of many a bad break through ignorance of the particular people being addressed. This may seem amateurish, but really there are a lot of amateurs anxious to gain experience and hints along these lines would I think be appreciated.

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"An occasional anecdote about an outstanding leader or how some one captured an audience with a apt illustration or quick witted reply would also add interest. The idea I am driving at is that there are many readers who do not understand the national finances and the deeper questions of politics and if a portion of the Monthly were devoted to more popular and human interest features, to borrow a newspaper phrase, it would help to make it permanent friends. While not neglecting the more serious phases there is room for the introduction of that which would appeal to those who are incapable, or not inclined to master heavier problems. The Monthly is designed to reach the masses and that necessitates a little for all kinds of people. I fully appreciate that the lack of a permanent editor makes this a difficult task, but think it is worth considering. I do not think the paper has been too partisan as claimed. It has been a presentation of facts rather than ideas and if the facts were partisan all the better.

"As regards the West I would repeat my previously expressed view that literature should be got out especially for the West. The pamphlets showing up the scandals in buying horse, boots, etc. are alright for the West and there should be good live stuff got out showing the wealth making propensities of Allison. The people are absorbing the stuff appearing in the press. For distinctly Western consumption the cry for free wheat, etc. must be kept up. It will help drown the bilingual campaign which the other fellows are starting to wage, no doubt to draw the red herring across the army scandals trail.The farmers of the West respond to a class appeal in great shape and free wheat, free implements etc., mean more than bilingualism."

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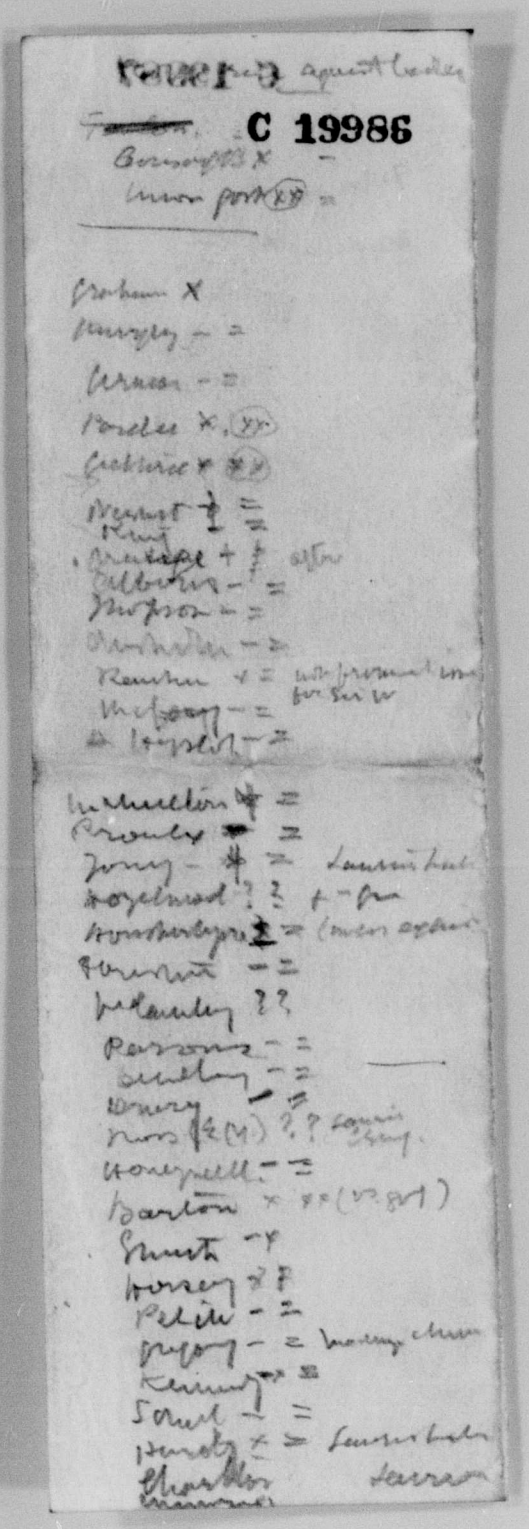
I embody the foregoing additional information in my report dated as of June 20th, 1916, to Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and respectfully submit the same for the consideration of the Committee.

ALEXANDER SMITH,
Chairman,

July 18th, 1916

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C 19988

An Organization Meeting of

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY LIBERAL CLUB

Will be held in

THE LIBERAL CLUB HALL

on

FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 23, 1917.

AT 8 O'CLOCK.

NELSON PARLIAMENT M. P. P. WILL ADDRESS

THIS MEETING

YOUR PRESENCE IS DESIRED

F. A. DALES
President

J. B. SANDERS
Secy.

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Collateral C 19989
Can. Liberal Monthly

Ottawa, January 11, 1918.

To the Subscribers of THE LIBERAL MONTHLY:

Subsequent to the inauguration of the Liberal Information Office in 1919, the LIBERAL MONTHLY was established as a medium of communication with the public on matters pertaining to the administration of government, and Canadian public affairs generally. To further a wide circulation, the subscription price of the MONTHLY was reduced, in 1915, to 25 cents a year, at which price it has since been continued.

During the recent elections, the ~~LIBERAL~~ MONTHLY and other publications of the Liberal Information Office were practically the only literature available to Opposition candidates and their friends and supporters. To supply the urgent and extensive demand, the resources of the Office were taxed to the utmost, and its revenues drawn upon to bear a not inconsiderable portion of the expenses of the campaign. The Committee in charge of the Office are of the opinion that if its useful purposes are to be furthered, and the LIBERAL MONTHLY continued, it will be necessary to restore the rate of subscription of the latter to ~~its former figure of~~ a dollar a year. This course commends itself as in accord with the democratic principles for which the Liberal Party stands, and preferable to making the continuance of the ~~appealing upon the people in larger sums~~ appeal upon corporations and favoured individuals for the ~~immediate~~ financial ~~assistance~~ help, other needs ~~of the party~~.

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publication dependent upon contributions from private sources. My purpose in addressing this communication, ~~to subscribers to the LIBERAL MONTHLY~~ is to ask those who are willing to assist the party in carrying on this part of its work, to signify their willingness by enclosing, in the envelope herewith, one or more dollars to be applied as new subscriptions to the LIBERAL MONTHLY or in renewal of their own subscriptions as from January 1 of the present year.

May I point out that the need of some such publication as the LIBERAL MONTHLY is greater to-day than it has ever been. During the recent campaign, the press of the country, with a few notable exceptions, was avowedly united in a policy of support of the Government in any and every particular, and of silence as respects the policies and criticisms of the Opposition. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the influences which account for this control of the press. It is, however, of first importance to note that indications point to an indefinite continuance of this attitude, in which event the eminently useful and necessary functions of an Opposition in parliament will be largely lost to the people of Canada. A free press and A free parliament are the safeguards of a country's Liberty, not less in times of war than at all times. The stifling of criticism and the suppression of utterance in and out of parliament can work only injury to the future well-being of Canada. The columns of the LIBERAL MONTHLY should be made to serve in the future even more than in the past, not merely as a

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medium for the communication of current thought and information, ~~and~~ as a permanent record of events, policies and facts of first importance to all concerned with the progress of good government ~~in the Dominion~~.

In conclusion, may I refer to the great assistance the Liberal Information Office has been to myself as Leader of the Party, and to my colleagues in parliament. In a multitude of ways, the Office has been of service in bringing matters of public interest to my attention, and in obtaining data which has served a highly useful purpose in public discussion. As an important medium between the public and the Opposition, this function of the Office is one which has become imperative under existing conditions. A generous support of the LIBERAL MONTHLY will ensure not only the continuance of that publication, but a continuation also of the very useful work of the Office in other respects. May I commend both these objects, as well meriting the practical support of all who have at heart the best interests of government in our country.

Yours faithfully,

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Coll. Lib. Party C 19982 Original
Dossier Jones

MEMO. NUMBER 1.

THE LIBERAL INFORMATION BUREAU

Assuming that the total debts of the Central Information Office are definitely ascertained and that the money required to pay them is obtained, it may be profitable to consider what ought to be done to put the office, as it now stands, on a business basis.

GENERAL SURVEY REQUIRED

In the first place there should be a general survey or audit of the business affairs of the office from its establishment down to date.

This audit should be of a three-fold character:-

(1). A comprehensive business and financial audit in the ordinary sense:-

(2). An audit from the purchasing, distributing, and employment point of view:-

(3). An audit from the newspaper point of view.

This division of the general survey to be made of the operations of the office is necessary because of the variety of work carried on through the office, and because of the absence of anything defining the scope and authority of the office.

Such a survey would afford a basis on which to make comparison of results with expenditure; on which to decide what methods should be discarded, amended or introduced; and, speaking generally, it would also supply a variety of other information without which the actual position and prospects of the office cannot be even approximately estimated.

The work involved in making such a survey would not entail large expense, and if done in accordance with the suggestions herein contained and under proper instructions to the person or persons engaged for the purpose, the cost will be defrayed by friends of the office.

With the results of this three-fold audit in hand it will then be possible to give practical attention to the question of what is to be done with the office in the future.

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MEMO. NUMBER 1

FUTURE SCOPE OF OFFICE

The first thing to settle under this head would be the future scope and jurisdiction of the office. It is submitted that the greatest good will result to the Liberal Party by making the office purely an Information Bureau for the Party throughout the Dominion, and by confining its operations to the collecting, filing, indexing, co-ordinating and distributing of information of a political character.

The diversity and magnitude of work of this character may be indicated in general terms, rather than strictly defined.

For instance such work would include the making of a list of the Liberal Associations, with the names and addresses of their officers, in each constituency in the Dominion revised each year; a similar list of Provincial Associations; a list of the Liberal candidates at each Dominion and Provincial Election; a list of Liberal Speakers, organizers and party workers in each constituency to be supplied through the local Associations and candidates and revised each year; a list of the Liberal newspapers and editors throughout the Dominion; a list of the clergyman of all denominations in the Dominion; a list of the members of the teaching profession in the Dominion, including those in Colleges and Universities; the installation and organization of a modern clipping system with improved methods of indexing and cross-indexing under the names of individuals and subjects so that any data required could be obtained without loss of time or expenditure of unnecessary labor; the extension of this system to the work of the Dominion Parliament through the medium of a specially prepared and properly tabulated volume to be got out each year and entered up from day to day during the progress of the Session; the organization and maintenance of a small ready Reference Library on the general plan of those attached to the leading newspaper offices; the preparation and distribution of such political and campaign literature as might from time to time be ordered; the printing and distribution of Members' speeches; the promotion of Party organization throughout the Dominion by correspondence, suggestions, and advice, principally through the Provincial, or District, Associations and so as not to interfere with the actual work of organization and to avoid duplicating efforts and expense; and generally all matters of detail that would naturally arise from the foregoing partial list of activities.

- MANAGEMENT OF OFFICE -

How to manage and finance such an office would be the next matter to consider.

Subject to any recommendations that might be the outcome of the proposed audit the management

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of the office might be continued under a committee whose membership should be definitely settled. If this method is continued then there might be considered the advisability ofincluding as members of the committee Liberals who reside at,or near, Ottawa and whose attendance at meetings would be the more certain on that account. As types of men who have been successful in a professional or business calling, and who might be available, there may be mentioned Andrew Hayden, Harold Fisher, George Higgerty, E. A. Larmonth, E. J. Daly, and W. G. Charleson.

The Committee should hold meetings at regular intervals to be arranged. At each meeting there should be an Agenda paper of the matters to be discussed, a statement of receipts and expenditures sunce the last preceding meeting, a statement of the cash on hand, an estimate of funds required before the next meeting, and generally such data and information as would be laid before a meeting of a Board of Directors:-

The statement of receipts and expenditures should include under the head of expenditures the following items:-

Salaries
Rent
Insurance
Printing
Advertising
Stationery
Telephones
Telegrams
Postage
Bank Interest and Exchange,

and any other items that the Auditors might suggest:

-FINANCE COMMITTEE OR TREASURER-

As part of the management of such an office there should be a small finance committee or a treasurer through whom all moneys should be collected and paid out. This should be a separate and distinct branch of the office management and no employee should have anything to do with it. The connecting link between the office and this Finance Committee or Treasurer should be the employee in charge of the office and that connection should be limited to requisitions for the funds required for fixed or authorized expenditures. If a Treasurer be preferred to a small Finance Committee than a selection could be made from among the gentlemen whose names are mentioned above.

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RAISING FUNDS

Now as to financing such an office. The amount required will be determined by the work to be done. Having decided that, the Auditors can give a fairly correct estimate of the amount needed. Such sum when ascertained may be raised partly by voluntary subscriptions and partly by an annual per capita contribution from the Senators and Members of Parliament. This Parliamentary contribution should not be less than $5000.00 per annum. The method of raising this sum was discussed at the meeting on Saturday, January 5th, 1918, and need not be elaborated here.

At the meeting just referred to it will be recalled that in connection with a statement submitted there appeared an item of about $1,000.00 for travelling and some other expenses. Such an expenditure would not be required in connection with the plan herein outlined. The person placed in charge of the office above described would not be required to travel nor would he have time to do so. Therefore, there would be no outlay for travelling expenses.

One result of the annual Parliamentary contribution would be to make the members take a greater interest in the office, to use it more generally and frequently, and thus to increase the scope of its usefulness in all parts of the country. Besides this there would in time be a larger financial return to the office by reason of its being more generally appreciated and used bynthe Members.

THE OFFICE STAFF

As in the case of financing the office, the staff required would be determined largely by the work to be done. In this connection the Auditors' reports would be an important factor in helping to reach a correct decision, as part of their recommendations would bear on the staff and its work. An essential part of this work should be the rendering of monthly accounts to those indebted to the office. Any account remaining unpaid for more than three months should be reported to the management or to the Treasurer for action.

Ottawa
January 12/18.

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Coll - Lib. Party - Central Information
C 19996

MEMO. NUMBER 2.

THE CENTRAL OFFICE PUBLICATION

Assuming that an audit of the affairs of the Central Information Office has been made, that the total debts have been ascertained, and that the money to pay them has been furnished, the stage has then been reached at which it is possible to give practical consideration to the question of issuing a publication - either the Liberal Monthly or some other that may be substituted for it.

Assuming further that the auditors reports have disclosed the necessity of engaging an editor, and possibly a business assistant as well, if the present publication is to be continued, or a new one substituted for it, and that such editor and possible assistant must be unhampered by the work of the office outlined in Memo. Number 1 and must be kept separate and distinct from it except in so far as the office or its staff, may, in the opinion of the Editor be of assistance to him, then it is obvious that for some time at least an amount of money will have to be provided beyond the returns that the publication will bring in. Hence the necessity of having an estimate made by a newspaper man of practical experience to meet this state of affairs. Without that estimate no decision can be reached that it would be safe to follow.

However the matter can meanwhile be discussed in the light of general experience and by way of suggestion.

At the meeting on January 5th, 1918 one of the statements submitted contained a proposal that instead of engaging an editor a number of journalists and others would send in articles for the Liberal Monthly or other publication and that this would save expense and cost much less than an editor's salary. It would have another effect also. It would make the person receiving the manuscripts the judge of what was, and what was not, to be published. If such person were a Liberal journalist with editorial experience and the other requirements that go to make up a correct exponent of Liberal principles and a safe guide of public opinion there might not be much objection to investing him with an important discretion of this character, but as there is no person with these qualities available at the present time it is submitted that the proposed arrangement is not a wise one to make.

Apart from the consideration just mentioned there would also be the danger that

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conflicting opinions on the essentials of Liberalism would appear in any publication supplied with articles in the manner above referred to and this would undoubtedly weaken public confidence in the Party and in its Leader. If the battle of the immediate future is to be fought out between Canadianism and Imperialism too much care cannot be exercised in putting forth views and opinions in any publication alleged to be issued under the authority of the Leader of the Liberal Party. The importance of this consideration makes the engagement of an editor all the more necessary.

If such financial arrangements can be made as to provide an editor's salary then the question of printing the publication can receive attention. If there are as stated 30,000 or more subscribers to the present Monthly tenders from outside printers should be invited as well as tenders from those in Ottawa. There is no necessity for printing the paper in Ottawa. It can be printed and distributed in Montreal or Toronto just as well, and probably, more cheaply than in Ottawa. In any event whether printed and distributed in Ottawa or elsewhere money can be saved by reducing the present number of handlings of each issue.

Again if there are 30,000 or more subscribers and if many of these are in the rural parts of the Country it should be possible for an expert advertising or circulation manager to secure profitable advertisements from the large stores that do a mail order business. This also is a matter for decision by a newspaper man of practical experience.

At the present time there are a score of projects on foot for the establishment of a Liberal paper that would have the endorsement of the Liberal Leader and of the Liberal Party. One of these that has made progress relates to a high class weekly paper. Another that is even more advanced and that is alleged to have $300,000. pledged, is for the establishment of a daily paper. If either of these should be proceeded with under Liberal management and assured permanent Liberal control and if the present shortgage of funds for the Central Office should continue then it might be well to consider whether the 30,000 or more subscribers to the present Liberal Monthly might not form the basis for an arrangement whereby they would be taken over by the new journal on terms that would enure to the benefit of the Central Office and eventually to the benefit of the new undertaking as well.

A ~~comprehensive~~ compromise arrangement of a temporary character but based also on the question

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of funds might be made by continuing the Monthly as at present conducted until Honourable Frank Oliver comes to Ottawa for the session and then placing him in charge. This is on the assumption that Mr. Oliver will not be counted out by the soldiers' vote.

On the other hand should Mr. Oliver in the long run be deprived of his seat, then in view of the new importance of the West in public affairs and of the present complexion of the parties in the House it is submitted that it would be in the interest of the Liberal Party to bring Mr. Oliver to Ottawa for the Session in any event and place him in charge of the Party's newspaper work while Parliament sits, and afterwards, if possible. Any articles from his pen on behalf of Official Liberalism would be accepted by the Canadian Press Association and telegraphed to all the papers in Canada. This would ensure a spread of Liberal opinion not otherwise attainable at the moment. For any official Party news service placed in Mr. Oliver's charge funds would be provided for at least a year.

Such an arrangement as that suggested with Mr. Oliver would serve the further purpose of having him at hand and getting the benefit of his opinions advice and assistance in connection with all western matters, in regard to some of which decision and action might not admit of any delay.

Another party advantage from such an arrangement would be that it would put an end to the newspaper conspiracy against the Party and its Leader evidence of which is still furnished from day to day in the Ottawa correspondence of the The Toronto Globe.

Returning to the point from which this memorandum started the whole question dealt with resolves itself into a matter of funds, business management, and experienced editorial direction.

Ottawa,
January 12th, 1918.

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Coll - Lib. Party - Central
~~O 19959~~ Office

Lib Info Office

The Central Liberal Information Office was opened on May 1st, 1912. The work undertaken the first year, in addition to the general correspondence asking for political information, was:

> The collection and compilation of a directory of Liberals, divided into three classes, which necessitated the office being brought into close touch with Liberal leaders, political organizations and riding associations throughout Canada,
>
> The organization of an extensive newspaper clipping bureau, which is still in existance, from 40 to 40 papers being clipped daily,
>
> The publishing and distributing of a Weekly Newspaper Letter to 460 Liberal and Independent newspapers,
>
> The installation of a modern system for the circulation of pamphlets.

During the first year's work 13 pamphlets and 2 leaflets, totalling 1,828,000 copies, were published and distributed, which, together with the Weekly Letter, cost, exclusive of the other expenses of the office, $8,413.86.

May, 1913 to May, 1914.

The second year's work of the office continued on similar lines. In September the Liberal Monthly was started with a paid subscription list of 9,327. Four pamphlets only were prepared and distributed, the necessity of more being obviated by the publishing of the Liberal Monthly. The expenses incurred in connection with all literature published for this year, including the Weekly Letter, the pamphlets and the Liberal Monthly, were $16,371.45.

May, 1914 to May, 1915.

The work continued as usual until the outbreak of the War on August 4th, 1914, when the Weekly Newspaper Letter was discontinued. A truce as regards party politics was declared by The Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in consequence of which all partizan matter was

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C 20000

eliminated from the Liberal Monthly.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war not a little information reached the office giving details of irregularities and scandals in connection with the purchase of supplies, and continual requests from every part of the Dominion were made that this Office should take up the work of investigating these charges. With the aid of the Liberal Members, our Liberal friends throughout the country, and in some instances the services of experts, months were spent in investigating and bringing to light the evidence connnected with these scandals. The results are well known to everybody. The time involved and the expense incurred were necessarily heavy.

During the months of January, February and March of 1915 it was quite evident that the government had made up its mind to bring on a general election. In consequence the Central Liberal Information Office prepared ~~and distributed~~ 14 pamphlets and leaflets and 5 hand-books during the months of March, April and May. In addition to this a number of large and small cartoons and posters were ~~provided~~ printed. The cost of this preparation, together with the Liberal Monthly and Weekly Letter for this year's work, was approximately $23,000. As is well known, no election was held, and consequently the expense connected with the preparation for this election could have been avoided had our Leaders preferred to have delayed the preparation for an election until the government had actually fixed the date.

May, 1915 to May, 1916.

A small portion of the literature prepared the previous year for the general election was distributed before the House adjourned, but immediately upon the opening of the House in January, 1916, the remaining portion

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of all the old literature on hand was sent out. The Liberal Monthly was continued as usual. One pamphlet only was prepared and distributed, namely, the Speech of The Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the Extension of the Life of Parliament. The greater part of the expense connected with the printing and distributing of the literature prepared in March, April and May, 1915, was carried over to this year's accounts, with the result that total expenses connected with the printing of literature for this year, including the publication of the Liberal Monthly, wase $36,326.99.

May, 1916 to ~~Dec.~~ December 1917.

This year's work was confined, so far as the publishing of literature was concerned, almost entirely to the Liberal Monthly. The Monthly is supposed to be a 12 page publication, but the issues for this year were increased to 16, 24, 32 and in one instance as high as 36 pages. The total number of copies issued each month was approximately 70,000, with a total expense for the 12 issues of $14,621.58. During the last month of our office year, namely, April, 1917, after the further extension of the life of Parliament had been refused, it was obvious that a general election would be held within a year, and accordingly steps were immediately taken to have another set of campaign literature prepared and distributed. Accordingly, 8 pamphlets, totalling 5,600,000 copies, were parpared and distributed at an expense of approximately $26,000.00. The Liberal Monthly was continued, seldom being published with less than 24 pages. Just prior to the general election a Liberal Weekly was started and 8 issues, totalling over 1,000,000 copies, were printed and circulated at an expense of approximately $7,000. New posters were prepared, and certain articles

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reprinted, which, together with the expenses connected with the distribution amounted to approximately $22,000.00.

Since the elections the Liberal Weekly has been suspended and the Liberal Monthly cut down to an 8 page publication. The general expenses of the office have been reduced by over 50 per cent.

OTTAWA, March 20th, 1918.

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ALEXANDER SMITH.

C 20003

48 SPARKS STREET

OTTAWA, DECEMBER 26th, 1918

To the Liberals of Eastern Ontario :—

From time to time proposals have been made with the view to forming the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association. At various gatherings of Liberals the suggestion has been approved and is endorsed by the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier. At a recent gathering of Liberals in the City of Ottawa, at which there were present members of the Federal Parliament, members of the Provincial Parliament, Candidates in past elections, and several others, it was decided to take active steps to form an association as suggested, said association to be composed of the following :

1. The Liberal Candidates at last Federal general election or nominated for the next election.
2. The Liberal Candidates at the last Provincial general election or nominated for the next election.
3. The President and Secretary of each Federal Riding Liberal Association.
4. The President and Secretary of each Provincial Riding Liberal Association.
5. The Chairman and Joint Secretaries of the present Eastern Ontario Liberal Committee.
6. 300 more delegates from each ~~Provincial Riding as follows~~ ward in the city of Toronto and 3 or more delegates from each municipality in the whole of the County of York.

1. Ottawa East.
2. Ottawa West
3. Carleton.
4. Lanark South.
5. Lanark North.
6. Renfrew South.
7. Renfrew North.
8. Grenville.
9. Russell.
10. Prescott.
11. Glengarry.
12. Stormont.
13. Dundas.
14. Brockville.
15. Leeds.
16. Frontenac.
17. Kingston.
18. Lennox.
19. Adddington.
20. Prince Edward.
21. Hastings East.
22. Hastings West.
23. Hastings North.

The Liberals of each constituency are to decide what proportion of the delegates shall be women. Alternate delegates may be appointed and may take part in the discussion but on matters where a vote is taken only the specified number of delegates for each riding will have the right to vote.

The objects of the Association shall be to assist the riding Associations in the work of organization and in the promotion and development of Liberal principles and ideals.

A MEETING COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES AS ABOVE NOTED WILL BE HELD IN ST. PATRICK'S HALL, LAURIER AVENUE WEST, (NEAR ELGIN STREET), IN THE CITY OF OTTAWA ON TUESDAY THE 14th. DAY OF JANUARY, 1919, COMMENCING AT 2 O'CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOON.

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Should the meeting decide to form an Eastern Ontario Liberal Association it will necessarily follow that officers will have to be elected and other steps taken to carry out the expressed desire of the meeting. In addition to the usual number of officers elected at such associations it is suggested that the governing authority between annual meetings shall be an Advisory Council composed of two, three or four representatives from each Constituency and an Executive Committee chosen out of the Advisory Council of two from each constituency who together with the officers shall form the Executive Committee, said Committee to engage an active Secretary for the Association and largely direct the management of the details necessary to having the Association "carry on", the Advisory Council to meet as occasion requires.

It will be necessary for the delegates to adopt a constitution suitable for their purposes, and the foregoing outlines are submitted as suggestions only.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier as Senior Liberal Candidate in Eastern Ontario in the last Federal election is writing to each of the other Federal Liberal Candidates requesting that they interview the Presidents and Secretaries of the Riding Liberal Associations (Federal and Provincial) and the Provincial candidate or candidates (within the Federal Riding) and enlist their cooperation for the purposes above outlined. It is very desirable that each constituency be fully represented at the meeting at Ottawa on Tuesday, January 14th, 1919.

In order to prepare a draft programme or agenda for the meeting it is requested that two delegates from each constituency meet at St. Patrick's Hall in the City of Ottawa on Monday the 13th. day of January, 1919, at 8 p.m.

Members of the Ottawa Women's Liberal Committee will be on hand at St. Patrick's Hall from 2 p.m. until 10 p.m. Monday, and from 10 a.m. Tuesday to receive the women delegates.

IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE BUSINESS OF THE ASSOCIATION WILL BE CONCLUDED ON THE AFTERNOON OF TUESDAY, JANUARY 14th, 1919, AND THAT IN THE EVENING AT 8 O'OCLOCK ADDRESSES WILL BE DELIVERED BY SIR WILFRID LAURIER, THE OFFICERS ELECT, AND OTHERS.

As the meeting on Tuesday afternoon is for organization solely it willl not be open to the press. It will be for delegates and alternates only. AT THE EVENING MEETING WHEN PUBLIC ADDRESSES WILL BE DELIVERED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NEWSPAPERS WILL BE ADMITTED. The capacity of the hall is limited to about 600 so the evening meeting will not be open to the public generally. It will be for delegates and others who may be immediately interested in the launching of the Association.

The foregoing is respectfully submitted.

ALEXANDER SMITH,

Chairman Eastern Ontario Liberal Committee.

P. S.—All communications on the above should be addressed to the Joint Secretaries of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Committee, P. O. Box 264, Ottawa, Ont. The Joint Secretaries will be on hand at the hall from 10 a.m. on Tuesday, January 14th. 1919, until the close of the proceedings to record the names of the delegates and give necessary information. It is suggested that the names of the delegates in full, with Post Offices address and Constituency, be sent to the Joint Secretaries soon as possible for the Winter Fair with probably special transportation rates for all passengers to Ottawa that week will begin at Ottawa on Tuesday January 14th, 1919. If special railway rates are given for the Winter Fair all travellers may take advantage of them without certificate. It may be advisable that the Secretaries of the Liberal Committee inform the hotel people that extra accomodation will be required to accomodate the visitors to the Capital on January 14th, 1919.

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48 SPARKS STREET

OTTAWA, DECEMBER 26th, 1918

To the Liberals of Eastern Ontario :—

From time to time proposals have been made with the view to forming the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association. At various gatherings of Liberals the suggestion has been approved and is endorsed by the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier. At a recent gathering of Liberals in the City of Ottawa, at which there were present members of the Federal Parliament, members of the Provincial Parliament, Candidates in past elections, and several others, it was decided to take active steps to form an association as suggested, said association to be composed of the following :

1. The Liberal Candidates at last Federal general election or nominated for the next election.
2. The Liberal Candidates at the last Provincial general election or nominated for the next election.
3. The President and Secretary of each Federal Riding Liberal Association.
4. The President and Secretary of each Provincial Riding Liberal Association.
5. The Chairman and Joint Secretaries of the present Eastern Ontario Liberal Committee.
6. Ten delegates from each Provincial Riding as follows :—

1. Ottawa East.
2. Ottawa West
3. Carleton.
4. Lanark South.
5. Lanark North.
6. Renfrew South.
7. Renfrew North.
8. Grenville.
9. Russell.
10. Prescott.
11. Glengarry
12. Stormont.
13. Dundas
14. Brockville.
15. Leeds.
16. Frontenac.
17. Kingston.
18. Lennox.
19. Adddington.
20. Prince Edward.
21. Hastings East.
22. Hastings West.
23. Hastings North.

The Liberals of each constituency are to decide what proportion of the delegates shall be women. Alternate delegates may be appointed and may take part in the discussion but on matters where a vote is taken only the specified number of delegates for each riding will have the right to vote.

The objects of the Association shall be to assist the riding Associations in the work of organization and in the promotion and development of Liberal principles and ideals.

A MEETING COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES AS ABOVE NOTED WILL BE HELD IN ST. PATRICK'S HALL, LAURIER AVENUE WEST, (NEAR ELGIN STREET), IN THE CITY OF OTTAWA ON TUESDAY THE 14th. DAY OF JANUARY, 1919, COMMENCING AT 2 O'CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOON.

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C 20007

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

OTTAWA, ONT.,

March 24th, 1919

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:—

From time to time, during recent years, proposals were made for the formation of District Liberal Associations in the Province of Ontario. Some two years or more ago, several District Liberal Conferences were held, and these developed an opinion in favor of Associations being formed with an active Secretary and Committee for each district, to assist the local organizations in their work in accordance with the constitution adopted by each Association to meet its own needs.

The idea underlying the above-mentioned plan was generally applied in February, 1918, to an outline sketch of organization for the whole Province, which was presented to, and approved by, the late Leader of the Liberal Party, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. His views on the subject have been concurred in by the temporary Leader of the Party, Mr. D. D. MacKenzie, M.P., who also approves the suggestion made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his last public address, to the effect that he hoped the idea would spread until District Associations, like those now in process of formation in Ontario, would exist in all the Provinces.

Speaking generally, it is proposed to divide the Province of Ontario into districts, the ultimate number of which will depend on population, distance, community of interests, and other considerations which will develop and can be taken into account as the work proceeds. Presently, 6 districts are spoken of, in each of which there will be a grouping of constituencies in a number of Associations designated as follows: The Western Ontario

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Liberal Association, The Toronto and York Liberal Association, The Rainy River Liberal Association, The Northern Ontario Liberal Association, The Central Ontario Liberal Association, and The Eastern Ontario Liberal Association. Each of these District Associations will have its own set of officers, and, subject to the general direction of a Provincial Committee, will be supreme within its own jurisdiction. This will carry with it responsibility for organizing each of the constituencies within the District, and for providing funds for that and any other party work deemed necessary by the District Association. In other words, the principle of local Home Rule will be applied to each District, and to each constituency in each District. Thus, there would be a constant and well-recognized chain of communication between each constituency and the Provincial Committee or governing body for the whole Province.

As a governing body for the whole Province, it is proposed to have a Provincial Committee composed of 2 or 3 representatives from each District. Thus, if there are 6 Districts, the membership of the Provincial Committee would be 12 or 18, as the case might be. This Committee will have its own set of officers, and will exercise jurisdiction over the whole Province. In this connection, it is now proposed that the former General Reform Committee be merged by resolution with the new Provincial Committee, but that is a detail upon which I need not dwell, as those in charge will work it out harmoniously, and to the satisfaction of all concerned.

The Headquarters for the Provincial Committee will be a Central Office—preferably the one at present directed by Mr. W. H. Adams, at Toronto. The financing of such an office should be spread over the District Associations, each of which should furnish a sum to be agreed upon; and this amount should, in turn, be raised by contributions from each of the constituencies comprised in the group belonging to each district. On the basis of the cost of the present management, the sum to be provided by each constituency would be a comparatively insignificant one.

Such a general plan as that above outlined will answer the purposes of the Liberal Party, both in Provincial and Dominion affairs. It will, without interference, or overlapping, of any kind, bring each part of the Province in touch with every other part; it will provide a place in the party ranks for every person who is willing to support Liberal principles; and it will, by encouraging a campaign of education and regular meetings throughout the

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Province, not only supply, in large measure, the lack of Party newspapers, but it will also develop a corps of public speakers who will be available for platform work during election campaigns.

Up to the present time, three of the district associations, above-mentioned, have been fully organized, namely, The Western Ontario Liberal Association, The Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, and The Central Ontario Liberal Association. Each of these Associations has provided in its Constitution and By-laws the requisite authority and machinery for the purpose of co-operating in the formation of the governing body for the Province, when the work of organizing all the Districts is at an end. The provisions made by each of the foregoing District Associations, for such Co-operation, are contained in the two following By-laws, namely:

"As soon as the organization by Districts of the Liberal Party in the Province "of Ontario is completed, it shall be the duty of the President of this Association "to meet in conference with the Presidents of such other District Associations as "may be formed on the same basis as this Association, and arrange with them for "the organization of an Ontario Liberal Executive Committee, to be composed of "members representing each District Association, as well as to define the member- "ship and duties of the said Provincial Committee, the location of a Central Liberal "Office for Ontario, and such other matters as may properly appertain to the duties "of the Governing body of the Liberal Party within Ontario. The members to "represent this Association on the said Ontario Liberal Executive Committee shall "be elected by the Executive Committee of this Association.

"The funds required for the purposes of this Association, including its con- "tribution to the maintenance of a Central Liberal Office for the Province of Ontario, "shall be raised by levy on the Association for each constituency, or, in such other "manner as, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, will ensure a fair distribu- "tion of the amount or amounts to be so levied."

It is recommended that each of the Associations that are yet to be organized will incorporate similar sections in the By-laws to be adopted at each organization meeting.

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I submit the foregoing as our guide in the proposals to organize the Liberal Party on a sound local responsibility basis, for, are not the people themselves the best judges as to the membership of the Association, of the work to be undertaken, and of the persons who are to co-operate, assist, guide and direct?

JAS. A. ROBB, M.P.,
Chief Liberal Whip,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

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C 20011 1919

Memorandum to Mr. King:

I have just returned from Mr. Goddard's office. He tells me there is hardly any inside information at hand concerning the patronage which the Government has extended to the newspapers. His opinions are based only on observation of newspapers and affairs.

In the persistent effort of the Government to keep down the price of news print, however, while permitting prices of other commodities to find any high level, there seems to be surest evidence of favoritism exercised toward the newspapers of the Dominion with a view to favors being reciprocated. Mr. Goddard informs me that the price of news print has not advanced beyond three-eighths of a cent per pound since 1914, the price now, for purchases in large quantities, being from 2¼¢ to 2½¢ a pound.

The rumor that a group of men including Northcliffe and Rogers is attempting to gain control of the newspapers throughout the country is based only upon observation of conferences held by these men with Sur Hugh Graham and Clifford Sifton. Nothing further, it seems, can be ascertained.

The enormous amount of advertising put out during the last eight months by both the Dominion and the Ontario Governments, it is thought may have been issued in the hope of securing good results from publishers as well as readers. Government advertising on a large scale was commenced about eight months

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ago, with the display announcements of Sir Thomas White with respect to the Dominion War Loan Bonds. This was followed by the Mark Irish advertising appealing for munition workers, and still later by the half page and almost full page advertisements of the National Service Board, announcing their registration, appealing for workers and enlistment, and lately urging the purchase of Dominion War Loan certificates. The advertising has been placed very generally,- every paper Mr. Goddard has seen seems to have been favored. No distinction in this respect seems to have been made on party lines.

Mr. Goddard did not seem to think anything would come of efforts in some quarters to insist on the publication of the names of the shareholders of the newspapers.

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Unstalled (1919) C 20013

+ Liberal Party - BC

PRINCE RUPERT

1919.

Mr. Pattullo is of opinion that Fred. Dawson's judgment is the best to take for political matters there. His political judgment more to be relied upon than Patmore, President of Liberal Association.

He inclines to Stork as best man for candidate. Says that Cy Peck will go whichever way he thinks is going to serve his own interest best.

Doubts the wisdom of immediate convention at Prince Rupert.

(MACKENZIE KING)

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(MACKENZIE KING C 20014 (1919)

C. H. Cline
Maclennan & Cline
Telephone No. 15
CORNWALL

Robert Smith, K.C.
CORNWALL

F. T. Costello
Macdonell & Costello
ALEXANDRIA

New York Central:

Leaves Cornwall	5.08 p.m.
Arrives Ottawa	7.10 p.m.

Grand Trunk:

Leaves Alexandria	6.00 p.m.
Arrives Ottawa	7.30 p.m.

Cornwall Alexandria Aug 20
Mr Costello to join remarks
see diary last.
Creran pte Cornwall Mr Costello
formerly
See Hazlon

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C 20015

Norris - Columbus - Aug 12

Churrei - Vasdl- } Boremall
blanc Lacey }

Lestello - Glengarry

Bob Smith K.C. Boremall (blanc)
Bill Pollock - "

Mobrae -

Ask Smith about McBrae

Walter Mitchell
W.G. Stewart
Lacey Tofo.

blanc
Smith
Lestello } -

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C 20016

K. 1195

Bowen Mc 20th Alexandria

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New York Central:

Lv. Cornwall	8.55 a.m.	5.08 p.m.	
Arr. Ottawa	11.15 a.m.	7.10 p.m.	

Grand Trunk:

Lv. Alexandria	10.15 a.m.	6.00 p.m.	9.35 p.m.
Arr. Ottawa	11.45 a.m.	7.30 p.m.	11.05 p.m.

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ALEXANDER SMITH

C 20018

Ottawa, October 7th, 1919.

Supplementary Memorandum on Party Organization
By Alexander Smith.

On the eve of the assembling of the delegates to the National Liberal Convention, August 1919, a memorandum entitled "Party Organization" was distributed to the members of the National Liberal Committee, but in the rush of events was not submitted to the local committee or to the sub-committee of which I was Chairman where, if time permitted, it would have been treated to the regularity of review followed in the consideration of other compilations distributed during the eventful period of July and August, 1919. If it had been so treated, this memorandum, good in its resume of suggestions regarding a National Committee and Information Office, could have been supplemented with a resume of the efforts of different Liberal organizations from the month of February, 1893, down to the present time, with the view of showing the sustained efforts of not a few men who in good times and bad times always strove to harmonize and get results. In this review could have been given a narration of some of the features in the following periods:-

1893 - 1896, including the splendid arrangements for years to introduce Laurier to the public and not at the same time overlooking the formation of Committees in Eastern and Western Canada, the revision of the voters lists in 1894 under the old Dominion Franchise Act, and at other times; the arranging for a speakers' league, the supplying the press with reports &c. &c., and also give some attention to the Federated Liberal Clubs during that and a short succeeding period, although it might be said that

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those who were active in the Federation are not all happy with the acquaintances which they formed amongst themselves, as we may gather from some who are now editors, retired editors, or newspaper owners. An active member of the Federation in 1896 who was given a gold watch as a mark of appreciation for his services has not since 1898 supported the Liberals in provincial affairs or in Federal affairs since shortly after that. Letters to others may have made his friends jealous, and laid the foundation for a cleavage that Toronto people developed and enlarged. He was an active member of a Toronto Citizens' Committee in 1917. Those who cannot recall this period may recollect the Federated Liberal Clubs of 1914 to 1918. The cleavage of 1896 - 1900 was the force behind the Clubs of 1914 - 1918, and in other regards their history was much like that of the Federated Liberal Clubs at the close of the last and beginning of the present century, just as the Farmers' Movement of 1891 - 1898 was like the present United Farmers' Movement.

Perhaps Liberal Clubs would be more successful as part of the general Liberal organization and thus have the benefit of the experience of older heads, and probably special farmers' movements spring up because of lack of continued political education by and on behalf of the Liberals. These are features which need careful and immediate attention.

During 1893 - 96 the Maratime Provinces Liberal Committee following the outline of the Ontario Liberal Association Advisory Council was formed, as well as similar Committees in Manitoba and British Columbia. These were formed because of the attention men of the Ontario Association gave to affairs generally. A committee was also formed for the ridings in the North-West

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Territories (now the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta).

1896 to 1898 to 1900 to 1902. This was a period of much change and restlessness, but it is not necessary to go into details as to the "special" organization assistance which was suggested from time to time.

For the Provincial slections of 1902 a division of work was prescribed and wherever carried out was very successful. Without this division of work the Government would have been defeated. The Province was divided into groups. The Western Ontario group fell down badly. It was under the direction of a Provincial Minister, and a Toronto gentleman, a member of the Wederated Liberals, as special director, neither of whom, it was subsequently learned, visited the ridings, but kept reporting that all was fine.

Some time during this period the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association was formed, but subsequently its information and its liabilities had to be taken over by the Central Association, with headquarters at Toronto. A Western Ontario Association just for the purposes of one campaign (1900) was formed, and this laid the basis for the future action as adopted in 1902 with its groups of ridings with extra organizers and an exchange of speakers.

1904. In this campaign I resided (and have since resided) in Ottawa, but also had (in 1904) oversight over the Ontario Liberal Association Office in Toronto. I prepared the hand-book for speakers and many other publications. In the "East", as we called it, I with others took a special hand and encouraged and assisted by the excellent information which the gentleman who had been Eastern Ontario Liberal Organizer for a few years had

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prepared we were of some assistance in the campaign in the "East". This also laid the foundation for the District Association plan.

Immediately after the Federal election of 1904, H. M. Mowat, K.C., (now M.P.) and other Toronto friends organized what they called the Ontario General Reform Association. They seized the Provincial Liberal Organization. All that is necessary to say of this Association is that it spelled disaster to anything it undertook to do. As evidence of this look at the Provincial elections of 1905 and since that date, as well as the Federal elections. In the Federal elections of 1908 the work for Ontario was not left to the Ontario General Reform Association and disaster was not administered as in all the Federal and Provincial elections the Ontario General Reform Association took charge of. H. M. Mowat's aims were Imperialism and Universal Military Service. Leaving out the record of the H. M. Mowat period Ontario returned an average of 39 or 40 Liberals in the several Federal general elections of 1896, 1900, 1904 and 1908, but the record since that date is an average of 11 seats. Previous to 1905 the Provincial election results were favorable.

In November, 1904, my official relation to the party ceased, but since 1904 (to 1919) I have, like many lawyers and other professional and business men, given a hand, particularly in compiling literature, almost all of which I edited from 1893 down to the present, and wrote the most of it.

In 1909, 1913, and since, plans for organization were put forward, founded upon information on the same gathered by myself from many people and from many sources, but it was evident H. M. Mowat, K.C., and certain other persons, some of them residing in Toronto, contended against encouraging the adoption of these

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plans. "Rule or Ruin" was their motto and "Ruin" it was. The plans as outlined were drafted in 1907 and printed in 1909 and in 1913, and acted upon by four district Liberal conferences in 1916 - 1917, as were plans for a more general organization drafted by myself and a few friends and acted upon by the formation of the National Liberal Advisory Committee, and as evidence of this I might refer to the cordial manner in which the press generally reported the proceedings at these gatherings and encouraged the whole plan, but again "those in authority" were able to discourage for a while. The publication of the draft plans in 1909, 1913, and 1915 - 16 laid the foundation for the District Liberal Associations and I trust for a proper realization of a National Liberal Committee, as was in contemplation by the National Liberal Advisory Committee. This plan was further elaborated after I returned from a trip to the West in 1918 and approved by our late leader (as he had approved of all the other proposals above noted) and published in the press.

In the memorandum for "Party Organization" these illustrations and experiences might be useful, but as it now stands it falls short of bringing forth for the benefit of the present the experiences of a not too far distant period and of pointing out the practical commendable steps taken in the past five years to obtain a desired end.

The reviewed memorandum might also include the printed draft of 1909 and 1913, as well as the printed booklet containing the minutes of the National Liberal Advisory Committee in 1915, and a brief account of the steps taken to have the Advisory Committee formed. I took a very active part in the steps to form it and Sir Wilfrid Laurier requested me to be the Secretary.

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This I did not entertain. He then asked me if I would act as a joint Secretary. To this I replied that as John Bain and I were associated in preparing literature I would recommend Mr. Bain who in times past had also rendered commendable service in the literature branch. This was agreed to but during all the foregoing there were "gyrations".

I attach printed copy of each of these and copy of a letter I wrote to Sir Wilfrid Laurier at his request on December 11th, 1911, urging the adoption of the plan as outlined; also copy of letter I wrote to J. A. Robb, M.P., Chief Liberal Whip, October 23rd, 1918.

As to Information or an Information Office during the eleven years whilst I was general secretary and organizer I wrote all the books on legal directions and organization and most of the campaign material and edited all of it, or rather all that was sent out authoritatively. These documents were subjected to severe scrutiny, but at no time, neither by supporter or opponent, friend or foe, was any inaccuracy discovered or misleading statement charged. In 1908, 1911, and 1917, I performed similar services, but not to so elaborate an extent as when I was officially connected but with similar reliability of production.

In these "literary" services I by personal request obtained splendid help from others. No person outside of the present Information Office has had the opportunity to know it that I have had because of my close attention to the work during 1915 - 16 - 17, and because of the fact that Sir Wilfrid Laurier before he established the office consulted with me about its formation, and later in his conversations about organization with men who

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came forward with proposals would ask them to make a survey of what he had in operation, and not a few of these men reported their observations to me. With my own experience and practical efforts and results and the observations of these men and the several editors of the Liberal monthly I would naturally have some views on an Information Office, but these need not be here expressed, and I have not a recent memorandum on this important phase of political education, although it might not be amiss to have one and embody in it some practical suggestions as to the relations of such an office with the newspaper men, for we all realize how the newspaper men appreciate assistance along this line. In this regard I need but refer to the manner they treated our efforts on behalf of the National Liberal Convention so soon as they realized some one was detailed to associate or perhaps co-operate with them in their efforts. This was an outcome or a repetition of the good treatment we obtained for the District Liberal Conferences about three years before, and district Liberal Associations during the past eleven months, and for the meetings of the National Liberal Advisory Committee in 1915 and 1916, even to the cables sent to London, England, setting forth the proceedings of the National Liberal Advisory Committee. It was a re-demonstration of what had been done from 1893 to 1908.

