

THE NEEDLE TRADES IN WINNIPEG: A STUDY IN TRADE UNIONISM

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This thesis is concerned with the development and growth of unionism within the industries comprising the needle trades in the Winnipeg area. Its precise scope and purpose is to discuss the effects of union organization--economic, psychological, and sociological--upon the employees and employers alike. In a narrow sense, the general improvement in wages, hours, and working conditions for the employees, and the establishment of a stabilized industry for the employers constitutes the basic and central theme.

To date no comprehensive or definitive study has been made of the conditions within the needle trades and the activities of the needle trades unions in Winnipeg. Consequently, the method used in the collection of data has been that of empirical investigation. The primary sources which have been utilized include information obtained in personal interviews with union and management officials, and information from International union newspapers and local union and shop bulletins.

The numerical strength of membership in the various International trade union organizations in Canada as well as the number of locals affiliated with such organi-

zations are found in the publication, Annual Report on Labour Organization in Canada, published by the Department of Labour at Ottawa. The Census of Industry reports by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics on the textile industries contain sections on the garment trades. Outside of these two sources, there is a distinct paucity of written material which has somewhat inhibited an exhaustive treatment of certain aspects of the problem.

The broader implications of the problem relate to the over-all effect that union organization in the needle trades has had upon labour standards in related industries, the attempts to bring about adjustment and harmony in industrial relations, and the quality of labour leadership.

II. DEFINITION OF THE NEEDLE TRADES

For the purpose of this analysis, a working definition of the needle trades poses a distinct problem.

Three general classifications are possible:

1. By raw material. This classification embraces (1) animal products industries such as leather (tanning, footwear, gloves and mittens, miscellaneous goods), fur goods, and fur dressing and dyeing, and (2) textile and textile products industries such as men's factory clothing, women's factory clothing, hats and caps, cotton and jute bags, and awnings, tents and sails.
2. By function or purpose. This includes

individual consumer, i.e. personal use, and industrial use.

3. By production organization. This includes factory production, custom tailoring, and dressmaking.

Admittedly, these classifications are broad and must be delimited somewhat arbitrarily to conform to the general problem within the scope of this investigation.

This thesis is concerned primarily with that branch of the needle trades which serves the specific function of production of clothing and related articles for ultimate individual consumption. The phrases "garment industry", "clothing industry", and "needle trades" will be used synonymously. The principal needle trades industries, therefore, will be confined to those industries in which union organization has reached significant proportions in Canada as a whole and in Winnipeg particularly. These can be classified as follows:

1. Women's factory clothing, which is divided into cloaks and suits, dresses, ladies' wear, and children's wear.
2. Men's factory clothing, which is divided into suits and overcoats, overalls and work shirts, trousers and separate garments, windbreakers and work pants, and men's furnishing goods such as fine shirts and neckwear.
3. Millinery and other headgear.
4. Knitgoods.
5. Leather goods, including gloves.

6. Fur garments.

7. Custom tailoring and dressmaking.

Before proceeding with an analysis of the impact of union organization in the needle trades, it is necessary to study the nature of the industry itself. This involves not only a consideration of the factors which have or have not been responsible for the development of the industry in the Winnipeg area, but also a study of the primary textile industry in Canada out of which grew a corollary garment industry.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION

I. THE SETTING

A. Geographic

Manitoba is the most easterly member of the trinity comprising the Prairie Provinces in Canada. The prairie region is a part of the Great Central Plain which extends northward to the Arctic Ocean and southward to the middle United States. Much of Manitoba's land area in the North and Northeast is underlain by formations of the Pre-Cambrian Shield.

From the standpoint of natural resources, the province is richly endowed. The wheat-growing lands in the southern section of the province are extremely fertile; the inland lakes, rivers, and streams provide an abundant source of hydro-electric power; and the area to the North and Northeast provides timber for the pulp and paper industry, fish, game and furs, as well as mineral deposits.

According to the 1941 Census¹, the population of Manitoba was 729,744, comprising 30.1% of the population of the three prairie provinces and 6.3% of the population of

¹ The statistics quoted were taken from the Canada Year Book 1947.

Canada. 68.9% of the urban population of Manitoba (221,960) is concentrated in the provincial capital, Winnipeg, making it the fourth largest city in Canada.²

B. Economic and Industrial³

The provincial economy is based upon agriculture and more specifically upon the staple product wheat. The prairie land in the South of the province contains fertile soil ideally suitable for wheat and other grains, garden vegetables, dairying, and fruit farming, as well as excellent pasturage.

Canada suffered during the 1921 depression. Unemployment was rampant with a consequent reduction of prices for agricultural products and manufactured goods, and general curtailment of purchasing power. Manitoba, an agricultural community, particularly felt the impact of this world-wide depression and steps were initiated to ameliorate such conditions and to prevent, to some extent, similar

² The Greater Winnipeg area, which includes the municipality of St. Boniface, has a population total of 290,540.

³ The material for this section is based on two publications, J. N. T. Bulman, The Industrial Development Board of Manitoba 1925-1943, and Industrial Survey of the Resources of the Province of Manitoba 1947, prepared for the Industrial Development Board of Manitoba by Donald, Ross and Company, Montreal.

occurrences in the future. Because the labour market fluctuated with the prosperity of the agriculture industry, the first logical step toward mitigation of these fluctuations in prosperity was to devise some means towards the diversification of the provincial economy.

In 1924, a group of public-spirited citizens formulated the idea of an organization for industrial development in the province which would in turn bring about an improvement in economic conditions. A committee composed of representatives of the Building Trades Council, the Industrial Development Committee of the Winnipeg City Council, and the Senior and Young Men's Section of the Winnipeg Board of Trade met February 25, 1925, to decide on the steps to be taken to improve industrial conditions in the cities and towns of Manitoba. The complete organization met May 26, 1925, with thirty-four members distributed as follows:

Government of Manitoba	6
Winnipeg City Council	4
Manitoba Power Company	2
Bankers Association	2
Trades and Labour Council	3
Canadian Pacific Railway Company	3
Canadian National Railways	3
Winnipeg Board of Trade	7
Bond Dealers Association	2
Winnipeg Hydro	2

These members, in turn, elected an Executive Committee of nine members, including a Chairman and Vice-Chairman, who

contributed the funds required for its operation.⁴

Under a Three Year Program, the first step was to launch an industrial survey of the province under the control of an Industrial Commissioner in order to secure a census of existing industries, value and type of production, salaries and wages, number of employees, capital investments, and domestic and export markets. In evaluating the results of this survey, plans were made for the establishment of new industries to take advantage of the natural resources abundant in the province, as well as for the revitalization of those industries already in existence.

Development was confined to three classes of industries: (1) agriculture, (2) mining, fishing, lumbering, and furs, and (3) manufacturing. Winnipeg, the commercial center of the province, suffered acutely from seasonal unemployment as a result of under-development of manufacturing industries, particularly during the winter months. With one-third of the population of Manitoba to be found in Winnipeg, a potential labour force remained idle through non-development of industries.

On December 14, 1929, an agreement was signed with the Dominion Government which placed the natural resources

⁴ J. N. T. Bulman, The Industrial Development Board of Manitoba 1925-1943, pp. 3-6.

of Manitoba under provincial administration. Special committees on minerals, fisheries, fur and game, forest resources, and water power were set up and these committees published a series of bulletins which subsequently aided in the development of the natural resources of the province.

Apart from agriculture, expanding industries have been built in the field of primary production--mining, both metallic and non-metallic, and pulp and paper. The most important examples are the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company at Flin Flon, the Sherritt-Gordon Mines Limited, the Neepawa Salt Company which has a vacuum evaporating plant and a capacity of one hundred tons of salt daily, and the Manitoba Paper Company Limited at Pine Falls which utilizes timber resources for making newsprint. The commercial development of peat moss has also been done on a fairly large scale, and expanded production has been noted in the dyeing and dressing of skins as a result of increased fur farming. A further example of the recent industrial expansion is the Manitoba Sugar Company Limited, a sugar beet refining plant in Fort Garry. In 1942 the company produced 26,360,800 pounds of sugar and 15,497 tons of molasses from beets.⁵

⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

The growth of manufacturing industries has been stimulated by the advantageous use of hydro-electric and water power resources. These industries now range in variety from flour mills to glass works, rolling mills, bus-building plants, textile factories, iron and steel works, and printing and publishing houses. In 1944 the net value of Manitoba's manufacturing industries was 50% of that of the prairie provinces and 4.65% of the total for Canada.⁶

II. STRATEGIC POSITION OF WINNIPEG

Winnipeg's advantageous geographic location makes it the gateway to two great markets--Eastern Canada and Western Canada. The European market absorbs the wheat and animal products which are exported, and the products of the pulp and paper industry are exported largely to the United States. In the past, however, exports to the United States have been limited by trade restrictions. The domestic market absorbs most of the products of the consumer-demand industries, in some cases to the saturation point. This is particularly the case for the men's work clothing industry and ladies' cloaks and suits.