The basis of splendid service is in the present Information Office. This basis should be made use of to the fullest extent. This, however, is a practical detail, which as well as the detail of other phases of party organization the National Liberal Committee authorized by the National Liberal Convention to be formed will no doubt take up, and possibly the foregoing brief resume may be interesting, and I may say that the Information

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Office, Hon. Charles Murphy, and several others, have a copy of a memorandum submitted by myself on information in 1916, and which was unanimously approved by the National Liberal Advisory Committee in July 1916. Some of the clauses of this memorandum, which I may say goes fully into detail, are not now applicable, but I herewith append a copy of the same. It contains suggestions on "Organization" as well as on "Information".

I might say that in the preparation of the memorandum I wrote to over forty friends from the Atlantic to the Pacific whom I knew to have been and still were interested in public matters. I enclosed to them with my letter a draft of what I thought would be useful, and all of the men to whom I had written replied, and the most of them made very valuable suggestions. These I re-drafted and embodied them in my own draft. My correspondents were delighted to write their views. They felt something would at last evolve. The Information Office should have several copies of this memorandum on hand, and I may say I forwarded in the fall of 1916 a copy to each member of the Advisory Council.

There are few, very few, now active who were active at headquarters in the foregoing earlier periods, but I, as one of them, younger even now than the average age of these who played an important part from 1893 - 1904, would ask as a tribute to their memory and to what I gleaned from them to have this letter and the other documents enclosed attached to the memorandum entitled "Party Organization".

The memorandum as it now stands gives the impression that any success the Liberal Party may have had from 1893 to the present time was due to the Federated Liberal Clubs or to

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accident, without even mentioning the orderly regularity of organization and preparation for each event above alluded to. Without the prompt supply of information on organization and documents for speakers (at all times) the active men in each constituency could not have performed the excellent services they were able to render. These were the men who produced results. They were numerous. All they wanted were the documents of direction and the facts for the platform. These were always on hand promptly and were reliable. They were not the product of accident. They were prepared and gotten out for the whole Dominion by and under the direction of the Ontario Liberal Association. It performed the services of a commendable Information Office.

After the Ontario Liberal Association was supplanted some of us who had gleaned much upon organization from time to time urged as above noted that more active steps be taken, and our efforts in this direction I trust are soon to bear fruit.

Respectfully submitted,

Alex Smith

ALEX SMITH

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CANADA

Coll. Liberal Organization - Nat'l
C 20027
Liberal Organizational Committee

NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

Inaugural Meeting
December 1-2, 1919

Expect to be present: (~~29~~ 21)

President:	Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King	
Vice-Presidents:	Mr. A. B. Copp, M.P.	New Brunswick
	Hon.Severin Letourneau,M.P.P.	Quebec
	Mr. Arthur Hardy	Ontario
	Mr.M.A.Macdonald,K.C.,M.P.P.	British Columbia
Nova Scotia:	Mr. Hance J. Logan, K.C.	
New Brunswick:	Mr. Fred Magee, M.P.P.	
P. E. I.	Hon. W.T. Sandiley. Hon. Stanley Taylor (Substitute for Premier Foster).	
Quebec:	Hon. Sydney Fisher	
	Hon. Jacques Bureau, M.P.	
	Mr. Ernest Lapointe	
Ontario:	Mr. H. H. Dewart, K.C., M.P.P.	
	Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P.	
	Mr. P. C. Larkin	
	Mr. Sydney Little	
Manitoba:	Mr. J. F. Fisher	
Saskatchewan:	Hon. W. R. Motherwell	
Alberta:	Mr. A. McTeer	
British Columbia:	Mr. Charles E. Campbell	
	Mr. Henry Hall, M.P.P.	

Doubtful: (~~4~~)

New Brunswick:	~~Hon. W. E. Foster~~
	Hon. P. J. Veniot

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CANADA

Cannot be present: (20)

Vice-Presidents:	Mr. D. D. McKenzie, M.P.	Nova Scotia
	Mr. A. B. Warburton	P.E.I.
Nova Scotia:	Dr. A. W. Chisholm, M.P.	
	Mr. William Duff, M.P.	
	Mr. John H. Sinclair, M.P.	
New Brunswick:		
Prince Edward Is.	Mr. Peter N. Pate	
	Mr. J. J. McNally	
Quebec:	Hon. Philippe J. Paradis, M.P.P.	
	Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux	
Ontario:	Hon. George P. Graham	
	Mr. Arthur Little (sending substitute).	
Manitoba:	Mr. John Stovel	
	Mr. A. E. Hill	
Saskatchewan:	Hon. W. M. Martin	
	Mr. E. S. Miller	
	Mr. Murdo Cameron, M.P.P.	
	Mr. F. E. West	
Alberta:	Hon. J. R. Boyle	
	Hon. Frank Oliver	
	Mr. G. L. Fraser	
British Columbia:	Hon. John Oliver	

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CANADA

No replies received: (22)

Vice-Presidents:	Mr. A. McLeod, K.C.	Manitoba
	Dr. William Egbert	Alberta
Nova Scotia:	Hon. George H. Murray	
	Mr. George W. Kyte	
New Brunswick:	Mr. J. E. Michaud, M.P.P.	
	Mr. P. J. Hughes	
	~~Mr. William Ryan~~	
P. E. I.	Hon. J. H. Bell, M.A.,K.C.	
	Mr. J. J. Hughes	
	Mr. W. L. Poole	
	Mr. Nelson Rattenbury	
Quebec:	Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson	
Ontario:	Mr. W. C. Kennedy, M.P.	
Manitoba:	Mr. Horace Chevrier	
	Mr. J. A. Knott	
	Dr. M. B. Rombough	
Saskatchewan:	Major J. H. Lindsay	
Alberta:	Major R. B. Eaton	
	D. R. McIvor	
British Columbia:	Mr. F. G. Dawson	
	Mr. C. D. McNab	
	Mr. A. McRae	

To be appointed: (1)

Saskatchewan:	Vice-President

Ottawa
Friday, November 28

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Coll- Liberal Organization C 20030 ref'd ✓
Liberal Organization Committee

List of members (and substitutes)
present at the meetings of the
National Liberal Organization
Committee, held in Ottawa,
December 1 and 2, 1919.

President:	Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King The Roxborough, Ottawa.
Nova Scotia:	Mr. Hance J. Logan, Amherst, N.S.
New Brunswick:	Mr. A. B. Copp, M.P., Sackville, N.B. Mr. J. E. Michaud, M.P.P., Edmundson, N.B. Mr. Fred Magee, M.P.P., Port Elgin, N.B. Mr. W. E. Scully, St. John, N.B. Mr. Stanley Taylor, St. John, N.B.
Prince Edward Island:	Mr. Creelman MacArthur, Summerside, P.E.I. (Substitute for Mr.J.J.McNally). Mr. Peter M. Pate, O'Leary, P.E.I.
Quebec:	Hon. Severin Letourneau, M.P.P., Montreal Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson, Montreal Hon. Sydney Fisher, 4 Range Road, Ottawa. Hon. Jacques Bureau, M.P., Three Rivers. Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M.P., Riviere du Loup.
Ontario:	Mr. P. C. Larkin, 11 Elm Avenue, Toronto. Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P., Ottawa Mr. Arthur C. Hardy, Brockville, Ont. Mr. W. C. Kennedy, M.P., Windsor, Ont. Mr. Sydney Little, London, Ont (Substitute for Mr. Arthur Little). Mr. J. A. Pinard, M.P.P., Ottawa (Substitute for Mr.Hartley H.Dewart,M.P.P.)
Manitoba:	Mr. J. F. Fisher, Winnipeg. Mr. A. J. McLeod, Shoal Lake, Man.
Saskatchewan:	Hon. W. R. Motherwell, Abernethy, Sask.
Alberta:	Mr. A. McTeer, Calgary, Alta.

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CANADA

British Columbia: Mr.M.A.Macdonald, M.P.P.,
Credit Foncier Building, Vancouver.
Mr. Charles E. Campbell,
857 Beatty Street, Vancouver
Mr. Henry Hall, M.P.P., Victoria.
Mr. A. McRae, Revelstoke, B.C.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Coll - Liberal Organization - C 20032
Nat'l Liberal Organization
Committee

NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

Head Office - Ottawa

A general clearing office . in touch with provincial associations, etc.

National Organizer

Organization Branch

An assistant head:

Maintain party efficiency through Provincial Organizations' continuous and sympathetic co-operation.
Organization of meetings and interchange of speakers.
Candidates, revision of lists, by-elections.

Information Branch

An assistant head:

Authoritative & informing publication.
Leaflets
Pamphlets
Other publications, cartoons
Literature
General Publicity
Weapons for fighters

Permanent Committee on Finance

Salaries
Travelling Expenses
Office rentals
Equipment and help
Printing
Distribution

Provincial contributions or assessments

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

ADEQUATELY EQUIPPED ORGANIZATION OFFICE:

1. Private office for head of Office.
2. Private office for Secretary (both languages).
3. Office for typewriters (both languages).
4. Private room for visitors - (board room) conference room (supply of reference books, publications, etc.)
5. Public room for waiting.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Head Office and National Organizer

Organization Branch
Organization of women voters.
Organizer in every province.

Information Branch

Accomodation necessary

Staff necessary

Location of offices.

Finance Committee -
How to raise $100,000 per year.

How improve organization in Provinces (Atlantic to Pacific)
Liberal Associations
Liberal Clubs
Riding Associations.

Candidates: Federal elections and by-elections.

Platform campaign.

Literature - Publicity - Press - Press Gallery

Editors	Reporters
Leaflets	Pamphlets
Monthly	Bi-monthly
Record	Times

Principles - Policy - Platform

Preparation and Revision of Lists

Particulars re Election Acts.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Questions of Policy:

Placing candidates in the field

Attitude toward Farmers Movements

Publicity of Party Funds

Measures to be introduced in House

Publication of Convention Proceedings

Advertising space in Press.

Trip to Maritime Provinces

Trip to Western Provinces

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 20036

Convention Resolution on Party Organization

Letter sent to different Provinces

Personnel of National Liberal Organization Committee

Date of inaugural meeting:

Federal by-elections
Meeting of Federal Parliament
Ontario provincial elections

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

NATIONAL LIBERAL CONVENTION

NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

President

Vice-Presidents - 9 - to be named by Liberal Associations - or by Liberal Premier or Leader

National Council of 54 - one, the Liberal Premier or Leader - or his nominee
- members of Finance Committee in Provinces to receive subscriptions
5 others by Liberal Associations, or Lib. M.P.'s, where no Liberal Associations

Committee to select a National Organizer - to have charge of Head Office, Ottawa.

An Executive Committee - near Ottawa

A Finance Committee:
President
Executive Committee
Honorary Secretary Treasurer
Representation by Provinces other than chief officials
Auditor.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Coll - Liberal Organization - Nat'l Lib. Org. Committee

C 20038

Members of the Executive

NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

Meeting
Saturday, December 13 (1919)
2.00 p.m.

✓ Hon. Sydney Fisher, Ottawa. ✓
✓ Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P., Ottawa. ✓
✗ Hon. J. M. Wilson, Montreal. ✓
✓ Hon. Jacques Bureau, M.P., Three Rivers. ✓
✓ Mr. P. C. Larkin, 11 Elm Avenue, Toronto. ✓
✗ Hon. Philippe Paradis, Quebec City.
✗ Mr. W. C. Kennedy, M.P., Windsor, Ont. ✓

Members ex officio

✓ Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P., Ottawa
✗ Mr. D. D. McKenzie, M.P., North Sydney, N.S. ✓
✗ Hon. A. B. Warburton, Charlottetown, P.E.I. ✓
Mr. A. B. Copp, M.P., Sackville, N.B. —
✗ Hon. S. Letourneau, M.P.P., Quebec City. ✓
✓ A. C. Hardy, Brockville, Ont. ✓
Mr. A. McLeod, K.C., Morden, Man. ✓
Mr. William Egbert, Calgary, Alberta. ✓
Mr. M. A. Macdonald, K.C., M.P.P., Vancouver, B.C. ✓

✓ Expect to attend
✗ Cannot attend

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CANADA

AGENDA

Saturday, December 13 (1919)
2.00 p.m.

1. Engagement of a General Secretary.

2. Rental of Offices.

3. Editor of political publications.

4. Trip to East and West:
   - (1) Advisability of taking General Organizer and Private Secretary.
   - (2) One other representative from Quebec.
   - (3) Liability for expenses of trip - with whom to be arranged.
   - (4) Publicity.

5. Staff of offices to be taken over.

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THE FOLLOWING LETTER SENT TO THE FOLLOWING:-

Prince Edward Island - - John H. Bell, Summerside, P.E.I.
New-Brunswick - - - - - Hon. W.E. Foster, St. John, N.B.
Nova Scotia - - - - - - Hon. George H. Murray, Halifax, N.S.
Quebec - - - - - - - - - Sir Lomer Gouin, Quebec, Que.
Ontario - - - - - - - - H. Hartley Dewart, Esq., K.C., Toronto, Ont.
Manitoba - - - - - - - - Hon. T.C. Norris, Winnipeg, Man.
Saskatchewan - - - - - - Hon. W.M. Martin, Regina, Sask.
Alberta - - - - - - - - Hon. Charles Stewart, Edmonton, Alta.
British Columbia - - - -- Hon. John Oliver, Victoria, B.C.

Prince Edward Island --- Nelson Rattenbury, Charlottetown, P.E.I.
New-Brunswick ---------- E.A. Smith, Shediac, N.B.
Nova-Scotia ------------ John B. Douglas, Halifax, N.S.
Quebec ----------------- Hon. P. Paradis, Quebec, Que.
Hon. Severin Létourneau, 30 St. James Montreal, Que.
Manitoba --------------- Alex. McLeod, Morden, Man.
Alberta ---------------- Dr. Wm. Egbert, Calgary, Alta.
British Columbia ------- M.A. McDonald, Credit Foncier Bldg, Vancouver, B.C.

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CANADA

List of members (and substitutes)
present at the meetings of the
National Liberal Organization
Committee, held in Ottawa,
December 1 and 2, 1919.

President:	Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King The Roxborough, Ottawa.
Nova Scotia:	Mr. Hance J. Logan, Amherst, N.S.
New Brunswick:	Mr. A. B. Copp, M.P., Sackville, N.B. Mr. J. E. Michaud, M.P.P., Edmundson, N.B. Mr. Fred Magee, M.P.P., Port Elgin, N.B. Mr. W. E. Scully, St. John, N.B. Mr. Stanley Taylor, St. John, N.B.
Prince Edward Island:	Mr. Creelman MacArthur, Summerside, P.E.I. (Substitute for Mr.J.J.McNally). Mr. Peter M. Pate, O'Leary, P.E.I.
Quebec:	Hon. Severin Letourneau, M.P.P., Montreal - Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson, Montreal - Hon. Sydney Fisher, 4 Range Road, Ottawa. - Hon. Jacques Bureau, M.P., Three Rivers. - Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M.P., Riviere du Loup.
Ontario:	- Mr. P. C. Larkin, 11 Elm Avenue, Toronto. - Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P., Ottawa - Mr. Arthur C. Hardy, Brockville, Ont. - Mr. W. C. Kennedy, M.P., Windsor, Ont. Mr. Sydney Little, London, Ont (Substitute for Mr. Arthur Little). - Mr. J. A. Pinard, M.P.P., Ottawa (Substitute for Mr.Hartley H.Dewart,M.P.P.)
Manitoba:	Mr. J. F. Fisher, Winnipeg. Mr. A. J. McLeod, Shoal Lake, Man.
Saskatchewan:	Hon. W. R. Motherwell, Abernethy, Sask.
Alberta:	Mr. A. McTeer, Calgary, Alta.

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British Columbia: Mr.M.A.Macdonald, M.P.P., ~~~~~~~~~~ Amount
Credit Foncier Building, Vancouver.
Mr. Charles E. Campbell, ~~~~~~~~~~ Amount
857 Beatty Street, Vancouver. ~~~~~~~~~~ " 2
Mr. Henry Hall, M.P.P., Victoria. ~~~~~~~~~~ " 2
Mr. A. McRae, Revelstoke, B.C. ~~~~~~~~~~ " 2

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 20043 X-100

NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

The National Liberal Organization Committee convened on December 1st, 1919 at 10 A.M., in the office of the Leader of the Opposition, House of Commons.

Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King welcomed the delegates.

On motion of Honourable Charles Murphy M.P., seconded by Mr. M.A.Macdonald K.C., M.P.P., Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King was appointed to the chair, and Mr. Chas. E.Campbell to act as Secretary of the meeting.

The following members were present:-

Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King M.P.	
Mr. P.C.Larkin - - - -	Ontario
Hon. Chas. Murphy M.P.	"
Mr. Arthur C.Hardy - -	"
Mr. W.C.Kennedy M.P.	"
Mr. Sydney Little	"
Mr. J.A.Pinard	"
Hon. S. Létourneau -	Quebec
Hon. Senator J.M.Wilson	"
Hon. Sydney Fisher -	"
Hon. Jacques Bureau -	"
Mr. Ernest Lapointe M.P.	"
Mr. J.F.Fisher - - -	Manitoba
Mr. A.J.McLeod - - -	"
Hon. W.R.Motherwell -	Saskatchewan
Mr. A.McTeer - - - - -	Alberta

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CANADA

Mr. M.A.Macdonald K.C., M.P.P.	British Columbia	
Mr. Charles E.Campbell - - -	"	"
Mr. Henry Hall M.P.P. - - - -	"	"
Mr. A.McRae - - - - - - - - -	"	"
Mr. Hans J.Logan - - - - - -	Nova Scotia	
Mr. A.B.Copp M.P.- - - - - -	New Brunswick	
Mr. Stanley Taylor - - - - -	"	"
Mr. J.E.Michaud M.P.P.- - - -	"	"
Mr. Fred Magee M.P.P. - - - -	"	"
Mr. W.E.Scully - - - - - - -	"	"
Mr. Peter N. Pate - - - - -	P.E.Island	
Mr. Creelman McArthur - - - -	"	"

The Chairman read the Memorandum on Party Organization as ~~adopted by~~ submitted to the National Liberal Convention, after which there was a general discussion.

It was moved by Mr. Hans Logan K.C., seconded by Mr. A.C.Hardy, that a Head Office be opened in the city of Ottawa, and that a National Organizer be appointed, to be known as General Secretary to the National Organization Committee, and that the required staff for the said office be engaged. Carried

Moved by Mr. Fred Magee M.P.P., seconded by Honourable Jacques Bureau M.P. that the Executive Committee of the National Liberal Organization Committee be instructed and authorized to appoint an Editor of Publications, and that the very best available man be secured for the position. Carried

Moved by Honourable Charles Murphy K.C., M.P. seconded by Honourable Sydney Fisher that the staffs of the present Information Bureau and of the Convention

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CANADA

Office be absorbed by the new Head Office. Carried

Moved by Honourable W.R.Motherwell, seconded by Mr. M.A.Macdonald K.C., M.P.P. that an Executive Committee to consist of Seven members be named by the General Organization Committee; the Vice-Presidents of the several provinces, or their nominees, to be additional members of the Committee; four members of the Committee to constitute a quorum. And further, that three members of the said Executive Committee be a ~~permanent~~ Finance Committee. Carried

Moved by Mr. Hans J.Logan K.C., seconded by Mr. A.McRae, that a ~~General~~ Committee be appointed to consist of Eleven members, to be known as a ~~General~~ Finance Committee for the purpose of raising ~~party~~ funds, the representation on this Committee to be as follows: Two each from Ontario and Quebec, and One each from the other provinces, making a total of Fourteen members including the Three members of the permanent Finance Committee. Carried

Moved by Mr. Hans J.Logan K.C., seconded by Mr. M.A.Macdonald K.C., M.P.P. that a nominating committee of Five be appointed to select members of the Executive Committee. Carried

The members appointed on the nominating committee were: Hon. S.Létourneau M.L.C., Mr. Fred. Magee, M.P.P., Mr. A.C.Hardy, Mr. M.A.Macdonald K.C., M.P.P.

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CANADA

and Mr. Creelman McArthur.

T U E S D A Y - December 2nd, 1919

10.oo A.M.

Honourable S.Létourneau presented the nominating committee's report as follows: The gentlemen selected to be the Executive Committee were Honourable Sydney Fisher, Honourable Charles Murphy K.C., M.P., Honourable Senator J.M.Wilson, Honourable Jacques Bureau M.P., Mr. P.C.Larkin and Honourable Philippe Paradis.

The permanent Finance Committee to consist of: Honourable Sydney Fisher, Honourable Senator J.M. Wilson, and Mr. P.C.Larkin.

Moved by Mr. A.B.Copp M.P., seconded by Mr. Ernest Lapointe M.P. that the committee's report be adopted. Carried.

Moved by Mr. A.C.Hardy, seconded by Mr. P.C. Larkin that the Executive Committee be empowered to fill any vacancies occurring in the Committee. Carried

Moved, seconded and carried unanimously that Honourable Sydney Fisher be Chairman of the Finance Committee.

Moved by Mr. Chas. E.Campbell, seconded by Mr. A. McTeer, that for the purpose of raising immediate funds the various provinces be asked to subscribe, and forward to the Finance Committee a sum equivalent to $250 per constituency. Carried

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Honourable Sydney Fisher addressed the meeting with reference to the Laurier Monument Fund, and urged all members present to take that matter up with their local committees in the several provinces.

Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King invited the members to express their views as to the advisability of starting a speaking tour the first of the year. After a long a general discussion it was decided that a campaign start with a meeting in North York, January 6th, 1920, to be followed by meetings in the following cities: Charlottetown, Halifax, St John, Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, Saskatoon, Brandon, Winnipeg, and Fort William, if time will permit.

The conference was closed by the Chairman thanking the representatives who had come from the different provinces to attend this meeting.

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CANADA

Letter re National Organization Committee

sent to:-

Vice-Presidents	D.D.McKenzie	- Nova Scotia
	A.B.Copp	- New Brunswick
	A.B.Warburton	- Prince Edward Island
	S.Létourneau	- Quebec
	Arthur C.Hardy	- Ontario
	A.McLeod	- Manitoba
	William Egbert	- Alberta
	M.A.Macdonald	- British Columbia

Copy of same sent to :-

Hon. G.H.Murray	- Nova Scotia
Hon. W.E.Foster	- New Brunswick
Hon. J.H.Bell	- P.E.I.
Hon. P.Paradis	- Quebec
H.H.Dewart	- Ontario
John Stovel	- Manitoba
Hon. J.R.Boyle	- Alberta
Hon. John Oliver	- British Columbia

- - - - - - - -

Vice-President	No. of Constituencies	Amount
D.D.McKenzie	16	$ 4,000
A.B.Copp	11	2,750
A.B.Warburton	4	1,000
Hon. S.Létourneau	65	16,250
Arthur C.Hardy	82	20,500
A.McLeod	15	3,750
Dr. Wm. Egbert	12	3,000
M.A.Macdonald	13	3,250
	218	54.500

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Letter re National Organization Committee

sent to:-

Vice-Presidents	D.D.McKenzie	-	Nova Scotia
	A.B.Copp	-	New Brunswick
	A.B.Warburton	-	Prince Edward Island
	S.Létourneau	-	Quebec
	Arthur C.Hardy	-	Ontario
	A.McLeod	-	Manitoba
	William Egbert	-	Alberta
	M.A.Macdonald	-	British Columbia

Copy of same sent to :-

Hon. G.H.Murray	-	Nova Scotia
Hon. W.E.Foster	-	New Brunswick
Hon. J.H.Bell	-	P.E.I.
Hon. P.Paradis	-	Quebec
H.H.Dewart	-	Ontario
John Stovel	-	Manitoba
Hon. J.R.Boyle	-	Alberta
Hon. John Oliver	-	British Columbia

- - - - - - - - -

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Arthur C.Hardy	82	20,500
A.McLeod	15	3,750
Dr. Wm. Egbert	12	3,000
M.A.Macdonald	13	3,250
	218	$4.5.00

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 20050
X-1001

NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE.

The National Liberal Organization Committee convened on December 1st, 1919 at 10 A.M., in the office of the Leader of the Opposition, House of Commons.

Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King welcomed the delegates.

On motion of Honourable Charles Murphy M.P., seconded by Mr. M. A. Macdonald K.C., M.P.P, Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King was appointed to the chair and Mr. Chas. E. Campbell to act as Secretary of the meeting.

The following members were present:-

Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.,		
Mr. P. C. Larkin	Ontario,	
Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P....	"	
Mr. Arthur C. Hardy.....	"	
Mr. W. C. Kennedy M.P.....	"	
Mr. Arthur Little.....	"	
Mr. J. A. Pinard.....	"	
Hon. S. Letourneau.....	Quebec,	
Hon. Senator J.M.Wilson...	"	
Hon. Sydney Fisher.....	"	
Hon. Jacques Bureau.....	"	
Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M.P..	"	
Mr. J. F. Fisher.....	Manitoba,	
Mr. A. J. McLeod.....	"	
Hon. W. R. Motherwell.....	Saskatchewan,	
Mr. A. McTeer.....	Alberta,	
Mr. M. A. Macdonald, K.C.,	M.P.P.	British Columbia
Mr. Charles E. Campbell...	"	"
Mr. Henry Hall, M.P.P.....	"	"
Mr. A. McRae.....	"	"
Mr. Hans J. Logan.....	Nova Scotia,	

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CANADA

Mr. A. B. Copp, M.P..... New Brunswick
Mr. Stanley Taylor..... " "
Mr. J. E. Marchaud M.P.P.... " "
Mr. Fred Magee M.P.P..... " "
Mr. W. E. Scully..... " "

Mr. Peter N. Pate..... P. E. Island
Mr. Creelman McArthur..... " " "

The Chairman read the Memorandum on Party Organization as submitted to the National Liberal Convention, after which there was a general discussion.

It was moved by Mr. Hance Logan K. C., seconded by Mr. A. C. Hardy, that a Head Office be opened in the city of Ottawa, and that a National Organizer be appointed, to be known as General Secretary to the National Organization Committee, and that the required staff for the said office be engaged. Carried

Moved by Mr. Fred Magee, M.P.P., seconded by Honourable Jacques Bureau M.P. that the Executive Committee of the National Liberal Organization Committee be instructed and authorized to appoint an Editor of Publications, and that the very best available man be secured for the position. Carried.

Moved by Honourable Charles Murphy, K.C.,M.P. seconded by Honourable Sydney Fisher that the staffs of the present Information Bureau and of the Corvention Office be absorbed by the new Head Office. Carried.

Moved by Honourable W. R. Motherwell, seconded by Mr. M. A. Macdonald K.C., M.P.P., that an Executive Committee to consist of seven members be named by the General Organization Committee. The Vice-Presidents of the several Provinces, or their nominees, to be additional members of the Committee. Four members of the Committee to constitute a quorum. And further, that three members of the said Executive Committee be a Finance Committee in the nature of a Treasury Board. Carried.

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CANADA

Moved by Mr. Hance J. Logan K. C.,
seconded by Mr. A. McRae, that a special committee be appointed to consist of Eleven members, the three members of the Finance Committee of the General Executive to be known as a special Finance Committee for the purpose of raising organization funds, the representation on this Committee to be as follows:- Two each from Ontario and Quebec, and one each from the other provinces, (making a total of Fourteen members including the Three members of the permanent Finance Committee.) Carried.

Moved by Mr. Hance J. Logan K.C., seconded by Mr. M. A. Macdonald K.C., M.P.P., that a nominating committee of five be appointed to select members of the Executive Committee. Carried.

The members appointed on the nominating committee were: Hon. S. Letourneau M.L.C., Fred Magee, M.P.P., Mr. A. C. Hardy, Mr. M. A. Macdonald, K.C., M.P.P. and Mr. Creelman McArthur.

T U E S D A Y - December 2nd. 1919.
10.00 A.M.

Honourable S. Letourneau presented the nominating committee's report as follows: The gentlemen selected to be the Executive Committee were Honourable Sydney Fisher, Honourable Charles Murphy, K. C., M.P., Honourable Senator J. M. Wilson, Honourable Jacques Bureau M.P. Mr. P. C. Larkin, and Honourable Philippe Paradis and W. C. Kennedy, M. P.

The permanent Finance Committee to consist of: Honourable Sydney Fisher, Honourable Senator J. M. Wilson, and Mr. P. C. Larkin.

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CANADA

Moved by Mr. A. B. Copp M. P., seconded by Mr. Ernest Lapointe M.P. that the committee's report be adopted. Carried.

Moved by Mr. A. C. Hardy, seconded by Mr. P. C. Larkin that the Executive Committee be empowered to fill any vacancies occurring in the Committee. Carried.

Moved, seconded and carried unanimously that Honourable Sydney Fisher be Chairman of the Finance Committee.

Moved by Mr. Chas. E. Campbell, seconded by Mr. A. McTeer, for the purpose of raising immediate funds the various Provinces be asked through the Finance Committee appointed under the resolutions of the National Convention to subscribe, and forward to the Finance Committee a sum equivalent to $250.00 per constituency. Carried.

Honourable Sydney Fisher addressed the meeting with reference to the Laurier Monument Fund, and urged all members present to take that matter up with their local committees in the several provinces.

Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King invited the members to express their views as to the advisability of his starting a speaking tour the first of the year. Also their views as to the attitude to be taken towards the Farmers Movements. After a long and general discussion it was decided that meetings start with a meeting in North York, January 6th. 1920, to be followed by meetings in the following cities: Charlottetown, Halifax, St. John, Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, Saskatoon, Brandon, Winnipeg, and Fort William, if time will permit. It is

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CANADA

also the general opinion that the Liberal attitude towards the Farmers was not to be one of hostility or antagonism but of maintainng the standards of Liberalism irrespective of any movements and showing the relation of Liberalism to these movements which as are expressions thereof is advanced as class form.

The conference was closed by the Chairman thanking the representatives who had come from the dufferent provinces to attend this meeting.

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C 20055

Letter re National Organization Committee

sent to:-

Vice-Presidents	(D. D. McKenzie	- Nova Scotia,
	(A. B. Copp	- New Brunswick,
	(A. B. Warburton,	- Prince Edward Island
	(S. Letourneau	- Quebec,
	(Arthur C. Hardy,	- Ontario,
	(M. McLeod,	- Manitoba,
	(William Egbert,	- Alberta,
	(M. A. Macdonald,	- British Columbia.

Copy of same sent to:-

Hon. G. H. Murray	- Nova Scotia,
Hon. W. E. Foster,	- New Brunswick
Hon. J. H. Bell,	- P. E. I.
Hon. P. Paradis,	- Quebec,
H. H. Dewart	- Ontario
John Stovel,	- Manitoba,
Hon. J. R. Boyle,	- Alberta,
Hon. John Oliver,	-British Columbia

.....

Vice-Presidents	No. of constituencies	Amount
D. D. McKenzie	16	$4,000
A. B. Copp	11	2,750
A. B. Warburton	4	1,000
Hon. S. Letourneau	65	16,250
Arthur C. Hardy	82	20,500
A. Mc Leod,	15	3,750
Dr. Wm. Egbert	12	3,000
M. A. Macdonald,	13	3,250
	218	54,500

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CANADA

Coll - Liberal Organization — Nat'l Liberal Organization Committee

C 20056

NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

President:

Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King M.P.
Leader of the Opposition, Ottawa

Vice-Presidents:-

Mr. D.D.McKenzie K.C.,M.P.	- North Sydney, Nova Scotia
Mr. A.B.Copp. M.P.	- Sackville, New Brunswick
Hon. A.B.Warburton	- Charlottetown, P.E.I.
Hon S.Létourneau M.L.C.	- Montreal, Quebec
Mr. Arthur C.Hardy	- Brockville, Ontario
Mr. A.McLeod K.C.,	- Morden, Manitoba
	- Saskatchewan.
Dr. William Egbert	- Calgary, Alta
Mr. M.A.Macdonald K.C. M.P.P.	- Vancouver, British Columbia

16 **Nova Scotia Representatives:**

Hon. G.H.Murray	- Halifax
Dr.A.W.Chisholm M.P.	- Margaree Harbor
Mr. William Duff M.P.	- Lunenburg
Mr. John H.Sinclair, M.P.	- New Glasgow
Mr. Hans J.Logan K.C.	- Amherst
Mr. Geo.W.Kyte K.C.	- St Peter's

11 **New Brunswick Representatives:**

Hon. W.E.Foster (Hayley Taylor)	- St John
Hon. P.J.Veniot	- Bathurst
Mr. J.E.Michaud M.P.P.	- Edmundston
Mr. Fred. Magee M.P.P.	- Port Elgin
Mr. P.J.Hughes	- Fredericton
Mr. W.E.Scully	- St John

4 **Prince Edward Island Representatives:**

Hon. J.H.Bell M.A., K.C.	- Summerside
Mr. J.J.Hughes	- Charlottetown
Mr. W.L.Poole	- Montague
Mr. Nelson Rattenbury	- Charlottetwon
Mr. Peter E.Pate (Chairman McArthur)	- O'Leary
Mr. J.J.McNally	- Summerside

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CANADA

Quebec Representatives:

Hon. Philippe Paradis M.L.C.	- Quebec
Hon. Senator J.M.Wilson	- Montreal
Hon. Sydney Fisher	- Ottawa
Hon. Jacques Bureau M.P.	- Trois-Rivières
Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux M.P.	- Ottawa
Hon. Ernest Lapointe M.P.	- Rivière-du-Loup

Ontario Representatives:

Mr. H.H.Dewart K.C. M.P.P.	- Toronto
Hon. Charles Murphy M.P.	- Ottawa
Hon. Geo.P.Graham	- Montreal
Mr. P.C.Larkin	- Toronto
Mr. W.C.Kennedy M.P.	- Windsor
Mr. Arthur Little	- London

Manitoba Representatives:

Mr. John Stovel	- Winnipeg
Mr. A.E.Hill	- Brandon
Mr. Horace Chevrier	- Winnipeg
Mr. J.A.Knott	- Winnipeg
Dr. M.B.Rombough	- Winnipeg
Mr. J.F.Fisher	- Winnipeg

Saskatchewan Representatives:

Hon. W.M.Martin K.C.	- Regina
Mr. E.S.Miller	- Regina
Hon. W.R.Motherwell	- Abernethy
Mr. Murdo Cameron M.P.P.	- Saskatoon
Mr. F.E.West	- Swift Current
Major J.F.Lindsay K.C.	- Prince Albert

Alberta Representatives:

Hon. J.R.Boyle K.C.	- Edmonton
Hon. Frank Oliver	- Edmonton
Mr. G.L.Fraser	- Medecine Hat
Major R.B.Eaton	- Craigmyle
Mr. D.R.McIvor	- Cowley
Mr. A.McTeer	- Calgary

British Columbia Representatives:

Hon. John Oliver	- Victoria
Mr. Charles E.Campbell	- Vancouver
Mr. Henry Hall M.P.P.	- Victoria
Mr. F.G.Dawson	- Prince Rupert
Mr. C.D.McNab	- Waldo
Mr. A.McRae	- Revelstoke

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Monday. 3 P.M.

C 20058

~~New Market~~ North York
Charlottetown.
Halifax.
St. John.
Victoria.
Vancouver.
Edmonton.
Calgary.
Regina.
Saskatoon.
Brandon.
Winnipeg.
Fort William.

(adjourned.)

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CANADA

C 20059

Tuesday 10 a.m.

Nominating Com. Report Hon. S. Reisenman

- ✓ Hon. Sidney Fisher
  Hon. Chas. Murphy M.P.
Carried ✓ Hon. Senator Wilson.
  Hon. Jacque Bureau, M.P.
  Mr. W. C. Kennedy, M.P.
✓ Mr. P. C. Larkin.
  Hon. J. P. Paradis.

Sub. Finance Committee ✓

Capp - LaPointe report be adopted - Carried.

~~Hardy~~ - Hardy - Larkin - That the executives committee have power to fill all vacancies that may occur on the executives committee.

X——

New Brunswick - Rural McManus -
Prince Edward Isl - Fred. L. Rogers.

Ontario & Quebec - 2 ea 1 ea from other provinces

(Wilson - Larkin
~~Geo~~ Hon. Sidney Fisher Chairman of Finance.

Campbell - McGarry - $50.00 per ~~representation~~ as minimum per year.

Carried

Hon. Sidney Fisher Re Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

adjourned to 2.45 P.M.

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CANADA

committee
purposes of raising funds - three of this ^
to be the members ~~of~~ appointed as the
permanent finance finance committee of the executive.

Carried

moved by Hon. J. Logan seconded by
Mr. Macdonald K.C. M.P.P. that a
nominating committee be appointed
to consist of five members to
~~bring in a report~~ select the members
of the Executive committee and
the general finance committee

Carried

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X Moved by Hance J. Logan seconded by Arthur C. Hardy - That a Head Office be opened in the City of Ottawa and that a National Organizer be appointed to be known as a general secretary to the National Organization Committee and that the required staff necessary for the Head Office be engaged - Carried

✓ Moved by Fred. Mager M.P.P. Seconded by the Hon. Jaques Bureau - That the committee be instructed and authorized to appoint a man as editor of publications and that it is necessary that the services of the very best available person be secured for this position. Carried

✓ X Moved by ~~Mr Herwell~~ ~~Hon W.L. Mackenzie King~~ Seconded by M.A. Macdonald K.C. That an executive committee to consist of ~~Eight~~ Seven members to be named by this committee in addition to the Vice-Presidents of the several Provinces or their nominees, there to be a permanent finance committee, four members of the executive committee to constitute a quorum. Carried

✓ X ✓ Moved by Hance J. Logan seconded by A. McRae that an additional committee to consist of ~~Eleven~~ seven members be appointed for the

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Dec. 1st @ 10 a.m. C 20062

Murphy - (2) Hon. Chas. Murphy - M - McMacdonell Sec - Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King - and Chas. E. Campbell to Chairman and Secy - respectively carried.

(1) List of members called after opening address by Leader.

(3) Leader - Read Memo re Party Organization.
Hon. Chas. Murphy, K.C.

(4) Mr. P. C. Larkin

(5)
(6)
(7) Read by Secy.
(8)
(9)

Leader re Head Office. General discussion.

Carried. ~~General Secy instead of National Organ.~~

~~McDonell - Larkin, Office~~

~~Lapa~~ - Hardy opening Head Office to be known as ~~National Organizer~~ ~~to~~ ~~Secy~~ of the National Organization Committee

Carried

X Lagan - Hardy - That a Head Office be opened and a national Organizer ~~has~~ appointed to be known as general secy to the national Organization Committee and that the necessary staff be appointed for the Head Office - Carried

✓ McGee - Bureau - committee be instructed and authorized to appoint a man ~~Chief~~ editor of ~~political~~ publications - necessary to secure the very best man Carried.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 20063

Murphy - Ficher

(2) Staffs of information bureau and Convention staff to be Carried Marked.

Funds

Executive Committee. P ~~[illegible]~~ to be named by this committee
to consist of 7 members and the Vice-Pres. of the county provinces or their
nominee - three to be a permanent com on finance. 4 to constitute a quorum.

per raising funds.

Additional committee of ten - three to be the finance com.

Carried.

Logan - Macdonald

Nominating committee of five Carried

Finlayson ~~[illegible]~~ S. Letourneau M.L.C.

Fred. Major M.P.P.

A.C. Hardy

M.A. Macdonald K.C. M.P.P.

Creelman McArthur. Carried

65
250
3250
130
16250

82
20
4100
164
20500

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 20064
X-1001
(1919 ?)
J.C.

Members of the Executive - Nat. Liberal Committee.

President -
Rt. Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King, M.P.

Honourable Charles Murphy, K.C., M.P.
Hon. Jacque Bureau, K.C., M.P.
Hon. Senator A. C. Hardy.
Hon. W. C. Kennedy, M.P.
Hon. A. B. Copp, M.P.
Dr. J. P. Molloy, M.P.
Hon. J. E. Sinclair, M.P.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE.

President:	Right Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King, Premier,	Ottawa, Canada.
Vice-President:	Hon. D. A. Mackinnon, K.C., M.P.,	Charlottetown PEI
	Hon. A. B. Copp, M.P.,	Sackville, N.B.
	Hon. A. W. Redden,	Halifax, N.S.
	Hon. Senator A. C. Hardy,	Brockville, Ont.
	Dr. Wm. Egbert,	Calgary, Alta.
	Mr. M. A. Macdonald, K.C.,	470 Granville St., Vancouver, B.C.
	Hon. W. E. Knowles,	Moose Jaw, Sask.
	Mr. A. E. Hill,	639 Lorne Ave., Brandon, Man.

Nova Scotia Representatives:

Hon. G. H. Murray	Halifax, N.S.
Dr. A. W. Chisholm, M.P.	Margaree Harbour
Wm. Duff, Esq., M.P.	Lunenburg,
Mr. J. H. Sinclair,	New Glasgow,
Mr. Geo. W. Kyte, K.C., M.P.	St.Peter's,

New Brunswick Representatives:

Hon. W. E. Foster	St.John,
Hon. P. J. Veniot	Bathurst,
J. E. Michaud, Esq., M.P.	Edmundston,
Fred Magee, Esq., M.P.P.	Port Elgin,
Peter J. Hughes, Esq	Fredericton,
W. E. Scully, Esq.,	150 Hawthorne Ave. St.John, N.B.

Prince Edward Island Representatives:

Hon. J. H. Bell, K.C	Charlottetown,
J. J. Hughes, Esq., M.P.	Charlottetown,
W. L. Poole, Esq.,	Montague,
Nelson Rattenbury, Esq.,	Charlottetown,
Peter N. Pate, Esq.,	O'Leary,
J. J. McNally, Esq.,	Summerside,

Quebec Representatives:

Hon. Phillippe Paradis	Quebec,
Hon. Sen. J.M.Wilson,	468 St.Paul St.W., Montreal, Que.
Hon. Jacques Bureau, M.P.	Ottawa, Ont.
Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux,	265 O'Connor St, Ottawa, Ont.
Hon. Ernest Lapointe, M.P.	Ottawa, Ont.

Ontario Representatives:

Mr.Wellington Hay	Listowel,
Mrs. H. H. Carpenter	30 Hess St.S., Hamilton, Ont.
Hon. Chas. Murphy, K.C., M.P.	Ottawa,
Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M.P.	Ottawa,
Hon. F. A. Lowe	Ottawa.
Mr. E. S. Little	London.

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Manitoba Representatives:

Dr. J. P. Molloy	Morris,
Mr. O. Garbutt	Crystal City,
Mr. E. G. Porter	Portage la Prairie,
Mr. Horace Chevrier	452 Main St., Winnipeg, Man.
Mr. J.F.Fisher, Barrister	173 Portage Ave., Winnipeg, Man.
Mr. L. St. G. Stubbs	Birtle,

SaskatchewanRepresentatives:

Mr. C. R. MacIntosh	North Battleford,
Hon. W. R. Motherwell, M.P.	Ottawa, Ont.
Major J. H. Lindsay, K.C.	Prince Albert,
Mr. Chas. G. Locke	Saskatoon,
Mr. Burford Hooke	Regina Leader, Regina,
Mr. J. G. Gardiner, M.L.A.	Lemberg,

Alberta Representatives:

Hon. J. R. Boyle, K.C.	Edmonton, Alta.
Hon. Frank Oliver	Edmonton,
Mr. G. L. Fraser,	Union Bank Bldg., Medicine Hat,
Major R. B. Eaton	Craigmyle,
Mr. D. R. McIvor	Cowley, (Ins. Co.
Mr. A. McTeer	Calgary,(Sun Life

British Columbia Representatives:

Hon. Jno. Oliver	Victoria,
Mr. Chas. E.Campbell	857 Beatty St., Vancouver, B.C.
Mr. F. G. Dawson	Prince Rupert,
Mr. Henry Hall, M.P.P.	315-16 Central Bldg., Victoria,
Mr. C. D. McNab	Waldo,

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 20067

Coll - Liberal Organization - Part 1

Liberal Organization
Committee

NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

President:

✓ Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., M.P.
Leader of the Opposition, Ottawa.

Vice-Presidents:

x	Mr. D. D. McKenzie, M.P.	North Sydney,	Nova Scotia
✓	Mr. A. B. Copp, M.P.	Sackville,	New Brunswick
✗	Mr. A. B. Warburton	Charlottetown,	P. E. I.
✓	Hon. Severin Letourneau, M.P.P.	Montreal,	Quebec
✓	Mr. Arthur Hardy	Brockville,	Ontario
	Mr. A. McLeod, K.C.	Morden,	Manitoba.
			Saskatchewan.
	Dr. William Egbert	Calgary,	Alberta
✓	Mr. M. A. Macdonald, K.C., M.P.P.	Vancouver	British Columbia.

Nova Scotia Representatives:

	Hon. George H. Murray	Halifax
x	Dr. A. W. Chisholm, M.P.	Margaree Harbor
x	Mr. William Duff, M.P.	Lunenburg
x	Mr. John H. Sinclair, M.P.	New Glasgow
✓	Mr. Hence J. Logan, K.C.	Amherst
	Mr. George W. Kyte	St. Peter's

New Brunswick Representatives:

o	Hon. W. S. Foster	St. John
o	Hon. P. J. Veniot	Bathurst
	Mr. J. E. Michaud, M.P.P.	Edmundston
✓	Mr. Fred Magee, M.P.P.	Port Elgin
	Mr. P. J. Hughes	Fredericton
	Mr. ~~William Ryan~~ W. T. Scully.	St. John

Prince Edward Island Representatives:

	Hon. J. H. Bell, M.A., K.C.	Summerside
	Mr. J. J. Hughes	Charlottetown
	Mr. W. L. Poole	Montague
	Mr. Nelson Rattenbury	Charlottetown
x	Mr. Peter E. Pate	O'Leary
x	Mr. J. J. McNally	Summerside

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CANADA

Quebec Representatives:

x	Hon. Philippe J. Paradis, M.P.P.	Quebec
	Hon. Senator J.M. Wilson	Montreal
✓	Hon. Sydney Fisher	Ottawa
✓	Hon. Jacques Bureau, M.P.	Three Rivers
x	Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux	Ottawa
✓	Mr. Ernest Lapointe	Riviere du Loup

Ontario Representatives:

✓	Mr. H.H. Dewart, K.C., M.P.P.	Toronto
✓	Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P.	Ottawa
x	Hon. George P. Graham	Montreal
✓	Mr. P. C. Larkin	Toronto
	Mr. W. C. Kennedy, M.P.	Windsor
x	Mr. Arthur Little	London
✓	Hon. Sydney Fisher.	