Winnipeg's central location has been responsible for its present position as a transportation center. The

⁶ Canada Year Book 1947, Table 6, p. 573 and Table 13, p. 543.

city has other advantages, however, which have contributed to its growth as a manufacturing and distributing center. Its low hydro-electric rates and its pool of labour has greatly facilitated the growth of manufacturing industries. To date, agriculture employs the largest percentage of persons, with professional and service industries, manufacturing, trade (wholesale and retail), and transportation and communication ranking next in percentage order of persons gainfully employed.⁷

A. Manufacturing Center

The largest concentration of manufacturing industries in the prairie provinces is in Winnipeg. The city is also the largest manufacturing center in Western Canada. The water power resources and availability of low-cost hydro-electric energy, the variety of raw materials, and utilization of the diversified and skilled labour in the Winnipeg area has facilitated the growth and development of manufacturing industries.

The major industries--packing house, milling, and dairy--are directly dependent upon agricultural prosperity. The copper and zinc smelting industry, and the pulp and paper industry are largely dependent upon the export markets.

⁷ Industrial Survey of the Resources of the Province of Manitoba 1947, p. 5.

In contrast, such consumer-demand industries as clothing, food, and printing and book-binding are dependent upon the domestic market. The clothing industry, in particular, has promising possibilities for expansion. So far, the concentration in men's clothing has been in work clothes such as overalls, denim pants, and cheap cotton shirts. In women's clothing, the largest quantity manufactured to date has been in coats and sportswear.

Of the twelve slaughtering and meat packing establishments in Manitoba, eleven are located in the Greater Winnipeg area. This industry is the largest single industry in Manitoba, its gross value of production accounting for 34% of all manufacturing production in 1944.⁸ The flour and feed milling industry is the second leading industry, railway rolling stock third, and the butter and cheese industry fourth.⁹

B. Transportation Center

Winnipeg is one of the largest transportation centers in Canada, both rail and air. The city is linked with the major cities and towns in Manitoba, with Eastern and Western Canada, and with points in the northern United

⁸ Canada Year Book 1947, Table 6, p. 573.

⁹ Ibid.

States by lines of the Canadian National Railways, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and by highways and roads. Traditionally, the main function of the railway system has been to move the agricultural produce of Manitoba, particularly wheat, to Lake Superior whence it is dispatched by boat to European markets. All transcontinental rail traffic converges on Winnipeg, and in order to handle the large volume of freight, both the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Canadian National Railways have established their yards and shops in the city. Transportation and those industries supplying the requirements of the transportation industry provide considerable employment in the Winnipeg area.

Winnipeg also has certain geographical advantages which has led to the establishment in the city of operational headquarters for Trans-Canada Air Lines, operational and traffic headquarters for Canadian Pacific Air Lines, and terminal for Northwest Air Lines. Engineering and maintenance establishments have been established at Stevenson Airport. Mining development has been greatly assisted because of the excellent air line services developed.

C. Distribution Center

Growing out of its importance as a transportation and manufacturing center, Winnipeg has become the main distributing center for the North and the West, as well as

the fourth largest distribution center in the whole of Canada.

The freight rate structure has aided the growth of Winnipeg as a distribution center, but in some instances unfavourable differentials in freight charges, particularly in Eastern Canada, have the effect of raising prices considerably on finished goods being shipped to that market. The freight rate differentials to Western Canada are, for the most part, favourable and equalization of freight charges in the future will further accentuate Winnipeg's continuing importance.

The city of Winnipeg has emerged as an economic and industrial center of considerable importance. However, the over-concentration and expansion of activity in certain industries indicates that further diversification is necessary if the city expects to attain industrial maturity.

The needle trades offer a logical starting point for diversification of output. To date, the industry has developed a sizeable volume of production in various articles of clothing, but other articles such as fine socks, neckties, pajamas, scarfs, corsets and girdles, hosiery, and undergarments are not being produced at all.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN CANADA¹

The textile industry is concentrated in Eastern Canada.² Branching from a purely handicraft industry to factory production, it has been encouraged under the protective tariff. The textile industry is now diversified and supplies not only materials for clothing, but also goods for industrial uses. The principal divisions of the industry are cotton textiles, woollen textiles, silk and artificial silk, knitted goods, garment trades, and miscellaneous textiles. The cotton textile branch has remained the most important from the standpoint of capital investment and persons employed.³

¹ The historical material in this chapter is based on information obtained from the annual Census of Industry reports, The Textile Industries of Canada, published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Department of Trade and Commerce and the Report of the Royal Commission on the Textile Industry, 1938.