Manitoba Representatives:

x	Mr. John Stovel	Winnipeg
x	Mr. A. E. Hill	Brandon
	Mr. Horace Chevrier	Winnipeg
	Mr. J. A. Knott	Winnipeg
	Dr. M. B. Rombough	Winnipeg
✓	Mr. J. F. Fisher	Winnipeg

Saskatchewan Representatives:

x	Hon. W. M. Martin	Regina
x	Mr. E. S. Miller	Regina
✓	Hon. W. R. Motherwell	Abernethy
✓	Mr. Murdo Cameron, M.P.P.	Saskatoon
✓	Mr. F. E. West	Swift Current
	Major J. H. Lindsay	Prince Albert

Alberta Representatives:

x	Hon. J. R. Boyle	Edmonton
x	Hon. Frank Oliver	Edmonton
x	Mr. G. L. Fraser	Medicine Hat
	Major R. B. Eaton	Craigmyle
	D. R. McIvor	Cowley
✓	Mr. A. McNeer	Calgary

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

British Columbia Representatives:

x	Hon. John Oliver	Victoria
✓	Mr. Charles E. Campbell	Vancouver
✓	Mr. Henry Hall, M.P.P.	Victoria
	Mr. F. G. Dawson	Prince Rupert
	Mr. C. D. McNab	Waldo
	Mr. A. McRae	Revelstoke

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 20070

w.l.m.k.

(1919)

NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

President:

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., M.P.
Leader of the Opposition.
The Roxborough, Ottawa.

Vice-Presidents:

Mr. D. D. McKenzie, M.P. North Sydney	Nova Scotia
Mr. A. B. Copp, M.P. Sackville	New Brunswick
Mr. A. B. Warburton, Charlottetown	Prince Edward Island
Hon. Severin Letourneau, M.P.P. Montreal	Quebec
Mr. Arthur Hardy, Brockville	Ontario
Mr. A. McLeod, K.C. Morden	Manitoba.
	Saskatchewan
Dr. William Egbert, Calgary	Alberta
Mr. M. A. Macdonald, K.C., M.P.P. Vancouver	British Columbia.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Nova Scotia: Hon. George H. Murray,
Premier of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N.S. _____

Dr. A. W. Chisholm, M.P., _____
Margaree Harbor, N. S.

Mr. William Duff, M.P., _____
Lunenburg, N. S.

Mr. John H. Sinclair, M.P., _____
New Glasgow, N. S.

Mr. Hance J. Logan, K.C. _____
Amherst, N. S.

Mr. George W. Kyte, _____
St. Peter's, N. S.

New Brunswick:

Hon. W. E. Foster
Premier of New Brunswick, _____
~~Fredericton, N. B.~~ St. John, N.B.

Hon. P. J. Veniot
Minister of Public Works, _____
Bathurst, N.B.

Mr. J. E. Michaud, M.P.P. _____
Edmundston, N. B.

Mr. Fred Magee, M.P.P. _____
Port Elgin, N. B.

Mr. P. J. Hughes _____
Barrister,
Fredericton, N. B.

Mr. William Ryan _____
Barrister,
St. John, N. B.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Prince Edward Island:

Hon. J. H. Bell, M.A., K.C. _____
Premier of Prince Edward Island
Summerside, P.E.I.

Mr. J. J. Hughes _____
Charlottetown, P.E.I.

Mr. W. L. Poole _____
Montague, P.E.I.

Mr. Nelson Rattenbury, _____
Charlottetown, P.E.I.

Mr. Peter M. Pate _____
O'Leary, P.E.I.

Mr. J. J. McNally, _____
Summerside, P.E.I.

Quebec:

Hon. Philippe J. Paradis, M.P.P. _____
Quebec

Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson, _____
Montreal

Hon. Sydney Fisher, _____
4 Range Road, Ottawa

Hon. Jacques Bureau, M.P. _____
Three Rivers, Que.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, _____
276 O'Connor St., Ottawa

Mr. Ernest Lapointe, _____
Riviere du Loup, Que.

W. L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Ontario:

Mr. H. H. Dewart, K.C., M.P.
Leader of the Ontario Opposition
Sun Life Building, Toronto. _____

Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P.
Central Chambers, Ottawa _____

Hon. George P. Graham,
Box 50, Station B,
Montreal, Que. _____

Mr. P. C. Larkin,
461 King Street West,
Toronto. _____

Mr. W. C. Kennedy, M.P.
Windsor, Ont. _____

Mr. Arthur Little,
London, Ont. _____

Manitoba:

Mr. John Stovel,
Stovel Bros., Winnipeg.
Nominee of Premier Morris. _____

Mr. A. E. Hill,
Empire Hotel, Brandon, Man. _____

Mr. Horace Chevrier,
450 Main Street, Winnipeg _____

Mr. J. A. Knott
Canada Building, Winnipeg _____

Dr. M. B. Rombough
188 James Avenue East, Winnipeg _____

Mr. J. F. Fisher, Barrister,
Trust & Loan Building, Winnipeg _____

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Saskatchewan:

Hon. W. M. Martin _____
Premier of Saskatchewan,
Regina, Sask.

Mr. H. S. Miller _____
C/o Imperial Life Assurance Company
Regina, Sask.

Hon. W. R. Motherwell, _____
Abernethy, Sask.

Mr. Murdo Cameron, M.P.P., _____
Saskatoon, Sask.

Mr. F. E. West, _____
Swift Current, Sask.

Major J. H. Lindsay _____
Prince Albert, Sask.

Alberta:

Hon. J. R. Boyle, _____
Attorney General for Alberta.
Nominee of Premier Stewart.

Hon. Frank Oliver _____
Edmonton, Alta.

Mr. G. L. Fraser, _____
Medicine Hat, Alta.

Major R. B. Eaton, _____
Craigmyle, Alta.

D. R. McIvor, _____
Cowley, Alta.

Mr. A. McTeer, _____
Calgary, Alta.

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British Columbia:

Hon. John Oliver,
Premier of British Columbia.
Victoria, B.C. _____

Mr. Charles E. Campbell
857 Beatty Street,
Vancouver, B.C. _____

Mr. Henry Hall, M.P.P.
Victoria, B.C. _____

Mr. F. G. Dawson
Prince Rupert, B.C. _____

Mr. C. D. McNab
Waldo, B.C. _____

Mr. A. McRae,
Revelstoke, B.C. _____

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CANADA

C 20076

* NATIONAL LIBERAL COMMITTEE *

Meeting of Executive Committee at Ottawa
Tuesday, February 24th. 1920, at two P.M.

A G E N D A:

1. - Report of the general constitution of the National office.

2. - Consideration of Report of General Secretary of work and aims of General Office to date.

3. - Application of Eastern Ontario Liberal Association for leave to occupy part of this office.

4. - Consideration of Policy as to Publications and Printing:-

   (a) Financial provision,

   (b) What form shall publications take application of?

   (c) Ottawa Record and policy of recognizing this paper as the Committee's organ.

   (d) Payment of carriage charges on literature & c.

5. - General Business:

   (a) Requests of Public Libraries for literature.

   (b) Newspaper subscriptions.

   (c) Monthly bulletin on organization.

   (d) Question of early nomination of Candidates.

   (e) Such other matters as the Committee may suggest.

   (f) Request, C. M. Goddard, re salary.

   (g) Correspondence with H.F.Gadsby

file - Meeting 1920

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List of Members of Executive Committee called to meet at Ottawa, Tuesday, February 24th, at two P.M.:-

Dr. Wm. Egbert, Calgary, Alta.
Mr. M.A. Macdonald, K.C., M.P.P., Vancouver, B.C.
Mr. A. McLeod, K.C., Morden, Man.
Hon. S. Létourneau, M.P.P., 180 St. James St, Montreal, Que.
Mr. A.C. Hardy, Brockville, Ont.
Mr. A.B. Copp, M.P., Sackville, N.B.
Hon. A.B. Warburton, Charlottetown, P.E.I.
Mr. D.D. McKenzie, M.P., North Sydney, N.S.
Mr. W.C. Kennedy, M.P., Windsor, Ont.
Hon. Philippe Paradis, M.L.C., Quebec, Que.,
Mr. P.C. Larkin, 11 Elm Avenue, Toronto, Ont.,
Honourable Jacques Bureau, M.P., Three Rivers, Que.
Hon. J.M. Wilson, 468 St. Paul St. West, Montreal, Que.
Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P., Central Chambers, Ottawa.
Hon. Sydney Fisher, 4 Range Road, Ottawa
Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P., House of Commons.

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C 20078

INTERIM REPORT OF NATIONAL OFFICE

Tuesday February 24th. 1920.

ORGANIZATION:

The proposed policy of the National Office is to operate through Provincial Organizations. Each Province has its own problems and should be allowed and ought to be required to deal with these in its own way. It would be impossible and useless for this office to deal directly with each constituency in Canada, of which there are 234.

NOVA SCOTIA --- When the Hon. Mr. King made his visit to the Maritime Provinces I was also along and took occasion to ascertain the position here. Mr. Jno. B. Douglas is niminally the President of the Provincial Ass'n. There was no Secretary. Mr. Douglas would say that the organization was not in an effective state. During our visit there, Gentlemen were present from all over the Province. They held a large meeting in the Provincial Building and very frankly discussed their affairs. The result was a decision to call a representative meeting as soon as the Nova Scotia Legislature should meet. I have a letter from Mr. Douglas saying that this meeting is being called for next week. From statements made at the time, there is a clear intention of creating an effective Provincial Executive which will endeavour to see that county organizations wherever necessary are put into fighting trim.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND: - -- Here also there was no effective Provincial Organization. Mr. Nelson Rattenbury is a very strong Liberal and is President of the Queens County Ass'n and occupied the chair at our organization meeting. He was rather averse to the creation of a Provincial Executive, but a meeting which was held during Mr. King's visit decided that such an executive was necessary. The meeting arranged to get representatives from all over the Island and have them meet early in February and so settle the question. There is no report as yet and I am asking what is being done. In any event representative Liberals from all over the Island would say that the conditions were good and that the four Federal seats there would return Liberals at the next election.

NEW BRUNSWICK --- While Mr. King was here, representative Liberals were present at St. John from all over the Province. The General geeling was that they should have a Provincial President and Secretary and a Provincial organizer. A very large meeting was held of those who were in St. John from all over the Province and theu discussed every riding. Mr. Copp, M. P. was in the chair. In the result the matter was left

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to a Committee composed of - Messrs Magee, Broderick and La Bellois. I have as yet no report from these Gentlemen.

QUEBEC --- This Province is being actively taken care of by the two Gentlemen who are the Provincial Organizers namely - Hon. S. Letourneau and Hon. P. Paradis. Hon. Mr. Letourneau sometime ago sent in a full report to Mr. King for the District of Montreal and the Hon, Mr. Paradis as soon as he returns from France promises a report for the District of Quebec. In the meantime all my information is that the Province is in a very efficient fighting state.

ONTARIO --- This Province has been divided into six group organizations with a central executive at Toronto of which A. C. Hardy, Esq., of Brockville is President and W. H. Adams is Secretary. As yet the organization is chiefly on paper only. The Central Executive was formed in June or July 1919 and has never met since. The various group Organizations with the exception of the Eastern with its head office at Ottawa show no signs of life. Complaints have come into this office from individuals here and there indicating that nothing is being done. Mr. Hardy is in Florida. I have tried to stir up Mr. Adams, who thinks he is bound by a constitution that prevents anything from being done. I suggested that he should burn the constitution and begin again without it. I am hoping to get some organization going in a few ridings in this Province with the idea of making them reasonably sure for Liberalism.

MANITOBA --- There is no organization here. There is a nominal Provincial Executive with Mr. Alex. McLeod of Morden at its head. He writes that he is leaving Manitoba and going to British Columbia. From my information, North Winnipeg and Centre Winnipeg will return Labor candidates. Liberals in these ridings as far as I can see would be well advised to fall in with Labour. If the Labour group could even in one riding be induced to accept a Liberal as a candidate so much the better, but, as at present understood, I do not think the Party should hold out too much. In such ridings as Springfield, Provencher, Dauphin and Souris, the Farmers have not yet had time to organize and if organization could be had for the Liberal Party in these ridings, and Liberal Candidates nominated it might be that we could hold these seats. In any event, Dr. Malloy's seat is safe as far as my information goes. Otherwise, the Grain Growers are likely to capture most of the rest of Manitoba.

SASKATCHEWAN --- At the present time with the possible exception of Humboldt this Province is largely gone to the Grain Growers. There seems at the present time little hope of making any headway with Liberal Organization in this Province. It will be for the Grain Growers and Liberals to meet in Parliament at Ottawa before any effort can be made towards a working understanding.

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ALBERTA --- The condition in this Province is not so pronounced as it is in Saskatchewan. Not very much however, can be said for organization. No report has come in from Dr. Egbert who is the President of the Provincial Executive. It may be that he has none to give. Subject to what the National Executive may direct, the information in this office would indicate that wherever Liberals are not left free in a constituency there is not much to be gained by fighting Grain Growers. Unless I can have some strong reason to the contrary, I frankly do not think that the militant attitude of the Hon. Frank Oliver is of much real advantage to Liberalism today - I mean his attitude to the Grain Growers and to the Hon. T. H. Crerar in particular.

BRITISH COLUMBIA --- A letter has just come in indicating that a new Executive for this Province has been formed and the Secretary declared it to be their intention to put forth every effort to bring the organization of this Province into effective fighting shape at once. This is most encouraging.

INFORMATION -

Mr. Lewis came early in January. Requests were received on Mr. King's Eastern trip for copies of the Resolutions at the Convention. Accordingly, the first publication has been issued by this office under the direction of Mr. Lewis, setting forth the main resolutions of the Convention and accompanied by his pamphlet "The Citizen's Part in Government". Copies are before you. On February 14th. Mr. Lewis gave an address to the Reform Club of Montreal on "Freedom and Order". Copies of the address as reported in full in the Hamilton Times are being distributed from this office as part of our publicity work.

Numbers of requests have come in from all parts of the country asking for various kinds of information, which in all cases have been furnished as promptly and as fully as possible.

Mr. King has made requests for information which also are being complied with. Mr. Lewis is preparing material based on certain studies of the subjects likely to come before Parliament at the ensuing session.

The question is now up for consideration and should be dealt with at the present meeting as to what form the publications of this office must take. A new paper has been started in the City of Ottawa called "The Record" of which D. D. McKenzie, Esq., M. P. is President. There will be laid before the meeting a proposal from this concern and I ask that the matter be discussed and considered and that Mr. Lewis have an opportunity of setting out his views.

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Prices for printing of pamphlets etc. are submitted in so far as they are at present available. Financial provision, as I understand, has not been definitely made for printing and publication. It is imperative that the Committee settle this at once.

GENERAL -

(a) Incidental to the work of the office, it is necessary to subscribe for news papers all over Canada in addition to those which are sent to us free by the Publishers. This work and the filing and cataloguing of clippings will require forthwith the addition of another stenographer.

(b) I would propose that monthly or perhaps every six weeks or so, I might issue a typewritten bulletin which would gather up the information from all over Canada concerning the organization in the various Provinces and the position generally of the Party's preparedness. The intention would be that a copy of this should go to the chief Executive Officer in each Province and to the Members of the National Executive. It might have the effect of inducing a Province that was falling behind to come up to the standard of one that was for going ahead and in all cases it would have the effect of informing one Province of what the other was doing and of helping to co-ordinate the work of the Party. It ought to draw out from the Provinces suggestions worth while.

(c) The National Committee and perhaps the Members of Parliament, I would reppectfully suggest, should consider forthwith and act upon the rule that candidates, and the best possible, should be put up in every riding where we have any chance of winning. Where Farmers are strong it ought to be possible to attempt this on the basis of a joint conference.

(d) There is submitted, our file which keeps account of the correspondence and the subjects dealt with and which shows generally what is done on the correspondence side of our work.

(e) A statement of expenditure to date is prepared for the consideration of those present.

Andrew Haydon
Gen. Secy

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(Andrew Haydon to Mackenzie King)

C 20082

(June 3, 1920.)

For Meeting of General Committee to be held on

June 8th, 1920.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

At the first Meeting of the General Committee it was agreed that funds should be raised to carry on the Central Office and such other necessary expenses as travel of the Leader and officials of the Party, organization, etc., etc. For this purpose a quota of $250.00 per representation in the House of Commons should be provided by each Province.

Agreed -

P.E.I. has 4 M.P.'s and so should provide	$1000.00
Nova Scotia has 16 M.P's and so should provide	4000.00
New Brunswick has 11 M.P's and so should provide	2750.00
Quebec has 65 M.P's and so should provide	16250.00
Ontario has 82 M.P's and so should provide	20500.00
Manitoba has 15 M.P's and so should provide	3750.00
Saskatchewan has 16 M.P's and so should provide	4000.00
Alberta has 12 M.P's and so should provide	3000.00
British Columbia has 13 M.P's and so should provide	3250.00
Yukon has 1 M.P. and so should provide	250.00
A total of	$58,750.00

If this were all paid in there would be abundance for the above mentioned purposes and a surplus to be applied to whatever propaganda the Committee saw fit to undertake.

On the 3rd June, the collections per Province are as follows.

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P.E.I.	Nothing
Nova Scotia	Nothing
New Brunswick	Nothing
Quebec	$8250.00
Ontario	5250.00
Manitoba	Nothing
Saskatchewan	Nothing
Alberta	Nothing
British Columbia	3250.00
Yukon	Nothing
Total in	$16,750.00

Mr. Larkin has written that he guarantees with Mr. W.Ross of Toronto 3/4 of $7,500.00, which Toronto has undertaken to raise, provided the Western division and the Eastern division of Ontario raises the same proportion of their undertaking - that is to say, for the West 3/4 of $7,500.00 - viz. $5,625.00 and for the East 3/4 of $5,500.00, viz. - $4,125.00, and he will send cheque, when I tell him this has been done. So far the West has sent in $4,000.00 of this $5,625.00 and the East has sent in $1,250.00 of this $4,125.00.

In addition to these quotas from the Provinces, Parliament has sent in $1500.00 - Mr. Noble's contribution from Members of Parliament, most of whom are subscribing $100.00 each. I can further add that I am sure the rest of Quebec's quota will very shortly come in. I have appealed urgently to the Liberals from the Maritime Provinces. Liberals from the three Prairie Provinces can do nothing till Mr. King goes out west.

(Andrew Haydon)

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C 20084

Statement of Office Receipts and Disbursements.

Jan. 1st. to June 5th. 1920.

RECEIPTS

Jan. 29th.	Cheque from Hon. S. Fisher.....	$3,000.00	
" "	" " " " "	1,000.00	
Feb. 26th.	" " " " "	3,000.00	
Mar. 29th.	" " " " "	3,000.00	
Apr. 15th.	" re book paper, sold to Herman & Russell (this stock on hand from Information Office, total amount sold $881.28) on acc't	75.00	
Apr. 16th.	" from Hon. S. Fisher.....	2,000.00	
May 5th.	" " " " "	1,000.00	
" 18th.	" " " Chas. Murphy for addressing and mailing copies of his speech, March 1920.....	108.50	
" 22nd.	" from Herman and Russell, re book paper on account.....	400.00	
June 2nd.	" from Hon. S. Fisher.....	2,000.00	
			$15,583.50

DISBURSEMENTS.

1.	Office repairs and equipment.....	1,188.94
2.	Printing and Stationery.....	3,592.69
3.	Travelling expenses.....	629.67
4.	Rent.....	679.98
5.	Office Sundry expenses.....	618.83
6.	Salary Account.....	7,724.03
		14,434.14
	Cash on hand.....	$ 1,149.36

ACCOUNTS DUE THIS OFFICE

1.	Balance due from Herman and Russell.....	$ 406.28
2.	Amount due from Florence and Sons re sale of scrap paper.....	26.25
		$ 432.53

CERTIFIED CORRECT.

E R Jackson

.....

Accountant.

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C 20085

OFFICE DISBURSEMENTS - January 1st. to June 5th./20

1. OFFICE REPAIRS AND EQUIPMENT.

(a) REPAIRS.

Feb. 17th.	painting and decorating,	$283.20	
" 28th.	door locks, etc.	14.30	
" 28th.	window and door signs	34.00	
Mar. 29th.	altering partitions and shelving.....	238.51	
" 22nd.	installing telephone system	90.50	
			$660.51

(b) EQUIPMENT.

Feb. 17th.	electric fixtures, etc.	$162.00	
" 28th.	linoleum and window shades	146.93	
" 28th.	desks, chairs and Board table	219.50	
			$528.43
			$1,188.94

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2. PRINTING AND STATIONERY.

	Amount carried forward.....		$1,188.94
(a) Printing			
Jan. 29th.	advertising in Grain Growers' Guide (Hon. S. Fisher).....	$576.00	
Feb. 28th.	advertising in Grain Growers' Guide (making half tone.....	5.87	
" 29th.	Pamphlet, Message of Liberalism, etc.....	488.61	
Mar. 29th.	Hon. Mr. King's speech on address.....	97.06	
Apr. 12th.	Prints of Mr. King & Complimentary slips.....	26.60	
" 12th.	Hon. Mr. King's speech on Bulgarian Treaty and Mr. Lapointe's speech on address.	77.60	
		$1,271.74	
	Service of Ottawa Record, March 5th. to May 15th.	2,200.00	
			3,471.74
(b) Stationery			
	Office supplies (letterheads, envelopes, carbon paper, etc. $120.95		120.95
			$4,781.63

3. TRAVELLING EXPENSES.

Dec. 29th.	expenses, Mr. Haydon, Montreal, re Knott and others of Winnipeg	4.50
Jan. 5th.	expenses Mr. Haydon, re Toronto and Newmarket trip.....	33.05
Jan. 10th.	expenses, Hon. Mr. King and Party, re Eastern tour.....	537.17
Jan. 30th.	expenses Mr. Haydon to Toronto re East Elgin and Election, Farmers Party.....	26.10
Feb. 26th.	expenses Jno. Lewis to Montreal.....	18.00
Apr. 30th.	expenses Mr. Haydon re meeting Mr. Woodward.....	10.85
		629.67
		$5,411.30

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Amount carried forward.....		$5,411.30

4. RENT

Rent of 115 Sparks Street, from Jan. 1st. to June 30th.....	$649.98	
Rent of 412 Hope Chambers for Jan., Feb. and March (store room)	30.00	
		679.98

5. SUNDRY

Office Expenses.

Moving office equipment from Convention office and information office to 115 Sparks St.....	173.53	
Cleaning offices, Dec. 26th. to April 30th.....	45.00	
Postage, telegrams, Dec. 26th. to June 1st.....	150.65	
Insurance.....	32.75	
Telephone service and long distance calls.....	79.95	
Sundry expenses.....	77.95	
Subsctiption to publications.....	59.00	
		618.83

6./SALARY ACCOUNT.

Stenographic help, Jan 1st. to May 31st. (3 stenographers).....	$1,099.10	
H. R. Jackson, salary, Jan. 1st to 31st..May.....	1,000.00	
C. M. Goddard, salary, Jan 1st. to May 31st.....	1,250.00	
J. Lewis, salary, Jan. 1st. to May 31st.....	2,083.30	
Andrew Haydon, Dec. 15th. 1919 to May 31st. 1920.....	2,291.63	
		7,724.03
Total.....		$14,434.14

CERTIFIED CORRECT,

E R Jackson

.....

Accountant.

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C 20088 Collection
Liberal Party - National
Liberal Advisory Committee

MINUTES OF A MEETING AT WHICH THE NATIONAL LIBERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE WAS ORGANIZED, AND ALSO OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.

On the initiative of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and in accordance with plans which will be explained hereinafter, thirty-two representative Liberals met in Room No. 9, in the House of Commons on Monday, December 20th, 1915, for the purpose of constituting an Advisory Committee of the Liberal Party. Those present were:—

Hon. A. B. Warburton, Charlottetown.
G. F. Pearson, Halifax.
Hon. W. S. Fielding, Ottawa.
F. B. Carvell, M.P., Woodstock, N.B.
Hon. Wm. Pugsley, M.P., St. John, N.B.
H. B. McGiverin, Ottawa.
Hon. Senator W. C. Edwards, Ottawa.
Alex. Smith, Ottawa.
Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P., Ottawa.
Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, Ottawa.
John Bain, Ottawa.
C. M. Bowman, M.P.P., Southampton, Ont.
G. H. Watson, K.C., Toronto.
Stewart Lyon, Toronto.
P. C. Larkin, Toronto.
J. E. Atkinson, Toronto.
Gordon D. Conant, Oshawa, Ont.
Thos. McMillan, Seaforth, Ont.
John Muir, Brantford, Ont.
A. Verville, M.P., Montreal.
A. K. Cameron, Montreal.
Andrew R. McMaster, K.C., Montreal.
Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P., Ottawa.
Hon. Senator R. Dandurand, P.C., Montreal.
Severin Letourneau, Montreal.
Phillipe Paradis, Quebec.
E. Lapointe, M.P., Fraserville, Que.

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S. W. Jacobs, K.C., Montreal.
Hon. Sydney Fisher, Ottawa.
Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson, Montreal.
Hon. Alexander Taschereau, Quebec.
J. G. Turriff, M.P., Regina, Sask.
Hon. Walter Scott, Regina, Sask.
F. T. Congdon, Dawson City, Y.T.
J. F. Cairns, Saskatoon, Sask.
C. M. Goddard, Ottawa.

Sir Wilfrid, who occupied the chair, opened the meeting by explaining at length the purport and meaning of the movement. Briefly stated, he said, that being convinced that the conditions resulting from the War would bring about a new political and economic era in Canada, he felt it to be necessary that the Liberal Party should direct its special attention towards a profound study of the very serious and important problems with which the country will be faced. Apart too from the great problems created by the War, reforms of many long standing abuses were necessary. There never was a time in the history of Canada when it was more imperative that the best minds of the community should give the most serious thought to our political and financial conditions and problems, and in this respect Liberalism must be in the van. Liberalism would be derelict in its duty to its country if it did not look into the future and be prepared for a solution of the grave difficulties confronting us.

There was necessity also, he said, for more aggressive and earnest work in spreading the doctrines and principles of Liberalism, in bringing about cohesion of the interests of the party in the various provinces, and generally in welding Liberalism into a strong, effective fighting force for the good of the country. The attainment of these objects he considered would be greatly facilitated, if not best accomplished, by the appointment of a committee of able Liberals to act as an Advisory body, which would be representative of Liberalism throughout Canada, both outside and inside of Parliament. He emphasized the point that one of the underlying principles of the plan was to give Liberals outside of Parliament a voice

in the active councils and direction of the Party, which he thought was very much to be desired.

But for the War, Sir Wilfrid said it had been his intention to call a general convention of the Party for last June, similar to that held in 1893, and he holds the view that it would be desirable to call such a convention, at which the full voice of Liberalism from the Atlantic to the Pacific may have expression, when the time is opportune after the War. In this connection, the Advisory Committee would be of great service in arranging the necessary preliminaries and in assisting in the shaping of a forward policy for discussion and approval by the convention.

Sir Wilfrid then explained the plan adopted for the organization of the Committee, which was as follows:—

For the purpose of the composition of the Committee the Dominion was divided into four districts, namely,—

Ontario.
Quebec.
Western Canada and the Yukon.
Maritime Provinces.

The Membership of the Committee to be 55 and the appointments to be made as follows:—

Ontario.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate (one of whom to be a Senator)	3
Liberal Provincial Leader to nominate	1
Ontario Reform Association to nominate	1
Ontario Liberal Clubs " "	1
Sir Wilfrid to nominate	4
Total	10

Quebec.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate (one of whom to be a Senator)	3
Provincial Liberal Leader to nominate	1
Quebec Liberal Clubs " "	1
Montreal Liberal Clubs " "	1
Sir Wilfrid Laurier to nominate	4
Total	10

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Manitoba.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	1
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1

Saskatchewan.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	1
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1

Alberta.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	1
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1

British Columbia.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	1
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1
Sir Wilfrid Laurier to nominate from the four Western Provinces	2
Total for West	10

Prince Edward Island.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	1
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1

Nova Scotia.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	2
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1

New Brunswick.

Federal Members of Parliament and Senators to nominate	2
Provincial Liberal Leader acting in conjunction with Provincial Liberal Association to nominate	1
Sir Wilfrid Laurier to select two members from the Maritime Provinces	2
Total from Maritime Provinces	10

Sir Wilfrid Laurier also had the right to name five members at large and the Committee itself ten members or more.

In closing his speech Sir Wilfrid submitted the whole question as to the appointment of the Committee and the nature of its composition to the meeting for consideration and decision.

On motion the Committee was declared to be duly constituted with the title of "The National Liberal Advisory Committee" and with the following powers.

1. To promote the spread of Liberal education.
2. To assist in shaping the policy of the party.
3. Generally to promote efficiency in the party ranks.

It was declared and ratified that,—

(a) Regular meetings of the Committee would be held twice a year and special meetings when necessary.

(b) That the membership of the Committee shall consist of 56, with power in the Committee to add to that number, and that the original membership shall consist of the following gentlemen,—

Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, P.C., G.C.M.G., M.P.
Hon. A. B. Warburton, Charlottetown, P.E.I.
Hon. John Richards, Charlottetown, P.E.I.
Hon. W. S. Fielding, Ottawa.
A. K. McLean, Esq., M.P., Halifax.
G. Fred Pearson, Esq., Halifax.
Hon. Wm. Pugsley, M.P., St. John, N.B.
F. B. Carvell, Esq., M.P., Woodstock, N.B.
O. Turgeon, Esq., M.P., Bathurst, N.B.
E. M. Macdonald, Esq., M.P., Pictou, N.S.

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J. J. Hughes, Esq., M.P., Souris, P.E.I.
Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P., Ottawa.
Hon. Senator Dandurand, Montreal.
E. Lapointe, Esq., M.P., Fraserville, Que.
Hon. A. Taschereau, Quebec.
Hon. Sydney Fisher, Ottawa.
Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson, Montreal.
Phillippe Paradis, Esq., Quebec
A. Verville, Esq., M.P., Montreal
S. Letourneau, Esq., M.P.P., Montreal.
Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M.P., Brockville, Ont.
F. F. Pardee, Esq., M.P., Sarnia, Ont.
Hon. Senator W. C. Edwards, Ottawa.
Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, Ottawa.
P. C. Larkin, Esq., Toronto.
C. M. Bowman, Esq., M.P.P., Southampton,Ont
Gordon D. Conant, Esq., Oshawa, Ont.
Thos. McMillan, Esq., Seaforth, Ont.
Geo. H. Watson, Esq., K.C., Toronto.
John Muir, Esq., Brantford, Ont.
N. W. Rowell, Esq., M.P.P., Toronto.
Hon. Walter Scott, Regina, Sask.
Hon. J. A. Calder, M.P.P., Regina, Sask.
J. F. Cairns, Esq., Saskatoon, Sask.
Hon. Frank Oliver, M.P., Edmonton, Alberta.
Dr. Michael Clarke, M.P., Olds, Alberta.
J. G. Turriff, Esq., M.P., Regina, Sask.
T. W. Quayle, Esq., Edmonton, Alberta.
John Bain, Esq., Ottawa.
Alex. Smith, Esq., Ottawa.
A. R. McMaster, K.C., Montreal.
F. T. Congdon, Esq., Dawson City, Y.T.
Hon. Senator Bostock, Monte Creek, B.C.
Fred C. Wade, Esq., Vancouver, B.C.
W. M. Martin, M.P., Regina, Sask.
J. H. Ashdown, Esq., Winnipeg.
S. W. Jacobs, K.C., Montreal.
Stewart Lyon, Esq., Toronto
J. E. Atkinson, Esq., Toronto, Ont.
H. B. McGiverin, Esq., Ottawa.
A. K. Cameron, Esq., Montreal.
Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P., Ottawa.
W. C. Kennedy, Esq., Windsor, Ont.
Hon. James Ross, Moose Jaw, Sask.
Hon. W. G. Mitchell, Montreal.
F. O. Fowler, Esq., Winnipeg.

(c) That Sir Wilfrid Laurier be Chairman and Convenor of the Committee and Mr. John Bain, Honorary Secretary.

(d) That the members of the Committee shall hold office until after the next General Dominion Election.

The remainder of the first day's meeting was taken up with addresses, each of the gentlemen present taking advantage of the opportunity offered to submit his views on the present and future political situation and problems and respecting the aims and objects of Liberalism, with special reference to the work of the Committee.

On Tuesday, December 21st, Sir Wilfrid opened the proceedings by introducing the following resolution which was heartily received and passed with unanimity.

"This National Liberal Committee is of opinion that so long as the War lasts the Liberal Party should continue, as it has from the first, to give its chief attention to the tremendous struggle in which the Country is a loyal support to all necessary war measures whilst engaged; that to that end it should continue to give exercising a vigilant supervision of the conduct of the Government both in Military and Civil matters; and that in the meantime the members of this Committee should actively apply themselves to the study of the important questions and problems which the Country will have to face when peace is restored."

The meeting then devoted their attention to a serious discussion of various highly important matters submitted for their consideration with the result that Resolutions were adopted creating a separate Sub-Committee for each of the following purposes,—

(1) To consider the finances of Canada with special reference to the greatly increased National financial obligations, and ways and means to distribute the necessary charges or taxation among the people in the most equitable manner.

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J. E. Atkinson, Esq., Toronto, Ont.
H. B. McGiverin, Esq., Ottawa.
A. K. Cameron, Esq., Montreal.
Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P., Ottawa.
W. C. Kennedy, Esq., Windsor, Ont.
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(2) To consider the problems of Rural Life in Canada with a view to Federal Legislation by which Agricultural production may be promoted and our unemployed and our immigrants, may be encouraged and enabled to engage in farming.

(3) To study and report upon the establishment of a Rural Credit system, and such additions to the laws affecting Banking, as may tend to make capital and loans for agricultural operations available on terms more favorable than at present obtained.

(4) To inquire into and study the welfare of our returned soldiers involving a consideration of the necessity for adequate pensions, vocational training, and such other assistance as may be required to enable them to again take their proper places in our National Life.

(5) To study and report upon the adoption of a scheme of technical education and industrial training, in co-operation with existing Provincial systems.

(6) To study and report upon the question of exercising Federal control over Limited Liability Companies so as to prevent fraud on the public by undue capitalization and in other ways, also the question of adopting a Federal Insolvency Law.

(7) To study and report upon a comprehensive programme of Social reform and health legislation which shall include measures such as:—

(1) Old Age Pensions.
(2) National insurance for sickness and invalidity.
(3) Insurance of unemployment in certain occupations and industries.

(8) To study and report upon Railway questions and the various transportation problems of the country.

(9) To study and report upon the best methods of publicity of Liberal principles and policy and political information generally.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Hon. Sydney Fisher, Hon. R. Dandurand, C. M. Bowman, M.P.P., Alex. Smith were appointed to strike the various Sub-Committees which they afterwards did as follows,—

Sub-Committee on Finances, as per Resolution No. 1.

Hon. W. S. Fielding, (Chairman)

Hon. Sydney Fisher, Thomas MacMillan,
John Bain, Hon. W. G. Mitchell,
Stewart Lyon, E. M. Macdonald, M.P.,
Hon. J. A. Calder, M.P.P., P. C. Larkin,
A. K. MacLean, M.P., W. M. Martin, M.P.,
Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson, J. H. Ashdown,
Hon. W. Pugsley, M.P., A. R. McMaster, K.C.,
Geo. H. Watson, K.C., Dr. Michael Clarke, M.P.

Sub-Committee on Rural Life Problems and Agricultural Development, as per Resolution No. 2.

Hon. Sydney Fisher, (Chairman)

C. M. Bowman, M.P.P., F. F. Pardee, M.P.,
Thos. MacMillan, Hon. John Richards,
Hon. A. B. Warburton, F. B. Carvell, M.P.,
J. G. Turriff, M.P., O. Turgeon, M.P.,
Hon. Alexander Taschereau, Hon. Senator H. Bostock,
F. O. Fowler, E. Lapointe, M.P.
J. F. Cairns,

Sub-Committee on Rural Credits and Banking, as per Resolution No. 3.

John Bain, (Chairman)

C. M. Bowman, M.P.P., Hon. W. Pugsley, M.P.,
Hon. Walter Scott, J. F. Cairns,
Hon. Frank Oliver, Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M.P
Hon. Senator R. Dandurand, Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P.
Hon. Senator W. C. Edwards, Gordon D. Conant.
J. G. Turriff, M.P.,

Sub-Committee on Welfare of returned soldiers, as per Resolution No. 4.

H. B. McGiverin, (Chairman)

A. K. Cameron, Dr. Michael Clarke, M.P.,
A. Verville, M.P., S. Letourneau,
G. Fred Pearson, W. M. Martin, M.P.,
John Muir, A. K. McLean, M.P.,
F. O. Fowler, Geo. H. Watson, K.C.,
Hon. Frank Oliver, M.P., Fred C. Wade, K.C.
W. C. Kennedy,

Sub-Committee on Technical Education, as per Resolution No. 5.

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Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, (Chairman)

Hon. A. Taschereau,	N. W. Rowell, M.P.P.,
Philippe Paradis,	Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P.,
Gordon D. Conant,	P C. Larkin,
G. Fred Pearson,	E. M. Macdonald, M.P.

Sub-Committee on Control Limited Liability Companies, as per Resolution No. 6.

S. W. Jacobs, K.C., (Chairman)

John Bain,	Hon. Senator R. Dandurand,
A. R. McMaster, K.C.,	F. B. Carvell, M.P.,
N. W. Rowell, M.P.P.,	W. M. Martin, M.P.,
H. B. McGiverin,	Hon. A. B. Warburton,
G. D. Conant, Esq.,	Alex. Smith.
Hon. Walter Scott	

Sub-Committee on Social Reform and Health Legislation, as per Resolution No. 7.

J. E. Atkinson, (Chairman)

A. K. Cameron,	Hon. J. A. Calder, M.P.P.,
John Muir,	W. L. MacKenzie King,
A Verville, M.P.,	Hon. W. S. Fielding,
J. J. Hughes, M.P.,	P. C. Larkin,
S. W. Jacobs, K.C.,	J. H. Ashdown.
G. Fred Pearson,	

Sub-Committee on Railway and Transporation Problems, as per Resolution No. 8.

Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M.P., (Chairman)

Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P.,	F. F. Pardee, M.P.,
Hon. Senator James Ross,	Hon. J. A. Calder, M.P.P.,
E. M. Macdonald, M.P.,	Hon. Senator J. M. Wilson,
Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P.,	J. H. Ashdown,
E. Lapointe, M.P.,	Stewart Lyon,
F. B. Carvell, M.P.,	F. T. Congdon.
N. W. Rowell, M.P.P.,	

Sub-Committee on Publicity, as per Resolution No. 9.

Alex. Smith, (Chairman)

Hon. Sydney Fisher,	F. T. Congdon,
G. Fred Pearson,	John Bain,
Stewart Lyon,	Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M.P.,
J. E. Atkinson,	T. W. Quayle,
Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P.,	F. C. Wade.

The proceedings were brought to a close on Tuesday, December 21st at noon, after a very hearty and highly appreciative vote of thanks and confidence had been tendered to the Chief, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on the motion of Mr. J. F. Cairns and seconded by Mr. P. C. Larkin.

JOHN BAIN,
Hon. Secretary.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

OTTAWA, ONT.,

March 24th, 1919

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:—

From time to time, during recent years, proposals were made for the formation of District Liberal Associations in the Province of Ontario. Some two years or more ago, several District Liberal Conferences were held, and these developed an opinion in favor of Associations being formed with an active Secretary and Committee for each district, to assist the local organizations in their work in accordance with the constitution adopted by each Association to meet its own needs.

The idea underlying the above-mentioned plan was generally applied in February, 1918, to an outline sketch of organization for the whole Province, which was presented to, and approved by, the late Leader of the Liberal Party, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. His views on the subject have been concurred in by the temporary Leader of the Party, Mr. D. D. MacKenzie, M.P., who also approves the suggestion made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his last public address, to the effect that he hoped the idea would spread until District Associations, like those now in process of formation in Ontario, would exist in all the Provinces.

Speaking generally, it is proposed to divide the Province of Ontario into districts, the ultimate number of which will depend on population, distance, community of interests, and other considerations which will develop and can be taken into account as the work proceeds. Presently, 6 districts are spoken of, in each of which there will be a grouping of constituencies in a number of Associations designated as follows: The Western Ontario

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Liberal Association, The Toronto and York Liberal Association, The Rainy River Liberal Association, The Northern Ontario Liberal Association, The Central Ontario Liberal Association, and The Eastern Ontario Liberal Association. Each of these District Associations will have its own set of officers, and, subject to the general direction of a Provincial Committee, will be supreme within its own jurisdiction. This will carry with it responsibility for organizing each of the constituencies within the District, and for providing funds for that and any other party work deemed necessary by the District Association. In other words, the principle of local Home Rule will be applied to each District, and to each constituency in each District. Thus, there would be a constant and well-recognized chain of communication between each constituency and the Provincial Committee or governing body for the whole Province.

As a governing body for the whole Province, it is proposed to have a Provincial Committee composed of 2 or 3 representatives from each District. Thus, if there are 6 Districts, the membership of the Provincial Committee would be 12 or 18, as the case might be. This Committee will have its own set of officers, and will exercise jurisdiction over the whole Province. In this connection, it is now proposed that the former General Reform Committee be merged by resolution with the new Provincial Committee, but that is a detail upon which I need not dwell, as those in charge will work it out harmoniously, and to the satisfaction of all concerned.

The Headquarters for the Provincial Committee will be a Central Office—preferably the one at present directed by Mr. W. H. Adams, at Toronto. The financing of such an office should be spread over the District Associations, each of which should furnish a sum to be agreed upon; and this amount should, in turn, be raised by contributions from each of the constituencies comprised in the group belonging to each district. On the basis of the cost of the present management, the sum to be provided by each constituency would be a comparatively insignificant one.

Such a general plan as that above outlined will answer the purposes of the Liberal Party, both in Provincial and Dominion affairs. It will, without interference, or overlapping, of any kind, bring each part of the Province in touch with every other part; it will provide a place in the party ranks for every person who is willing to support Liberal principles; and it will, by encouraging a campaign of education and regular meetings throughout the

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Province, not only supply, in large measure, the lack of Party newspapers, but it will also develop a corps of public speakers who will be available for platform work during election campaigns.

Up to the present time, three of the district associations, above-mentioned, have been fully organized, namely, The Western Ontario Liberal Association, The Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, and The Central Ontario Liberal Association. Each of these Associations has provided in its Constitution and By-laws the requisite authority and machinery for the purpose of co-operating in the formation of the governing body for the Province, when the work of organizing all the Districts is at an end. The provisions made by each of the foregoing District Associations, for such Co-operation, are contained in the two following By-laws, namely:

"As soon as the organization by Districts of the Liberal Party in the Province "of Ontario is completed, it shall be the duty of the President of this Association "to meet in conference with the Presidents of such other District Associations as "may be formed on the same basis as this Association, and arrange with them for "the organization of an Ontario Liberal Executive Committee, to be composed of "members representing each District Association, as well as to define the member- "ship and duties of the said Provincial Committee, the location of a Central Liberal "Office for Ontario, and such other matters as may properly appertain to the duties "of the Governing body of the Liberal Party within Ontario. The members to "represent this Association on the said Ontario Liberal Executive Committee shall "be elected by the Executive Committee of this Association.

"The funds required for the purposes of this Association, including its con- "tribution to the maintenance of a Central Liberal Office for the Province of Ontario, "shall be raised by levy on the Association for each constituency, or, in such other "manner as, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, will ensure a fair distribu- "tion of the amount or amounts to be so levied."

It is recommended that each of the Associations that are yet to be organized will incorporate similar sections in the By-laws to be adopted at each organization meeting.

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I submit the foregoing as our guide in the proposals to organize the Liberal Party on a sound local responsibility basis, for, are not the people themselves the best judges as to the membership of the Association, of the work to be undertaken, and of the persons who are to co-operate, assist, guide and direct?

JAS. A. ROBB, M.P.,
CHIEF LIBERAL WHIP,
HOUSE OF COMMONS,
OTTAWA, ONT.

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THE YEARNING OF A TRUE "LIBERAL".

God, tho this life is but a wraith,
   Altho we know not what we use,
Altho we grope, with little faith,
   Give me the heart to fight - and lose.

Ever in conflict let me be;
   Make me more daring than devout;
From sleek contentment keep me free,
   And fill me with a buoyant doubt.

Open my eyes to visions girt
   With beauty, and with wonder lit;
But let me always see the dirt
   And all that spawn and die in it.

Open my ears to music; let
   Me thrill with spring's first flutes and drums;
But never let me dare forget
   The bitter ballads of the slums.

From compromize and things half done
   Keep me, tho all the world deride,
And when at last the fight is won
   God, keep me still unsatisfied.

Louis Untermeyer.

The above was recently quoted in "Current Opinion". The author's title was "A Prayer".

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C 20103A

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MR. KING:

Mr. Haydon has suggested that you write to the persons mentioned on the list hereunder. I submit the attached draft of a letter.

John Collins, Ennismore

Mr. Gladman, C/o Wm. Hamilton Co., Peteroborough

Have I not already written R. R. Hall, Barrister, Peterborough

Robert Begley, Peterborough

Separate letter in reply a- Michael Costello "

Wm. Scollard "

Mrs. Perry, C/o American Hotel, Peterborough

Jos. Picard, Merchant, George St., "

Hon. Senator McHugh, Lindsay, Ont.

Have O.K.'s for all except Hall. If opinion not unwilling that O.K. for him could add, "so unfortunate a part."

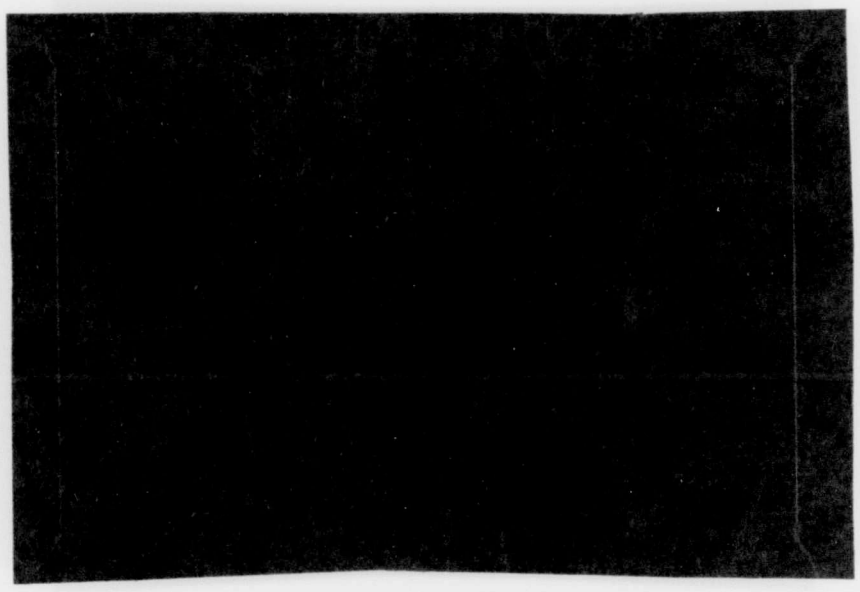
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C 20105

VOTES OFFICIELS

Convention Libérale Nationale

OTTAWA

Août 5-6-7

1919

Voir Instructions en dedans

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C 20106

INSTRUCTIONS

Pour le premier scrutin on se servira du bulletin portant le chiffre 1, pour le second scrutin, on se servira du bulletin No 2, et ainsi de suite pour chaque tour de scrutin subséquent.