² In 1942, the number of textile establishments reporting to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics was 2,369. The provincial distribution was as follows: Quebec - 1,240; Ontario - 900; Manitoba - 86; British Columbia and the Yukon - 64; Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia - 27; Alberta - 25; New Brunswick - 21; and Saskatchewan - 6. See The Textile Industries of Canada 1940, 1941 and 1942, Table 2, p. 13.

³ Ibid., Table 3, p. 14.

I. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A. Cotton Textiles

During this early period the cotton textile industry was still in infancy. The Civil War in America stimulated cotton manufacturing in Canada. Heretofore Canada had imported its cotton goods from America, but the war between the states impelled the Canadian manufacturers to establish their own mills. The first mill was erected in Sherbrooke, Quebec, in 1844 and subsequently mills were established in Ontario and New Brunswick. These early mills concentrated on the manufacture of grey sheetings. Each successive mill was larger, with a greater capacity of spindles and looms. Faced with American competition again at the conclusion of the Civil War, the Canadian mills began to expand during the 1870's and with the adoption of the National Policy Tariff in 1879, rapid development of Canadian cotton manufacturing took place, particularly in Quebec, with Ontario and the Maritime Provinces ranking second and third. When diversification of output was initiated, finer goods such as print cloths were produced. The industry also developed an export trade with China and Africa, taking advantage of low freight rates over the newly established Canadian Pacific Railway.

In the early 1890's several mills consolidated.

By combining operations and concentrating on fewer types of goods, economies in cost of production were effected. As a result of mergers, two companies were created, the Dominion Cotton Mills Company Limited and the Canadian Coloured Cottons Limited which together controlled nineteen of the twenty-six cotton mills in Canada and 70% of the machine equipment.⁴ The Dominion Cotton Mills Company, the larger of the two, concentrated on the production of unbleached, bleached, and printed goods, while Canadian Coloured Cottons Limited specialized in the manufacture of raw stock and yarn-dyed fabrics. In 1897 Canada granted a general preference on British imports. Several of the cotton manufacturing plants complained about the detrimental effects of this lowered British tariff. The British industry had been long established and was operating with the advantage of skilled labour and lower production costs. The traditional purpose of the protective tariff, that of enabling the "infant" domestic industry to raise the price of its commodities high enough to enable it to sell at a profit in spite of competition of producers operating under lower production costs abroad, seemed to be lost because of British competition, but the various companies still reported high

⁴ Report of the Royal Commission on the Textile Industry, p. 36.

profits.⁵

B. Woollen Textiles

Production of homespun cloth and flannels was carried on as a domestic handicraft industry from the early days of settlement until the middle 1840's. Introduction of the factory system of manufacturing began in 1845 with the establishment of a woollen mill in Carleton Place, Quebec, and of subsequent mills in Galt and Sherbrooke.

Abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 stimulated the woollen industry in Canada as it resulted in the imposition of duties by the United States on Canadian wool. In order to supply both the domestic and American markets, several woollen factories were erected, but it was not until the inauguration of the National Policy Tariff in 1879 that larger mills were developed. The industry enjoyed a period of prosperity until 1897, at which time the British Preference was introduced.

C. Hosiery and Knitted Goods

This branch of the textile industry has remained largely an Ontario industry since 1857 when a mill with hand machines was established in Belleville, Ontario, and a factory equipped with power knitting machines was established

⁵ Ibid., p. 38.

the following year at Ancaster, Ontario. The first important development came with the establishment of the Penman firm in Paris, Ontario, in 1868, which concentrated on the manufacture of knitted woollen goods such as underwear and stockings.

As in the case of cotton and woollen textiles, the protective tariff stimulated the industry. The rates on cotton and woollen knitted goods were revised upward from time to time, but with the appearance of the British Preferential Tariff in 1897, lower rates came into existence.