Au scrutin, chaque délégué votant ne devra écrire sur le bulletin ***que le nom de la personne*** pour laquelle il (ou elle) vote.

Aucun délégué ne devra écrire son nom sur un bulletin de vote.

Si, au cours du scrutin, un bulletin est détérioré on pourra en obtenir un autre portant un numéro correspondant sur livraison du bulletin détérioré à M. Andrew Haydon, Secrétaire Général.

Si un livret de bulletins de vote est perdu, on devra immédiatement en faire rapport au Secrétaire Général, M. Andrew Haydon.

Nul vote ne sera compté à moins qu'il ne soit inscrit sur la formule officielle de bulletin.

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CANADA

C 20107

Livret

Nº 1044

Souche

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CANADA

C 20103

Livret

Nº 1044

Souche

2

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C 20103

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Talbot 297

Graham 153

DD 153

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Fielding 344

Graham 126

AP 7 60

C 20110

Livret

Nº 1044

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C 20113

Annulé

C 20114

Livret

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C 20115

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King
Fielding

Livret

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Convention Libérale Nationale

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Bulletin du Sixième Scrutin

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1949

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C 20118

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Convention Législative Nationale

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Bulletin du Huitième Scrutin

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C 20119

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1949

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Bulletin du Dixième Scrutin

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C 20122

KEEP THIS SHEET

HOW TO COUNT

One Teller will sort the ballots and call out the name of each candidate voted for.

Another Teller will fill in the Tellers' Sheet by making an upright stroke, thus /, for each vote, and grouping these strokes in blocks of five, thus 𝍸 by a diagonal stroke for the fifth vote in each block. This method makes the final counting easy and rapid.

May 28

National Liberal Convention

August 5, 6, 7, 1919

TELLERS' SHEET FOR VOTE No. 3

NAMES OF CANDIDATES		TOTAL VOTE
MacKenzie King		
	■ ■ ■	
Geo. P. Graham	//	2
	■ ■ ■	
D. D. McKenzie	𝍸 𝍸 𝍸 𝍸	19
	■ ■ ■	
W. A. Fielding	𝍸 𝍸 𝍸 𝍸	16
	■ ■ ■	

Tellers Sign Here:

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1st Vote

Mackenzie King		
80	5	25
58	0	0
2	12	37
5	11	32
6	2	1
8	6	96
11	3	51
0	1	197
22	2	344
2	7	
3	2	
197	51	

Graham		
8	1	2
12	2	0
0	1	0
17	4	13
14	0	4
20	7	5
91	0	15
	0	47
	0	91
	41	153

do Mackenzie		
9	4	6
4	1	2
9	5	0
11	1	0
11	8	1
46	11	2
	5	13
	1	153
	32	
	62	

Waldron		
9	13	12
4	5	16
8	16	21
14	4	7
27	3	5
20	16	9
18	20	10
100	8	80
	85	297

		5
		4
		5
		10
		4
		4
		32

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C 20124
KEEP THIS SHEET

HOW TO COUNT

One Teller will sort the ballots and call out the name of each candidate voted for.

Another Teller will fill in the Tellers' Sheet by making an upright stroke, thus /, for each vote, and grouping these strokes in blocks of five, thus 𝍸 by a diagonal stroke for the fifth vote in each block. This method makes the final counting easy and rapid.

Duplicate

National Liberal Convention

August 5, 6, 7, 1919

TELLERS' SHEET FOR VOTE No. 4

NAMES OF CANDIDATES		TOTAL VOTE
Mackenzie King	/	
	...	
Graham.	11	
		2
	...	
D D Mackenzie	𝍸 𝍸 1111	
		9
	...	
Fielding	𝍸 𝍸 𝍸 𝍸 𝍸	
		25
	...	

Tellers Sign Here:

C 30[illegible]

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CANADA

C 20125

Feldwig	Graham	King	MacKenzie
2	4	40	1
7	0	52	1
13	14	12	2
5	1	4	0
6	3	3	4
10	0	2	1
2	1	3	3
16	8	9	2
21	5	3	0
6	3	9	3
12	4	4	1
10	2	1	5
22	0	9	7
13	2	5	9
25	1	0	1
7	1	8	0
4	0	5	0
4	8	0	0
18	4	3	0
15	7	7	3
23	1	0	1
19	7	1	0
17	0	3	0
12	1	1	5
22	8	3	1
6	3	9	
7	17	6	
		32	
		8	
344	124	411	60

11 11

NAMES OF CANDIDATES

TOTAL VOTE

LETTERS, SHEET FOR VOTE No. 4

August 2, A. D. 1919

National Liberal Convention

HOW TO COUNT.

One Teller will count the ballots and call out the name of each candidate voted for.

Another Teller will fill in the Tally Sheet, making an upright stroke for the first time it is voted for, and continue to place strokes in blocks of five, the fifth stroke being across the four preceding it, and repeat the process until the ballots are all counted. Each Teller will count the whole number of votes in each block. This method

KEEP THIS SHEET

C 30154

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CANADA

C 20126



ANGUS GORDON, RESIDENT MANAGER

CABLE ADDRESS "TRUNKCHAT".

Chateau Laurier

OTTAWA, CANADA.

GRAND TRUNK SYSTEM

GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC HOTELS

THE FORT GARRY, WINNIPEG, MAN. THE MACDONALD, EDMONTON, ALTA

August 6th 1919

Mr Andrew Haydon
Sec Sask Liberal Convention

Sir

I hereby communicate
D. D. Mackenzie for
leadership of the
Liberal party.

James A Robb

Frank Oliver

Sec W. F. Maclennan
J H Sinclair

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CANADA

C 20127

Cable Address "TRUNKCHAT"



ANGUS GORDON, Resident Manager.

Chateau Laurier

OTTAWA, CANADA.

OPERATED BY

GRAND TRUNK SYSTEM

GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC HOTELS

THE FORT GARRY, WINNIPEG, MAN. THE MACDONALD, EDMONTON, ALBERTA.

August 6th 1919.

Hon George. P. Graham

Proposed by: W. W. B. McInnes
Vancouver Centre -
British Columbia -

Seconded by: Chas J Montreuil
Essex North
Ontario

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C 20123

AS DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CONVENTION,
WE HEREBY SUBMIT THE NAME OF THE HONOURABLE
W. L. MACKENZIE KING, AND NOMINATE HIM FOR THE
LEADERSHIP OF THE LIBERAL PARTY OF CANADA.

7th August 1919

A B Aylesworth
Sydney Fisher

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CANADA

C 20129

We hereby nominate The Honorable William Stevens Fielding member of Parliament for Shelburne and Queens, Nova Scotia

as Candidate for the Leadership of the Liberal Party of Canada.

W. M. Martin
Prime Minister of Saskatchewan.

Geo Foster
Prime Minister of New Brunswick.

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C 20130

Ottawa Aug. 6th 1919.

We hereby nominate Mr. Alexander Smith
of Ottawa to be leader of the Liberal
Party in Canada.

J.B. McCall. Cobourg
Northumberland Co. Ont

John Macaulay
North Bruce
Wiarton Ont.

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C 20131 V

Prince County' Delegates

McNeil J.F., M.D.	Summerside	Attended the Convention.
Tanton B.W.	Summerside	
Gallant B., M.L.A.,	~~Summerside~~ Bloomfield	
Rogers F.L.	Alberton	
Lea, W.M.	Victoria R.R.	
Calloghan W.P.	St. Louis	

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Moved by Hon. W. L. McK. King.

Seconded by Mr. Roebuck.

RESOLVED that the Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention accept in their entirety as a part of the Liberal Platform, in the spirit they have been framed and in so far as the speual circumstances of the country will permit, the terms of the Labour Convention and General Principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporated in the Conditions of Peace.

These methods and principles for regulating labour conditions so set forth in the Treaty are as follows:-

First - The guiding principle that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second - The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third- The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth - The adoption of an 8-hours day or a 48-hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth - The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth - The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh - The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth - Each state should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

AND FURTHER RESOLVED:

1. That the introduction into the Government of industry or principles of representation whereby labour and the community, as well as capital, may be represented in industrial control, and their interests safeguarded and promoted in the shaping of industrial policies.

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2. That in so far as may be practicable, having regard for Canada's financial position, an adequate system of insurance against unemployment, sickness, dependence in old age, and other disability, which would include old age pensions, widows' pensions, and maternity benefits, should be instituted by the Federal Government in conjunction with the Governments of the several provinces; and that on matters pertaining to industrial and social legislation an effort should be made to overcome any question of jurisdiction between the Dominion and the Provinces by effective co-operation between the several Governments.

3. The representation of labour on federal commissions pertaining to labour matters.

4. Effective legislation for the conservation of human life and health.

5. The representation of labour on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways.

6. That the system of re-training soldiers, unfitted for their past work because of physical injuries be extended to disabled workers in industry.

7. More effective restriction of Chinese immigration.

8. The federal incorporation of co-operative associations.

9. The acceptance of the principle of proportional representation.

10. Immediate and drastic action by the Government with respect to the high cost of living and profiteering.

11. Restoration of the control of the executive by Parliament, and of Parliment, by the people through a discontinuance of Government by order in Council anda just franchise and its exercise under free conditions.

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RESOLUTION ON ENCOURAGEMENT TO AGRICULTURE

In the interest of agricultural production and development it is expedient to encourage co-operation and induce greater investment in farming; therefore, it is deemed expedient to utilize the national credit to assist co-operative Agricultural Credit Associations to provide capital for agriculture at the lowest possible rates.

With the object of reducing the high cost of living by eliminating as far as possible the waste and expense in handling food products between the producer and consumer, it is expedient to extend the principle and system of Canadian Government Elevators and to provide interior and terminal cold storage warehouses equipped for the assembling, assorting, preparing, storing and grading of food products in order that co-operative organizations and others may have available to them reliable, modern equipment, for the distribution of farm products in superior condition and at lessened cost either for domestic consumption or for export. And that cold storage transportation facilities should be provided at the cost of operation, for the shipment of food products throughout Canada and for the carrying to the markets of the world the surplus farm products of this country and delivering them in such condition that will make Canadian foodstuffs a standard of quality for the world's market.

That in the interests of agriculture, in aid of greater production on theland, and for the conservation of the soil in Canada, it is expedient for the Government to arrange for the distribution of fertilizers at the lowest possible cost.

Your Committee on Agriculture begs to recommend that a Speial Committee beappointed to prepare a resolution upon the banking system of Canada and the adapting of said system to satisfactory loans in connection with land and live stock, and to present such resolution to your Committee.

Moved by: Hon. Sydney Fisher.

Seconded: Hon. Mr. Tweedale.

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That the Reciprocity Agreement negotiated with the United States by the Liberal Government of Canada in 1911 was a measure which realized the hopes that had been entertained and efforts made for better trade relations between Canada and the neighbouring Republic by the statesmen of both political parties in the Dominion from the beginning of the Dominion's history.

That the Agreement was fair and just to both countries and well calculated to promote the good relations so desirable;

That the action of the Conservative party under the leadership of Mr. now Sir Robert Borden in opposing and defeating the Agreement was a sacrifice of the best interests of Canada for distinctly partisan ends.

That theinsincerity of the movement of the Conservative leaders on that question has been abundantly evidenced by the fact that after coming into office they proceeded to make some of the very tariff changes a denunciation of which was their chief ground in the elections of 1911.

That the action of the Conservative leaders in preventing the consummation of so excellent an arrangement between the two countries deserves and should still receive, whenever the opportunity ocurs, the severe condemnation of the Canadian people.

That the Reciprocity Agreement was approved in 1911 by the Congress of the United States and the law giving such approval still remains on the American statute book.

That if the proposal lately made in the Congress to repeal the said law becarried out the people of Canada will haveno cause to complain, since the Americans have kept the law unimpaired for the long term of eight years during which Canada has made no move to avail herself of its provisions.

That while, forthese reasons, this Convention can take no exception to the proposal so made at Washington, we as Liberals again place on record our appreciation of the object of the said Agreement and our faith in the principles of friendly international relations underlying it, and we express our earnest hope that in both countries such principles will be upheld, and that a favourable moment may come when there will be a renewed manifestation by the two Governments of a desire to make some similar arrangement.

Proposed: Hon. Mr. Fielding.

Seconded: Mr. McMillan, Manitoba.

[redacted] Peter J. Hughes,

Secretary.

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RESOLUTION OF FINANCIAL CONDITION AND TAXATION

WHEREAS, the national safety demands that the serious financial position of the country should be known and appreciated in order that steps may be taken to cope with the same, and

WHEREAS, on the31st March last, according to the statement of the Minister of Finance, the net public debt was $1,584,000,000, or, roughly, $220 for every man, woman and child in the Dominion, involving an annual interest charge of about $115,000,000, and thus imposing an annual burden for interest on debt alone of $15.00 per head of thepopulation, and

WHEREAS, the estimated expenditure of the Dominion Government for the present fiscal year is over $800,000,000, or roughly, $100.00 per head of the population, and

WHEREAS, the estimated revenue is only $280,000,000, thus creating an estimated deficit of over $500,000,000 --- a sum equivalent to $62.50 per head of the population -- which sum the Finance Minister proposes to obtain by borrowing, and

WHEREAS, national disaster will overtake this country should the present method of financing the country's affairs be continued, and,

WHEREAS, both Great Britain and the United States at present raise morethan 80% of their revenue by direct taxation while Canada raises not more than 20%,

BE AND IT IS HEREBY RESOLVED:

(1) THAT the serious natureof the country's financial situation calls for the profoundest consideration of all patriotic citizens, and the exercise of the severest economy by the Government;

(2) THAT increase of revenue must be sought from an equitable and effective imposition and collection of graduated taxes, on business profits and income applicable to all incomes above reasonable exemptions;

(3) Taxes on luxuries.

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RE: ELECTION FRAUDS.

WHEREAS IT HAS BEEN OPENLY CHARGED that there was a conspiracy to carry out an elaborate system of frauds in connection with the Military Voters' part of the War Times Election Act, for the purpose of overcoming the voice of the honest electorate of the Dominion, involving the voting of unqualified persons, double voting, personation, ballot stuffing, and the illegal switching or transferring of tens of thousands of votes to constituencies other than those in which the Military electors were known to be entitled to vote;

AND WHEREAS it has been openly charged that these frauds would have been impossible without large numbers of the appointees of the Crown deliberately co-operating and committing perjury;

AND WHEREAS it has beenopenly charged that these colossal frauds were perpetrated under the direction and connivance of Cabinet Ministers, military officers and civilian officials holding influential and responsible positions;

AND WHEREAS it has been alleged that persons were officially known to be immediately implicated in the direction and control of these frauds, and were subsequently recommended by the Prime Minister for Imperial honors at the hands of His Majesty the King;

THEREFORE this Convention hereby demands the appointment of an impartial Royal Commission with unlimited power and authority to institute a full and exhaustive enquiry into the conduct of every phase of the illegal and other fraudulent practices in connection with the elections held under the aforesaid Military Voters Act, and this Convention also demands the punishment of every person, military or civilian, who may be proved to have been implicated in the before mentioned election frauds.

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C 20138

RE ELECTION FRAUDS.

WHEREAS IT HAS BEEN OPENLY CHARGED that there was a conspiracy to carry out an elaborate system of frauds in connection with the Military Voters' part of the War Times Election Act, for the purpose of overcoming the voice of the honest electorate of the Dominion, involving the voting of unqualified persons, double voting, personation, ballot stuffing, and the illegal switching or transferring of tens of thousands of votes to constituencies other than those in which the Military electors were known to be entitled to vote;

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AND WHEREAS it has been openly charged that these colossal frauds were perpetrated under the direction and connivance of Cabinet Ministers, military officers, and civilian officials holding influential and responsible positions;

AND WHEREAS it has been alleged that persons were officially known to be immediately implicated in the direction and control of these frauds, and were subsequently recommended by the Prime Minister for Imperial honors at the hands of His Majesty the King;

THEREFORE, this Convention hereby demands the appointment of an impartial Royal Commission with unlimited power and authority to institute a full and exhaustive enquiry into the conduct of every phase of the illegal and other fraudulent practices in connection with the elections held under the aforesaid Military Voters' Act, and this Convention also demands the punishment of every person, military or civilian, who may be proved to have been implicated in the before-mentioned election frauds.

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SOLDIERS CIVIL RE-ESTABLISHMENT.

1. WHEREAS it is considered that the guiding principle for a permanent settlement of the problem of Civil Re-Establishment should be equitable treatment to soldiers in all avocations having regard to the length and nature of service.

Resolved that this Convention declares that the adoption of a system of cash grants to the soldiers and dependents of those who have fallen is the most satisfactory and effective means of civil re-establishment --- Such grants to be in addition to the present gratuity and to any pension for disability resulting from service.

Further Resolved that this Convention further considers:-

2. That the whole matter of the education of the returned soldier be placed in the hands of competent educational authorities to provide for the co-ordination, improvement and extension of a system of educational training, both vocational and general.

3. Insurance.
That provision should be made whereby any increased cost of insurance in favour of the dependents of the soldier should be borne by the state where such increase arises from disability incurred during the war.

4. Pensions.
(a) That such pensions or allowances be granted as shall enable soldiers or their dependents as the case may be to maintain a liberal standard of living sufficient to guarantee health, education, and all the necessities, comforts and amenities which go to make up a standard of living worthy of Canadian citizenship.

(b) That soldiers permanently disabled should be trained for some useful occupation selected by themselves and for which they are fitted or can be fitted for such length of time as shall render them efficient in same and after being so trained should be assisted by theGovernment in obtaining employment at a rate of remuneration adequate to the services rendered in such employment.

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(c) That from the moment of discharge and until said training is completed and such employment found, the soldiers permanently partially disabled as aforesaid and their dependents should receive pensions or allowances amply sufficient to enable them to maintain the liberal standard of living as aforesaid, and when employment has been found for said soldiers upon the completion of their training if the remuneration received in such employment is not sufficient to maintain such standard of living, the Government should provide the deficiency.

(d) That soldiers who have returned or shall hereafter return partially or totally temporarilydisabled and their dependents should receive during the period of such disability pensions or allowances amply sufficient to enable them to maintain a liberal standard of living as aforesaid.

5. Medical Examination.

That steps should be taken to secure uniformity in medical decisions as to disabilities by establishing permanent travelling medical appeal boards.

6. That more effective employment agencies should be created and the divergent efforts of the various organizations now in existence should be co-ordinated in a central authority.

7. That reference to soldiers in this resolution is intended to include as well sailors, aviators, and nurses whenever applicable and Canadian soldiers serving with any of the Imperial or Allied armies so far as the benefits hereunder have not been provided for by the Imperial or Allied Governments.

Moved by Col. Ralston.

Seconded: Hon. Dr. Beland.

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Whereas the construction of the National Transcontinental Railway wholly upon Canadian soil including terminal facilities, and in the completion of the project steamship connection with Europe and the Far East, thus affording the best possible transportation between the Orient and the Mother Country and opening up a large portion of Canada not before developed, and providing for lowering of the freight rates was undertaken by the Liberal Government and Parliament of Canada, and:

Whereas, the accomplishment of the purpose for which this transportation system was designed has been thwarted by the studied hostility of the Borden Administration, this Convention expresses its opinion that only by the defeat of the present Government can the beneficial results which should accrue from the construction of this great national transcontinental route be secured, and

Whereas the government by its policy in dealing with the Canadian Northern Railway system which in addition to granting of subsidies and guaranteeing of bonds, also made large loans of the public monies and thus involved the Dominion of Canada in financial obligations which resulted in the Government assuming the ownership of the said system, and

Whereas in addition to assuming the enormous liabilities incurred by the purchase of the Canadian Northern Railway system the Borden Government forced through Parliament in contravention of legislation already onthe statute book an Act under which $10,000,000 was paid to C.N.R. interests, the identity of whom has never been disclosed, this Convention condemns with all possible vigour this entire unbusiness like transaction and demands full investigation into the conditions surrounding the purchase of the C.N.R. and the destination of the monies paid,

The Government now owns and operates some 16,000 miles of railway, we believe that the present system of management by a Board, the majority of the members of which devote but a small portion of their time to this work, is unwieldy, inefficient, and extravagant, and that under it and the present administration public ownership and operation will not receive a fair trial.

Adequate facilities and tonnage for ocean traffic are a vital concern to the commerce of Canada and the utter lack of foresight on the part of the government in neglecting to see that such facilities and tonnage were provided for the immediate After-the-War period is not only humiliating to the Canadian people but is materially impairing our export trade.

At this time when the country should be in a position to take full advantage of the opportunities to secure its proper share of the export business on which the financial, industrial, and agricultural future of Canada depends, we are confronted with the lamentable situation that no adequate provision has been made for the transportation of the products of the farm, the factory and the forest to the markets of the world. With the

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knowledge of the enormous destruction of tonnage by the havoc of war in its possession, the failure of the Government to protect the trade of Canada against the condition that now confronts it shows an absence of business ability which merits the severest condemnation of the people of Canada.

This Convention declares its fullest confidence in the future of Canada, believing that a wise and economical development of our natural resources and a judicious and vigorous immigration and colonization policy coupled with stringent economy and efficient management in every department of Government will solve the transportation and other difficult problemsnow confronting the country.

Moved by: Hon. Geo. P. Graham.

Suggested that this motion be presented without discussion.

Hon. R. Lemieux.

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knowledge of the enormous destruction of tonnage by the havoc of war in its possession, the failure of the Government to protect the trade of Canada against the condition that now confronts it shows an absence of business ability which merits the severest condemnation of the people of Canada.

This Convention declares its fullest confidence in the future of Canada, believing that a wise and economical development of our natural resources and a judicious and vigorous immigration and colonization policy coupled with stringent economy and efficient management in every department of Government will solve the transportation and other difficult problemsnow confronting the country.

Moved by: Hon. Geo. P. Graham.

Suggested that this motion be presented without discussion.

Hon. R. Lemieux.

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RESOLUTION

WHEREAS the regulation, restriction and prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors, within their several jurisdictions, are vested in the provinces, this Convention is firmly of the opinion that when, for the effective enforcement of restrictive or prohibitive legislation enacted by any province, supplemental federal legislation is, by the legislature of said provinces, deemed necessary, such legislation should, on the request of said legislature, be enacted by the Federal Parliment.

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C 20144

November 30, 1917.

Robt. L. B.

Ottawa, Ont.

Would like one thousand soldiers votes at large for Manitoba, of which 300 for Selkirk, balance divided between Provencher, Macdonald, and Springfield, or same proportion of division no matter what our allotment may be.

Arthur Meighen.

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C 20145

Winnipeg, Man. Dec. 4th, 1917.

Senator Tanner,
Halifax, N.S.

W. J. Tupper received a telegram from your assistant secretary and in reply would say please allot all unattached votes equally among the following constituencies: Provencher, Springfield and Selkirk for the Province of Manitoba, and in Saskatchewan, Saltcoats, North Battleford, Prince Albert, Swift Current and Humboldt. This will assist us greatly.

W. H. Sharpe.

Charge Union Govt. Committee.

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C 20146

Winnipeg, Man. Dec. 5th, 1917.

Mr. A. E. Blount,
Ottawa, Ont.

There has been a big row created here by E. H. Hutchins in reference to his son being conscripted. He offered to subscribe $500,000 to Victory Loan provided his son was not conscripted. His son has been comscripted. He is now appealing to Judge Duff at Ottawa. You must see that no decision is made on this before election. We want to keep him in doubt until after election and then his conscription should be upheld or it will causea small rebellion here. Please see proper people and have this matter arranged.

W. H. Sharpe.

Charge Union Govt. Committee.

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C 20147

National Unity

Proposed by John Boyd, of Montreal.

Seconded by Donald Downie, of Vancouver, B.C.

Recognizing that the crown of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's life work and the dearest wish of his heart was the establishment of racial concord and national unity throughout the Dominion, the Liberal Party of Canada in National Convention assembled emphatically condemns all attempts to create racial discord and national disunion and would hold up as a lasting example to the Canadian people the inspiring ideal of that great Canadian --- a united Canada in which all Canadians shall be on an equal footing, all working together in harmony and concord for the upbuilding and aggrandizement of their common country.

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NATURAL RESOURCES

Resolved that the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta should be granted the ownership and control of the natural resources within their respective boundaries on terms that are fair and equitable, with reference to all other provinces of the Dominion.

Moved by Hon. Mr. Stewart.
Seconded by Hon. Mr. Martin.

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Moved by D. D. McKenzie.
Seconded by Hon. R. Lemieux.

That the thanks of this National Liberal Convention be, and they are hereby tendered, to Mr. Andrew Haydon, for the inestimable services which he has rendered the Liberal Party of Canada in gratuitously discharging the duties of General Secretary, during months of arduous work; to the members of the Committees associated with him in arranging the preparatory work of the Convention; to the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Ottawa for the free use of the buildings in which the meetings of the Convention, and of its several Committees have been held; to the Honourable the Minister of Militia and Defence, and the officials of the Departments of Militia and Defence, Public Works, and the Canadian Exhibition Office, for their kindness in providing many of the facilities enjoyed by the delegates attending the Convention; to the Speaker and Officers of the House of Commons for courtesies extended by them; and to all others who in various ways, too numerous to specify, have assisted in making the Convention an unexampled success.

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C 20150

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T

MOVED BY D. D. McKenzie:

SECONDED BY Honourable R. Lemieux:

That the thanks of this National Liberal Convention be, and they are hereby tendered, to Mr. Andrew Haydon, for the inestimable services which he has rendered the Liberal Party of Canada in gratuitously discharging the duties of General Secretary, during months of arduous work; to the members of the Committee associated with him in arranging the preparatory work of the Convention; to the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Ottawa for the free use of the buildings in which the meetings of the Convention, and of its several Committees have been held; to the Honourable, the Minister of Militia and Defence, and the officials of the departments of Militia and Defence, Public Works, and the Canadian Exhibition Office, for their kindness in providing many of the facilities enjoyed by the delegates attending the Convention; to the Speaker and Officers of the House of Commons for courtesies extended by them, and to all others who in various ways, too numerous to specify, have assisted in making the Convention an unexampled success.

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Moved by Hon. George H. Murray,
Seconded by Sir Lomer Gouin.

That this Convention places on record its high appreciation of the indefatigable efforts and untiring energy of the Hon. Charles Murphy, Chairman of the Local Convention Committee, in splendidly planing and carrying out the executive work of the greatest, most successful, and most truly representative political convention ever held in Canada.

And this Convention further desires to express its appreciation of the assistance given by Mr. Duncan C. Ross and Mr. Lucien Pacaud, in the discharge of their onerous duties as Assistant Secretaries.

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C 20152

Moved by Guthrie - L.D.

Seconded by McCuaig - A.B.

That a cordial vote of thanks be accorded the representatives of the Press for their excellent reports of the proceedings of this Convention.

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Sadly and mourfully the mebers of this National Convention of the Liberal Party of Canada record their sense of the irreparable loss the country has suffered in the death of the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

During more than forty-five years he was continuously prominent as a member of the Canadian Parliament. For nearly thirty-two years he was the honoured Chief and the Leader of the Liberal Party in this country. He has long been recognized as Canada's most distinguished statesman and as an outstanding figure among the Councillors of His Masjesty everywhere in the British Empire. His life time was spent in the service of his country and his King. History will justly accord to hâm a high position among the great men of the world.

Through all his life his chief aim and object was to bring into better accord and greater harmony with each other the two principal races of this country that all might become more truly Canadians whether of French or of British descent. The great wish and hope with which to the end his soul was filled was that we -- his followers and his friends -- might carry on his life work in that regard, bringing it even in our time to still greater fruition till in Canada dissentions of either race or creed no longer should be known.

Pure of heart, unsullied in character, devoted always as to highest ideals -- he ~~had~~ led, as he governed, wisely and well. Great in success he was perhaps ~~thus~~ even greater in adversity. Himself sprung from the common people, it was throughout his life his pride and glory to stand at all times their advocate and champion.

In their grateful memories he has builded for himself a monument which will live while Canada endures, for he found this country a colony -- he made it a nation.

In the hearts of his sorrowing friends -- in the hearts indeed of all his countrymen -- his life inspired not merely high regard and unfeigned esteem but as well real affection, which makes our grief at his loss so heartfelt and so keen that no words we may use could equal it.

He was indeed our country's best and greatest. In all things a chevalier "sans peur et sans reproche".

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CANADA

Moved by W. D. Gregory, Oakville, Ontario, Halton County,
Seconded by John Boyd, Montreal:

Resolved that we are strongly opposed to centralized Imperial control and that no organic change in the Canadian Constitution in regard to the relation of Canada to the Empire ought to come into effect until, after being passed by Parliament, it has been ratified by vote of the Canadian People on a Referendum.

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CANADA

[redacted]

This Convention condemns the Government because it has not enforced the Income Tax Law in such a manner as to make it produce the revenue which such a tax should produce if properly collected.

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CANADA

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PARTY ORGANIZATION.

The Committee on party organization beg to report as follows:

We recommend the formation of a National Liberal Organization Committee to be constituted as follows:-

1. The President who shall be the Leader of the Liberal Party for Canada;

2. Nine Vice-Presidents, one from each Province who shall be named by the Liberal Association of each Province. In the case of any Province in which there is no Provincial Liberal Association, the Liberal Premier or Leader of the Opposition shall nominate the Vice-President.

3. A National Council of fifty-four, one of whom shall be the Provincial Liberal Premier or Leader of the Opposition, or his Nominee, as the case may be, and five others to be selected by the Liberal Association for the Province, where one exists, or by the Liberal Members of the House of Commons in a Province where there is no Liberal Association for such Province.

4. The Members of the Council in each Province to be a Finance Committee to receive subscriptions for the expenses of the Committee.

5. The Committee shall select a National Organizer who shall have charge of the Head Office, which shall be located in Ottawa.

Sgd. J. R. BOYLE

Chairman.

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This Convention desires to place on record its devotion to the person and office of His Gracious Majesty King George the Fifth and its appreciation of his untiring efforts during the war in promoting harmony throughout his Dominions and also its unalterable attachment to the British Empire and to our own beloved Canada.

And this Convention further desires to place on record its gratitude to the valiant Canadian Army for its splendid share in the great victory, which has brought the blessings of peace to the world. In the desperate struggle between the forces of autocracy and democracy our gallant soldiers have covered themselves with glory by their courage and devotion to duty and have earned the undying gratitude of all Canadians and made the name of Canada an inspiration for future generations.

Carried:

P. J. HUGHES
Secretary

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WHEREAS the Great War and the greater epidemic have taken an appalling toll of Canadian life and

WHEREAS human life and physical efficiency are the nation's greatest assets, and

WHEREAS the conservation and improvement thereof should be the country's first care:

THEREFORE this gathering of Liberals in convention assembled pledges itself to a vigorous prosecution of the measures best calculated to conserve the life and improve the physical standard of our Canadian citizenship.

Carried.

Sgd. Peter J. Hughes,
Secretary.

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THE TARIFF

C 20161

That the best interests of Canada demand that substantial reductions of the burdens of Customs taxation be made with a view to the accomplishing of two purposes of the highest importance: First: diminishing the very high cost of living which presses so severely on the masses of the people: Second: reducing the cost of the instruments of production in the industries based on the natural resources of the Dominion, the vigorous development of which is essential to the progress and prosperity of our country.

That, to these ends, wheat, wheat flour and all products of wheat; the principal articles of food; farm implements and machinery; farm tractors, mining, flour and saw-mill machinery and repair parts thereof; rough and dressed lumber; gasoline, illuminating, lubricating and fuel oils; nets, net-twines and fishermen's equipments; cements and fertilizers, should be free from Customs duties, as well as the raw material entering into the same.

That a revision downwards of the tariff should be made whereby substantial reductions should be effected in the duties on wearing apparel and foot-wear, and on other articles of general consumption (other than luxuries) as well as on the raw material entering into the manufacture of the same.

That the British preference be increased to 50% of the general tariff.

And the Liberal Party hereby pledges itself to implement by legislation theprovision of this resolution when returned to power.

A. R. McMaster,
Chairman.

[redacted]:

Peter J. Hughes,

Secretary.

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2 That, to these ends, wheat, wheat flour and all products of wheat; the principal articles of food; farm implements and machinery; farm tractors, mining, flour and saw-mill machinery and repair parts thereof; rough and partly dressed lumber; gasoline, illuminating, lubricating and fuel oils; nets, net-twines and fishermen's equipments; cements and fertilizers, should be free from Customs duties, as well as the raw material entering into the same.

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A. R. McMaster,
Chairman.

[redacted]

Peter J. Hughes,

Secretary.

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C 20163

Amendment

Moved by Hon. John Oliver

Seconded by Mrs. H. D. Petrie.

That all the words of the second and third paragraphs be struck out and the following words be substituted therefor:

"That to these ends all the actual necessaries of life, together with the tools, implements, and machinery necessary for the development and preparation for use of our natural resources shall be free from Customs taxation.

Lost

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C 20164

Mr. Fraser's amendment to tarrif resolution.

Resolved that the Customs tariff of the Dominion should be based, not as now, on the protective principle, but for revenue purposes founded in part on the requirements of public service; T herefore, we condemn the principle of protection in the Customs tariff and declare that it leads to class, Privilege, Profiteering, Political Corruption, the Creation of Monopolies and Trusts, the Economic exploitation of the people, the impoverishment of the working people, presses severely on people with moderate fixed salaries, and we demand the substantial and general reduction of the Customs tariff and the removal of the duties on the machingry and implements of all basic industries, on foodstuffs, warm clothing, fuel and raw materials.

We reject the theory that the duties imposed by the Customs tariff must be high in order to produce sufficient revenue for the requirements of those public services upheld by the Federal authorities. Instead, we claim that, in order to reduce tariff taxes in the interests of the people, the revenue should be provided very largely by a direct tax on unimproved land values, by a graduated income tax on all incomes over three thousand dollars a year, on a reasonable percentage of the profits of companies and corporations over ten per cent on their paid up cash capital, and by graduated inheritance tax on all estates valued at upward of fifteen thousand dollars.

Having regard to the high cost of living in the increasing burden upon the working people and those inrreceipt of limited incomes due th the high cost of the necessities of life, we condemn the so-called Union Government for its failure to prosecute combines formed to limit competition and thereby enhance price, and also prosecute men who have taken advantage of war conditions to prey on the people. As a partial remedy we declare for government control and regulation of cold storage plants, abattoirs and stock yards, for the prosecution of combines and profiteers and for a thorough investigation of enonomic conditions in order to arrive at the reason for public unrest and to provide a remedy.

Further, regarding the unrest which has led to labour troubles, we believe that it is caused by the high cost of living and a belief by the public of undue profiteering on the papt of those handling food and clothing, the grievance being aggravated by being under the protection of the tariff. When the latter is shown to be the case, the duty on similar articles should be at once suspended.

Lost

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Memo on Organization.

1- GENERAL-

The National Liberal Convention held at Ottawa in the summer of 1919 had three main objects in view - (a) The election of a leader to succeed Sir Wilfrid Laurier- (b) the declaration of a party platform, and -(c) the adoption of a plan for Party organization.

A Leader is necessary. The party must have a platform, but neither can become effective unless through the operation of some organized means for bringing the leader and the platform into living touch with individuals liberals everywhere. Hence the need for open public discussion and for the distribution of literature as the two great channels of publicity and of organization everywhere throughout Canada.

Liberalism is a habit of mind, and Liberals must stand ready to support and promote their ~~religious~~ political views. Politics is the noblest of all professions but the meanest of trades. Its ideals must be lofty, otherwise the ideal of the state must fail. Its practices must be above suspicion, otherwise its aims cannot be accomplished. Liberalism, therefore is not worth while if men follow it for place or power alone. Incidentally men everywhere must eventually benefit by good government. Individuals must of necessity derive personal profit and advantage from their connection with any party, but those who look only for their own personal gain and put their private interests first, using the party for private advantage only, are unworthy of the name of Liberal.

Again in Canada as everywhere Liberalism stands for vision and breadth of outlook, and particularly for unity. We must get beyond and above all differences of race and creed, and pursue our political ideals in the word of Sir Wilfrid Laurier "without regard to the language the people speak, or the altars at which they kneel." And today there is a greater need than ever before to hold the lamp of unity aloft among the people. In powerful addresses everywhere the Honorable Mackenzie King has shown that a government usurping the people's rights endeavours to hold on to power ~~in~~ in defiance of the popular will and is endeavouring to raise a war of classes in Canada and, under a policy of reaction, devide the progressive forces. Liberalism opposes this policy by all the means at its command. It aims today at creating a new individual liberty, individual freedom, and in realizing for the common man a new wider life in a new greater world.

2- WHAT THEN IS THE WORK OF ORGANIZATION?

(a) It is the day of the young man and the young woman. Young men won the war, young people must carry on their shoulders the work of the Liberal party. Old men are needed, of course - they are indispensable to the party. They have experience and knowledge; they have advice to give- their guidance is invaluable. But to the young men must be given the work. They must be allotted the party's activities. Today, all over Canada, this is

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the most difficult truth that Liberals have to learn. Moreover young men and women of today grow into older ones tomorrow. How can they learn or work if they have no opportunity. A close observance of the movement in Ontario carried on by the writer shows clearly the fact that if they have been at all successful they have been so because of the work and zeal of the younger people.

Young men and women look for community life and social intercourse. What greater opportunity can there be than that they should meet to study the history, work and aims of Liberalism, what it has done for the advancement of nations, and what it can do for the realization of a greater Canada. Young Men's clubs - Young women's clubs - Liberal associations, all these in various forms are the aids to ever effectually accomplishing the larger life proclaimed by the Liberal Leader and the necessary institutions in every locality for the furtherance of the best ideals in Canadian political life and Canadian citizenship.

(b) Individual effort - Organization today depends on individual effort, not on putting the blame for inaction or failure on one's neighbour. We cannot say the parties are done- we have no politics - I cannot work with so and so; these are all evidences of apathy, of a want of individual responsibility. We must rouse ourselves from the state of inaction into which too many of us have fallen. We must cease raising the Macedonian cry for someone from somewhere to come over and help us. The simple saying is more than ever true today, that God help those who help themselves. Liberalism means sacrifice and the law of sacrifice is the law of life. It is true more than ever that we must each work diligently and give ourselves for the cause.

This leads to the fact that elections call for money. They call first for men - working, hard working men. Money is of no use without effort, and the liberal party has no money tody nor will it have at any time a great deal. Its funds must come from the workers, for the new Liberalism must at length recognize the old truth that it is more blessed to give than to receive. Small contributions of from One to Five dollars from every Liberal in Canada would give us publicity, pay all legitimate expenses for organization and election purposes, and make us as a party invincible. Every man and woman would then have a financial stake in the party's enterprise.

(c) Women.- For the first time in Canada all women have the franchise. They are perhaps best organized apart from men. Efforts should be made in more populus places to work out and establish women's clubs; not aiming to operate apart from men, but with them. They should be asked to hold meetings and arrangements made to have persons address them and, for the present at least, men rather than women speakers would be most effective. Here too younger women can do the spade work, and indeed could do much toward the collection of a general fund, for women are generally more effective in this direction. During the war, women undertook definite work. In larger places the plan is worth trying of having liberal women, as part of thei associated work, devote part of their time at meetings to the carrying on of charitable social and educational affairs. What will readily occur to them according to the needs of localities.

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3 - PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS -

(a) Voters lists - Elections are based on lists of voters in federal and provincial fields alike. Leading liberals in every locality must know what is required both under federal and provincial acts in order to do effective work in this connection.

How are lists made ? Who are to go on them ? When must steps be taken to prepare lists ? Here a friend lawyer should be asked to inform himself on the various acts, and be ready to speak to the workers. This must be done, not at election time, but long before, so that at election time the work will be done and there will be nothing left to do but to fill in some neglected requirements.

In the federal field there is the question of the right of voting by persons not naturalized. Section 29 of the new federal election act prevents the wife of an Italian, for instance, from voting even ~~though~~ though her husband is naturalized. Her foreign birth requires her to have personal naturalization. If that cannot be done she must get a certificate from a judge, according to the form given in Section 29. This is most important. Its neglects may in many ridings lead to the loss of hundreds of votes, including the loss of the election.

Where in urban centers enumeration and registration are necessary, the act in these respects must be studied and understood long before an election is called. A stitch in time saves nine, and may prevent the garment from being thrown away. In all cases enumerators must be constantly watched and followed, and no effort must be spared. Let no one be able to say after an election that he knows of several here and there that did not vote. Let him make it his individual business to put these voters on the lists.

(b) Election work. - Sitting in committee rooms smoking and telling stories is a first class way to lose an election. It belongs to a day gone by - we are in a business and commercial age. Let us apply business to politics. No business man gets a new custumer by sitting at home talking of what he expects to do. Every poll in Canada has at least one man upon whom the party can rely. Let him associate himself with others in a committee or ward association or an organized poll. No organization in any poll is complete until the active workers are able to know exactly every man and women in the poll, also just how they will vote. It cannot be done in a day. How does A vote? Perhaps only X can find out, but X should be set to find out, and an index of voters at that poll should be at all times available, classifying every possible voter in that poll according to his or her political creed. Untillthat is done to the utmost detail there is no organization in any poll worth while, no matter what the wise ones or the knowing ones may say, nor how convincingly they try to declare upon the subject. They are idle romancers and moonshiners and do unspeakable wrong to the liberal party. Acquiring real knowledge of polls must not be delayed till election day, but ought to be and can be gained long before, and ought to be in the hands, at all times, of the responsible and duly constituted executive of every riding association. It goes without saying, of course, that every riding in Canada will have its liberal association governed by an elected executive, representative of all elements in our

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population , and elected because they are active, alert, capable and business-like, not because they are good fellows or are looking for political preferment.

(c) Election Day .- No Liberal worthy of the name will ask to be paid for his work on election day. For many this day will be his only opportunity to render a service to his party and to Liberalism. The ~~reward~~ least he can do is to give that service without reward or the hope of reward - and what can he do? The day's task is to get out the vote. The polls must be manned with scrutineers inside and outside, whose duty it is to see that if voters are not coming early thay shall be gone after. Others will be ready with conveyances of all kinds to bring in tardy and delinquent electors. Men ought to offer freely and without reward any conveyances they may own, and place them at the disposal of the party workers on election day. Diligent efforts should be made in every poll to bring in the voters by noon, if possible, for the day quickly runs past and the poll may otherwise close, leaving out just the few voters that might otherwise have meant the winning of the election.

It would make this memorandum too long if any full outline were given of all the duties and requirements of election workers. The National Office will later endeavour to issue a pamphlet on the subject.

4 - SUMMARY

(a) The basis of organization is the polling and division.

(b) No method of working is at all worth while except it begins, continues and ends in personal effort and personal responsibility.

(c) Voluntary work given for the sake of Liberalism wholly without hope of reward is the ideal way. The enthusiast has never an axe to grind.

(d) Every Liberal must exert his personal influence to add to the ranks of Liberalism and to spur his fellow liberals to greater effort.

(e) Unity in the ranks without regards to race or creed or class is a prime essential.

(f) It is the day of the young men and the young women; any lack of a full recognition of this fact is fatal.

(g) Attend to voters lists at the earliest possible date. Don't talk about classifying voters, but see that they are canvassed personnally and that accurate information is had of every man and women. Leave no stone unterned on election day to get out every Liberal voter.

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C 20169

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND LABOR PROBLEMS---

ex MP Hon W L McKenzie King, Chairman, ——*

MLA Bell, Hon H J., ✓ law

MLA Boyle, Hon J R., ✓ law Min Ed. → Atty G.

MLA Dewart, Hartley H., ✓ law

ex MP Fisher, Hon Sydney, ✓ former

MP Jacobs, S W., ✓ lawyer ——*

MP Kennedy, W C., ✓ gas & oil

MP Lapointe, Ernest, ✓ law

MP Lemieux, Hon Rodolphe, ✓ law

MLA Martin, Hon W M., ✓ law

MLA Murray, Hon G H., ✓ law

MLA Oliver, Hon John, ✓ rancher

MP Pelletier, T J., ✓ merchant (Montreal)

MP Robb, J A., ✓ merchant miller

MP Ross, Duncan C., ✓ law

MP Trahan, Arthur, ✓ law

MP Turgeon, O., ✓ journalist

MP (Verville, Alphonse,) plumber ——*

MP White, W H., ✓ farmer

ex MP Oliver Hon Frank Journalist Ex-Min. Ottawa

~~Bureaucrat~~

MP Delaurier Dr. (17 months) physician

MP Goff — law

MP Gohill broker

ex MP Macdonald, NS law

Leave Board of Directors (Montreal)

Pensions
Laforêts resolution
June 6, 1919

Verville
Nicols
in cell
1916

12 law
2 farmers
2 merchants

24 members
18 MP's & Ex MP

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CANADA

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND LABOR PROBLEMS---

Hon W L MeKenzie King, Chairman,

Bell, Hon H J.,

Boyle, Hon J R.,

Dewart, Hartley H.,

Fisher, Hon Sydney,

Jacobs, S W.,
Kennedy, W C.,
Lapointe, Ernest,

Lemieux, Hon Rodolphe,

Martin, Hon W M.,

Murray, Hon G H.,

Oliver, Hon John,

Pelletier, F J.,

Robb, J A.,

Ross, Duncan C.,

Trahan, Arthur,

Turgeon, O.,

Verville, Alphonse,

White, W H.,

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Lapointe, Ernest,

Lemieux, Hon Rodolphe,

Martin, Hon W M.,

Murray, Hon G H.,

Oliver, Hon John,

Pelletier, F J.,

Robb, J A.,

Ross, Duncan C.,

Trahan, Arthur,

Turgeon, O.,

Verville, Alphonse,

White, W H.,

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C 20172

Members of the Sub Cee on Labour Questions
of Lib. Advisory Cee 1916.

Atkinson (Chairman)
Cameron at 1919
Murphy Unt at 1919
Verville
Hughes MP King's Sec'd
Guthrie
Pearson
Calder
J. A.
W. L. M. King
Fielding at 1919
P. C. Larkin
J. H. ashdowne no record

Murphy ?

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CANADA

C 20173

NATIONAL LIBERAL CONVENTION

August 5-6-7, 1919

Material used in preparation of Drafts
of Resolutions for the Committee on
Labor and Industrial Relations.

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Record of Labour Conference — Nov. 1917-18.

C 20174

Record of Labour Conference

Uniformity of Standards

Work of Industry

Lafontaine Amendment — (Particulars of Briefs)

Labour Ch.

C & W R.

Social Justice —

Labour Clause Ch.

High cost of living

Unemployment

Co-operation

Collective Bargaining / See Labour

Reinstatement Order

Co-operation —

A course in the practical training of the country which can ensure in proportion to human progress.

which can themselves do ourselves in connection in-
-tique.

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C 20175

person - property
women - workers

Housing ✓

Industrial diseases ✓

Women in industry -
equal pay for equal work.

Social insurance -
Unemployment
Illness
Accident
Invalidity
Old Age.

Collective bargaining
Right of Labor to organize and to deal with employers through representatives.

Representation of Consumers

Industry as social service.

Minimum wage

Hours of labor

Child labor

Joint control of industry

Technical education

Self-government in industry

Cost of living.

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That the following be added to Part B of the

Resolution:

RESOLVED - That the system of re-training soliders unfitted for their past work because of physical injuries, be extended to disabled workers in industry.

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Increase of production and decrease in the high cost of living are necessary if the needs of the Government and the needs of the people are to be successfully met. Neither is possible under a tariff which serves to increase the cost of the instruments of production and to enhance the price of food, clothing, and building material. If production is to be increased and the necessaries of life are to be brought within the reach of the masses of the people, this can be effected only by a general well-considered reform of the tariff for the purpose of helping Canadian production and relieving the Canadian consumer.

To this end, it is desirable:

(a) that the following immediate reductions should be made in the Customs tariff -
(Take in Oliver resolution, p. 64, with such modifications in form of expression as deemed desirable).

(b) that all corporations engaged in the manufacture of products protected by the Customs tariff be obliged to publish annually comprehensive and accurate statements of their earnings.

(c) that every claim for tariff protection by an industry should be heard publicly before the Treasury Board.

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C 20173

Maternity insurance is analyzed as an aspect of disability or sickness insurance . . . covering the act of childbirth and the short periods of time immediately preceding and succeeding it.

The function of maternity insurance may be analyzed under the following five headings, corresponding to the five causes of economic loss, connected with childbirth:

(a) extraordinary expenditures for medical aid and supplies connected with childbirth.
(b) the period of enforced idleness and the consequent loss of wages.
(c) the necessary period of rest before childbirth, to preserve the health of the mother.
(d) the equally necessary period of rest after childbirth, ~~to improve~~ for the purpose of strengthening the mother and improving the chances of the child.
(e) the assumed "right of the child to its mother" - demanding the temporary withdrawal of the working mother from regular remunerative employment.

Rubinow - p.118-119.

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C 20179

Submitted by Mrs. Tom Moore
August 5. 1919.

RE TRAINING OF INJURED WORKERS

The splendid work being done by the Department of Soldiers Civil Re-Establishment in retraining soldiers unfitted for their past work because of physical injuries leads us to ask for the extension of this system to the disabled workers. Many at present totally unfitted for their past vocations because of injuries, are being partially maintained by pensions from the Provincial Workmen's Compensation Boards. These men would be happier if made entirely self-supporting again by re-training for some position their injuries would allow them to undertake. As this would relieve the Provincial Boards of some financial liability, we think the work and cost should be jointly undertaken by Provincial and Federal Governments, with advisory councils similar to those now formed for the control of employment bureaus.

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C 20180

1. Recital of Liberal record on Labor. ✓

2. Acceptance of Labor Convention - League of Nations. ✓

3. Joint control and co-operation in industry. ✓

4. Representation on railway directorate. ✓

5. Social legislation.
   Question of jurisdiction. ✓

6. Old Age Pensions. ✓

7. Causes of Industrial Unrest. ✓
   High cost of living. ✓
   Lack of faith in political institutions. ✓
   Autocratic executive. ✓

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From Reconstruction Program of the American
Federation of Labor, June 1918

CO-OPERATION

To attain the greatest possible development of civilization, it is essential, among other things, that the people should never delegate to others those activities and responsibilities which they are capable of assuming for themselves. Democracy can function best with the least interference by the state compatible with due protection to the rights of all citizens.

There are many problems arising from production, transportation, and distribution, which would be readily solved by applying the methods of co-operation. Unnecessary middlemen who exact a tax from the community without rendering any useful service can be eliminated.

The farmers through co-operative dairies, canneries, packing houses, grain elevators, distributing houses, and other co-operative enterprises, can secure higher prices for their products and yet place these in the consumer's hands at lower prices than would otherwise be paid. There is an almost limitless field for the consumers in which to establish co-operative buying and selling, and in this most necessary development the trade-unionists should take an immediate and active part.

Trade-unions secure fair wages. Co-operation protects the wage earner from the profiteer.

Participation in these co-operative agencies must of necessity prepare the mass of the people to participate more effectively in the solution of the industrial, commercial, social, and political problems which continually arise.

Monthly Labor Review
~~1918~~ March,1919 - pp.65-66.

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Social Reconstruction Program of the
National Catholic War Council:

It lays down the basic proposition that every human being is of inestimable worth and that legislation should recognize persons as more sacred than property.

The State should enforce a minimum living wage.

Enable the worker to obtain some control of industrial conditions.

Supplement private initiative in providing decent housing.

Prevent the occurrence of unemployment.

Safeguard the right of the laborer and his family to a reasonable amount of rest and recreation.

Remove those industrial and social conditions which hinder marriage and encourage an unnatural restriction of families.

Afford ample opportunities for education of all children industrially, culturally, religiously, and morally.

On the other hand, rights imply duties, and the individual is
obliged to respect the rights of others,
to cultivate self-control,
to recognize that labor is the law of life,
and that wealth is a trust.

Finally, the statement points out that all social reform must take as its end and guide the maintenance of pure and wholesome family life.

--- Monthly Labor Review, ~~May~~ June, 1919
p. ~~1594~~ 44.

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National Catholic War Council

Industrial replacement of soldiers and sailors.

Employment service.

Women workers.

Present wage rates should be sustained.

Housing for working classes.

Reduction of the cost of living.

Legal minimum wage.

Social insurance.

Labor participation in industrial management.

Vocational training.

Child labor.

Reforms of present industrial system.

Co-operation and Co-partnership.

Abolition and control of monopolies.

A new spirit a vital need.

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Industrial replacement of discharged soldiers and sailors.

Several months ago, Secretary Lane recommended to Congress that returning soldiers and sailors should be given the opportunity to work at good wages upon some part of the millions upon millions of acres of arid, swamp, and cut-over timber lands in order to prepare them for cultivation. President Wilson in his annual address to Congress indorsed the proposal. As fast as this preliminary task has been performed, the men should be assisted by Govt. loans to establish themselves as farmers, either as owners or as tenants having long-time leases. . . .

This would afford employment to thousands upon thousands, would greatly increase the number of farm owners and independent farmers, and would tend to lower the cost of living by increasing the amount of agricultural products.

-- National Catholic War Counail
Monthly Labor Review, June, 1919
p. 45

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National Industrial Conference

GReat Britain
February, 1919

This conference, being of the opinion that any preventable dislocation of industry is always to be deplored, and in the present critical period of reconstruction might be disastrous as to the interests of the nation, and thinking that every effort should be made to remove legitimate grievances and promote harmony and good will, resolves to appoint a joint committee, consisting of equal numbers of employers and workers, and report to a further meeting of this conference on the causes of the present unrest and the steps necessary to safeguard and promote the best interests of employers, workpeople, and the State, and especially to consider -

1. Questions relating to hours, wages, and general conditions of employment.
2. Unemployment and its prevention.
3. The best methods of promoting co-operation between capital and labor.

Monthly Labor Review.
May 1919 - p. 105.

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Farmers' National Conference on Reconstruction
Washington, January 1919 -
Monthly Labor Review, March - p. 74.

"The dislocation of industry necessarily occasioned by the wholehearted commitment of this country to the sole purpose of winning the war presents problems requiring careful governmental action. The principle must be fully established and universally recognized that labor is the first fixed charge upon all industry, taking precedence of the claims of property and investment in business and commerce. This is essential to securing the well-being of our people, and the industrial and economic democracy for which our men have striven. Living wages to those engaged in industry, commerce, trade, mining, railroading, and in all other legitimate activities, are a direct benefit to farmers because they increase the purchasing power of those so engaged, and not only increase the efficiency of these workers, but provide the most economic and advantageous market for farm products - a home market."

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It is recognized that the time has come when industry should be under joint control, instead of a single control by any one of the parties to industry, in which the interests of the worker and the consumer will be safeguarded. . . .

In all matters pertaining to industrial disputes, the interests of the workers and the community, as well as capital, must receive consideration.

To this end, where possible there should be shop committees, recognition of collective bargaining, and joint boards.

The Party believes that the labor problem is really a world problem, and that the interests of the industrial classes in the Dominion will be promoted by co-operating with other nations in helping to give effect to the principles which have been laid down at the Peace Conference, and which are as follows:

.....

This should be done in so far as the jurisdiction of the Federal Government permits.

The joint control of industry might gain expression, in one form, by the appointment of labor representatives on the boards of directors - on the railroads, for instance.

The Government should give thought to whatever will promote co-operative idea in industry.

The interests of industry and of the workers will be improved by whatever will alleviate the burden of the high cost of living.

Efforts should be made toward securing freedom in elections, so that electors may have reason to believe that their interests are represented in Parliament. Confidence in parliamentary institutions must be restored.

Social insurance program, including Old age pensions; unemployment, invalidity, and sickness insurance. State to assist.

Place emphasis on conservation of human resources rather than on natural resources.

War having been fought for the preservation of human life, it is for us now to make decent living conditions within reach of all the people.

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Acceptance of Labor Convention, League of Nations:

Redognizing the world nature of industrial problems and the desirability of establishing a minimum of standards as respects industrial conditions in all countries, the National Liberal Convention records its agreement with the terms of the Labor Convention adopted by the Peace Conference and included in the Peace Treaty, and pledges itself to the support of measures in accordance with the General Principles stated in the Treaty, being ~~Section~~ Article 427.

Article 427 of the Peace Treaty reads as follows:

. . . . . .

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Record of the Liberal Party on Labor:

THe Liberal Party has at all times recognized the importance of social and industrial problems and their significance to the people, and has taken the ground that the national interest, quite as much as the interest of the particular group most nearly affected, calls for congenial and healthful industrial conditions and a continuance of harmonious relations within industry. While the Party has always stood for a progressive policy of conservation of natural resources and the development of industry, as constituting the material foundations of the nation's wealth, it has kept uppermost in its considerations the necessity of the conservation of the nation's human resources and the protection and development of Canadian manhood and womanhood.

An expression of this policy was the creation, in 1900, of the Department of Labour, an institution which under a Liberal Government was responsible for such subsequent progressive developments as the fair wages and anti-sweating requirements included in all government contracts, the I.D.I. Act of 1907, the Combines Investigation Act, the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, 1910, (upon whose Report the present Government has finally been compelled to take action), and various inquiries into hours of labor, wages, and prices and the cost of living.

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C 20190

From Memorandum on the causes and remedies for labour unrest, presented by the Trade Union Representatives on the Joint Committee appointed at the National Industrial Conference, held at London, February 27th, 1919
Report signed by Arthur Henderson, Chairman, and G.D.H.Cole, Secretary.

Hours of Labour:

A universal reduction of hours to a maximum of eight in any one day, and 44 in any one week, is immediately necessary, subject only to such modifications in particular industries or occupations as can be clearly proved to be necessary for the efficient carrying on of the service. All such modifications should be allowed only on condition that the terms secured to the workers in the industries so exempted from the strict operation of an Eight-Hour Act should be not less favourable on the whole than the terms accorded to workers under the Act.

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From Memorandum on the causes and remedies for labour unrest, presented by the Trade Union Representatives on the Joint Committee appointed at the National Industrial Conference, held at London, February 27, 1919

"The second primary ~~clau~~ cause is closely linked with the first. It is that, desiring the creation of a new industrial system which shall gradually but speedily replace the old, the workers can see no indication that either the Government or the employers have realized the necessity for any fundamental change, or that they are prepared even to make a beginning of industrial re-organization on more democratic principles. The absence of any constructive policy on the side of the Government or the employers, taken in conjunction with the fact that Labour, through the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party and through the various Trade Union Organizations, has put forward a comprehensive economic and industrial programme, has presented the workers with a sharp contrast from which they naturally draw their own deductions.

"It is clear that unless and until the Government is prepared to realise the need for comprehensive reconstruction on a democratic basis, and to formulate a constructive policy leading towards economic democracy, there can be at most no more than a temporary diminution of industrial unrest to be followed inevitably by further waves of constantly growing magnitude.

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"The changes involved in this reconstruction must, of course, be gradual, but if unrest is to be prevented from assuming dangerous forms an adequate assurance must be given immediately to the workers that the whole problem is being taken courageously in hand. It is not enough merely to tinker with particular grievances or to endeavour to reconstruct the old system by slight adjustments to meet the new demands of Labour. It is essential to question the whole basis on which our industry has been conducted in the past and to endeavour to find, in substitution for the motive of private gain, some other motive which will serve better as the foundation of a democratic system. This motive can be no other than the motive of public service, which at present is seldom invoked save when the workers threaten to stop the process of production by a strike. The motive of public service should be the dominant motive throughout the whole industrial system, and the problem in industry at the present day is that of bringing home to every person engaged in industry the feeling that he is the servant, not of any particular class or person, but of the community as a whole. This cannot be done so long as industry continues to be conducted for private profit, and the widest possible extension of public ownership and democratic control of industry is therefore the first necessary condition of the removal of industrial unrest."

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This Convention, standing as it does for the principle of self-government in political life, declares itself in favor of an extension of the principle of self-government to industry. The unprecedented development, during recent years, of the mechanical side of industry has minimized the significance of the human factor in industry, and has tended to make the worker merely a means to an end. Liberalism has ever stood, and must continue to stand, for the rights of personality as superior to considerations of property. The fullest realization of the worker's personality can come only through a larger measure of self-determination being conferred upon him, and a more adequate representation in the counsels of industry concerning matters which affect ~~their own~~ living and working conditions - a development which can be achieved without loss of efficiency or productiveness. At the same time, the interests of the consumer ~~should~~ can be, and ~~can~~ should be, similarly represented through the development of a system of joint control - a system not superimposed by governmental authority, but, rather, ~~a~~ one encouraged by government.

The Convention believes that the function of government can best be exercised by providing machinery for such

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joint control; by insisting upon certain basic requirements, such as the right of collective bargaining, a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of comfort, and hours which will provide reasonable leisure; by arranging for adequate insurance against illness, invalidity, unemployment, and old age; and by exercising such general supervision as will serve to obtain progressive improvement in the conditions under which the workers live and work.

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Joint Control and Co-operation in Industry:

The policy of the Liberal Party with respect to industrial relations is based upon the conviction that continued progress must be made in the direction of self-government on the part of the workers in industry.

While recognizing that the widespread industrial unrest of recent months and years is in part due to such obvious hardships as are worked by the continued high cost of living and insufficient wage returns, hours of labor, the experience and fear of unemployment, the opposition of some employers to union organization, inadequate housing conditions, etc., it is believed that underlying these disturbing influences are causes even more fundamental and far-reaching. It might as well be recognized that industry is undergoing an evolution in its form of government. It is passing from the stage in which entire control is vested in the employing interests to the era in which all who contribute to production, whether through investment of money or brains or labor or other service, will be entitled to share in the control of industry. The status of the workers is emerging as members of a partnership, and their relations to capital investors and management are coming to be expressed in terms of co-operation rather than organized hostility.

The team-work which the War made necessary has revealed the wealth of possibilities and the possibilities of wealth which lie in the readjustment of industrial relations

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along lines of confidence and constructive good-will, and has helped to expose the unreasonableness of the old attitude of mutual suspicion and distrust shared by the parties toward each other. Such an attitude has not by any means disappeared; but the results attained through the contacts which have been formed have been sufficient to show that the old basis of antagonism, coercion, and resistance is as unsatisfactory as it is unnecessary.

Labor, on its part, has accepted the new responsibilities imposed by an active participation in the development of industry, and has shown its willingness and its ability to supplant an attitude of mere resistance and hostility by a new temper looking to positive and constructive action. Capital and Management, on their part, have responded to the new appeal of the times, and are beginning to recognize in joint action a working basis for the successful conduct of business.

What is most needed now is to consolidate these gains in improved relations, and to provide means whereby progressive development may be made in the direction of securing "the largest possible measure of joint action between employers and employees for the development of industry as a part of national life and for the improvement of the conditions of all engaged in that industry".

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Royal Commission on Industrial Relations:

Chief causes of unrest:

1. Unemployment and the fear of unemployment.
2. High cost of living in relation to wages and the desire of the worker for a larger share of the product of his labour.
3. Desire for shorter hours of labour.
4. Denial of the right to organize and refusal to recognize unions.
5. Denial of collective bargaining.
6. Lack of confidence in constituted government.
7. Insufficient and poor housing.
8. Restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press.
9. Ostentatious display of wealth.
10. Lack of equal educational opportunities.

CHIEF RECOMMENDATIONS AND FINDINGS

Unemployment:

On the whole we believe that if the unemployed of the cities could be induced to take service upon the farms, the unemployed problem, as it exists in Canada, would be largely solved. (26).

As a means of providing immediate employment several witnesses urged that the Governments - Dominion, Provincial, and Municipal - undertake the prosecution of useful public works. The works suggested were dry docks, shipbuilding, railway extensions, building of necessary roads and bridges and clearing the land for agricultural purposes. (32)

We recommend to your Government the question of making some provision by a system of State Social Insurance for those who through no fault of their own are unable to work, whether the inability arises from lack of opportunity, sickness, invalidity or old age. (36)

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High Cost of Living:

There exists in the minds of a great many people a deep-seated belief that the high cost of living is due to profiteering in the necessaries of life. (38)

Another cause which is blamed for the high cost of commodities is the present expensive system of distribution. (39) The belief is widely entertained that there are too many middlemen, and that some system ought to be adopted which would bring the producer and consumer more in direct contact. (39)

Without any extraordinary upheaval, policies may be adopted which will ensure to the worker a fairer reward for his toil, and a living wage, and insure him against want during temporary periods of enforced idleness because of unemployment, sickness, or invalidity, and during old age. (44)

Profit-sharing plans. (45)

We believe that such a law (minimum wage law) should be enacted in all the Provinces, and should cover not only women and girls but unskilled labourers as well. (46)

Hours of Labour:

We recommend that it (the eight-hour day) be established by law throughout Canada, with due regard for the above consideration (i.e., that the number of hours worked should not be fixed by the ability to work them without undue fatigue, but should be based scientifically upon the demands of industry). Such legislation should provide for a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours which should include Sunday whenever practicable. (52)

Right to Organize:

The Government of Canada, by Order-in-Council passed in July, 1918, make a declaration of policy with respect to organizing. One clause of this Order-in-Council provided that "All employees have a right to organize in Trade Unions, and this right shall not be denied or interfered with in any manner whatsoever, and through their chosen representatives they should be permitted and encouraged to negotiate with employers concerning working conditions, rates of pay, and other grievances." (56)

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On the whole we believe the day has passed when any employer should deny his employees the right to organize. (57)

We believe the frank acknowledgment of this right by employers will remove one of the most serious causes of unrest. (58)

Collective Bargaining:

In the case of partly organized industries due recognition should be given to employees' organizations where they exist, in accordance with the declaration of the Dominion Government Order-in-Council of July, 1918. (64)

Collective bargaining is the negotiation of agreements between employers or groups of employers, and employees or groups of employees, through the representatives chosen by the respective parties themselves. (65)

Lack of Confidence in Constituted Government:

The complaint was made at several places that legislation enacted at the request and for the benefit of labour was not adequately enforced. Nor was the rise in the cost of commodities controlled in the manner that they believed it was possible for the Government to control it. The belief appears to be entertained that the Governments, both Local and Federal, are largely controlled by the financial interests, and that their influence was manifest not only in legislation but in the executive action of the several governments. . . These considerations, it was alleged, had shaken the faith of ~~These considerations, it~~ the working classes in Governments as at present constituted. (67)

The remedy suggested was a system of election by which the worker could secure better representation in Parliament. The means suggested for bringing this about was the adoption of a system of proportional representation from grouped constituencies. (68)

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Housing:

The high price of building land and of building material have made it impossible for the worker to provide himself with a home, and some means should be adopted, with as little delay as possible, to remedy this defect. (69)

Restriction upon Freedom of Speech: (70)

Ostentatious Display of Wealth: (71)

Lack of Equal Educational Facilities: (72)

Shop Committees and Industrial Councils:

The generak principàe of Industrial Councils can with advantage be adopted in Canada, but we doubt whether any particular plan now in operation could be applied in its entirety. . . . . A commencement should be made with Joint Plant Councils, and the more extensive organization of District and National Councils evolved therefrom as their necessity and practicability become apparent. (97)

We therefore recommend that the Government should interest itself in the development of these Councils, and that a bureau should be established under the Minister of Labour which would compile all available statistics on this subject, undertake publication of developments in this and other countries, maintain officers who would be available to give assistance and act as liaison officer between employer and workers where desire is expressed to create such Councils, and render such other assistance as may be required. (99)

Any attempt to force a definite plan upon either would be foredoomed to failure. Some machinery should, however, be established to take the initiative and bring the parties together. (98)

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General:

(f) That the findings of the Commission be put into effect in all work controlled by the Government where the principles of democratic management can be applied. (Summary, p. 18).

We have suggested a means by which co-operation may be promoted; but the worker is looking forward to a changed condition of life and a new status in industry, and we must be prepared to meet the changing conditions as they arise, in the same spirit of co-operation and good will. (p.19)

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C 20202

Sub Committee on Industrial Training and Technical Education
are of the opinion that,

Whereas the development of Canada's resources, her trade, commerce, and industries, as also the earning capacity and well-being of her industrial population, are dependent upon the application to industry of skill and efficiency;

And whereas co-ordination between the Provinces in the work of Industrial Training and Technical Education is essential in the interest of the country as a whole:

It is desirable that the Federal Government should co-operate with the Governments of the several Provinces of the Dominion in an endeavour to further Industrial Training and Technical Education in accordance with a national plan which will have regard for the special needs of each of the several Provinces and the general welfare of the Dominion;

That co-operation should, in the main, take the form of financial assistance by the Federal Government to the Governments of the several Provinces, such assistance to be in accordance with terms and conditions to be agreed upon after conference between the Federal and Provincial authorities;

That co-operation, in whatever form agreed upon, should have a due regard for the rights of the several Provinces in the matter of Education, for their respective total rural and urban populations, and for the industrial readjustments rendered necessary by the dislocation of industry occasioned by the war, including the distribution and re-absorption into industry of returned soldiers at the close of the war.

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(3)

The Sub-Committee on Industrial Training and Technical Education are of the opinion that,

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C 20204

Original & First Draft
August 1919.
Committee on Labour and Industrial Relations

The Liberal Record:

The attitude of Liberalism toward the problems of industry has found permanent expression in the record of its achievements under the Laurier Administration. In the fifteen years between 1896 and 1911, the number and nature of federal labor enactments was such as to constitute the sum and substance of existing federal legislation on the all-important subject of industrial relations.

It was the Liberal Government which created the Department of Labour of Canada whereby the problems of Labour were made the special concern of a department of the federal administration, and Labour given direct representation in the Dominion Cabinet.

It was the Liberal Government which established The Labour Gazette, a monthly record for the Dominion of matters of industrial interest, and instituted the annual and special reports on Labour and kindred subjects, which publications now extend over a period of eighteen years.

It was the Liberal Government which took effective means to suppress the sweating system, and inaugurated the Fair Wages policy with respect to Government contract work, and all work aided by Government subsidy.

It was the Liberal Government which placed upon the Statutes of Canada the Conciliation Act of 1900, the Railway Labor Disputes Act, 1903, and the Industrial Disputes

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Investigation Act, 1907, under which measure means have been afforded of governmental intervention in industrial disputes, and the rights of Labour and the Community given recognition in the obligatory investigation of industrial wrongs.

It was the Liberal Government which enacted the Combines Investigation Act, whereby provision is made for the investigation, at the instance of the parties affected, of combines, monopolies, trusts, and mergers.

It was the Liberal Government which was the first to give attention to a nation-wide development of Industrial Training and Technical Education, and which appointed the Royal Commission upon which the findings of which has since been based the financial assistance given the Provinces to this end.

It was the Liberal Government which took effective means to restrict immigration from the Orient, and which enacted legislation to prevent fraudulent representation to immigrants concerning industrial conditions in Canada, and secured the enactment of a like measure by the Parliament of Great Britain. These measures have been of far-reaching effect in preventing the importation of strike-breakers and in preserving industrial standards throughout the Dominion.

Supplementing this record of permanent achievement might be mentioned the attention given such important matters as Old Age Pensions, the Eight-Hour Day, Co-operation, and

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Proportional Representation, all of which, at the instance of the Liberal Government, were made the subject of extensive inquiry by Committees of Parliament.

The Conservative Record:

In striking contrast to this record of progressive achievement stands the reactionary attitude of the Conservative Government in matters pertaining to Labor, ~~from the time of assumption of office by the Government in 1911 down to the present.~~ The single labor enactment to the credit of the Administration in the three years preceding the commencement of the War was an Act to prohibit the use of white phosphorus in the making of matches. This ~~measure was, in fact, the~~ bill introduced in the previous session by the Laurier Government, and which ~~had passed the Commons and~~ failed of enactment only through the summary dissolution of Parliament.

A persistent refusal to make the policy of fair wages on Government contract work made applicable to contracts for the manufacture of munitions, under the Imperial Munitions Board, marked the Government's reactionary attitude toward Labor during the period of the War, ~~an attitude further evidenced~~ since the termination of the War, by ~~the Government's~~ refusal to accept the amendment moved by Mr. Ernest Lapointe and supported in the House of Commons on May 6 of the present year whereby it was proposed to accord representation to Labor on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways.

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To a Labor record all but devoid of specific enactment, the Borden Government's administration of labor policies has been such as to call forth repeated protests from Labor itself. The substitution for departmental administration and parliamentary inquiry, of Royal Commissions ~~to conduct inquiries upon such matters as the Cost of Living and Industrial Relations,~~ whilst occasioning ~~an unnecessary~~ a wasteful expenditure of public funds, has been destructive injurious to the permanent service, and tended to destroy ministerial responsibility. This indifference to the people's representatives in Parliament has been further emphasized by the withdrawal of the Minister of Labour from the House of Commons and the giving of the portfolio of Labour to a member of the Senate. Your committee is of the opinion that the seat-sitting of Ministers of the Crown in the House of Commons, responsible for the conduct of the Department of Labour, and for advising on matters affecting the cost of living and industrial relations, should cease, and that Government's obligation to Parliament in these and kindred matters be recognized by the ~~person holding the portfolio of Minister of Labour should be a member of the Senate~~ person holding the portfolio of Minister of Labour to have a seat in the House of Commons.

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Democratization of Industry:

Your Committee is of the opinion that, ~~as respects both the workers and the community,~~ the crux of the Labor problem lies in the question of ~~the~~ control ~~of industry.~~ As at present organized, the direction of industry is too exclusively a matter of single control on the part of Capital. Notwithstanding that the chosen representatives of the workers are more and more frequently finding a place on public councils in the State and municipalities, where they discuss subjects of public import with other elected representatives on terms of perfect equality, the control of industry up to the present has been very largely regarded by the capitalist as his own prerogative. Even the right of the workers to be represented by their chosen representatives in the discussion of important matters with the management is not generally conceded.

What is required, if industrial problems are to find a satisfactory solution, is the establishment of a new relation in industry. ~~In the future should be~~ frankly recognized as a joint enterprise, in which Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community all make necessary and interdependent contributions. Single control must give way to some plan of joint control ~~or~~ and of co-operation between the parties to industry, whereby each of the several contributing factors may have a voice in determining conditions which affect their own lives and well-being.

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This does not mean, as respects Labor, its participation in matters affecting business with which it has no direct concern, such as questions pertaining to finance, markets, and the like. It does mean that in the daily management of the employment in which the workers spend their working lives, in the atmosphere and under the conditions in which they have to work, as respects remuneration, duration of employment, and even the manners and practices of officials with whom they are brought into contact, the workers should have a greater opportunity of participating in the discussion about and the adjustment of those parts of industry by which they are most affected.

Similarly, as respects the Community, joint control of industry does not mean any usurpation of the function of management by the State. It does mean that in joint agreements between Capital and Labor, means must be devised to safeguard the interests of the Community against possible action of an anti-social character, and that the rights of the Community to have its interests recognized and protected, wherever industrial differences or disputes arise, must at all times be conceded. ~~Efficient administration and economical production must be the tests~~ of joint control.

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It is to Liberalism that we owe the transition from autocratic to representative and responsible government in the affairs of the State. It is the natural work of Liberalism to introduce into the government of industry the principles of representation whereby Labor and the Community, as well as Capital, may be represented in industrial control, and their interests safeguarded and promoted in the shaping of industrial policies. Industrial autocracy and political autocracy may go hand in hand, but not autocracy in industry and democracy in politics. To ~~desist in~~ the democratization of industry, so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy, is the logical sequence of the ~~progressive~~ step taken ~~at the time~~ the Liberal Administration established the Department of Labour and ~~gave~~ Labour direct representation in the national executive.

Having through the past sought to gain for the people an ever wider measure of political freedom, there remains to Liberalism the task of helping to reorganize the nation's industries into harmony with its government. Anything short of harmony means perpetual conflict.

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Social Service and Social Insurance:

In furthering an evolution from autocracy to self-government in the realm of industry, much is to be expected from fostering a new conception of industry and developing a spirit in industrial relations in which human and ethical considerations will be made to influence considerations that are purely business and economic. Industry hitherto has been regarded as something concerned primarily with the making of private profits. ~~Industry~~ should be thought of, as in reality it is, as in the nature of social service, and participation in industry as social service of the highest order. Now that the War is over, service in industry may well be regarded as the moral equivalent of military service, and the workers in industry as entitled to the solicitude of the State in all that pertains to the hazards of their employment and the vicissitudes of industrial life, and to a progressive improvement in the conditions under which they work and live.

To this class of considerations belong such all-important questions as ~~those of industrial accidents and occupational diseases, unemployment, sickness and invalidity, and dependence in old age, all of which in one form or another, have been dealt with in different countries by some form of social insurance which the State has facilitated, to which it has contributed, or the burden of which it has wholly assumed.~~ In Canada, most of these matters have already been dealt with in some measure by the governments of several provinces.

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Your Committee, in giving them consideration, has been confronted with the ~~somewhat complicated question~~ ~~arising~~ ill defined nature ~~out~~ of the jurisdiction of the Dominion and Provincial Governments respectively in these matters; and the still more baffling problem of what, as respects ~~any plan of social insurance~~ involving the assumption of heavy additional obligations by the State, it would be advisable to recommend to Parliament at a moment when the national public debt has grown from 400 millions to over 2 billions of dollars ~~in the~~ within the period of the last four years.

~~Your Committee~~, while prepared to take a liberal view of the State's obligations in all these matters, your Committee is of the opinion that, with the exception of Old Age Pensions and Widows' or Mothers' Pensions and Maternity Benefits, it would be paramount to a deception of the workers to announce any extension of policy ~~as respects any form~~ of social insurance by the Federal Government until the question of jurisdiction as between the Dominion and the Provinces has been definitely determined, and the full extent of the nation's existing obligations and the means of meeting the same are more adequately ascertained.

Your Committee is of the opinion that much might be done by the Federal authorities to make of nation-wide application, much of the existing legislation of some of the provinces, through agreement arrived at by the several provinces themselves under conference promoted by the Federal authorities. In this

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manner, without any sacrifice of provincial autonomy, there might be effected a uniformity of industrial standards and female labour legislation throughout the Dominion which would tend to bring all to the level of the highest efficiency. Your Committee is of opinion that much, too, might be done to assist the workers and the people generally in coping with the hazards of industry and the vicissitudes of life by an enlargement of the scope of the Annuities Act, in such manner as to make its provisions available to meet the privations occasioned by unemployment, accident, sickness, invalidity, and the like.

As regards Old Age Pensions and Widows' Pensions, the Liberal Party is already on record as favoring the immediate adoption of some plan which will recognize an obligation on the part of the State to relieve dependents in old age, and to render assistance where in industry, as certainly as in war, men suffer death through accident or disease, and their wives and families are suddenly left with insufficient support. Your Committee is of opinion that the position of the Liberal Party in this regard should be reaffirmed, and supplemented by an advocacy of maternity benefits for women employed in industry.

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~~Labor Convention of Peace Treaty~~

Labor Convention of Peace Treaty.

The Liberal Party has ever been ready to recognize that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme national importance, and that the ~~national~~ Canada interest, quite as much as the interest of the particular group most nearly affected, calls for congenial and healthful working conditions and a continuance of harmonious relations within industry. Whilst the Party stands for a progressive policy of conservation of natural resources, and the development of industry, as constituting the material foundations of the nation's wealth, it is prepared to keep uppermost in its considerations the necessity of the conservation of the nation's human resources, and the protection and development of Canadian manhood and womanhood.

To further these ends, ~~and that its policy may include reference and endorsement of such measures as may be found necessary to give effect thereto~~ and also that Canada's effort may be joined to that of other nations in helping to improve the lot of humanity, and to bring about greater uniformity in industrial conditions throughout the world, your Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention record its whole-hearted agreement with, and accepts in their entirety as a part of the Liberal platform, the terms of the Labor Convention and General Principles associated with the

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League of Nations and incorporated in the conditions of Peace.

Labour Convention of Peace Treaty

In agreeing to the terms of this Convention in the spirit in which they have been framed, the Liberal Party of Canada, so far as the special circumstances of the country will permit, undertakes to seek the application within federal jurisdiction of the ~~following~~ methods and principles for regulating labor conditions ~~as set forth in the Treaty~~ ~~from time to time as follows~~ as follows:

First - The guiding principle ~~above enunciated~~ that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second - The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third - The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth - The adoption of an 8-hours day or a 48-hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth - The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth - The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh - The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth - Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

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Industrial Unrest:

Inasmuch as ~~It is everywhere conceded that~~ industrial unrest throughout the world presents the most serious problem of the immediate present, it is important that this report should contain a reference to this subject. ~~The~~ Your Committee is of the opinion that this unrest is due in no small measure to a natural and commendable desire on the part of the workers to improve their status, and to their determination to gain in industry a wider measure of control concerning all matters affecting their working and living conditions. The attainment of these objects will, they believe, be effected only by the gradual democratization of industry, enunciated herein as a part of ~~the~~ Liberal policy.

Though ~~specific~~ mention ~~is not made~~ is not made of this as a fundamental cause of unrest in the Report of the ~~Royal~~ recently appointed by the Commission ~~on~~ Industrial Relations ~~recently appointed by the Borden Government,~~ in Canada, Your Committee concurs with the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Justice Mathers, and those of his colleagues who joined with him in submitting the Commission's Report, that the ~~chief~~ This causes of unrest, ~~other than those mentioned,~~ are those enumerated by the Commissioners in their Report ~~, which are~~ as follows:

1. Unemployment and the fear of unemployment.
2. High cost of living in relation to wages and the desire of the worker for a larger share of the product of his labour.
3. Desire for shorter hours of labour.
4. Denial of the right to organize and refusal to recognize Unions.
5. Denial of collective bargaining.

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6. Lack of confidence in constituted government.
7. Insufficient and poor housing.
8. Restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press.
9. Ostentatious display of wealth.
10. Lack of equal educational opportunities.

Of the causes enumerated, those pertaining to unemployment, shorter hours, the right to organize, collective bargaining, and equal educational opportunities have already ~~been~~ referred to ~~in~~ this report, and the Liberal attitude with respect thereto clearly indicated. The best method of dealing with the other mentioned causes of unrest with a view to their removal demands a further expression of Liberal policy.

In so far as the ostentatious display of wealth is a factor contributing to unrest, your Committee is of the opinion that an immediate levy should be made by the State upon all wealth devoted to unsocial uses or possessed in such measure as to permit of ostentatious display, and the proceeds thereof made applicable to an immediate reduction of the enormous war debt. The Government should spare no effort in seeking to ascertain to what degree the fortunes of individuals have been a consequence of profiteering during the War, and wherever profiteering is established, compel a forfeiture to the State in their entirety of all ill-gotten gains ~~to the State.~~ Such a course of action is not less necessary to allay unrest than it is just to those whose lives and fortunes have been sacrificed for their country in the War.

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As to the high cost of living, and insufficient and poor housing, your Committee is of the opinion that no effective remedy will be found so long as the instruments of production, the food and clothing of the people, and builders' supplies and building materials continue to be taxed as they are at present under the Customs Tariff. A well-considered reform of the Tariff, for the purpose of helping the producer and relieving the consumer, is imperative if production is to be increased and the necessaries of life are to be brought within the reach of the masses of the people.

Your Committee would direct special attention to the remaining causes enumerated, namely: restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press, and the lack of confidence in constituted government. It would be impossible to frame a stronger indictment against an Administration. How general and widespread these causes of unrest must be are evident from the circumstance that the Government's own Commission has found it necessary to render these findings, and that they constitute two out of the ten causes of unrest enumerated. To remove the causes is the only remedy, and it is one which in the opinion of your Committee is urgently demanded by the country.

Every autocratic act on the part of government is a direct incitement to all who are unjustly deprived of their

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rights as free citizens to secure, by "direct action" and ~~other~~ by other means and instruments/than Parliament and the ballot, the rights and ends of which they believe themselves to be deprived.

The methods taken by the Borden Administration to stifle free expression of opinion, both on the platform and in the press, and to dispossess the electorate of rights secured to them by the franchise and its exercise under free conditions, have all tended to rob Parliament of its authority as spokesman of the people and to bring parliamentary government into contempt. A representative parliament and a responsible ministry are essential to the satisfactory working of democratic government in the State. They are equally necessary to the evolution of government in industry along constitutional lines; and as a bulwark against extreme movements which threaten all constituted authority. These ~~outstanding~~ inestimable safeguards of a people's liberties and a people's freedom are outstanding ~~in~~ among the achievements of Liberalism in Canada. Your Committee is of the opinion that, if this country is to cope successfully with industrial and political unrest, to restore what has been lost of freedom in the particulars mentioned is the most needed of all immediate reforms.

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C 20220

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August 2, 1919.
4

To a Labor record all but devoid of specific enactment, the Government's administration of labor policies has been such as to call forth repeated protests from Labor itself. The substitution for departmental administration and parliamentary inquiry of Royal Commissions to conduct inquiries upon such matters as the Cost of Living and Industrial Relations, whilst occasioning an unnecessary expenditure of public funds, has been injurious to the permanent service, and tended to destroy ministerial responsibility. This indifference to the people's representatives in Parliament has been further emphasized by withdrawing the Minister of Labour from the House of Commons and giving the portfolio to a member of the Senate.

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Democratization of Industry:

Your Committee is of the opinion that, as respects both the workers and the community, the crux of the Labor problem lies in the question of the control of industry. As at present organized, the direction of industry is too exclusively a matter of single control on the part of Capital. Notwithstanding that the chosen representatives of the workers are more and more frequently finding a place on public councils in the State and municipalities, where they discuss subjects of public import with other elected representatives on terms of perfect equality, the control of industry up to the present has been very largely regarded by the capitalist as his own prerogative. Even the right of the workers to be represented by their chosen representatives in the discussion of important matters with the management is not generally conceded.

What is required, if industrial problems are to find a satisfactory solution, is the establishment of a new relation in industry. Industry in the future should be frankly recognized as a joint enterprise, in which Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community all make necessary and interdependent contributions. Single control must give way to some plan of joint control or of co-operation between the parties to industry, whereby each of the several contributing factors may have a voice in determining conditions which affect their own lives and well-being.

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Similarly, as respects the Community, joint control of industry does not mean any usurpation of the function of management by the State. It does mean that in joint agreements between Capital and Labor, means must be devised to safeguard the interests of the Community against possible action of an anti-social character, and that the rights of the Community to have its interests recognized and protected, wherever industrial differences or disputes arise, must at all times be conceded. Efficient administration and economical production must be the tests of joint control.

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Having through the past sought to gain for the people an ever wider measure of political freedom, there remains to Liberalism the task of helping to reorganize the nation's industries into harmony with its government. Anything short of harmony means perpetual conflict.

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In furthering an evolution from autocracy to self-government in the realm of industry, much is to be expected from fostering a new conception of industry and developing a spirit in industrial relations in which human and ethical considerations will be made to influence considerations that are purely business and economic. Industry hitherto has been regarded as something concerned primarily with the making of private profits. Industry should be thought of, as in reality it is, as in the nature of social service, and participation in industry as social service of the highest order. Now that the War is over, service in industry may well be regarded as the moral equivalent of military service, and the workers in industry as entitled to the solicitude of the State in all that pertains to the hazards of their employment and the vicissitudes of industrial life.

To this class of considerations belong such all-important questions as those of industrial accidents and occupational diseases unemployment, sickness and invalidity, and dependence in old age, all of which, in one form or another, have been dealt with in different countries by some form of social insurance which the State has facilitated, to which it has contributed, or the burden of which it has wholly assumed. In Canada, most of these matters have already been dealt with in some measure by the governments of several provinces.

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Your Committee, in giving them consideration, has been confronted with the somewhat complicated question arising out of the jurisdiction of the Dominion and Provincial Governments respectively in these matters; and the still more baffling problem of what, as respects any plan of social insurance involving assumption of heavy additional obligations by the State, it would be advisable to recommend to Parliament at a moment when the national public debt has grown from millions to over billions of dollars in the period of the last four years.

Your Committee, while prepared to take a liberal view of the State's obligations in all these matters, is of the opinion that, with the exception of Old Age and Widows' Pensions and Maternity Benefits, it would be paramount to a deception of the workers to announce a policy as respects any form of social insurance by the Federal Government until the question of jurisdiction as between the Dominion and the Provinces has been definitely determined, and the full extent of the nation's existing obligations and the means of meeting the same are more adequately ascertained.

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Much, too, might be done to assist the workers and the people generally in coping with the hazards of industry and of life by an enlargement of the scope of the Annuities Act, in such manner as to make its provisions available to meet the privations occasioned by unemployment, sickness, invalidity, and the like.

As regards Old Age and Widows Pensions, the Liberal Party is already on record as favouring the immediate adoption of some plan which will recognize an obligation on the part of the State to relieve dependents in old age and to render assistance where in industry, as certainly as in war, men suffer death through accident or disease, and their wives and families are suddenly left with insufficient support. Your Committee is of opinion that the position of the Liberal Party in this regard should be reaffirmed, and supplemented by an advocacy of maternity benefits for women engaged in industry.

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Labor Convention of Peace Treaty:

The Liberal Party has ever been ready to recognize that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme national importance, and that the national interest, quite as much as the interest of the particular group most nearly affected, calls for congenial and healthful working conditions and a continuance of harmonious relations within industry. Whilst the Party stands for a progressive policy of conservation of natural resources, and the development of industry, as constituting the material foundations of the nation's wealth, it is prepared to keep uppermost in its considerations the necessity of the conservation of the nation's human resources, and the protection and development of Canadian manhood and womanhood.

To further these ends, and also that Canada's effort may be joined to that of other nations in helping to improve the lot of humanity, and to bring about greater uniformity in industrial conditions throughout the world, your Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention record its whole-hearted agreement with, and accepts in their entirety as a part of the Liberal platform, the terms of the Labor Convention and General Principles associated with the

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League of Nations and incorporated in the conditions of Peace.

In agreeing to the terms of this Convention in the spirit in which they have been framed, the Liberal Party of Canada, so far as the special circumstances of the country will permit, undertakes to seek the application within federal jurisdiction of the following methods and principles for regulating labor conditions:

First - The guiding principle above enunciated that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second - The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third - The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth - The adoption of an 8-hours day or a 48-hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth - The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth - The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh - The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth - Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

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Industrial Unrest:

It is everywhere conceded that industrial unrest presents the most serious problem of the immediate present. The Committee is of the opinion that this unrest is due in no small measure to a natural and commendable desire on the part of the workers to improve their status, and to their determination to gain in industry a wider measure of control concerning all matters affecting their working and living conditions. The attainment of these objects will, they believe, be effected only by the gradual democratization of industry, enunciated herein as a part of the Liberal policy.

Though specific mention is not made of this as a fundamental cause of unrest in the Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations recently appointed by the Borden Government, the Committee concurs with the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Justice Mathers, and those of his colleagues who joined with him in submitting the Commission's Report, that the chief causes of unrest, other than those mentioned, are those enumerated by the Commissioners in their Report, which are as follows:

1. Unemployment and the fear of unemployment.
2. High cost of living in relation to wages and the desire of the worker for a larger share of th product of his labour.
3. Desire for shorter hours of labour.
4. Denial of the right to organize and refusal to recognize Unions.
5. Denial of collective bargaining.

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6. Lack of confidence in constituted government.
7. Insufficient and poor housing.
8. Restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press.
9. Ostentatious display of wealth.
10. Lack of equal educational opportunities.

Of the causes enumerated, those pertaining to unemployment, shorter hours, the right to organize, collective bargaining, and equal educational opportunities have already been referred to in this report, and the Liberal attitude with respect thereto clearly indicated. The best method of dealing with the other mentioned causes of unrest with a view to their removal demands a further expression of Liberal policy.

In so far as the ostentatious display of wealth is a factor contributing to unrest, your Committee is of the opinion that an immediate levy should be made by the State upon all wealth devoted to unsocial uses or possessed in such measure as to permit of ostentatious display, and the proceeds thereof made applicable to an immediate reduction of the enormous war debt. The Government should spare no effort in seeking to ascertain to what degree the fortunes of individuals have been a consequence of profiteering during the War, and wherever profiteering is established, compel a forfeiture ~~in their entirety~~ to the State of all ill-gotten gains ~~to the State.~~ in their entirety. Such a course of action is not less necessary to allay unrest than it is just to those whose lives and fortunes have been sacrificed for their country in the War.

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As to the high cost of living, and insufficient and poor housing, your Committee is of the opinion that no effective remedy will be found so long as the instruments of production, the food and clothing of the people, and builders' supplies and building materials continue to be taxed as they are at present under the Customs Tariff. A well-considered reform of the Tariff, for the purpose of helping the producer and relieving the consumer, is imperative if production is to be increased and the necessaries of life are to be brought within the reach of the masses of the people.

Your Committee would direct special attention to the remaining causes enumerated, namely: restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press, and the lack of confidence in constituted government. It would be impossible to frame a stronger indictment against an Administration. How general and widespread these causes of unrest must be are evident from the circumstance that the Government's own Commission has found it necessary to render these findings, and that they constitute two out of the ten causes of unrest enumerated. To remove the causes is the only remedy, and it is one which in the opinion of your Committee is urgently demanded by the country.

Every autocratic act on the part of government is a direct incitement to all who are unjustly deprived of their

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rights as free citizens to secure, by "direct action" and ~~other~~ by other means and instruments/than Parliament and the ballot, the rights and ends of which they believe themselves to be deprived.

The methods taken by the Borden Administration to stifle free expression of opinion, both on the platform and in the press, and to dispossess the electorate of rights secured to them by the franchise and its exercise under free conditions, have all tended to rob Parliament of its authority as spokesman of the people and to bring parliamentary government into contempt. A representative parliament and a responsible ministry are essential to the satisfactory working of democratic government in the State. They are equally necessary to the evolution of government in industry along constitutional lines and as a bulwark against extreme movements which threaten all constituted authority. These ~~outstanding~~ inestimable safeguards of a people's liberties and a people's freedom are outstanding in the achievements of Liberalism in Canada. Your Committee is of the opinion that, if this country is to cope successfully with industrial and political unrest, to restore what has been lost of freedom in the particulars mentioned is the most needed of all immediate reforms.

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C 20233

Second Draft-
August 3, 1919.

Report

of

COMMITTEE ON

LABOUR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

to accompany Resolution

The Liberal Record:

The attitude of Liberalism toward the problems of industry has found permanent expression in the record of its achievements under the Laurier Administration. In the fifteen years between 1896 and 1911, the number and nature of federal labor enactments were such as to constitute the sum and substance of existing federal legislation on the all-important subject of industrial relations.

It was the Liberal Government which created the Department of Labour of Canada, whereby the problems of Labour were made the special concern of a department of the federal administration, and Labour was given direct representation in the Dominion Cabinet.

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It was the Liberal Government which ~~effectively~~ restricted immigration from the Orient, and which enacted legislation to prevent fraudulent representation to immigrants concerning industrial conditions in Canada, and secured the enactment of a like measure by the Parliament of Great Britain.

All of these measures have had far-reaching effect in maintaining and improving industrial standards and conditions throughout the Dominion, and all continue to constitute a part of existing legislation.

Supplementing this record of permanent achievement should be mentioned the attention given such important matters as Old Age Pensions, the Eight-Hour Day, Co-operation, and Proportional Representation, all of which, at the instance of the Liberal Government while in power, were made the subject of extensive inquiry by Committees of Parliament.

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Since the termination of the War, the Government's reactionary attitude has been further evidenced by its refusal to accept the amendment moved by Mr. Ernest Lapointe, and supported by the Liberal Opposition, in the House of Commons on May 6 of the present year, whereby it was proposed to accord representation to Labor on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways. Your Committee recommends that ~~this~~ the Liberals in Parliament continue to urge that this representation be granted, and that the Party pledge itself to see that provision is forthwith made for such representation ~~if~~ returned to power.

To a Labor record all but devoid of specific enactment, the Borden Government's administration of labor policies has been such as to call forth repeated protests from Labor itself. The substitution of Royal Commissions for departmental administration and parliamentary inquiry, on matters which properly pertain to the Department of Labour, whilst occasioning a wasteful expenditure of public funds, has been distinctly injurious to the permanent service, and has tended to destroy ministerial responsibility. This indifference to the people's representatives in Parliament has been further emphasized by the withdrawal of the Minister of Labour from the House of Commons and the giving of the portfolio of Labour to a member of the Senate. Your Committee is of the opinion that the side-stepping of ministerial responsibility through the repeated appointment of commissions on such subjects as the Cost of Living and Industrial Relations, should cease, and the Government's obligation to Parliament in these and kindred matters be further recognized by obliging the Minister of Labour to have a seat in the House of Commons.

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Democratization of Industry:

Your Committee is of the opinion that industry is undergoing an evolution in its form of government; that it is passing from the stage in which entire control is vested in the employing interests to the era in which all who contribute to production, whether through investment of money or brains or labor, or other service, will be entitled to share in the control of industry. As respects both the workers and the community, the crux of the Labour problem lies in the question of industrial control.

As at present organized, the direction of industry is too exclusively a matter of single control on the part of Capital. Notwithstanding that the chosen representatives of the workers are more and more frequently finding a place on public councils in the State and municipalities, where they discuss subjects of public import with other elected representatives on terms of perfect equality, the control of industry up to the present has been very largely regarded by the capitalist as his own prerogative. Even the right of the workers to be represented by their chosen representatives in the discussion of important matters with the management is not generally conceded.

What is required, if industrial problems are to find a satisfactory solution, is the establishment of a new relation in industry. The workers must be permitted to emerge in their status as members of a partnership, and their relations to capital investors and management must come to be expressed in terms of co-operation rather than of organized hostility. Industry must be frankly recognized as a joint enterprise, in which Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community all make necessary and interdependent contributions. Single control must give way to some plan of joint control and of co-operation between the parties to industry, whereby each of the several contributing factors may have a voice in determining conditions which affect their own lives and well-being.

This does not mean, as respects Labor, its participation in matters affecting business with which it has no direct concern, such as, in some industries, questions pertaining to finance, markets, and the like. It does mean that, in the daily management of the employment in which the workers spend their working lives, in the atmosphere and under the conditions in which they have to live and work, as respects

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terms and conditions of employment, and such matters as the manners and practices of officials with whom they are brought into contact, the workers should have a greater opportunity of participating in the discussion about and the adjustment of those parts of industry by which they are most affected.

Similarly, as respects the Community, joint control of industry does not mean any usurpation of the function of management by the State. It does mean that in joint agreements between Capital and Labour, means must be devised to safeguard the interests of the Community against possible action of an anti-social character, and that the rights of the Community to have its interests recognized and protected, wherever industrial differences or disputes arise, must at all times be conceded.

It is to Liberalism that we owe the transition from autocratic to representative and responsible government in the affairs of the State. It is the natural work of Liberalism to extend the principle of self-government to industry, and to introduce into the government of industry the principles of representation whereby Labor and the Community, as well as Capital, may be represented in industrial control, and their interests safeguarded and promoted in the shaping of industrial policies. Industrial autocracy and political autocracy may go hand in hand, but not autocracy in industry and democracy in politics. To further the democratization of industry, so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy, is the logical sequence of the step taken by the Liberal Administration in establishing the Department of Labour and giving to Labour direct representation in the national executive.

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Social Service and Social Insurance:

In furthering an evolution from autocracy to self-government in the realm of industry, much is to be expected from fostering a new conception of industry and developing a spirit in industrial relations in which human and ethical considerations will be made to influence considerations that are purely business and economic. Industry hitherto has been regarded as something concerned primarily with the making of private profits. It should be thought of, as in reality it is, as in the nature of social service, and participation in industry as social service of the highest order. Liberalism has ever stood, and must continue to stand, for the rights of personality as superior to considerations of property. Now that the War is over, service in industry may well be regarded as the moral equivalent of military service, and the workers in industry as entitled to the solicitude of the State in all that pertains to the hazards of their employment and the vicissitudes of industrial life, and to a progressive improvement in the conditions under which they work and live.

To this class of considerations, which account must be taken in this connection belong such all-important questions as the following, to which special attention was drawn in the Convention submitted by the Commission on International Labour Legislation and adopted by the Preliminary Peace Conference at Paris:

> "The regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures."

In Canada, most of these matters have already been dealt with in some measure by the governments of the Dominion or of the several provinces. In giving them careful consideration, your Committee has been confronted with the ~~ill-defined nature of the~~ uncertainty of jurisdiction of the Dominion and Provincial Governments respectively in these matters; and the still more baffling problem of what, as respects matters involving the

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assumption of heavy additional obligations by the State, it would be advisable to recommend to Parliament, with any hope of enactment, at a moment when the national public debt has grown from ~~four hundred~~ 300 millions to over two billions of dollars, within the period of the last four years.

Whilst prepared to take a liberal view of the State's obligations in all these matters, your Committee is of the opinion that, with the exception of Old Age Pensions and Widows' or Mothers' Pensions and Maternity Benefits, it would be paramount to a deception of the workers to announce any extensive policy of social insurance by the Federal Government until ~~the question of jurisdiction as between the Dominion and the Provinces has been definitely determined~~, and the full extent of the nation's existing obligations and the means of meeting the same are more adequately ascertained. ~~Until such time as~~ Questions of jurisdiction as between the Dominion and the Provinces ~~should~~ be considered by effective co-operation between the respective governments

Your Committee is of the opinion that much might be done by the Federal authorities to make of nation-wide application, much of the existing legislation of some of the provinces, through agreement arrived at by the several provinces themselves under conference promoted by the Federal authorities. In this manner, without any sacrifice of provincial autonomy, there might be effected a uniformity of industrial standards and conditions throughout the Dominion which would tend to bring all to the level of the highest efficiency.

Your Committee is also of the opinion that much might be done to assist the workers and the people generally in coping with the hazards of industry and the vicissitudes of life by an enlargement of the scope of the Annuities Act, in such manner as to make its provisions available to meet ~~provisions~~ occasioned by unemployment, accident, sickness, disease, and invalidity.

As regards Old Age Pensions and Widows' or Mothers' Pensions, the Liberal Party is already on record as favoring the immediate adoption of some plan which will recognize an obligation on the part of the State to relieve dependency in old age, and to render assistance where in industry, as certainly as in war, men suffer death through accident or disease, and their wives and families are ~~suddenly~~ left with insufficient support. Your Committee is of the opinion that the position of the Liberal Party in this regard should be reaffirmed, and supplemented by an advocacy of maternity benefits for women employed in industry.

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The Liberal Party has ever been ready to recognize that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme national importance, and that the public interest, quite as much as the interest of the particular group most nearly affected, calls for congenial and healthful working conditions and a continuance of harmonious relations within industry. Whilst the Party stands for a progressive policy of conservation of natural resources, and the development of industry, as constituting the material foundations of the nation's wealth, it is prepared to keep uppermost in its considerations the necessity of the conservation of the nation's human resources, and the protection and development of Canadian manhood and womanhood.

To further these ends, and that its policy may include reference to all matters herein mentioned, and also that Canada's effort may be joined to that of other nations in helping to improve the lot of humanity and to bring about greater uniformity in industrial conditions throughout the world, your Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention record its whole-hearted agreement with, and accepts in their entirety as a part of the Liberal platform, the terms of the Labor Convention and General Principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporated in the conditions of Peace.

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Labour Convention of Peace Treaty:

In agreeing to the terms of this Convention in the spirit in which they have been framed, the Liberal Party of Canada, so far as the special circumstances of the country will permit, undertakes to seek the application within federal jurisdiction of the methods and principles for regulating labour conditions as set forth in the Treaty as follows:

First - The guiding principle that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second - The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third - The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth - The adoption of an 8-hours day or a 48 hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth - The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth - The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh - The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth - Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

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C 20242

Industrial Unrest:

Inasmuch as industrial unrest presents throughout the world the most serious problem of the immediate present, it is important that this report should not conclude without reference to this all-important subject.

Your Committee is of the opinion that this unrest, in Canada as elsewhere, is due in no small measure to a natural and commendable desire on the part of the workers to improve their status, and to their determination to gain in industry a wider measure of control concerning all matters affecting their working and living conditions. The attainment of these objects will, they believe, be effected only by the gradual democratization of industry, enunciated herein as a part of Liberal policy.

Though mention of this as a fundamental cause of unrest is not made in the Report of the Commission recently appointed by the Administration to inquire into Industrial Relations in Canada, your Committee concurs with the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Justice Mathers, and those of his colleagues who joined with him in submitting the Commission's Report, that the other chief causes of unrest are those enumerated by the Commissioners in their Report, as follows:

1. Unemployment and the fear of unemployment.
2. High cost of living in relation to wages and the desire of the worker for a larger share of the product of his labour.
3. Desire for shorter hours of labour.
4. Denial of the right to organize and refusal to recognize Unions.
5. Denial of collective bargaining.
6. Lack of confidence in constituted government.
7. Insufficient and poor housing.
8. Restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press.
9. Ostentatious display of wealth.
10. Lack of equal educational opportunities.

Of the causes enumerated, those pertaining to unemployment, shorter hours, the right to organize, collective bargaining, and equal educational opportunities have already been referred to in this report, and the Liberal attitude with respect thereto clearly indicated. The best method of dealing with the other mentioned causes of unrest with a view to their removal demands a further expression of Liberal policy.

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In so far as the ostentatious display of wealth is a factor contributing to unrest, your Committee is of the opinion that an immediate levy should be made by the State upon ~~all~~ wealth [redacted] or possessed in ~~such measure as to permit of ostentatious display~~, and the proceeds thereof made applicable to an immediate reduction of the enormous war debt. The Government should spare no effort in seeking to ascertain to what degree the fortunes of individuals have been a consequence of profiteering during the War, and wherever profiteering is established, compel a forfeiture to the State of all ill-gotten gains in their entirety. Such a course of action is not less necessary to allay unrest than it is just to those whose lives and fortunes have been sacrificed for their country in the War.

As to the high cost of living, and insufficient and poor housing, your Committee is of the opinion that no effective remedy will be found so long as the instruments of production, the food and clothing of the people, and builders' supplies and building materials continue to be taxed as they are at present under the Customs Tariff. A well-considered reform of the Tariff, for the purpose of helping the producer and relieving the consumer, is imperative if production is to be increased and the necessaries of life are to be brought within the reach of the masses of the people.

Your Committee would direct special attention to the remaining causes enumerated, namely: restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press, and the lack of confidence in constituted government. It would be impossible to frame a stronger indictment against an Administration. How general and widespread these causes of unrest must be are evident from the circumstance that the Government's own Commission has found it necessary to render these findings, and that they constitute two out of the ten causes of unrest enumerated. To remove the causes is the only remedy, and it is one which in the opinion of your Committee is urgently demanded by the country.

Every autocratic act on the part of government is a direct incitement to all who are unjustly deprived of their rights as free citizens to secure, by "direct action" and by means and instruments other than Parliament and the ballot, the rights and ends of which they believe themselves to be deprived.

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The methods taken by the Borden Administration to stifle free expression of opinion, both on the platform and in the press, and to dispossess the electorate of rights secured to them by the franchise and its exercise under free conditions, have all tended to rob Parliament of its authority as spokesman of the people and to bring parliamentary government into contempt. A representative parliament and a responsible ministry are essential to the satisfactory working of democratic government in the State. They are equally necessary to the evolution of government in industry along constitutional lines; and as a bulwark against extreme movements which threaten all constituted authority. These inestimable safeguards of a people's liberties and a people's freedom are outstanding among the achievements of Liberalism in Canada. Your Committee is of the opinion that, if this country is to cope successfully with industrial and political unrest, to restore what has been lost of freedom in the particulars mentioned is the most needed of all immediate reforms.

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Second Draft
August 3, 1919.

COMMITTEE ON

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C 20250

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To this class of considerations belong such all-important questions as the following, to which special attention was drawn in the Convention submitted by the Commission on International Labour Legislation and adopted by the Preliminary Peace Conference at Paris:

> "The regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures."

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The Liberal Party has ever been ready to recognize that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme national importance, and that the public interest, quite as much as the interest of the particular group most nearly affected, calls for congenial and healthful working conditions and a continuance of harmonious relations within industry. Whilst the Party stands for a progressive policy of conservation of natural resources, and the development of industry, as constituting the material foundations of the nation's wealth, it is prepared to keep uppermost in its considerations the necessity of the conservation of the nation's human resources, and the protection and development of Canadian manhood and womanhood.

To further these ends, and that its policy may include reference to all matters herein mentioned, and also that Canada's effort may be joined to that of other nations in helping to improve the lot of humanity and to bring about greater uniformity in industrial conditions throughout the world, your Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention record its whole-hearted agreement with, and accepts in their entirety as a part of the Liberal platform, the terms of the Labor Convention and General Principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporated in the conditions of Peace.

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C 20253

Labour Convention of Peace Treaty:

In agreeing to the terms of this Convention in the spirit in which they have been framed, the Liberal Party of Canada, so far as the special circumstances of the country will permit, undertakes to seek the application within federal jurisdiction of the methods and principles for regulating labour conditions as set forth in the Treaty as follows:

First - The guiding principle that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second - The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third - The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth - The adoption of an 8-hours day or a 48 hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth - The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth - The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh - The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth - Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

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Industrial Unrest:

Inasmuch as industrial unrest presents throughout the world the most serious problem of the immediate present, it is important that this report should not conclude without reference to this all-important subject.

Your Committee is of the opinion that this unrest, in Canada as elsewhere, is due in no small measure to a natural and commendable desire on the part of the workers to improve their status, and to their determination to gain in industry a wider measure of control concerning all matters affecting their working and living conditions. The attainment of these objects will, they believe, be effected only by the gradual democratization of industry, enunciated herein as a part of Liberal policy.

Though mention of this as a fundamental cause of unrest is not made in the Report of the Commission recently appointed by the Administration to inquire into Industrial Relations in Canada, your Committee concurs with the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Justice Mathers, and those of his colleagues who joined with him in submitting the Commission's Report, that the other chief causes of unrest are those enumerated by the Commissioners in their Report, as follows:

1. Unemployment and the fear of unemployment.
2. High cost of living in relation to wages and the desire of the worker for a larger share of the product of his labour.
3. Desire for shorter hours of labour.
4. Denial of the right to organize and refusal to recognize Unions.
5. Denial of collective bargaining.
6. Lack of confidence in constituted government.
7. Insufficient and poor housing.
8. Restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press.
9. Ostentatious display of wealth.
10. Lack of equal educational opportunities.

Of the causes enumerated, those pertaining to unemployment, shorter hours, the right to organize, collective bargaining, and equal educational opportunities have already been referred to in this report, and the Liberal attitude with respect thereto clearly indicated. The best method of dealing with the other mentioned causes of unrest with a view to their removal demands a further expression of Liberal policy.

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In so far as the ostentatious display of wealth is a factor contributing to unrest, your Committee is of the opinion that an immediate levy should be made by the State upon all wealth devoted to unsocial uses or possessed in such measure as to permit of ostentatious display, and the proceeds thereof made applicable to an immediate reduction of the enormous war debt. The Government should spare no effort in seeking to ascertain to what degree the fortunes of individuals have been a consequence of profiteering during the War, and wherever profiteering is established, compel a forfeiture to the State of all ill-gotten gains in their entirety. Such a course of action is not less necessary to allay unrest than it is just to those whose lives and fortunes have been sacrificed for their country in the War.

As to the high cost of living and insufficient and poor housing, your Committee is of the opinion that no effective remedy will be found so long as the instruments of production, the food and clothing of the people, and builders' supplies and building materials continue to be taxed as they are at present under the Customs Tariff. A well-considered reform of the Tariff, for the purpose of helping the producer and relieving the consumer, is imperative if production is to be increased and the necessaries of life are to be brought within the reach of the masses of the people.

Your Committee would direct special attention to the remaining causes enumerated, namely: restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press, and the lack of confidence in constituted government. It would be impossible to frame a stronger indictment against an Administration. How general and widespread these causes of unrest must be are evident from the circumstance that the Government's own Commission has found it necessary to render these findings, and that they constitute two out of the ten causes of unrest enumerated. To remove the causes is the only remedy, and it is one which in the opinion of your Committee is urgently demanded by the country.

Every autocratic act on the part of government is a direct incitement to all who are unjustly deprived of their rights as free citizens to secure, by "direct action" and by means and instruments other than Parliament and the ballot, the rights and ends of which they believe themselves to be deprived.

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The methods taken by the Borden Administration to stifle free expression of opinion, both on the platform and in the press, and to dispossess the electorate of rights secured to them by the franchise and its exercise under free conditions, have all tended to rob Parliament of its authority as spokesman of the people and to bring parliamentary government into contempt. A representative parliament and a responsible ministry are essential to the satisfactory working of democratic government in the State. They are equally necessary to the evolution of government in industry along constitutional lines; and as a bulwark against extreme movements which threaten all constituted authority. These inestimable safeguards of a people's liberties and a people's freedom are outstanding among the achievements of Liberalism in Canada. Your Committee is of the opinion that, if this country is to cope successfully with industrial and political unrest, to restore what has been lost of freedom in the particulars mentioned is the most needed of all immediate reforms.

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C 20257

Third Draft-
August 4. 1919.

COMMITTEE ON

LABOUR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Recommendations:

A. The Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention ~~record its whole-hearted agreement with, and~~ accept in their entirety as a part of the Liberal Platform, in the spirit in which they have been framed and in so far as the special circumstances of the country will permit, the terms of the Labour Convention and General Principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporated in the Conditions of Peace.

These methods and principles for regulating labour conditions are as set forth in the Treaty as follows:-

"First - The guiding principle that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

"Second - The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

"Third - The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

"Fourth - The adoption of an 8-hours day or a 48 hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

"Fifth - The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

"Sixth - The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

"Seventh - The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

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Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth - Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

B. The Committee recommends the adoption by the Convention of the following concrete measures as a part of Liberal policy:

(1) An 8 hour day and a 44 hour week on public works under Federal jurisdiction.

(2) Old Age Pensions.

(3) Widows' or Mothers' Pensions.

(4) Maternity Benefits.

(5) Representation of Labour on Federal Commissions pertaining to Labour matters.

(6) Representation of Labour on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways.

(7) Provision to enable a duly qualified elector to cast his ballot legally on election day where through vocation he is compelled on the day of election to be absent from his place of residence.

(8) Proper registration of union labels.

(9) Restriction of Chinese immigration according to methods and limitations in force with respect to immigration from Japan.

(10) Jury trial of persons deemed liable to deportation.

(11) Encouragement of co-operative producing and trading associations.

(12) The acceptance of the principle of Proportional Representation.

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The Committee is of the opinion that it would be tantamount to a deception of the workers to propose any extensive policy of social insurance by the Federal Government until the full extent of the nation's existing obligations and the means of meeting the same are more adequately ascertained.

It is of the opinion, however, that much might be done by the Federal authorities, in the way of improving industrial standards and conditions throughout the Dominion, through a nation-wide application of existing legislation of some of the Provinces, effected through agreement arrived at by the several Provinces themselves under conference promoted by the Federal authorities.

The Committee is of the opinion that, on matters pertaining to industrial and social legislation, an effort should be made to overcome any question of jurisdiction between the Dominion and the Provinces by effective co-operation between the respective Governments.

C. The Committee desires to present the following expression of opinion on general policy in matters pertaining to industry:

The Committee is of the opinion that industry is undergoing an evolution in its form of government; that it is passing from the stage in which entire control is vested in the employing interests to the era in which all who contribute to production, whether through investment of money or brains or labour, or other service, will be entitled to share in control.

The Committee believes that the direction of industry, as at present organized, is too exclusively a matter of single control on the part of Capital. Notwithstanding that the chosen representatives of the workers are more and more frequently finding a place on public councils in the State and municipalities, where they meet with other elected representatives on terms of perfect equality, the control of industry up to the present has been very largely regarded by the capitalist as his own prerogative. Even the right of the workers to be represented by their chosen representatives in the discussion of important matters with the management is not infrequently denied.

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The Committee believes that, if industrial problems are to find a satisfactory solution, a new relation in industry is necessary; that the right of workers to organize and to bargain through chosen representatives must be recognized; that the workers must be permitted to emerge in their status as members of a partnership; and that their relations to capital investors and management must come to be expressed in terms of co-operation rather than of organized hostility. Industry must be frankly recognized as a joint enterprise, in which Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community all make necessary and interdependent contributions. Single control must give way to some plan of joint control and of co-operation between the parties to industry, whereby each of the several contributing factors may have a voice in determining conditions which affect their own lives and well-being.

This does not mean, as respects Labor, its participation in matters affecting business with which it has no direct concern, such as, in some industries, questions pertaining to finance, markets, and the like. It does mean that, in the daily management of the employment in which the workers spend their working lives, in the atmosphere and under the conditions in which they have to live and work, as respects terms and conditions of employment, and such matters as the manners and practices of officials with whom they are brought into contact, the workers should have a greater opportunity of participating in the discussion about and the adjustment of those parts of industry by which they are most affected.

Similarly, as respects the Community, joint control of industry does not mean any usurpation of the function of management by the State. It does mean that in joint agreements between Capital and Labour, means must be devised to safeguard the interests of the Community against possible action of an anti-social character, and that the rights of the Community to have its interests recognized and protected, wherever industrial differences or disputes arise, must at all times be conceded.

The Committee therefore recommends that the National Liberal Convention place itself on record as favoring an extension of the principle of self-government to industry, and the introduction into the government of industry of ~~th~~ principles of representation whereby Labor and the Community, as well as Capital, may be represented in industrial control,

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and their interests safeguarded and promoted in the shaping of industrial policies. To further the democratization of industry, so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy, is, it believes, the logical sequence of the step taken by the Liberal Administration in establishing the Department of Labour and giving to Labour direct representation in the national executive.

D. With respect to industrial unrest, which presents throughout the world the most serious problem of the immediate present, the Committee is of the opinion that, in Canada as elsewhere, unrest is due in no small measure to a natural and commendable desire on the part of the workers to improve their status, and to their determination to gain in industry a wider measure of control concerning all matters affecting their working and living conditions. The attainment of these objects will, they believe, be effected only by the gradual democratization of industry, enunciated herein as a part of Liberal policy.

The Committee concurs with Mr. Justice Mathers, the Chairman of the Commission appointed by the Administration to inquire into industrial relations in Canada, and with those of his colleagues who joined in submitting the Commission's Report, that the other chief causes of unrest are those enumerated by the Commissioners in their Report, as follows:

1. Unemployment and the fear of unemployment.
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10. Lack of equal educational opportunities.

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Of the causes enumerated, the Liberal attitude with respect to unemployment, shorter hours, the right to organize, collective bargaining, and equal educational opportunities has already been referred to.

In so far as the ostentatious display of wealth is a factor contributing to unrest, your Committee is of the opinion that an immediate levy should be made by the State upon wealth not usefully employed, and the proceeds thereof made applicable to an immediate reduction of the enormous war debt. The Government should make every effort to ascertain to what degree the fortunes of individuals have been a consequence of profiteering during the War, and wherever profiteering is established, compel a forfeiture to the State of all ill-gotten gains. Such a course of action is not less necessary to allay unrest than it is just to those whose lives and fortunes have been sacrificed for their country in the War.

As to the high cost of living, and insufficient and poor housing, your Committee is of the opinion that no effective remedy will be found so long as the instruments of production, the food and clothing of the people, and builders' supplies and building materials continue to be taxed as they are at present under the Customs Tariff. A well-considered reform of the Tariff, for the purpose of helping the producer and relieving the consumer, is imperative if production is to be increased and the necessaries of life are to be brought within the reach of the masses of the people.

The Committee believes it would be impossible to frame a stronger indictment against an Administration than that presented by the remaining causes enumerated, namely: restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press, and the lack of confidence in constituted government. How general and widespread these causes of unrest must be ~~are~~ is evident from the circumstance that the Government's own Commission has found it necessary to render these findings, and that they constitute two out of the ten causes of unrest enumerated.

The Committee would observe that every autocratic act on the part of government is a direct incitement to all who are unjustly deprived of their rights as free citizens to secure, by "direct action" and by means and instruments other than Parliament and the ballot, the rights and ends of which they believe themselves to be deprived.

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"Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

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The Committee believes that, if industrial problems are to find a satisfactory solution, a new relation in industry is necessary; that the right of workers to organize and to ~~bargain~~ through chosen representatives must be recognized; that the workers must be permitted to emerge in their status as members of a partnership; and that their relations to capital investors and management must come to be expressed in terms of co-operation rather than of organized hostility. Industry must be frankly recognized as a joint enterprise, in which Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community all make necessary and interdependent contributions. Single control must give way to some plan of joint control and of co-operation between the parties to industry, whereby each of the several contributing factors may have a voice in determining conditions which affect their own lives and well-being.

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Similarly, as respects the Community, joint control of industry does not mean any usurpation of the function of management by the State. It does mean that in joint agreements between Capital and Labour, means must be devised to safeguard the interests of the Community against possible action of an anti-social character, and that the rights of the Community to have its interests recognized and protected, wherever industrial differences or disputes arise, must at all times be conceded.

The Committee therefore recommends that the National Liberal Convention place itself on record as favoring ~~the~~ participation by labour in the profits of industry through extension of the principle of self-government to industry, and the introduction into the government of industry of the principles of representation whereby Labor and the Community, as well as Capital, may be represented in industrial control,

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5. Denial of collective bargaining.
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The Committee believes it would be impossible to frame a stronger indictment against an Administration than that presented by the remaining causes enumerated, namely: restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press, and the lack of confidence in constituted government. How general and widespread these causes of unrest must be are is evident from the circumstance that the Government's own Commission has found it necessary to render these findings, and that they constitute two out of the ten causes of unrest enumerated.

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C 20270

Fourth Draft
August 5, 1919

COMMITTEE ON

LABOUR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Recommendations:

A. The Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention record its whole-hearted agreement with, and accept in their entirety as a part of the Liberal Platform, in the spirit in which they have been framed and in so far as the special circumstances of the country will permit, the terms of the Labour Convention and General Principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporated in the Conditions of Peace.

These methods and principles for regulating labour conditions are as follows:

First - The guiding principle that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

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Third - The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth - The adoption of an 8-hours day or a 48 hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth - The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth - The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh - The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

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"Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

"Ninth - Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed. "

B. The Committee recommends the adoption by the Convention of the following concrete measures as a part of Liberal policy.

(1) Old Age Pensions.

(2) Widows' Pensions.

(3) Maternity Benefits.

(4) Representation of Labour on Federal Commissions pertaining to Labour matters.

(5) Representation of Labour on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways.

(6) More effective restriction of Chinese immigration.

(7) Federal incorporation of co-operative associations.

(8) The acceptance of the principle of Proportional Representation.

The Committee is of the opinion (1) that the Government should take steps to ascertain the practicability of some system of State insurance against unemployment, sickness, and other disability; (2) that much might be done in the way of improving industrial standards and conditions throughout the Dominion through a nation-wide application of the existing legislation of some of the Provinces, effected through agreement arrived at by conference between the Provincial ~~and Federal~~ Governments; and (3) that on matters pertaining to industrial and social legislation an effort should be made to overcome any question of jurisdiction between the Dominion and the Provinces by effective co-operation between the several Governments.

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C. The Committee desires to present the following expression of opinion on general policy in matters pertaining to industry:

The Committee believes ~~that the direction of industry, as at present organized, is too exclusively a matter of single control on the part of Capital;~~ that if industrial problems are to find a satisfactory solution, a new relation in industry is necessary; that the right of workers to organize and to negotiate and arrive at agreements with their employers through chosen representatives must be recognized; that the status of workers must be raised, and their relations to capital investors and management must come to be expressed in terms of co-operation rather than of organized hostility. Industry must be frankly recognized as a joint enterprise, in which Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community all make necessary and interdependent contributions. Single control must give way to some plan of joint control and of co-operation between the parties ~~to industry~~, whereby each of the several contributing factors may have a voice in determining conditions which affect their own lives and well-being.

management should be dropped in favour of

The Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention place itself on record as favoring a larger participation by Labor and the Community in industry, and the fruits of industry, through the introduction into the government of industry of principles of representation whereby Labor and the Community, as well as Capital, may be represented in industrial control, and their interests safeguarded and promoted in the shaping of industrial policies.

B. With respect to industrial unrest, which presents throughout the world the most serious problem of the immediate present, the Committee is of the opinion that, in Canada as elsewhere, unrest is due in no small measure to a natural desire on the part of the workers to improve their status and participate more largely in the fruits of industry, and to their determination to gain in industry a wider measure of control concerning all matters affecting their working and living conditions. The attainment of these objects will, they believe, be effected only by the gradual democratization of industry, enunciated herein as a part of Liberal policy.

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The high cost of living, profiteering, the unequal distribution of the burden of taxation, and the many arbitrary and unjustifiable acts of the Borden Administration, are, in the opinion of the Committee the chief underlying causes of the discontent in this country.

The Committee ~~is of the opinion~~ believes that as to the high cost of living, and insufficient and poor housing, no effective remedy will be found so long as the instruments of production, the food and clothing of the people, and builders' supplies and building materials continue to be taxed as they are at present under the Customs Tariff. A well-considered reform of the Tariff, for the purpose of helping the producer and relieving the consumer, is imperative if production is to be increased and the necessaries of life are to be brought within the reach of the masses of the people.

The Committee ~~is of the opinion~~ believes that, as respects taxation, the burden should be shifted from the masses to wealth accumulated and conserved through special privilege; that upon wealth not usefully employed an immediate levy should be made by the State, and the proceeds thereof made applicable to an immediate reduction of the enormous war debt; and that the Government should make every effort to ascertain to what degree the fortunes of individuals have been a consequence of profiteering during the War, and wherever profiteering is established, compel a forfeiture to the State of all ill-gotten gains. Such a course the Committee believes not less necessary to allay unrest than ~~it is~~ just to those whose lives and fortunes have been sacrificed for their country in the War.

The Committee would observe that every autocratic act on the part of government is a direct incitement to all who are unjustly deprived of their rights as free citizens to secure, by "direct action" and by means and instruments other than Parliament and the ballot, the rights and ends of which they believe themselves to be deprived.

The methods taken by the Borden Administration to dispossess the electorate of rights secured to them by the franchise and its exercise under free conditions, have, the Committee believes, tended to rob Parliament of its authority as spokesman of the people and to bring parliamentary government into contempt. A representative parliament and a responsible ministry are essential to the satisfactory working of democratic government in the State. They are equally necessary to the evolution of government in industry along constitutional lines, and as a bulwark against extreme movements which threaten all constituted authority. The Committee is of the opinion that, if this country is to cope successfully with industrial and political unrest, to restore what has been lost of freedom in the particulars mentioned, is the most needed of all immediate reforms.

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"Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

"Ninth - Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed."

B. The Committee recommends the adoption by the Convention of the following concrete measures as a part of Liberal policy:

~~(8) An 8 hour day and a 44 hour week on public works under Federal jurisdiction.~~

1 ~~(9)~~ Old Age Pensions.

2. ~~(3)~~ Widows' ~~or Mothers'~~ Pensions.

3. ~~(4)~~ Maternity Benefits.

4. ~~(5)~~ Representation of Labour on Federal Commissions pertaining to Labour matters.

5. ~~(6)~~ Representation of Labour on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways.

~~(7)~~ Provision to enable a duly qualified elector to cast his ballot legally on election day where through vocation he is compelled on the day of election to be absent from his place of residence.

~~(8) Proper registration of union labels.~~

6. ~~(9)~~ Restriction of Chinese immigration ~~according to methods and limitations in force with respect to immigration from Japan~~ more effective.

~~(10) Jury trial of persons deemed liable to deportation.~~

7. ~~(11)~~ ~~Encouragement~~ of co-operative ~~producing and trading~~ Federal incorporation associations.

8. (12) The acceptance of the principle of Proportional Representation.

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The Committee is of the opinion (1) that the Government should take steps to ascertain some system of the practicability of State measures against unemployment, sickness and other disability

The Committee is of the opinion that it would be tantamount to a deception of the workers to propose any extensive policy of social insurance by the Federal Government until the full extent of the nation's existing obligations and the means of meeting the same are more adequately ascertained.

It is of the opinion, however, (2) that much might be done by the Federal authorities, in the way of improving industrial standards and conditions throughout the Dominion, through a nation-wide application of existing legislation of some of the Provinces, effected through agreement arrived at by the several Provinces themselves under conference promoted by the Federal authorities between the Provinces and the Government.

The Committee is of the opinion (3) that, on matters pertaining to industrial and social legislation, an effort should be made to overcome any question of jurisdiction between the Dominion and the Provinces by effective co-operation between the respective Governments.

C. The Committee desires to present the following expression of opinion on general policy in matters pertaining to industry:

The Committee is of the opinion that industry is undergoing an evolution in its form of government; that it is passing from the stage in which entire control is vested in the employing interests to the era in which all who contribute to production, whether through investment of money or brains or labour, or other service, will be entitled to share in control.

The Committee believes that the direction of industry, as at present organized, is too exclusively a matter of single control on the part of Capital. Notwithstanding that the chosen representatives of the workers are more and more frequently finding a place on public councils in the States and municipalities, where they meet with other elected representatives on terms of perfect equality, the control of industry up to the present has been very largely regarded by the capitalist as his own prerogative. Even the right of the workers to be represented by their chosen representatives in the discussion of important matters with the management is not infrequently denied.

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~~The Committee believes~~ that, if industrial problems are to find a satisfactory solution, a new relation in industry is necessary; that the right of workers to organize and to ~~bargain~~ negotiate and enter agreements with their employers through chosen representatives must be recognized; that the workers must be ~~permitted to emerge in their status as members of a partnership; and that~~ raised to the status of their relations to capital investors and management must come to be expressed in terms of co-operation rather than of organized hostility. Industry must be frankly recognized as a joint enterprise, in which Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community all make necessary and interdependent contributions. Single control must give way to some plan of joint control and of co-operation between the parties to industry, whereby each of the several contributing factors may have a voice in determining conditions which affect their own lives and well-being.

This does not mean, as respects Labor, its participation in matters affecting business with which it has no direct concern, such as, in some industries, questions pertaining to finance, markets, and the like. It does mean that, in the daily management of the employment in which the workers spend their working lives, in the atmosphere and under the conditions in which they have to live and work, as respects terms and conditions of employment, and such matters as the manners and practices of officials with whom they are brought into contact, the workers should have a greater opportunity of participating in the discussion about and the adjustment of those parts of industry by which they are most affected.

Similarly, as respects the Community, joint control of industry does not mean any usurpation of the function of management by the State. It does mean that in joint agreements between Capital and Labour, means must be devised to safeguard the interests of the Community against possible action of an anti-social character, and that the rights of the Community to have its interests recognized and protected, wherever industrial differences or disputes arise, must at all times be conceded.

The Committee ~~therefore~~ recommends that the National Liberal Convention place itself on record as favoring a closer co-operation of Labor and the Community in industry, and the ~~extension of the principle of self government to industry,~~ and the introduction into the government of industry of ~~th~~ principles of representation whereby Labor and the Community, through bodies of industry, as well as Capital, may be represented in industrial control,

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and their interests safeguarded and promoted in the shaping of industrial policies. ~~To further the democratization of~~ industry, so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy, is, it believes, the logical sequence of the step taken by the Liberal Administration in establishing the Department of Labour and giving to Labour direct representation in the national executive.

D. With respect to industrial unrest, which presents throughout the world the most serious problem of the immediate present, the Committee is of the opinion that, in Canada as elsewhere, unrest is due in no small measure to a natural ~~and commendable~~ desire on the part of the workers to improve their status, and to their determination to gain and legitimately more largely in the fruits of industry in industry a wider measure of control concerning all matters affecting their working and living conditions. The attainment of these objects will, they believe, be effected only by the gradual democratization of industry, enunciated herein as a part of Liberal policy.

The Committee concurs with Mr. Justice Mathers, the Chairman of the Commission appointed by the Administration to inquire into industrial relations in Canada, and with those of his colleagues who joined in submitting the Commission's Report, that the other chief causes of unrest are those enumerated by the Commissioners in their Report, as follows:

1. Unemployment and the fear of unemployment.
2. High cost of living in relation to wages and the desire of the worker for a larger share of the product of his labour.
3. Desire for shorter hours of labour.
4. Denial of the right to organize and refusal to recognize Unions.
5. Denial of collective bargaining.
6. Lack of confidence in constituted government.
7. Insufficient and poor housing.
8. Restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press.
9. Ostentatious display of wealth.
10. Lack of equal educational opportunities.

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Of the causes enumerated, the Liberal attitude with respect to unemployment, shorter hours, the right to organize, collective bargaining, and equal educational opportunities has already been referred to.

In so far as the ostentatious display of wealth is a factor contributing to unrest, your Committee is of the opinion that an immediate levy should be made by the State upon wealth not usefully employed, and the proceeds thereof made applicable to an immediate reduction of the enormous war debt. The Government should make every effort to ascertain to what degree the fortunes of individuals have been a consequence of profiteering during the War, and wherever profiteering is established, compel a forfeiture to the State of all ill-gotten gains. Such a course is not less necessary to allay unrest than it is just to those whose lives and fortunes have been sacrificed for their country in the War.

(1) As to the high cost of living, and insufficient and poor housing, the Committee is of the opinion that no effective remedy will be found so long as the instruments of production, the food and clothing of the people, and builders' supplies and building materials continue to be taxed as they are at present under the Customs Tariff. A well-considered reform of the Tariff, for the purpose of helping the producer and relieving the consumer, is imperative if production is to be increased and the necessaries of life are to be brought within the reach of the masses of the people.

(2) The Committee believes it would be impossible to frame a stronger indictment against an Administration than that presented by the remaining causes enumerated, namely: restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press, and the lack of confidence in constituted government. How general and widespread these causes of unrest must be are is evident from the circumstance that the Government's own Commission has found it necessary to render these findings, and that they constitute two out of the ten causes of unrest enumerated.

(3) The Committee would observe that every autocratic act on the part of government is a direct incitement to all who are unjustly deprived of their rights as free citizens to secure, by "direct action" and by means and instruments other than Parliament and the ballot, the rights and ends of which they believe themselves to be deprived.

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The methods taken by the Borden Administration to ~~stifle free expression of opinion, both on the platform and in the press, and~~ to dispossess the electorate of rights secured to them by the franchise and its exercise under free conditions, have, they believe, tended to rob Parliament of its authority as spokesman of the people and to bring parliamentary government into contempt. A representative parliament and a responsible ministry are essential to the satisfactory working of democratic government in the State. They are equally necessary to the evolution of government in industry along constitutional lines; and as a bulwark against extreme movements which threaten all constituted authority. ~~Yet~~ The Committee is of the opinion that, if this country is to cope successfully with industrial and political unrest, to restore what has been lost of freedom in the particulars mentioned, is the most needed of all immediate reforms.

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C 20280

NATIONAL LIBERAL CONVENTION

August 5-6-7, 1919

Drafts of Resolutions proposed

~~for~~ by The Committee on Labor and

Industrial Relations.

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CANADA

C 20281

Fifth Draft-
August 5, 1919.

COMMITTEE ON

LABOUR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Recommendations:

A

The Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention accept in their entirety as a part of the Liberal Platform, in the spirit in which they have been framed and in so far as the special circumstances of the country will permit, the terms of the Labour Convention and General Principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporated in the Conditions of Peace.

These methods and principles for regulating labour conditions as set forth in the Treaty are as follows:

"First - The guiding principle that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

"Second - The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

"Third - The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

"Fourth - The adoption of an 8-hours day or a 48 hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

"Fifth - The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

"Sixth - The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

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"Seventh - The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

"Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

"Ninth - Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

B

The Committee further recommends:

1. The introduction into the government of industry of principles of representation whereby Labour and the Community, as well as Capital, may be represented in industrial control, and their interests safeguarded and promoted in the shaping of industrial policies.

2. That in so far as may be practicable, having regard for Canada's financial position, an adequate system of insurance against unemployment, sickness, dependence in old age, and other disability, which would include Old Age Pensions, Widows' Pensions, and Maternity Benefits, should be instituted by the Federal Government in conjunction with the Governments of the several Provinces; and that on matters pertaining to industrial and social legislation an effort should be made to overcome any question of jurisdiction between the Dominion and the Provinces by effective co-operation between the several Governments.

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3 Effective legislation for the conservation of human life and health

4. The representation of Labour on Federal Commissions pertaining to Labour matters.

5. The representation of Labour on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways.

6. That the system of re-training soldiers unfitted for their past work because of physical injuries, be extended to disabled workers in industry.

7. More effective restriction of Chinese immigration.

8. The Federal incorporation of co-operative associations.

9. The acceptance of the principle of Proportional Representation.

10. Immediate and drastic action by the Government with respect to the high cost of living and profiteering.

11. Restoration of the control of Parliament by the people through the Executive & Parliament instead of a discontinuance of Government by order-in-council a just franchise and its exercise under free conditions.

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CANADA

C 20284

Fifth Draft
August 5, 1919.

COMMITTEE ON

LABOUR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

Recommendations:

1. ~~The Committee recommends~~ That the National Liberal Convention accept in their entirity as a part of the Liberal Platform, in the spirit in which they have been framed and in so far as the special circumstances of the country will permit, the terms of the Labour Convention and General Principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporated in the Conditions of Peace.

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"Second - The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

"Third - The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

"Fourth -The adoption of an 8-hours day or a 48 hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

"Fifth - The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

"Sixth - The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

"Seventh - The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

"Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

"Ninth - Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed."

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B. The Committee recommends the adoption by the Convention of the following concrete measures as a part of Liberal policy.

(1) Old Age Pensions.

(2) Widows' Pensions

(3) Maternity Benefits.

(4) Representation of labour on Federal Commissions pertaining to Labour matters.

(5) Representation of Labour on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways.

(6) More effective restriction of Chinese immigration.

(7) Federal incorporation of co-operative associations.

(8) The acceptance of the principle of Proportional representation

The Committee is of the opinion (1) that the Government should take steps to ascertain the practicability of some system of State insurance against unemployment, sickness, and other disability; (2) that much might be done in the way of improving industrial standards and conditions throughout the Dominion through a nation wide application of the existing legislation of some of the Provinces, effected through agreement arrived at by conference between the Federal and Provincial Governments; and (3) that on matters pertaining to industrial and social legislation an effort should be made to overcome any question of jurisdiction between the Dominion and the Provinces by effective co-operation between the several Governments.

C. The Committee desires to present the following expression of opinion on general policy in matters pertaining to industry:

The Committee believes that if industrial problems are to find a satisfactory solution, a new relation in industry is necessary; that the right of workers to organise and to negotiate and arrive at agreements with their employers through chosen representatives must be recognised; that the status of workers must be raised, and their relations to capital investors and management must come to be expressed in terms of co-operation rather than of organised hostility. Industry must be frankly recognised as a joint enterprise, in which Capital, Labour, Management, and the Community all make necessary and interdependent contributions. Single control, by Capital or any of the other parties to Industry, must give way to some joint control and of co-operation between all the parties, whereby each of the several contributing factors may have a voice in determining conditions which affect their own lives and well being.

The Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention place itself on record as favouring a larger participation by Labour and the Community in industry, and the fruits of industry, through the introduction into the Government of industry of principles of representation whereby Labour and the Community, as well as Capital, may be represented in industrial control, and their interests safeguarded and promoted in the shaping of industrial policies.

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p". With respect to industrial unrest, which presents throughout the world the most serious problem of the immediate present, the Committee is of the opinion t at, in Canada as elsewhere, unrest is due in no small measure to a natural desire on the part of the workers to improve their status and participate more largely in the fruits of industry, and their determination to gain in industry a wider measure of control concerning all matters affecting their working and living conditions. The attainment of these objects will, they believe, be effected only bythe gradual democratization of industry, enunciated herein as a part of Liberal Policy.

D. That in addition industrial unrest, unemployment should be taken
Govt Government is silent The high cost of living, profiteering, the unequal distribution of the burden of taxation, and the many arbitrary and unjustifiable acts of the Borden Administration, are, in the opinion of the Committee the chief underlying causes of the discontent in this country.

The Committee believes that as to the high cost of living, and insufficient and poor housing, no effective remedy will be found so long as the instruments of production, the food and clothing of the people, and builders' supplies and building materials continue to be taxed as they are at present under the Customs Tariff. A well-considered reform of the Tariff for the purpose of helping the producer and relieving the consumer, is imperative if production is to be increased and the necessaries of life are to be brought within the reach of the masses of the people.

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The Committee would observe that every autocratic act on the part of the Government is a direct incitement to all who are unjustly deprived of their rights as free citizens to secure, by "direct action " and by means and instruments other than Parliament and the ballot, the rights and ends of which they believe themselves to be deprived.

The methods taken by the Borden Administration to dispossess the electorate of rights secured to them by the franchise and its exercise under free conditions, have, the Committee believes, tended to rob Parliament of its authority as spokesman of the people and to bring Parliamentary government into contempt. A representative parliament and a responsible ministry are essential to the satisfactory working of democratic government in the State. They are equally necessary to the evolution of government in industry along constitutional lines, and as a bulwark against extreme movements which threaten all constituted authority. The Committee is of the opinion that, if this Country is to cope successfully with industrial and political unrest, to restore what has been lost of freedom in the particulars mentioned, is the most needed of all immediate reforms.

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AMENDMENT:

That the words: "Old Age Pensions, Widows' Pensions, and Maternity Benefits", in Part B of the Resolution be struck out; and also, after the words: "The Committee is of the opinion", the words: "that the Government should take steps to ascertain the practicability of some system of State insurance against unemployment, sickness, and other disability"; and the following substituted therefor:

(7) "that in so far as may be practicable, having regard for Canada's financial position, an adequate system of insurance against unemployment, sickness, dependence in old age, and other disability, which would include Old Age Pensions, Widows' Pensions, and Maternity Benefits, should be instituted by the Federal Government in conjunction with the Governments of the several Provinces."

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That the following be added to Part B of the Resolution:

RESOLVED - That the system of re-training soliders unfitted for their past work because of physical injuries, be extended to disabled workers in industry.

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C 20289

Cards of Congratulation
August Convention
1919

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C 20290

W. J. Ptolemy, I.S.O.

Deputy Treasurer,
Province of Manitoba.
Winnipeg.

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C 20231

Dear Mr Rex
of old days.
May I congratulate
you with all my
heart Annie Campbell

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C 20232

Mr King

Memo from Privy Council Office
Memo from Mr. Lapointe
Memo from Mr. Mackenzie King
Memo from Mr. Lapointe

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C 20293

LOANS INSURANCE LANDS

Stubbs & Pratt,
Barristers, Solicitors,
Notaries etc.

LEWIS St.GEORGE STUBBS, LL.B.
JOHN WILLIAM PRATT, LL.B.

Birtle, Manitoba.

C 20294

Congratulations

Mr. Godfroy B. Patteson

C 20295

I am delighted

~~*Mr. Charles Lewis Pound*~~

Warmest congratulations.

The Roxborough

C 20296

John W. Garvin

VICE-PRESIDENT & MANAGING DIRECTOR
FEDERAL FINANCE CORPORATION LIMITED
1605 ROYAL BANK BUILDING, TORONTO
TELEPHONE ADELAIDE 1526

C 20297

Thomas C. Irving.

General Manager, Western Canada,
The Bradstreet Co.
Toronto.

C 20298

Major General J. C. Mewburn

Minister of Militia & Defence
Canada.

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C 20299

Please accept my warmest con-
gratulations on your great victory.
All good luck to you

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C 20300

IRV C
Bully for You

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 20301

1919

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 20302

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C 20303

Major-General J. Lyons Biggar.

C 20304

With my best regards & sincere congratulations.

J. A. Chasse

P. W. Dept.

C 20305

Please accept my most hearty congratulations and Major General Sir Eugene Fiset Best wishes for the future

The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

C 20306

Congratulations

Captain Henry Thompson, R.N.

221 Cobourg Street

C 20307

Sincere congratulations.

Arthur Saint Pierre

136, Concord St. Ottawa

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CANADA

Congratulations
& Canada -

C 20308

Mrs. Nesbitt Kirchhoffer

Aylmer Apartments

With heartiest congratulations on yr election

C 20309

Mr. George McMurrich

The Misses McMurrich

Delgrata 'Pl'

Fridayyy

105 Madison Ave

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C 20310

With the Kartells
could have lived
to see this day —

C 20311

Congratulations.

Capt.
Mrs Gerald H. Wallsford

132 Stewart St.

Thursday

C 20312

Hearty Congratulations

Mr. & Mrs F. W. Carling.

385 Laurier Ave. East

C 20313

Hearty congratulations

Mrs Eugene A. Maclaurin.

~~Tuesday~~

713 Spadina Avenue.

C 20314

Mr & Mrs Goodwin Gibson.
251
Congratulations.

~~238 Huron St.~~
28 Heath St.

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C 20315

Warmest Congratulations
Wish you dear Edward
and Violet were here
to rejoice in the honor
conferred upon you.

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W. L. Mackenzie King Papers, Volume C 28
Memoranda and Notes (1887-1921)
159. Liberal Party - Ontario

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Mr. King — Progress Report

CONFIDENTIAL — GENERAL REFORM ASSOCIATION FOR ONTARIO.

1913.

MEMO Feb. 1st, — RE. DOMINION CONVENTIONS, CANDIDATES EXECUTIVE MEETINGS, CONFERENCES ETC.

RIDINGS ASSUMED AS HAVING STANDING CANDIDATES IN THEIR M.Ps

SOUTH ESSEX	A.H.Clarke, M.P.
GLENGARRY	J.A.McMillan, M.P.
EAST KENT	D.A.Gordon, M.P.
WEST KENT	A.B.McCoig, M.P.
WEST LAMBTON	F.F.Pardee, M.P.
WEST MIDDLESEX	Duncan C.Ross, M.P.
NORFOLK	Hon.W.A.Charlton, M.P.
NORTH OXFORD	E.W.Nesbitt, M.P.
PRESCOTT	Edmond Proulx, M.P.
S. RENFREW	Hon.G.P.Graham, M.P.
RUSSELL	Hon.Chas. Murphy, M.P.
WELLAND	W.M.German, M.P.
S. WELLINGTON	Hugh Guthrie, M.P.

NOTE: RE. S. ESSEX. Clarke having removed to Calgary it is not probable he will run again. The Executive have met to arrange convention and organization. It looks like E.McCausland Reeve of Essex Town as candidate.

NOTE: RE. EAST KENT. Gordon talks of retiring, but advises no convention at present. Executive met Jan. 18th. T.B.Dundas Mayor of Wallaceburg, and business associate of Gordon, looks like the best candidate to succeed Gordon.

NEW NOMINATIONS OF CANDIDATES.

DUNDAS	Wesley J.Hamilton
N. WELLINGTON	Dr.Norman C.Wallace

CONVENTIONS FIXED.

LENNOX & ADDINGTON	Feb. 6th at Napanee
EAST LAMBTON	" " " Watford
CENTRE YORK	" 15th " Toronto
NORTH YORK	" 22nd " Newmarket

RE. EXECUTIVE MEETINGS, CONFERENCES ETC.

From correspondence with the ridings, interviews with representatives from the ridings at the general office, and reports of organizers, W.H.Adams and W.N.Graham, the following is a brief summary at this date.

EAST ALGOMA — Officers of the Riding Association are conferring with Executive with the object of arranging a convention in the near future.

WEST ALGOMA — Officers are arranging to call an Executive meeting. Express very little hope of winning, and no candidate in sight.

BRANT — Annual meeting of riding Association at Paris on Jan. 28th. No convention fixed. Officers profess to be prepared for the fight whenever called.

BROCKVILLE — Executive report that they are attending to question of organization etc for probable fight.

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NORTH BRUCE — Organization work in progress and it looks like John Tolmie again for Candidate. Reciprocity issue regarded a loser in this riding, but Naval Issue deemed a good issue to appeal upon.

SOUTH BRUCE — Officers calling Executive meeting to arrange convention. It looks like R.E.Truax again as candidate. J.G.Anderson M.P.P. is also favorably mentioned as a very strong candidate. Naval issue regarded a good fighting ground in this Riding.

EAST ELGIN — Executive met Jan. 12th, and requested general office to assist them in securing an out-side candidate of means and strength to win from the Conservative, David Marshall, M.P.

ELGIN WEST — Officers report annual meeting to be held early in Feb. when convention and candidate will be discussed.

NORTH ESSEX — Executive meeting held January 18th and adjourned Feb. 1st at Windsor. Will discuss conventions, and prospects of good candidate regarded favorable.

SOUTH ESSEE — Executive met to arrange convention and organization and John A. Auld to visit Ottawa. It looks like E.McCausland of Essex as candidate.

EAST GREY — It looks like C.W.Hartman again as candidate and he is very acceptable. It appears difficult to induce any other Liberal to stand. The Executive have conferred, and decided to defer calling convention until deemed more urgent.

NORTH GREY — It looks like F.W.Harrison again as candidate. The lists are in good shape. Reciprocity Issue regarded no good for fighting campaign, but Naval Issue deemed O.K.

SOUTH GREY — By common consent H.H.Miller is regarded the strongest man. He urges that he could not be a candidate in 1913 for business reasons. The party here however deem it imperative that he should be the candidate. Reciprocity issue regarded no good for a fight here, but the Naval issue deemed O.K. Executive ready to call a convention at any time, when deemed urgent.

HALDIMAND — Nothing definite decided as yet. Several staunch Liberals mentioned as good candidates, but no definite decision as yet.

HALTON — Annual meeting called for Feb.13th at Milton Organization in good shape, and lists well attended to. Candidate likely to be Walter Harland Smith, or President W.F.W.Fisher when necessary.

WEST HASTINGS — Executive have considered to some extent about convention and candidate. The prospects appear poor and very difficult to secure a candidate.

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EAST HURON Executive met Jan. 29th at Brussels. Strong candidates mentioned are Richard Vanstone of Wingham and J.W. King of Bluevale. Executive meet again Feb. 11th, and will call convention as soon as candidate arranged for.

WEST HURON Executive met Jan. 11th. It looks like Thomas McMillan as candidate. Ready to call convention at any time Lists in good shape. Conservatives did not revise here in 1912.

SOUTH HURON Executive met Jan 15th. President and Secretary will call a convention whenever necessary. Peter Lamont of Zurich is regarded as a strong candidate, and particularly with the German Liberals. Naval issue regarded O.K.here.

EAST KENT Executive met here Jan. 18th, decided not to hold convention at present. D.A.Gordon talks of retiring, and in that event T.B.Dundas of Wallaceburg is regarded the next strongest candidate.

KINGSTON Executive met Jan. 10th and committee appointed to deal with conventions etc.

LAMBTON EAST Convention Feb. 6th at Watford, and it looks like Dr.C.O.Fairbank again as candidate.

LANARK NORTH President of Association arranging a conference of leading Liberals and executive regarding convention. As yet no one but T.B.Caldwell is definitely spoken of as candidate.

LEEDS The Executive are considering convention and candidate, but are waiting to confer with Hon.G.P.Graham before deciding on any definite action.

LENNOX & ADDINGTON Convention Feb. 6th at Napanee at which it is desired the Hon.G.P.Graham to attend.

Lincoln - It looks like E.J. Lovelace again as Cand. Ready to call Conv.

LONDON Some consideration amongst liberals and executive, but nothing definite yet as to convention. It looks like Geo.S.Gibbons as the probable candidate

MIDDLESEX NORTH Executive meeting called for Feb. 10th at Ailsa Craig to arrange about convention and candidate.

MUSKOKA Officers and executive have conferred to some extent with the leading liberals regarding candidate and convention. They report no candidate in view at present.

NIPISSING Large executive meeting at North Bay Jan 30th Appointed committee of seven to confer with Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Looks like A.J.Young as candidate again, and in the event of re-distribution Young and C.A.Foster.

NORFOLK Large conference of liberals at Simcoe Town Jan 10th. About 200 present.They decided that it is not expedient to go to a general election at this time on Naval issue.

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WEST NORTHUMBERLAND — Executive decided to call convention and annual meeting at an early date. Lists in good shape, and it looks like J.B.McColl again as candidate.

NORTH ONTARIO — Some of the executive trying to arrange for a convention, but find it slow work. We have no candidate in view as yet.

SOUTH ONTARIO — Executive considering the matter of convention. F.L.Fowke very dubious about being a candidate again, and desires to support some other man, owing to some exceptional conditions, with prevail here. W.H.Moore of Pickering is being discussed, but nothing definite to report as yet.

SOUTH OXFORD — Annual meeting at Ingersoll, Jan 21st. President and Secretary empowered to call executive meeting when they deem it advisable to have convention date fixed. They deem it too early as yet. Riding very compact and easily covered

NORTH PERTH — Executive conferring regarding convention and candidate. It looks like Dr.J.P?Rankin again for candidate.

SOUTH PERTH — Executive meeting called for Feb. 5th to discuss convention and candidates.

EAST PETERBOROUGH — Executive will meet soon to consider conventions and candidates. Affairs are rather mixed up. No one definitely settled upon as candidate.

WEST PETERBOROUGH — Officers say everything ready for an election whenever necessary. It looks like Hon.J.R.Stratton again as candidate.

PRINCE EDWARD — Annaul meeting of Association Jan. 31st. Common consent that Dr.Morley Currie the strongest candidate in the riding, and must be prevailed upon again. Liberals think with him they could win.

NORTH RENFREW — Executive met Jan 14th, and decided to call convention when deemed expedient by the President and Secretary. J.F.Munro of Pembroke looks the probable candidate again.

SOUTH RENFREW — Executive do not deem it necessary to call a convention at present. In case of no redistribution before election, it is assumed that Hon.G.P.Graham will be the candidate again.

~~RUSSELL~~

STORMONT — Lists in good shape and prospects appear favorable, if party unite on candidate. Nothing definite settled as to candidate, and requires careful consideration.

TORONTO — President and Secretary conferring with Executive regarding conventions and candidates. No candidates definitely fixed upon, as yet, and prospects very uncertain.

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NORTH WATERLOO Meeting of Executive Jan 17th. Hon. W.L.M.King present. Good candidates in view; Dr.J.F.Honsberger Berlin and ~~Joh.~~ B.Fischer of Waterloo. Naval issue regarded good campaign ground here.

SOUTH WATERLOO Executive met Jan.17th. Hon.W.L.M.King present. Prospects discussed with Dr.Thompson of Galt mentioned as a probable candidate.

NORTH WELLINGTON Convention held Jan.20th, and nominated Dr.Norman C.Wallace of Alma. If prevailed upon to stand he is regarded as a sure winner, as he by common consent is regarded the strongest candidate in the riding

WENTWORTH Good executive meeting Jan.18th. Decided not to call a convention, as election not likely in near future. Also deem it unwise to have candidate in field too long before election. W.C.Sealey is regarded as the probable candidate, again.

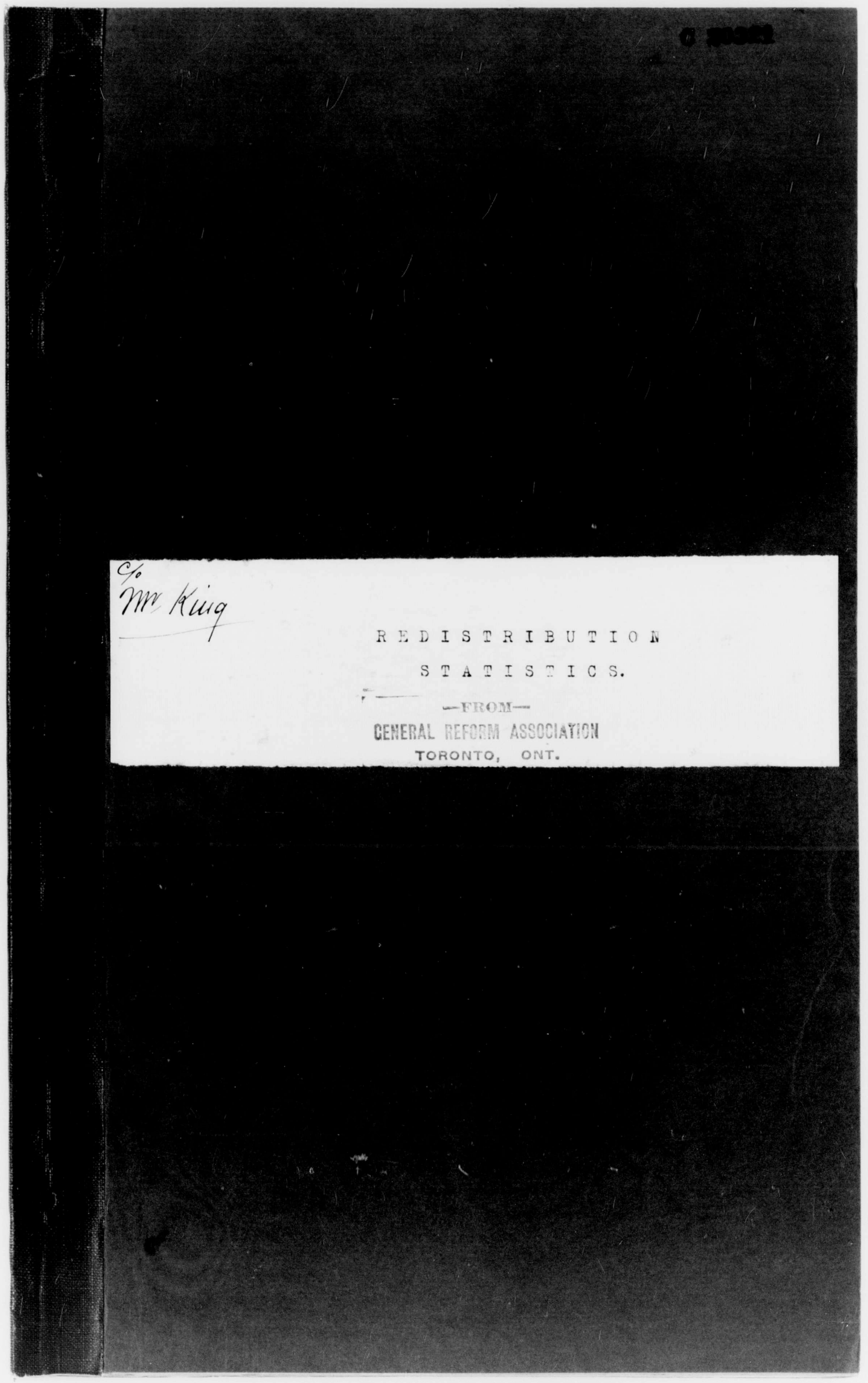
CENTRE YORK Large executive meeting Jan.17th at general office of The General Asssciation at Toronto. Convention fixed for Feb.15th. Decided to leave convention entirely free to choose candidate without any recommendations from the executive.

NORTH YORK Convention called for Feb.22nd at Newmarket Executive unanimous for nomination of W.L.M.King, and it appears probable he will be nominated by acclamation.

REMARKS: Many inquries from ridings throughout the Province asking for more definite information as to probable time of election - much hesitation prevails in many places as to calling conventions and fixing candidates until definitely assured of Election time. They are not satisfied with the information that it is impossible to speak in positive terms, and are dubious about makimg definite arrangements regarding candidates and campaign until absolutely necessary.Expressions of opinions in many quarters are to the effect that the Reciprocity issue is poor fighting ground for the Liberal organization in Ontario. The Naval issue is very generally deemed good fighting ground, and the liberal policy acceptable as compared with the Conservative policy. It is noted however that the public generally is not aroused to more than a limited extent as yet, regarding Naval policy, and there is some ground for the view that the average electors, and particularly in the rural communities are not enthusiastically for any large measure of expenditure on Militarism

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TORONTO, ONT.

CENSUS 1911 AND 1901 COMPARED.

POPULATION BY PROVINCES

PROVINCE	1911	1901	INCREASE
ONTARIO	2,523,274	2,182,947	340,327
Quebec	2,002,712	1,648,898	353,814
Saskatchewan	492,432	91,279	401,153
Nova Scotia	492,338	459,574	32,764
Manitoba	455,614	255,211	200,403
British Columbia	392,480	178,657	213,823
Alberta	374,663	73,022	301,641
New Brunswick	351,889	331,120	20,769
Prince Edward Island	93,728	103,259	9,531 decrease
Yukon	8,512	27,219	18,707 decrease
N.W.T.	17,196	20,129	2,933 decrease
Totals for Canada	7,204,838	5,371,315	1,833,523 net increase

REPRESENTATION BY PROVINCES

Unit of Representation.....30,811

PROVINCE	REPRESENTATION 1911	REPRESENTATION 1901	INCREASE
Ontario	82	86	4 loss
Quebec	65	65	.....
Nova Scotia	16	18	2 loss
Saskatchewan	16	10	6 gain
Manitoba	15	10	5 gain
British Columbia	13	7	6 gain
Alberta	12	7	5 gain
New Brunswick	11	13	2 loss
Prince Edward Island	3	4	1 loss
Yukon	1	1	.....
TOTALS	234	221	13 net gain

ELECTION RESULTS 1911 BY PROVINCES

PROVINCE	LIB VOTES	CON. VOTES	LABOUR, SOCIALIST & INDEPENDENT VOTES.
Ontario	207,078	269,930	3,564
Quebec	164,274	159,292	459
Nova Scotia	57,462	55,209	351
Saskatchewan	52,924	34,700	1,419
Manitoba	34,781	40,356	2,559
British Columbia	16,350	25,622	1,587
Alberta	37,208	29,675	2,892
New Brunswick	40,192	38,880	
Prince Edward Isl.	13,998	14,638	
Yukon.	829	1,285	
	625,096	669, 587	12,831

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GENERAL ELECTION 1911 ONTARIO

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS	POP?	NUMBER OF POLLING STATIONS.	NUMBER OF VOTES POLLED	NUMBER OF VOTERS ON VOTERS LIST
Algoma E.	44,628	128	7,614	15,329
Algoma W.	28,704	78	4,918	8,453
Brant	19,259	31	3,461	4,387
Brantford	26,617	35	5,599	7,076
Brockville	18,531	35	4,391	5,700
Bruce N.	23,783	60	4,970	6,832
Bruce S.	26,249	58	5,653	7,547
Carleton	28,406	47	3,855	6,656
Dufferin	17,740	40	3,533	5,604
Dundas	18,165	35	3,880	5,165
Durham	26,411	54	5,858	7,739
Elgin E.	17,597	29	4,232	5,304
Elgin W.	26,715	43	6,361	7,740
Essex N.	38,006	54	7,056	15,716
Essex S.	29,541	58	5,691	7,879
Frontenac	21,944	56	4,405	6,456
Glengarry	21,259	33	4,123	5,387
Grenville	17,545	42	3,662	5,446
Grey E.	19,650	57	4,035	6,298
Grey N.	26,991	68	6,290	9,182
Grey S.	19,250	38	4,230	5,939
Haldimand	21,562	48	4,955	6,212
Halton	22,208	35	4,817	6,128
Hamilton E.	39,793	47	7,387	10,189
Hamilton W.	37,279	49	7,482	9,953
Hastings E.	24,978	58	4,732	6,993
Hastings W.	30,825	53	5,475	9,533
Huron E.	16,289	39	3,842	4,808
Huron S.	19,508	47	4,606	5,643
Huron W.	17,185	40	3,873	5,097
Kent E.	23,698	48	4,925	7,174
Kent W.	32,297	67	7,276	9,352
Kingston	20,660	26	4,299	5,071
Lambton E.	22,223	68	4,946	6,453
Lambton W.	29,109	63	6,189	8,757
Lanark N.	14,624	32	2,999	3,846
Lanark S.	19,751	37	3,301	5,591
Leeds	18,204	37	3,844	5,385
Lennox & A	20,386	47	4,574	6,025
Lincoln	35,429	62	7,599	10,010
London	46,300	53	8,615	12,043
Middlesex E.	20,814	45	4,293	5,862
Middlesex N.	13,737	34	3,483	4,529
Middlesex W.	16,214	39	3,635	4,676
Muskoka	21,233	58	3,544	5,439
Nipissing	74,130	198	11,199	21,754
Norfolk	27,110	56	6,240	7,936
Northumberland East	19,927	39	4,645	6,101
Northumberland West	12,965	28	2,846	3,503
Ontario N.	17,141	45	3,722	4,799
Ontario S.	23,865	47	5,464	6,785
Ottawa	73,193	96	X.....27,158	20,388
Oxford N.	25,077	49	5,501	7,076
Oxford S.	22,294	41	4,982	6,502

X..... Ottawa has two members. This is aggregate vote for the five candidates.

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ELECTORAL DISTRICTS	POP	NUMBER OF POLLING STATIONs.	NUMBER OF VOTES POLLED	NUMBER OF VOTERS ON VOTERS LIST
Parry Sound	26,547	75	4,794	7,613
Peel	22,102	40	4,996	6,621
Perth N.	30,235	57	6,985	8,782
Perth S.	18,947	40	4,524	5,657
Peterboro E.	15,499	39	3,391	4,442
Peterboro W.	26,151	53	5,846	8,156
Prescott	26,968	40	3,752	6,066
Prince Edward	17,150	38	4,328	5,357
Renfrew N.	23,617	34	4,438	5,647
Renfrew S.	27,852	48	4,755	6,990
Russell	39,434	66	6,648	9,412
Simcoe E.	35,294	50	6,164	8,279
Simcoe N.	24,699	50	5,124	6,947
Simcoe S.	25,060	54	4,914	7,625
Stormont	24,775	45	4,947	6,861
Thunder Bay & R.R.	67,249	185	Accl.	15,742
Toronto C.	53,125	64	8,150	12,152
Toronto E.	68,912	90	11,704	17,005
Toronto N.	56,469	85	9,631	13,768
Toronto S.	43,956	74	6,583	10,297
Toronto W.	105,291	146	14,881	23,912
Victoria	36,499	81	6,708	10,242
Waterloo N.	33,619	49	7,233	10,083
Waterloo S.	28,988	42	6,131	8,565
Welland	42,163	60	Accl.	10,024
Wellington N.	22,292	52	5,035	6,824
Wellington S.	32,200	52	6,112	8,470
Wentworth	34,634	62	6,771	8,426
York C.	26,048	45	5,166	7,012
York N.	22,415	41	5,401	6,808
York S.	68,018	89	9,095	14,252
Totals	2,523,208	4,756	480,572	693,485

TOTAL CONSERVATIVE VOTES POLLED.....269,930
TOTAL LIBERAL VOTES POLLED.....207,078
TOTAL LABOUR, SOCIALIST and INDEPENDENT VOTES POLLED..... 3,564

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DOMINION ELECTION 1911 ONTARIO

CONSTITUENCIES ARRANGED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF VOTERS.

Northumberland West	3503	Peterborough W.	8156
Lanark North	3846	Simcoe E.	8279
Brant	4387	Wentworth	8426
Peterborough E.	4442	Algoma West	8453
Middlesex North	4529	Wellington S.	8470
Middlesex West	4676	Waterloo S.	8565
Ontario North	4799	Lambton W.	8757
Huron East	4808	Perth N.	8782
Kingston	5071	Grey N.	9182
Huron West	5097	Kent West	9352
Dundas	5165	Russell	9412
Elgin East	5304	Hastings West	9533
Prince Edward	5357	Hamilton West	9953
Leeds	5385	Lincoln	10010
Glengarry	5387	Waterloo North	10083
Muskoka	5439	Hamilton East	10189
Grenville	5446	Victoria	10242
Lanark South	5591	Welland	Accl
Dufferin	5604	Toronto South	10297
Huron South	5643	London	12043
Renfrew North	5647	Toronto Centre	12152
Perth South	5657	Toronto North	13768
Brockville	5700	Thunder Bay & R.R.	Accl
Middlesex E.	5862	York South	14252
Grey South	5939	Algoma East	15329
-Northumberland-E.		Essex North	15716
Lennox & Addington	6025	Toronto East	17005
Prescott	6066	Ottawa (Two Members	20388
Northumberland East	6101	Nipissing	21754
Halton	6128	Toronto West	23912
Haldimand	6212		
Grey E.	6298		
Lambton East	6453		
Frontenac	6456		
Oxford South	6502		
Peel	6621		
Carleton	6636		
Ontario South	6785		
York North	6808		
Wellington North	6824		
Bruce North	6832		
Stormont	6861		
Simcoe North	6947		
Renfrew South	6990		
Hastings East	6993		
York Centre	7012		
Oxford North	7076		
Brantford	7076		
Kent East	7174		
Bruce South	7547		
Parry Sound	7613		
Simcoe South	7625		
Durham	7739		
Elgin West	7740		
Essex South	7879		
Norfolk	7936		

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—FROM—
GENERAL REFORM ASSOCIATION
TORONTO, ONT.

DOMINION CONSTITUENCIES
ARRANGED BY COUNTIES IN ORDER OF POPULATION.

COUNTY	1911 CENSUS		1901 CENSUS
Northumberland W....	12,965		13,055
Northumberland E....	19,927	32,892	20,495
Middlesex North.....	13,737		16,419
Middlesex West.....	16,214		18.079
Middlesex East.....	20,814	50,765	20,228
Lanark North.....	14,624		17,236
Lanark South.....	19,751	34,375	19,996
Peterborough E.....	15,499		16,291
Peterborough West..	26,151	41,650	20,704
Huron East.....	16,289		19,227
Huron West.....	17,186		19,712
Huron South.....	19,508	52,983	22,881
Ontario North.....	17,141		18,390
Ontario South.....	23,865	41,006	22,015
Prince Edward.....	17,150		17,864
Grenville	17,545		21,021
Elgin East.....	17,597		17,901
Elgin West.....	26,715	44,312	25,685
Dufferin.....	17,740		21,036
Dundas.....	18,165		19,757
Leeds.....	18,204		19,254
Brockville.....	18,531	36,735	18,721
Perth South.....	18,947		20,615
Perth North.....	30,235	49,182	29,256
Grey South.....	19,250		21,053
Grey East.....	19,650		23,663
Grey North.....	26,991	65,891	24,928
Brant.....	19,259		18,273
Brantford.....	26,617	45,876	19,867
Lennox & Addington..	20,386		23,346
Kingston.....	20,660		19,788
Frontenac.....	21,944	42,604	24,746
Muskoka.....	21,233		20,971
Glengarry.....	21,259		22,131
Haldimand.....	21,562		21,232
Peel.....	22,102		21,745
Halton.....	22,208		19,545

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County	1911 Census		1901 Census
Lambton East.....	22,223		26,919
Lambton West.....	29,109	51,332	29,723
Wellington North...	22,292		26,120
Wellington South...	32,200	54,492	29,526
Oxford South.....	22,294		22,760
Oxford North.....	25,077	47,371	25,644
York North.....	22,415		22,419
York Centre.....	26,048		21,505
York South.....	68,018	116,481	20,699
Deduct from S.York) North Toronto,York) Township part 54,147 Moore Part(est)1,000		55,147	
	Net.	61,334	
Renfrew North.....	23,617		24,556
Renfrew South.....	27,852	51,469	27,676
Kent East.....	23,698		25,328
Kent West.....	32,297	55,995	31,866
Bruce North.....	23,783		27,424
Bruce South	26,249	50,032	31,596
Simcoe North.....	24,699		26,071
Simcoe South.....	25,060		26,399
Simcoe East.....	35,294	85,053	29,845
Stormont.....	24,775		27,042
Hastings East.....	24,978		27,943
Hastings West.....	30,825	55,803	31,348
Durham.....	26,411		27,570.
Parry Sound.....	26,547		24,936
Prescott.....	26,968		27,035
Norfolk.....	27,110		29,147
Carleton.....	28,406		24,380
Deduct now in Ottawa	10,926	17,480	
Waterloo South.....	28,988		25,470
Waterloo North.....	33,619	62,607	27,124
Essex South.....	29,541		29,995
Essex North.....	38,006	67,547	28,789
Wentworth.....	34,634		26,818
Deduct Now in Hamilton	4,897	29,737	
Lincoln.....	35,429		30,552
Victoria & Haliburton	36,499		38,511
Russell.....	39,434		35,166
Welland.....	42,163		31,588

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County	1911 Census		1901 Census
London.....	46,300		37,976
Hamilton West.....	37,279		28,634
Hamilton East.....	39,793	77,072	24,000
Add annexed from Wentworth.....		4,897	
	Total...	81,969	
Ottawa (two Members)	73,193		57,640
Add annexed from Carleton	10,926	84,119	
Toronto Centre.....	53,125		43,861
Toronto East.....	68,912		40,194
Toronto North.....	56,469		40,886
Toronto South.....	43,956		38,108
Toronto West.....	105,291	327,753	44,991
Add from S.York.....		55,147	
	Total..	382,900	
Algoma West.....	28,704		17,894
Algoma East.....	44,628	73,332	25,211
Thunder Bay & R.R....	67,249		28,987
Nipissing.....	74,130		28,309

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—FROM—
GENERAL REFORM ASSOCIATION
TORONTO, ONT.

[redacted]
9

A L G O M A.

ALGOMA EAST	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj.
Thessalon	44		63		167	
Blind River	179		126		52	
Transcontinental (12 polls)	141					
Golden City		23				
South Porcupine		28				
Massey		1		15	15	
Webbwood		20		7	9	
Biscotasing	36		26		24	
Chapleau		86		29	4	
Gore Bay		32		35		14
Little Current		61		30		7
Manitowaning		28	1			
(114 polls in all (mostly unorganized)		182		41		578
		Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj.		Net Lib Maj

	Liberal candidate	Conservative candidate
1911	REGAN	SMYTH
1908	Dyment	"
1904	"	Turner

ALGOMA WEST	1911 Lab. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Sault Ste Marie		207	13		22	
Steelton		52		6	10	
G.T.P.R.(7 polls)	110					
Bruce mines	11		4		24	
(81 polls in all (mostly unorganized.		538		209		95
		Net Con Maj.		Net Con Maj.		Net Con Maj.

	Liberal candidate	Conservative candidate
1911	Smith	Boyce
1908	Gibson	"
1904	Kehoe	"

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B R A N T.

BRANT	1911 Lib Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib Maj	1908 Con Maj	1904 Lib Maj	1904 Con Maj
Dumfries South	155		152		198	
Paris		195		70	68	
Onondaga		66		49		34
Burford		49	104		93	
Brantford Tp. (Part)	26		108		151	
Net Con. Maj		129	245 Net Lib.Maj.		470 Net Lib.Maj.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	M	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Paterson		Fisher
1908	"		Noonan
1904	"		Ludlow

BRANTFORD

BRANTFORD	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con Maj	1904 Lib Maj	1904 Con Maj
Brantford City		952		8		169
Brantford Tp.(Pt)	153		143		99	
Oaklands Tp.	80		70		55	
Net Con. Maj.....		719	205 Net Lib.Maj		15 Net Con.Maj.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Preston	Cockshutt
1908	Harris	"
1904	Heyd	"

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B R U C E.

BRUCE NORTH	1911		1908		1906		1904	
	Lib Maj.	Con Maj.	Lib. Maj.	Con Maj	Lib Maj	Con Maj	Lib Maj	Con Maj
St.Edmunds Tp.		22		25		14		47
Lindsay Tp.	4		4		21			19
Eastnor Tp.		78		76	57	43		103
Albemarle Tp.		62		20		10		18
Amabel Tp.		69		53		71	59	
Araan "		163		154		118		172
Saugeen Tp.	94		132		112		77	
Bruce Tp.	229		258		278		171	
Kincardine Tp.		7	49			15		87
Kincardine Town	16		104		112			29
Southampton Town		16	31		106		60	
Wiartin Town		91		83		28		73
Port Elgin Village	67		142		113		66	
Tiverton Village	31		34		29		17	
Tara Village		15		19		1		9
Hepworth Village	-	-	15		Part of Amabel Tp.			
Net Con. Maj.....		82	339		471		107	
			Net Lib Maj.		Net Lib Maj.		Net Con Maj	

	LIB. CANDIDATE	CON. CANDIDATE
1911	Tolmie	Clark
1908	"	McNeil
1906	"	McLelland
1904	Campbell	Bland

SOUTH BRUCE

	1911		1908		1904	
~~Brant Township~~	Lib.Maj.	Con.Maj.	LibMaj	Con Maj	Lib Maj	Con Maj.
Carrick Township		84		142		77
Culross "	58		45		109	
Elderslie"		28		26	1	
Grennock "		136		194		130
Huron "		1	5		9	
Kinloss "	55		103		165	
Walkerton Town	59			33		80
Chesley		31	83		94	
Lucknow	25		37		60	
Paisley	4		33		29	
Teeswater	23		31		43	
Brant Township		47		135		79
Net Con. Maj		103		193	144	
				Con.Maj (net)	Net Lib. Maj.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Truax	Donnelly
1908	McKenzie	"
1904	"	"

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CANADA

CARLETON

CARLETON

	1911		1908		1904	
	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj
March Tp.		271		243		204
Ottawa East		144		145		118
N.Gower		156		201		139
Marlborough		242		250		206
Fitzroy		23		20		23
Goulbourn		59		67		30
Richmond		19		16	19	
Torbolton		83				
Clintonburg		112		171		176
Ottawa South		85		125	1	
Huntley		26		64		24
Nepean		57		68	23	
March Tp						
Ottawa East						
	Con. Maj 1277		Con.Maj 1370		NetCon?Maj 877	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVECANDIDATE
1911	Maclean	Kidd
1908	Caldwell	Borden
1904	"	Kidd.

OTTAWA.

1911		1908		1907		1904	
Lib. Vote	Con. Vote	Lib. Vote	Con Vote	Lib. Vote	Con Vote	Lib Vote	Con Vote
6539	7062	6584	5959	4474	1145	6275	4818
6367	6892	6388	5890			5871	4547
Fripps' Maj 523		Laurier's Maj 625		Lib.Maj 3329		Belcourt's Maj 1457	
Ghabots' " 353		McGiverin's" 429				Stewart's Maj 1053	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	McGiverin	Fripp
	Pinard	Ghabot
1908	Laurier	Birkett
	McGiverin	Ghabot
1907	Caron	Morris
1904	Belcourt	Birkett
	Stewart	Champagne

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DUFFERIN

Dufferin	1911		1908		1904	
	Lib. Maj.	Con Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj
Amaranth		213		241		232
Garafraxa E.		99		115		85
Luther		92		106		44
Melancthon		153		188		244
Mono		302		254		228
Mulmur		442		377		301
Orangeville		40		34		67
Grand Valley		27		29	28	
Shelburne		91		99		113
		1459		1443		1286
	Net Con. Maj.		Net Con. Maj		Net Con.Maj.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Brown	Best
1908	Fisk	Barr
1904	Park	"

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CANADA

DUFFERIN

Dufferin	1911		1908		1904	
	Lib. Maj.	Con Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj
Amaranth		213		241		232
Garafraxa E.		99		115		85
Luther		92		106		44
Melancthon		153		188		244
Mono		302		254		228
Mulmur		442		377		301
Orangeville		40		34		67
Grand Valley		27		29	28	
Shelburne		91		99		113
		1459		1443		1286
	Net Con. Maj.		Net Con. Maj		Net Con.Maj.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Brown	Best
1908	Fisk	Barr
1904	Park	"

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CANADA

DUNDAS

DUNDAS	1911		1908		1904	
	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj
Matilda Tp.		270		253		242
Winchester Tp		53		61		107
Williamsburg Tp	4		53		95	
Mountain Tp.		293		261		231
Chesterville Vill	1					5
Winchester Vill.		37	11	34		41
Iroquois Vill.	9		18		14	
Morrisburg Vill.		5	57		96	
	Net Con.Maj 644		Net Con.Maj 460		Net Con.Maj.421	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CON. CANDIDATE
1911	Campbell	Broder
1908	Lawson	"
1904.	Chamberlain	"

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DURHAM

DURHAM	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib Maj	1904 Con Maj
Bowmanville		57	16		58	
Darlington Tp.	245		236		302	
Cartwright Tp		207		208		208
Clarke Tp		38		62		70
Newcastle Vill.		38		40		16
Manvers Tp		454		427		380
Cavan Tp		160		204		121
Millbrook Vill.		36		78		23
Hope Tp.	62		148		190	
Port Hope		41		4	119	
	Net Con.Maj 724		Net Con?Maj 623		Net Con.Maj 149	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Kelly	Thornton
1908	Simpson	"
1904	Aylesworth	Ward.

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CANADA

E L G IN E-A-S-T

ELGIN EAST

	1911		1908		1906		1904	
~~Yarmouth Tp.~~	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj	Lib Maj	Con Maj
~~Malahide Tp.~~		48		73		36		23
Dorchester S.TP.	16		1		3			1
Aylmer Town		10	17			35	21	21
Springfield Vill.		23		7	9		14	
Port Stanley "		14		49		18	1	
Vienna "		13	3			1	-	-
Yarmouth Tp.		100		35	73		14	
Mayham Tp.		202		104		62		47
	Net Con.Maj	394		247		73		21
			Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Miller	Marshall
1908	Rutherford	"
1906	Haight	"
1904	Hepburn	Ingram.

WEST ELGIN

Elgin West	1911		1908		1904	
	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj	Lib Maj	Con Maj
Aldborough Tp		41	33			64
Dunwich Tp.	175		235		177	
Dutton Vill.	12		25			5
Rodney Vill.	12					
Southwold Tp.	25			20		105
St.Thomas City		1013		791		390
West Lorne Vill.		67				
	Net Con Maj	897	Net Con Maj	518	Net Con Maj	387

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Macnish	Crothers
1908	Tolmie	Wilson
1904	Stewart	Jackson.

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E S S E X

ESSEX NORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj	1909 Lib. Maj	1909 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
Maidstone Tp.		75		103	53		29	
Rochester	88			1	175		149	
Sandwich E. Tp.	25		64		37		56	
Sandwich W. Tp.	189		122		136		52	
Sandwich S "	24			8	46		36	
Walkerville Town		220		149		93		71
Belle River Vill	54		34		49		37	
Sandwich Town	40		83		37		139	
Windsor City		301		126	111			59
	Net Con.Maj 176			84	551		368	
			Net Con Maj.		Net Lib.Maj		Net Lib.Maj	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE. CANDIDATE
1911	Dewar	Wilcox
1909	McKee	"
1908	Sutherland	Fleming
1904	"	Hanna.

ESSEX SOUTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Amherstburg		27	133		26	
Anderdon Tp.	71		60			19
Colchester N.Tp		11	9			8
" S "	128		149		94	
Essex Town		26	4		20	
Gosfield N.Tp		87		39		1
" S "		49	15		10	
Kingsville Town	7			3		8
Leamington Town		12	57			26
Malden Tp.	40		43		30	
Mersea Tp.		115		55	11	
Pelee "	24		46		29	
Tilbury W		17	10		26	
" N	245		275		219	
" Town	30		19		10	
	201		723		413	
	Net Lib. Maj		Net Lib Maj.		Net Lib.Maj.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Clark	Park
1908	Clark	Wigle
1904	"	"

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FRONTENAC

FRONTENAC.

	1911		1908		1904	
	Lib. Maj.	Con. Maj	Ind. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj
Pittsburg Tp.		46		103	15	
Kingston Tp.		68		87	84	
Portland Tp.		189		204		72
Oso Tp.		76	103			121
Wolfe Isl. Tp.	83		30		26	
Bedford Tp.		27		9		21
Storrington TP.		82		71		3
Barrie Tp.		30		15		19
Palmerston & N. & S. Canonyo Tp.		9		52	45	
Howe Island Tp.	36		6		37	
Pennebec Tp.		134		72		168
Pinchinbrooke Tp.		85	40			41
Olden Tp.		108	97			78
Clarendon & Miller		57		14	-	-
Barden Isl Vill		21		29		37
Loughboro Tp.		40		32	32	
		853		412		321
	Net Con. Maj.		Net Con. Maj.		Net Con.Maj.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Fair	Edwards
1908	Avery (Ind.Con)	"
1904.	Shibley	Avery

~~FRONTENAC~~ KINGSTON

	1911		1908		1904	
	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj
Kingston City		366			481	
Portsmouth Vill.	21				51	
		345	349		532	
	Net Con Maj.		Net Lib Maj.		Net Lib Maj. (Graham a third (candidate polled (55 votes	

	Liberal candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	Mowat	Nickle
1908	Harty	Ross
1904.	Harty	Gaskin.

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G L E N G A R R Y.

GLENGARRY	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj.	1908 Con. Maj.	1904 Lib. Maj.	1904 Con. Maj.
Charlottenburg Tp.		109		63		63
Kenyon Tp.	68		107		177	
Lancaster Tp.	22		17		27	
Lochiel Tp.	146		163		146	
Alexandria Town	112		99		87	
Lancaster Vill.		4	20		33	
Maxwell Vill.		9		22	43	
	225		321		450	
	Net Lib.Maj.		Net Lib. Maj.		Net Lib. Maj.	

	Liberal candidate.	Conservative candidate.
1911.	McMillan	McMartin
1908.	McMillan	McGregor
1904.	Schell	McDonald.

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G R E N V I L L E.

GRENVILLE.	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj.	1908 Con. Maj.	1904. Lib. Maj.	1904. Con. Maj.
Oxford Tp.		281		255		210
Kemptville		91		56		81
Gower S.Tp.		31		25		4
Edwardsburg Tp.		84		91		97
Augusta Tp.		187		128		72
Walford Tp.		155		143		136
Merrickville.		54		60		35
Cardinal		86		66		69
Prescott Town.	66		189		72	
		910		635		632
	Net Con. Maj.		Net Con.Maj.		Net Con. Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	Martin	Reid
1908	"	"
1904.	Edwards	"

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G R E Y.

GREY EAST

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
Artemesia Tp.		124		212		143
Collingwood Tp.		56		78	72	
Euphrasia Tp.		302		321		201
Holland Tp.		162		154		106
Osprey Tp.		192		146		119
Proton Tp.		60		62		70
Chatsworth Vill.		5				
Dundalk Vill.		31		57		26
Markdale Vill.		113		107		99
Thornbury Town.		40	1		10.	
	Net Maj. 1085		Net Con Maj 1136		Net Con.Maj	682

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911.	Hartman	Spproule
1908.	Raymond	Sprcule
1904.	Hartman	Sproule.

GREY NORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj.	1908 Con. Maj.	1904. Lib. Maj.	1904. Con. Maj.
Owen Sound		273		56		86
Sydenham Tp.	108		101		153	
Keppel Tp.		16		36	20	
Derby Tp.		41	21		14	
Sarawak Tp.		46		64		36
St.Vincent Tp.		69		97		60
Meaford Town.		15		9	18	
		342		140	23	
	Net Con Maj.		Net Con Maj.		Net Lib.Maj	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911.	Harrison	Middleboro
1908	Telford	"
1904.	"	Thomson.

GREY SOUTH

	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
Bentinck Tp.		65		42	84	
Egremont Tp.	3			15	62	
Glenelg Tp.	92		102		2	
Normanby Tp.		81	[illegible]	19		7
Sullivan Tp.		40		7	8	
Chatsworth Tp.		6		9		
Durham Town		74		68		91
Hanover Town	94		105		258	
Neustadt.	29		40			
		48	87		315	
	Net Con. Maj.		Net Lib.Maj.		Net Lib. Maj.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Miller	Ball
1908	"	"
1904.	"	McKinnon.

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H A L D I M A N D.

HALDIMAND

	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj.	1908 Con. Maj.	1904 Lib. Maj.	1904 Con. Maj
Caledonia Vill		66		61		14
Canboro Tp.	10		19			2
Cayuga Vill.	40		54		69	
Cayuga North Tp.	87		89		59	
" South "		19		4		6
Dunn Tp.		95		96		104
Dunnville Town		374		159		222
Hagersville Vill.		34		11		28
Jarvis		36				
Moulton Tp.		133		46		59
Oneida Tp.		22		13	26	
Rainham Tp.	28		40			4
Seneca Tp.		39		18		7
Sherbrooke Tp.		42		60		46
Walpole Tp.	16		20		79	
		679		246		259
	Net Con. Maj.		Net Con.Maj		Net Con.Maj.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE.
1911	Miller	Lalor.
1908	"	"
1904.	Thompson	"

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H A L T O N.

HALTON	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Trafalgar Tp.	9		3		75	
Nassagaweya Tp.	66		76		30	
Nelson Tp.		120		97		76
Esquesing Tp.		78		66		56
Milton Town		36		17	1	
Oakville Town		70		45		49
Georgetown Vill,		61		27		1
Burlington.		122		38		8
Acton		7		1		56
		419		212		140
	Net Con.Maj.		Net Con.Maj.		Net Con.Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1911.	Smith	Henderson
1908	Harrison	"
1904	Deacon	"

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HAMILTON.

HAMILTON EAST

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Lib. Vote	1911 Con. Maj	1911 Con. Vote	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Lib. Vote	1908 Con. Maj	1908 Con. Vote	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Lib. Vote	1904 Con. Maj	1904 Con. Vote
Hamilton E.		2406		4981		1876		2968		2580		2786
			Net Con.Maj 2575				1092 Net Con Maj.				206 Net Con Maj.	

Lander Labor candidate polled 1320 votes

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	Peebles	Barker
1908	Eastwood	Barker
1904	"	"

HAMILTON WEST

	1911 Lib. Vote	1911 Con. Vote	1908 Lib. Vote	1908 Con Vote	1904 Lib. Vote	1904 Con. Vote
Hamilton West.	2570	4390	2969	3363	3345	3106
		1820 Net Con.Maj.		394 Net Con.Maj.	239 Net Lib. Maj.	

(Dickhout Labour candidate polled 522 votes)

	Liberal candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	McLaren	Stewart
1908	Zimmerman	"
1904.	"	Bruce.

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H A S T I N G S.

HASTINGS EAST

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
Thurlow Tp.		159		158	1	
Tyendenaga Tp.		30		122	43	
Deseronto		90		148	26	
Hungerford Tp.		58		136	57	
Tweed		127		140		116
Elzevir & Grimsthorpe		79		107		53
Madoc Tp.		304		305		276
Tudor & Cashel Tp.		55		69		50
Limerick Tp.		18	1			5
Dungannon Tp.		51		50		25
Carlow Tp.		22		34	30	
Mayo. Tp.		25		18		11
Monteagle Tp.		52		45	68	
Madoc Village	4.		~~35~~	23		17
		1066		1345		328
		Net Con.Maj.		Net Con Maj.		Net Con Maj

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1911.	Clark	Northrup.
1908.	McCargar	"
1904.	Deroche	"

HASTINGS WEST

	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj.	1908 Con. Maj.	1904 Lib. Maj.	1904 Con Maj.
Belleville City		544		318		252
Sidney Tp.		231		148		84
Trenton		204	67			106
Stirling Vill.		10		5		13
Rawdon Tp.		258		295		189
Huntingdon Tp.		246		196		152
Marmora Vill.		19		60		21
Marmora & Lake Tps.		54		62		43
Wollaston Tp.		76		54		46
Bancroft Vill.		19		2		
Faraday Tp.		78		57	14	
Herschell Tp.	12		5		22	
Bangor Wicklow & McClure Tps.		44	~~36~~	36		19
		1771		1161		879
		Net Con. Maj.		Net Con.Maj.		Net Con .Maj

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	Hubbell	Porter
1908.	Funnell	"
1904.	Lott	"

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H A S T I N G S.

HASTINGS EAST

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
Thurlow Tp.		159		158	1	
Tyendenaga Tp.		30		122	43	
Deseronto		90		148	26	
Hungerford Tp.		58		136	57	
Tweed		127		140		116
Elzevir & Grimsthorpe		79		107		53
Madoc Tp.		304		325		276
Tudor & Cashel Tp.		55		60		50
Limerick Tp.		18	1			5
Dungannon Tp.		51		50		25
Carlow Tp.		22		34	30	
Mayo. Tp.		25		18		11
Monteagle Tp.		52		45	68	
Madoc Village	4.		25	23		17
		1066		1345		328
	Net Con.Maj.		Net Con Maj.		Net Con Maj	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1911.	Clark	Northrup.
1908.	McCargar	"
1904.	Deroche	"

HASTINGS WEST

	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj.	1908 Con. Maj.	1904 Lib. Maj.	1904 Con Maj.
Belleville City		544		318		252
Sidney Tp.		231		148		84
Trenton		204	67			106
Stirling Vill.		10		5		13
Rawdon Tp.		258		295		189
Huntingdon Tp.		246		196		152
Marmora Vill.		19		60		21
Marmora & Lake Tps.		54		62		43
Wollaston Tp.		76		54		46
Bancroft Vill.		19		2		
Faraday Tp.		78		57	14	
Herschell Tp.	12		5		22	
Bangor Wicklow & McClure Tps.		44	36	36		19
		1771		1161		879
	Net Con. Maj.		Net Con.Maj.		Net Con .Maj	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	Hubbell	Porter
1908.	Funnell	"
1904.	Lott	"

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HURON

HURON EAST	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Blyth		7		8		14
Brussels	1		16		11	
Wawanosh E.Tp.	54		53		33	
Grey Tp.	83		159		124	
Howick Tp.		203		190		217
Morris Tp.		13	20		15	
Turnbury Tp.		7		47		51
Wingham		122		115		128
Wroxeter.	16		19		15	
		198		77		184
	Net Con.Maj		Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Hislop	Bowman
1908	Hislop	Chisholm
1904	McDonald	"

HURON SOUTH	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Bayfield Vill	11	57		47		46
Hensall Vill		10		19	2	
Hay Tp.		18	164		88	
Exeter Tp.		88		121		132
McKillop Tp.	93		146			31
Seaforth	-	-	79			23
Stanley Tp.		30		33		4
Stephen Tp.		124		110		64
Tuckersmith Tp.	212		218		180	
Usborne Tp.		92	123	123		81
		114	154			111
	Net Con.Maj		Net Lib. Maj		Net Con Maj	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	McLean	Merner
1908	"	Sherritt
1904.	Fraser	Gunn.

HURON WEST	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904. Con Maj
Ashfield Tp.	84			5	31	
Goderich Tp.		172		122		173
" Town		53		76		100
Hullett Tp.	10		71		104	
Clinton Town		51	67		41	
Colborne Tp.	5		6			9
Wawanosh W.Tp.	2			3		7
		175		62		113
	Net Con.Maj		Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Cameron	Lewis
1908	Holmes	"
1904	"	"

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K E N T.

KENT EAST

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904. Con Maj
Camden Tp.		27	6		1	
Chatham Tp.		79		81	1	
Bothwell Town	17		24			3
Dresden		41	17		25	
Howard Tp.	48		42			64
Orford Tp.	187		175		181	
Ridgetown Town		35	14			67
Thamesville Vill.		5		13	28	
Wallaceburg Town	257		332		277	
Zone Tp.		39		33		7
	283 Net Lib. Maj.		483 Net Lib. Maj.		372 Net Lib.Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	Gordon	French
1908.	"	Stewart
1904.	"	Willson.

KENT WEST

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Chatham City		317		75		139
Harwich Tp.	87			7	5	
Blenheim Town		3	1			35
Tilbury Town.	19		21		13	
Dover Tp.	100			50		48
Raleigh Tp.	63		47			20
Romney Tp.		3	16		39	
Tilbury E. Tp.	120		129		64	
	66 Net Lib. Maj.		82 Net Lib. Maj.			121 Net Con.Maj.

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	McCoig	Stanworth
1908.	McCoig	Clements
1904.	Stephens	Clements.

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LAMBTON EAST.

Lambton East

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904. Con Maj
Warwich Tp.		13		24		4
Bosanquet Tp.		42		50	14	
Euphemia Tp.	33			9	7	
Brook Tp.		32		57		27
Watford Vill.		56		46		2
Forest Town		47		19		20
Oil Springs Vill.	12			4		30
Arkona Vill.		3		24	-	-
Enniskillen Tp.		126		133		162
Petrolea Town		170		62		232
Thedford Vill.		25		41		22
Alvinston.		25	9		17	
				460		461
	Net Con. Maj.	494	Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	Fairbank	Armstrong
1908.	"	"
1904.	Cowan	"

LAMBTON WEST

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1905 Lib. Maj	1905 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
Sarnia Town	9		197		229		413	
Courtwright Vill.	5		6		-			
Port Edward Vill.		15		18	8			2
Wyoming Vill.		17		1	½	1		5
Dawn Tp.		21		47		36		44
Sarnia Tp.		115		62		69		13
Plimpton Tp.	124		80		81		124	
Moore Tp.	119		32		74		106	
Sombra Tp.	-	-		41		40		132
	89		146		246		447	
	Net Lib. Maj.		Net Lib.Maj		Net Lib.Maj		Net Lib.Maj	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	Pardee	LeSueur
1908.	"	"
1905.	"	"
1904.	Johnston	Clancy.

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L A N A R K.

LANARK NORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj.	1908 Con. Maj.	1904. Lib. Maj.	1904. Con. Maj.
Dalhousie & North Sherbrooke Tps.	129		163		190	
Darling Tp.	30		33		69	
Lanark Tp.	104		109		134	
Lavant Tp.	2		1		31	
Pakenham Tp.		108		93		77
Ramsay Tp.		41	12		26	
Almonte Town.		174		116		34
Lanark Vill.	108		137		118	
Carleton Place.		277		252		404
	Net Con Maj	227	Net Con Maj	6	Net Lib.Maj	53

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	Caldwell	Thoburn
1908.	"	"
1904.	"	Preston.

LANARK SOUTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj.	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
Bathurst Tp.		83		64		57
Beckwith Tp.		v127		67		86
Burgess N. Tp.	48		27		60	
Drummond Tp.		105		79		83
Elmsley N.Tp.		77		62		86
Montague Tp.		156		117		155
Perth(Town)		196		236		163
Sherbrooke S.Tp.		104		106		85
Smith's Falls(Town).		367		55		235
	Net Con Maj	1167	Net Con.Maj.	759	Net Con Maj	890

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	McKimm	Haggart
1908	"	"
1904	Dwyer	Haggart

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L E E D S

LEEDS	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con Maj
Gananoque		254		273 80		273
Leeds & Lansdowne (front)		125		105		172
" & " (rear)		224	19	181		228
Westport Vill	14				70	
Newboro Vill		48		40		52
Crosby N.Tp.	6		16	2	45	
Bastard & Burgess Tps.		74		66		78
Crosby S. Tp.		51		72		60
Kitley Tp.		174		131		167
Elmsley S.Tp.		10		10		9
		940		669		924
	Net Con.Maj.		Con Maj.Net		Net Con Maj	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911.	Cross	Taylor
1908.	Fredenburgh	"
1904.	Gibson	"

BROCKVILLE

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
Brockville,		21	198		213	
Elizabethtown		108		122		99
Yonge Front	63		85		86	
Escott Front	9		7			
Yonge & Escott (rear)		73		51	3	31
Athens Vill.	19		27		35	
		111	144		204	
	Net Con Maj.		Net Lib. Maj		Net Lib.Maj	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1911.	Graham	Webster
1908	"	"
1904.	Derbyshire	Culbert.

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L E N N O X & A D D I N G T O N

LENNOX & ADDINGTON

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904. Con. Maj
Adolphustown Tp.		3	1		6	
Amherst Isl.	1		5		25	
Bath.	4			7	9	
Ernestown Tp.		84		36		145
Fredericksburg N.TP.		17	19		xx	14
" S "		72		39		88
Naparee Town	13		32			35
Richmmnd Tp.		92		63		129
Kaladar & Anglesea & Effingham Tps.		54	27			8
Sheffield Tp.		33	30		65	
Camden Tp.		184		50		117
Newboro Vill.		16		27		11
Dehbigh, Abinger & Ashby.		49		46		47
		586		154		489
	Net Con.Maj.		Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
	.....	.....
1911.	Vrooman	Paul
1908.	Wartman	Wilson
1904.	Keech	"

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L I N C O L N

.....

LINCOLN	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904. Con Maj
Niagara Town		2	9			5
Niagara Tp.		105		47		55
Grantham Tp.		183		48		88
Merritton Vill.		103		82		95
Port Dalhousie Vill.		42	2			14
Louth Tp.		127		15	6	
Clinton Tp.		97		53		47
Beamsville Vill.		29		19	24	
Grimsby N. Tp.		131		43		31
" S. "	48		70		49	
Gainsboro Tp.	136		204		164	
Grimsby Vill.		126		27		26
Caistor Tp.	42		64		28	
St. Catharines City.		834		264		228
		1553		249		318
	Net Con .Maj.		Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
	.....	.....
1911.	Lovelace	Lancaster
1908.	Woodruff	"
1904.	Lovelace	"

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MIDD L E S E X.

DDLESEX EAST

	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj.	1908 Con. Maj.	1904 Lib. Maj.	1904 Con. Maj.
ndon Tp.		558		400		355
stminster Tp.	189		398		318	
rchester N.Tp.		141		121		136
Nissouri Tp.		151		126		46
		661		249		219
	Net Con. Maj		Net Con.Maj		Net Con.Maj.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
911	Routledge	Elson
908	~~McEvoy~~ "	"
904	McEvoy	"

MIDDLESEX NORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Gen.Ind Lib Maj
delaide Tp.	12		34			46
iddulph Tp.		158		151		169
cGillivrary Tp.		77		58		186
illiams E.Tp.	97		90		57	
" W. Tp.	1		21			63
arkhill		57		40		144
ilsa Craig	33		22		19	
ucan.		75		67		62
Lobo Tp.	171		212		298	
		53	63			296
	Net Con Maj		Net Lib Maj.		Maj for Ind. Lib.	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
911	Smith	Elliott
908	"	Doyle
904	Boston	Ratz (Ind Lib.)

IDDLESEX WEST

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj	1909 Lib. Maj	1909 Con Maj.
aradoc Tp.	66		74		138		121	
eleware Tp.		6	8			16		1
kfrid Tp.	29		20		107		41	
etcalfe Tp.		33		92		59		78
osa Tp.	57		6		29			
Strathroy Town	64		39		7			4
lencoe Vill.		39		28	2		123	
ewbury Vill.	1		-	-		3		35
ardsville Vill.		8		15	1			4
	131 Net Lib Maj		12 Net Lib Maj		206 Net Lib. Maj.		156 Net Lib Maj.	7

	Lib.Can	Con.Can	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1909	Ross- McLaughlin			
1911			Ross	Cobban
1908			Calvert	McLaughlin
1904			"	Stewart

LONDON

	1911 Lib. Vote	1911 Con. Vote	1908 Lib. Vote	1908 Con. Vote	1905 Lib. Vote	1905 Con. Vote	1904 Lib. Vote	1904 Con. Vote.
	3352	5263	2987	4121	4581	4251	4201	4278

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	McEwoy	Beattie
1908	McCandless	"
1905	Hyman	Gray
1904	"	"
1907	Jacobs	Beattie

1907 Lib. Vote	1907 Con. Vote.
2174	3209
~~Con Maj 1035~~	

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M U S K O K A.

MUSKOKA

	1 9 1 1 Lib. Maj.	1 9 1 1 Con. Maj.	1 9 0 8 Lib. Maj.	1 9 0 8 Con. Maj.	1 9 0 4. Lib. Maj.	1 9 0 4. Con. Maj.
Bracebridge Town		34		106		34
Gravenhurst Town		121		17		51
Huntsville "		48		10		30
Medora & Wood Tps		66		43		1
21 other Municipalities						
Net Con. Maj.		1020		717		468
				Net Con.Maj		Net Con Maj.

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1 9 1 1.	Thomas	Wright
1 9 0 8	Morrison	"
1 9 0 4.	Marshall	"

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N I P I S S I N G.

NIPISSING	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
North Bay		239		158		59
Mattawa	13		55		50	
Sturgeon Falls	39	[illegible]		40	38	
Sudbury		60		118		42
Copper Cliff		94		10		33
Coleman Tp.		6	5			
Cobalt	28		74			
Haileybury		137		55		
New Liskeard		28	-	-	1	
Cochrane	56					
Gowganda		60				
180 polls in all (organized and (unorganized.			142 polls in all		79 Polls in all	
		545		21		188
	Net Con.Maj.			Net Con Maj		Net Lib. Maj.

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Young	Gordon
1908	McCool	"
1904	"	"

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N O R FO L K.

NORFOLK

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
Charlotteville Tp.		30		130		59
Houghton Tp.		81		120		83
Middleton Tp.		30		88		47
Townsend Tp.	324		211		289	
Walsingham S.Tp.	39			15		37
" N."		78		144		146
Windham Tp.		7		15	15	
Woodhouse Tp.	83		34			8
Simcoe Town		120		109		75
Delhi		68		69		64
Port Rowan	41		12		12	
Port Dover		23		48		26
Waterford	68		55		43	
	118 Net Lib Maj.			426 Net Con Maj		186 Net Con Maj

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
911	Charlton	McCall
908	Donly	"
904	"	Tisdale

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....NORTHUMBERLAND.

NORTHUMBERLAND EAST

	1911		1908		1907		1904	
	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj
Brighton Tp		47		17		19		48
Cramahe Tp		29	41		13			12
Murray Tp.		173		70		49		93
Percy Tp.		28		4		38	59	
Seymour Tp.		51		79		87		5
Brighton Vill.		67		38		40		63
Campbellford		19		106		84		42
Colborne Vill.		4	53		22			28
Hastings Vill.	27		24		40		26	
		391		196		242		206
	Net Con.Maj		Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj		Net Con.Maj	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Weatherson	Walker
1908	Webb	Owen
1907	Mulholland	"
1904	Douglas	Cochrane

NORTHUMBERLAND WEST

	1911		1908		1904	
	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con. Maj	Lib. Maj	Con Maj
Alnwick Tp.		12		18		27
Haldimand Tp.	158		155		125	
Hamilton Tp.		100		56		25
Cobourg		50	49		71	
		6	130		144	
	Net Con Maj on recount		Net Lib.Maj		Net Lib.Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1911	McColl	Munson
1908	"	"
1904	"	Armour

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O N T A R I O.

ONTARIO NORTH

	1911 Lib Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib Maj	1908 Con Maj	1904 Lib Maj	1904 Con Maj
Brock Tp.		304		281		230
Mara Tp.	146		310		356	
Rama Tp.		19	47		92	
Scott Tp.		58		42		34
Thorah Tp.		57		44		34
Uxbridge Tp.		90		24	43	
" Town		49		97		2
Beaverton		83		58		59
Cannington.		44		1	6	
		558		190		138
	Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj		Net Lib. Maj	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Mowat	Sharpe
1908	Grant	"
1904	"	Proctor

ONTARIO SOUTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Oshawa		245	116			84
Beach Tp.		65		67		90
Pickering Tp.	16		82		92	
Whitby Tp.		37	10		-	-
Port Perry		20		45		51
Whitby Town		52	10			21
" E.Tp.	66		161		69	
Scugog Tp.		33		24		20
		370	243			105
	Net Con Maj.		Net Lib. Maj.		Net Con Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Fowke	Smith
1908	"	Christie
1904	Ross	"

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O X F O R D.

OXFORD NORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1905 Lib. Maj	1905 Con Maj	1904 Lib Maj	1904 Con Maj
Blandford Tp.		19		90	40		77	
Blenheim Tp.	169		153		131		273	
Nissouri E.Tp.	42			1	26		223	
Zorra E.Tp.	153			6	154		315	
" W. Tp.	171		126		192		278	
Woodstock		272		75		222	306	
Embro	29		17		17		30	
Tavistock	22		;.....		.....		.....	
	295 Net Lib. Maj.		124 Net Lib. Maj.		338 Net Lib Maj		1502 Net Lib Maj	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Nesbitt	Wallace
1908	"	Quinn
1905	Smith	Wallace
1904	Sutherland	Wallace

OXFORD SOUTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904. Con Maj
Oxford North Tp.	35			6	55	
NorwichN Tp.	71		95		164	
Oxford W. Tp.	105		57		96	
" E. Tp.	135		121		163	
Norwich S.Tp.		3	16		49	
Dereham Tp.		88		95	58	53
Ingersoll		150	18		58	
Norwich Vill.		30		15	5	
Tillsonburg		99	98	98		42
		24	93		495	
	Net Con . Maj.		Net Lib. Maj.		Net Lib Maj	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
911	Schell	Sutherland
908	"	"
904	~~Hender~~ Schell	Henderson

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PARRY SOUND.

PARRY SOUND	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Armour		87		11	60	
Burks Falls		36	34		76	
Chapman		18		18		6
Christie		40	2		9	
Carling		14		4		15
Foley		45		29		9
N.Himsworth	87			109	40	
Powassan		5				
S.Himsworth		31				
Humphrey	13		28			
Hagerman		49		46		4
Joly		17		7		
Machar		33		12		40
McMurrich		3	-	-	16	
McDougall		66		78		27
McKellar		106		110		77
Nipissing	1			34	26	
Parry Sound		113		68	7	
Perry		90		79	22	
Ryerson		36		37	12	
South River		51		38	12	
Strong		14		28		25
Sundridge		26		34		17
(26 other unorgan- (ized Townships (etc.						
	Net Con.Maj.	1158		797 Net Con Maj		375 Net Lib Maj.

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Morrison	Arthurs
1908	Watson	Arthurs
1904	Watson	Freeborn

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P E E L

PEEL

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Caledon	72			22	7	
Albion		138		158		99
Chinguacousy	124		111		123	
Toronto Tp.		274		173		98
Toronto Gore	17		49		73	
Brampton		39		24		75
Streetsville	Will	50		50		38
Bolton.		30		22		9
		316		289		116
	Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj		Net Con Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
9 1 1	Lowe	Blain
9 0 8	Graham	"
9 0m4	Milner	"

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CANADA

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P E R T H.

PERTH NORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Easthope North	249		264		250	
Ellice		45	6			44
Elma		203		122		156
Mornington		10	17			64
Wallace		109		106		118
Milverton	18		22			21
Listowell		83		54		50
Stratford		314	14			115
		497	41			320
	Net Con Maj.		Net Lib. Maj.		Net Con Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Rankin	Morphy
1908	"	McLaren
1904.	Mabee	"

PERTH SOUTH

St.	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
St.Marys Town		116				
Blanshard		109				
Downie	125					
Fullarton		38				
Hibbert	125					
Logan		180				
Mitchell Town		66				
South Easthope	157 177					
Tavistock	-	-				
		82	35		144	
	Net Con Maj		Net Lib. Maj.		Net Lib. Maj.	

NOTE: The Returning Officers who acted in 1904 and 1908 failed to make returns by Municipalities.

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1911	McIntyre	Steele
1908	"	"
1904	"	"

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CANADA

PETERBOROUGH.

PETERBOROUGH EAST

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
Burleigh & Anstruther		42		36		42
Asphodel		19		15	77	
Belmont & Methuen		252		245		200
Chandon		40		45		25
Douro	118		131		85	
Dummer		110		76	40	
Otonabee	12		51		134	
Havelock		156		101		67
Lakefield		81		6		8
Norwood.		23		40	76	
	Net Con Maj.	593	Net Con Maj	382	Net Lib. Maj	70

	Liberal Candidates	Conservatives Candidate
1911	Kerr	Sexsmith
1908	Tanner	"
1904	Finlay	"

PETERBOROUGH WEST

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Peterborough City		343		16		178
Galway Tp.	58		71		93	
Cavendish	11		3		15	
Harvey	52		31		29	
Ennismore	173		172		134	
Smith	71		64		77	
Monagham. N.		39	10			27
" S.		25		2	10	
Ashburnam					24	
	Net Con Maj.	42	Net Lib. Maj	333	Net Lib.Maj.	187

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate,
1911	Stratton,	Burnham
1908	"	"
1904	Hall	Kendry.

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CANADA

P R E S C O T T

PRESCOTT

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj.	1904 Con. Maj
Alfred Tp.	156		181		222	
Caledonia	91		143		48	
Hawkesbury E.	207		271		150	
Hawkesbury W.	18		49			32
Longueuil Tp.	79		84		39	
PlantagenetNTp.	320		389		217	
" S "	200		335		156	
Hawkesbury Town	187			116	294	
Vank-leek Hill	37		33			25
L'Orignal Vill.	17		88			4
	1312 Lib. Maj.		1457 Net Lib. Maj.		1065 Net Lib. Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Proulx	Quesnel
1908	"	"
1904.	"	Carbonneau.

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CANADA

P R E S C O T T

PRESCOTT

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj.	1904 Con. Maj
Alfred Tp.	156		181		222	
Caledonia	91		143		48	
Hawkesbury E.	207		271		150	
Hawkesbury W.	18		49			32
Longueuil Tp.	79		84		39	
PlantagenetNTp.	320		389		217	
" S "	200		335		156	
Hawkesbury Town	187			116	294	
Vank-leek Hill	37		33			25
L'Orignal Vill.	17		88			4
	1312 Lib. Maj.		1457 Net Lib. Maj.		1065 Net Lib. Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Proulx	Quesnel
1908	"	"
1904.	"	Carbonneau.

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PRINCE EDWARD

PRINCE EDWARD

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Spphiasburg	40		78		60	
Picton		123	29			126
Bloomfield		16		36		
Marysburg N	42			35	61	
" S		47	70			36
Wellington		24	22		15	
Athol		14	33			26
Hillier		50		39		60
Ameliasburg		155		131		107
Hallowell.	67		155		73	
	Net Con Maj.	280	137 Net Lib. Maj		Net Con. Maj	146

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1911	Currie	Hppburn
1908	"	Alcorn
1904	Rose	"

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

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RENFREW

RENFREW NORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con Maj	1906 Lib Maj	1906 Con Maj	1904 Lib Maj	1904 Con Maj
Alice and Fraser Tp.		59		24		58	37	
Algoma South	59		30			68		8
Bromley	114		170		64		142	
Cobden Vill		45		25		37		9
Eganville (part)		36		33		20		4
Pembroke Town Of		155		145		60		74
Petewawa		3	20			29	24	
Ralph, Buchanan & Wylie Tps.		9	30			19	72	
Ross Tp.		137		131		146		58
Stafford		93		97		82		112
Westmeath		174		203		331		144
Wilberforce and Algoma North		144		161		181		86
Pembroke Tp.		26		30		34		
	Net Con Maj. 708		Net Con Maj 599		Net Con Maj 1001		Net Con Maj 220	

A third candidate McKay polled 233 votes

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1911	Munroe	White
1908	Barr	"
1906	Murray	"
1904	Mackie	"

RENFREW SOUTH

	1912 Lib. Maj	1912 Con Maj	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con Maj	1904 Lib Maj	1904 Con Maj
Admaston	126		111		52			11
Bagot & Blythefield	14		43		99		26	
Brougham	52		57		54		36	
Grattan		124		21	75		57	
Eganville Vill		33		10	51		20	
Sebastopol	2		16		40		5	
Brudenell		36	49		56		11	
Lyndoch			12					
Griffith	8		5		24			5
Matawatchan		15		12		2		
Hagarty	87		47		194		23	
Sherwood			55					
Hagarty & Richards			23					
Sherwood Jones & Burns			100					
Rdacliffe		2	12		33		3	
Raglah		54		22	15		53	
Horton	74		45		16		47	
McNab	66		37			6	72	
Arnprior		121		108		149		197
Renfrew.	179		180		138		47	
	Net Lib. Maj 423		Net Lib Maj 619		Net Lib Maj 690		Lib Maj 188	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1912	Graham	Maloney
1911	Lowe	"
1908	"	McKay
1904	Wright	McKay.

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.. R U S S E L L .....

RUSSELL	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj.	1908 Con. Maj.	1904 Lib. Maj.	1904 Con. Maj.
Gloucester Tp.	7		131			45
Osgoode		58		118		48
Eastview	32					
Rockland	169		294		265	
Cassleman	9		31		29	
Clarence Tp.	370		488		574	
Russell	147		116		75	
Cumberland		4		137		3
Cambridge	290		332		240	
Rideau.	14		9			139
	976 Net Lib. Maj.		1146 Net Lib. Maj.		948 Net Lib. Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1911	Murphy	Vincent
1908	"	Gamble
1904	Wilson	Askwith

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S I M C O E

SIMCOE EAST

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Matchedash		34		26		35
Medonte		91		63		108
Tay		148		124		79
Tiny	161		276		31	
Orillia Tp.		217		105		103
Penetanguishene	218		176		164	
Orillia Town		210	11			4
Midland		116	119			239
Coldwater		29				
		466	264			373
	Net Con Maj		Net Lib. Maj		Net Con Maj	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Chew	Bennett
1908	"	"
1904	Gunn	"

SIMCOE NORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Collingwood		23		114	156	
Nottawasaga		195		109		66
Sunnidale		49		66		128
Floss	35		66			11
Vespra		16	24			14
Oro	82		99		85	2
Stayner	32		56		56	
Creemore		38		10		36
	Net Con Maj.	172	Net Con Maj	54	42 Net Lib Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	McCarthy	Currie
1908	Wilson	"
1904	McCarthy	"

SIMCOE SOUTH

	1911 Ind Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Barrie		400		355		131
Essa		422		319		235
Innisfil		259		321		260
Tecumseth		182		188		161
West Gwillimbury		118		102		64
Adjala	73		36		41	
Tossoronto		197		174		156
Alliston		44		24		31
Bradford		36		35		21
Tottenham		1	9		8	
Beeton.		56		57		49
	Net Con. Maj	1642	Net Con Maj	1530	Net Con Maj	1059

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Hammill (Ind)	Lennox
1908	Campbell	"
1904	Henry	"

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S T O R M O N T.

STORMONT	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
~~Cornwall Tp.~~						
Cornwall Town	33		127			63
Finch Tp.	34		70			22
Finch Village		12		16		
Osnabruck Tp.		199		95		101
Roxborough	63		96		53	
Cornwall Tp.		50	168		22	
		131		350		111
	Net Con.Maj		Net Lib. Maj.		Net Con.Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Gogo	Alguire
1908	Smith	Pringle
1904	"	"

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C 28371

THUNDER BAY & RAINY RIVER.

THUNDER BAY & RAINY RIVER

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904. Con. Maj
Port William			267		95	
Port Arthur			388		126	
Fenora				72		103
Sewatin				98		35
Port Frances	CON. ACCL.			7	27	
Rainy River			23			3
Schrieber				24	-	-
Emo				44	8	
Chapple				29		23
			197 polls in all		100 polls in all	
			1241 Net Lib. Maj.		428 Net Lib. Maj	
			Urry a third candidate polled 702 votes.		Peltier a third candidate polled 638 votes	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE.
1911		Carrick (accl)
1908	Conmee	Keefer
1904	"	Marks

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C 28578

T O R O N T O.

TORONTO NORTH

1911 Lib. Vote	1911 Con Vote	1908 Lib. Vote	1908 Con. Vote	1904 Lib. Vote	1904 Con. Vote.
3157	6474	4009	4398	4310	4422
Con Maj 3317		Con Maj 389		Con Maj 112	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Shaw	Foster
1908	"	"
1904	Urquhart	"

TORONTO CENTRE

1911 Lib Vote	1911 Con Vote	1908 Lib. Vote	1908 Con Vote	1904 Lib. Vote	1904 Con. Vote
2994	5156	3295	3482	3935	4320
Con Maj. 2162		Con Maj. 187		Con Maj 385.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Maguire.	Bristol
1908	Robinette	"
1904	"	Clarke.

TORONTO SOUTH

1911 Lab Vote	1911 Con Vote	1908 Lab. Vote	1908 Con Vote	1904 Lib. Vote	1904 Con. Vote
2110	4473	1722	2771	3092	3501
Con Maj	2363	Con Maj	1049	Con Maj	409

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Ward	Macdonnell
1908	O'Donoghue(Lab)	"
1904	Dewart	"

TORONTO EAST

1911 Lib. Vote	1911 Con. Vote	1908 Ind Con Vote	1908 Con Vote	1904 Lib. Vote	1904 Con. Vote
1878	7082	4039	3246	1993	4125
Con Maj 5204		Ind?Maj 793		Con Maj 2132	

Russell Ind. polled 2281
Richards Lab. " 463

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate.
1911	Pearson	Kemp
1908	Russell (Ind)	"
1904	Leslie	"

TORONTO WEST

1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
3437	11444	2419	4772	2573	4464
Con Maj 8007		Con Maj 2353		Con Maj. 1891	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Waldron	Osler
1908	Duthie	"
1904	Hunter	"

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V I C T O R I A.

VICTORIA

	1911		1908		1904	
~~Carden~~	Lib. Maj.	Con. Maj.	Lib. Maj.	Con. Maj.	Lib. Maj.	Con. Maj.
Dalton		39		45		15.
Eldon		154		116		68.
Mariposa	19		42		166.	
Ops	34		40		±020.	
Woodville	8		9		20.	
Lindsay N.		132		144	20.	
Omemee		71		62		61.
Emily		19		31		28
Verulam		53		36		1.
Bobcaygeon		68		70		47.
Fenelon		70		47		)
Fenelon Falls		25	9		11.	)
Somerville		145		81		77.
Bexley		54		52		56.
Laxton		67		63		45.
Digby	5			1	1.	
Lutterworth		40		24	1.	
Anson & Hindon		44		21		27.
Minden		95		110	15.	
Snowden		32		18	20.	
Stanhope		45		37		39.
Sherbourne		10		22		12.
Glamorgan		17		10	4.	
Dysart		133		98		84.
Monmouth		65		36		49.
Cardiff		21		18		13.
Sturgeon Point.	3		-	-	2.	
Carden	36		44		49.	
Net Con Maj.		1294	Net Con Maj.	1048	Net Con Maj.	303

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Begg	Hughes
908	Wilson	"
904	McLaughlin	"

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WATERLOO

WATERLOO NORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904. Con. Maj
Berlin Town		563		163		281
Waterloo Town		243		192		358
Elmira Vill.		42		18		40
Waterloo Tp.(part)	120		100		69	
Woolwich Tp.	333		352		269	
Wellesley Tp.	80		184		35	
	Net Con Maj 315		263 Net Lib Maj		Net Con Maj 306	

Note:Huber a third candidate polled 50 votes.

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	King	Weichel
1908	"	Reid
1904.	Clement	Seagram

WATERLOO SOUTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904. Con Maj
Dumfries North	219	[illegible]	233		157	
Waterloo Tp(Part)	63		54		137	
Wilmot Tp.		10	83		1	
Galt Town		306	107		146	
Hespeler		217		251		213
Preston Town		525		433		469
New Hamburg		98		42		72
Dyr.	21		49		48	
	Net Con Maj. 853		Net Con Maj. 200		Net Con Maj. 365	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Moyer	Clare
1908	"	"
1904.	Laird	"

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CANADA

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WELLAND.

WELLAND	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
Bertie Tp.			101		121	
Bridgeburg Vill	ACCL.			44		44
Chippawa				55		18
Crowland Tp.			36		33	
Fort Erie Vill			42		53	
Humberstone Tp.			12		22	
Niagara Falls City				39	57	
Port Colborne Vill.			10		56	
Stamford Tp.			8		151	
Thorold Town				80		62
Thorold Tp.			26		41	
Welland Town			256		224	
Willoughby Tp.			60		55	
Pelham			280		290	
Wainfleet.			30		34	
			Net Lib. Maj.643		Net Lib Maj 922	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	German (Accl)	
1908	"	Hanan
1904	"	Upper

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WELLINGTON

WELLINGTON NORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj	1907 Lib Maj	1907 Con. Maj
Arthur Tp.	134		107		138		59	
Luther W Tp.		56		9	45			30
Garafraxa W Tp.		19		27		54		45
Belmont Vill.	8		19		19		20	
Minto Tp.	112		145		127		171	
Maryborough Tp.		68		94		97		84
Peel Tp,	120		124		34		95	
Harriston Town		57		16	36			5
Palmerston Town		222		252		66		52
Mount Forest Town	30		60		58		157	
Arthur Village		5	1		22			52
Drayton Vill.		9	7		12		3	
Clifford Vill.	7		19		34		29	
	Net Con. Maj. 25		84 Net Lib. Maj.		308 Net Lib. Maj		266 Net Lib Maj	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Martin	Clarke
1908	"	"
1907	"	Hamilton
1904.	"	McGowan

WELLINGTON SOUTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904. Con. Maj
Guelph City		290		135		193
Fergus Vill.		7	46		14	
Elora Vill.	5		66		31	
Erin Vill.	17		27			2
Erin Tp.	176		184		216	
Puslinch	311		196		144	
Nichol Tp.	51		33			23
Pilkington	166		123		87	
Guelph Tp.	90		71		68	
Eramosa.	105		90		37	
	Net Lib Maj 624		701 Net Lib Maj		379 Net Lib Maj.	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Guthrie	Evans
1908	"	Newstead
1904	"	Kleopfer

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NOTE: 1905 Bye-election
Con.Maj .17

W E N T W O R T H.

WENTWORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj.	1911 Con. Maj.	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904. Con. Maj
Ancaster Tp.	165		308		239	
Barton Tp.		744		102	25	
Binbrooke Tp.		1	1		7	
Beverley Tp.	289		285		204	
Flamborough E. Tp.		12	54			32
" W	23		104		42	
Dundas ~~Valley~~		319		113		193
Glanford Tp.	1		33	~~11~~	16	
Saltfleet Tp.		272		212		247
Waterdown. ~~Tp.~~		23		12		41
		893	346		20	
	Net Con Maj.		Net Lib. Maj.		Net Lib. Maj.	

NOTE: Considerable part of Barton Tp.now inHamilton City.

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Sealey	Wilson
1908	"	Hall
1904	"	Smith
1905	"	".

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NOTE: 1905 Bye-election
Net Lib Maj 26

Y O R K.

YORK CENTRE

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con Maj	1904 Lib Maj	1904 Con Maj
Etobicoke Tp.		385		246		145
Vaughan Tpp	61		125		123	
Markham Tp.	123		194		189	
Scarborough Tp.		117		1	78	
Weston Vill.		63		31		15
Woodbridge Vill.		55		44		31
Richmond Hill Vill.	3		9			35
Markham Village.		77		51		39
	Net Con Maj. 510		Net Con Maj 45		Net Lib Maj 124	

	Liberal Candidate	Conservative Candidate
1911	Dewart	Wallace
1908	McLean	"
1907	"	"
1904	Campbell	Pugsley

YORK NORTH

	1911 Lib. Maj	1911 Con Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con maj	1905 Lib. Maj	1905 Con Maj	1904 Lib. Maj	1904 Con. Maj
King Tp.		127		46	23		168	
Gwillimbury E. Tp.	59		128		108		203	
Georgina Tp.		48		56		48	13	
Gwillimbury N. "		22		17	5		46	
Whitchurch Tp.	60		44		82		152	
Stouffville Vill	112		116		104		130	
Newmarket Town		13	146		156		194	
Aurora Town		15	61		128		92	
Sutton Vill		49		47		36		22
Holland Landing Vill.		16		23		28		14
	Net Con,Maj, 59		Net Lib Maj 306		494 Net Lib Maj		962 Net Lib.Maj	

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Robinette	Armstrong
1908	Aylesworth	"
1905	"	McCallum
1904	Mulock	Roach

YORK SOUTH

	1911 Lib Maj	1911 Con. Maj	1908 Lib. Maj	1908 Con. Maj	1904. Lib. Maj	1904 Con Maj
Toronto City		3700				
North Toronto Town		400			25	
~~Davisville~~						
~~Eglinton~~			ACCL.CON.			
York Tp.		1193				653 (a)
	Net Con Maj	5293			Net Con Maj	628

(a) includes part now in Toronto

	LIBERAL CANDIDATE	CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
1911	Heyd	Maclean
1908		" (Accl)
1904.	Anderson	"

—FROM—
GENERAL REFORM ASSOCIATION
TORONTO, ONT.

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Gó WL King

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CONFIDENTIAL GENERAL REFORM ASSOCIATION FOR ONTARIO.

REPORTS ON ALL THE RIDINGS
TO DECEMBER, 1st, 1912

ADDINGTON (See Lennox)

ALGOMA EAST, August 15th, 1912

W.C

Organizer Walkinshaw reports that he visited Blind River, and conferred with George J.McArthur, Secretary of the Association, and J.L.Regan ex Dominion Candidate, regarding the revision of the lists. AUGUST 17th Organizer Walkinshaw reports that he visited Manitoulin Island, Gore Bay, and met Ross Hearst, (William Hearst's brother). Also C.A. Rickaby a Liberal (who is employed on the Conservative paper at Gore Bay). The lists for the township of Carmarvoran, Billings, Gordon and Cockburn Island and the town of Gore Bay, are posted. I am trying to arrange for the correcting of these lists. Also visited Little Current. AUGUST 20th Organizer D.H.Walkinshaw reports that he visited Manitoulin Island. Conferred with Thomas C.Sims, President of East Algoma Association. He is Captain of Mail Steamer from Cutler to Little Current. Also with President R.Hay (Provincial President) of Manitoulin Association. Hay promised to attend to the lists around Little Current. He is enthusiastic worker. Ross Hearst of Gore Bay promised to attend to Gore Bay and the surrounding Townships. President R.Hay intends to call a meeting after the Toronto Exhibition closes for the purposes of local organization. Political conditions in Manitoulin appears to be improving for the Liberal party, and there is dissatisfaction expressed with Smythe and Gamey. The Liberal office holders have been discharged, which will give the Liberal party more workers. Temperance is a strong factor here, and In October they will vote on " Canada Temperance Act" and hotelkeepers seem to fear it will carry. I also met Dr. John Carruthers of Little Current and others. The mainland is receiving attention. George J.McArthur, Blind River, Secretary of the Association is looking after the lists. Majority of the divisions in his district are unorganized.
SEPTEMBER 9th Secretary J.McArthur reports " Your organizer D.H.Walkinshaw was here for a few hours about a month ago, and interviewed several of us. We are looking after the lists as usual so that they will be as favorable as possible at the next election. I think a good meeting could be held by Sir Wilfrid Laurier at Blind River as there are a great many French people in this district. If not held here it should be held at Sault Ste Marie".
NOVEMBER, 1912 J.L.Regan of Blind River was the last Dominion candidate. He appears to be the only man in sight at present as probable candidate again. (See also Manitoulin)

ALGOMA WEST August 15th, 1912

X

Organizer D.H.Walkinshaw reports from the " Soo" that he devoted several days to arrangements regarding the revision for West Algoma. He mentions that there is a large Labor vote in the " Soo" to be taken care off. Arrangements made for meeting of Liberal workers for 15th August.
AUGUST 17th Organizer Walkinshaw writes from Sault Ste Marie " On Monday evening August 19th we will have a meeting of Liberal workers in Steelton. The " Soo" association are inviting the representatives from the different counties in connection with their Voters Lists. It is proposed to hold

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Reports on all the Ridings
to December 1st,1912.
.....

Algoma West (Continued)

a general meeting shortly to elect new officers to outline plan of campaign.
AUGUST 20th Organizer Walkinshaw reports under date of August 20th " At meeting of the Executive and the " Soo" a letter was directed to be sent to the Local Associations requesting them to take care of the Township lists. A meeting of the Liberal Association will be held on Friday night 23rd August at the " Soo". It is contemplated to have one set of officers to take charge of both Federal and Provincial Associations. Also Steelton Town will meet Thursday 22nd, to consider their lists. Registration of course prevails in Sault Ste Marie"
AUGUST 26th
Organizer D.H.Walkinshaw reports from Sault Ste Marie " I have to report that conditions are unsatisfactory here. I have spent considerable time here but find a great apathy among the Liberals in regard to their Party We were to have a meeting on Friday night 23rd Augustp and the Liberals were notified. The only man who responded was F.E.Crawford, Secretary of the Provincial Association. The men who look best to me for Candidates are Dr.A.S.McCaig and Contractor Alex McIntyre. Both are strong men. There is an agitation here for a Liberal daily paper, and if it coule be established it would do a lot of good. I think Sir Wilfrid Laurier should speak at the " Soo" on his trip and also Leader Rowell, and they will be invited to do so.
SEPTEMBER 1st.
Organizer Walkinshaw reports " Alexander McIntyre of the " Soo" is a partner of John Haining, a contractor, and is probably the strongest man at the present time as a candidate. He has the support of the labor vote in the Soo.
SEPTEMBER 10th
Organizer Walkinshaw reports that Alexander McIntyre is the strongest man for the Federal House. If there should be an election at an early date. Although in fairly good financial circumstances I am not sure whether he would accept nomination unless he felt that he would have some assistance.
SEPTEMBER 10th
Organizer Walkinshaw just returned from " Soo" and reports. Messrs, Stone, Stevenson,Calder, McPhail and C.N.Smith promise to do what they can about the Steelton lists. Stone said he would see about a man being paid for the service as this was the only way to get it done. Charles N.Smith of the Soo was the last Dominion Candidate for West Algoma, but is not talked of as candidate again.

× BRANT

JULY 11th John Inksater, Secretary of Brant Reform Association reports that Paris Town list was posted up July 3rd. The Paris lists will be attended to. Organizer Adams conferred with J.R.Layton. No arrangements have been made to revise the lists in the Townships. Organizer Adams will visit this Riding again.
AUGUST 5th Secretary John Inksater,Paris, writes that Burford and Brantford Township lists were posted July 27th and 29th respectively. Also that they have revised

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