D. Silk and Artificial Silk

The first spinning mill was established in Montreal in 1876 by Belding, Paul and Company, a branch of the parent company in New York. This branch plant also absorbed the plant of the Corriveau Silk Mills in St. Johns, Quebec, in 1885. The Nonotuck Silk Company, a Canadian branch of the Corticelli Silk Company in the United States, was established in St. Johns in 1885. These three plants constituted the silk industry of Canada until the outbreak of World War I.

II. 1900 TO 1929

The period 1900 to 1929, on the whole, was one of great prosperity for the textile industry. A general

expansion took place, reaching a high level during World War I and attaining its peak in 1929.⁶ The year 1921 was a period of depression for the entire industry, but the increasing population and rising standard of living lead to an increased domestic demand for textile products and an increased foreign demand for Canadian manufactured goods. There was a slight recession in 1924 which affected textiles and its products, but recovery took place the following year.⁷ In 1926, a normal and representative year, textiles and textile products industries had a total value of production amounting to \$366,334,644, and output for the industry as a whole increased 33.8% during the period 1923-1929.⁸ In 1929, according to the value added by manufacture, textiles and textile products were the fourth largest manufacturing industry in Canada, with production valued at \$205,943,337. The industry ranked third according to number of wage earners employed, with a total of 105,594 in 1929.⁹

⁶ See Appendix A.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ The Quantity of Manufacturing Production in Canada 1923-1929, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, p. 15 and p. 22.

⁹ The Textile Industries of Canada 1929-30, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Table 2, p. 20.

A. Cotton Textiles

The cotton industry continued to prosper during the first decade of the twentieth century. New cotton mills were established and production became more concentrated in the province of Quebec. In 1907 a new Canadian Customs Tariff was adopted containing British Preferential, Intermediate and General duties. The British Preferential rates were reduced on grey goods, but were increased on bleached and on coloured goods. The general expansion in industry and agriculture provided a growing market for industrial cotton goods and for the knitting trades.

World War I brought a period of great prosperity to the Canadian cotton industry. The mills not only supplied the Canadian market, but also undertook war contracts for the United States. The number of employees increased about 23% and the consumption of raw cotton increased some twenty million pounds between the years 1913 and 1920.¹⁰ In order to meet the increased demand for cotton goods during this period, the mills began operation on a twenty-four hour basis.

Although there was a change from cotton to rayon

¹⁰ Report of the Royal Commission on the Textile Industry, p. 43.

fabrics during the 1920's, the cotton industry was not materially affected. The output of cotton yarn and cloth increased 22.6% from 1923 to 1929.¹¹

B. Woollen Textiles

Although the tariff reduction was partly responsible for the decline in woollen manufacturing in Canada, the changing nature of the wool trade and the increasing specialization in Great Britain were also major factors. Canadian mills began importing a larger proportion of raw materials in order to produce finer wools to compete with British fabrics. With the rise of clothing trades, which necessitated a wide variety of patterns and styles of cloth, Canadian manufacturers found themselves handicapped. Imported fabrics began supplanting Canadian woollens and worsted goods.

This decline in Canadian manufacturing led to attempts to stabilize the industry. The Canada Woollen Mills Company, an organization which took over five woollen plants in 1900, failed in 1904 and the industry continued its downhill run until World War I.¹²

¹¹ The Quantity of Manufacturing Production in Canada 1923-1929, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, p. 22.

¹² Report of the Royal Commission on the Textile Industry, p. 43.

As in the case of the cotton industry, the war period brought renewed prosperity to the woollen trade. The mills supplied the demand of the civilian population as well as military requirements. The number of mills increased from fifty-two in 1915 to sixty-six in 1920, and the number of workers increased in the corresponding period from 3,534 to 5,235.¹³

The increased use of silk and rayon in wearing apparel, and the changes in styles of clothing led to the decline of the use of wool in women's clothing during the period 1923-29. The output of woollen yarns increased 18.4%, woollen goods increased 52%, while woollen cloth decreased 12.4%.¹⁴ The growing demand for industrial fabrics, however, partly offset this curtailment.

C. Hosiery and Knitted Goods

Between 1900 and 1910 the knitting trades showed considerable expansion, with former wool cloth mills re-opening as knitting plants and with new knitting firms being established. The reorganization of the Penman firm and the establishment of the Monarch Knitting Company, York Knitting Company and Chipman-Holton Knitting Company took place during

¹³ Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁴ The Quantity of Manufacturing Production in Canada 1923-1929, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, p. 22.

the first decade of the twentieth century. The number of employees and the gross value of production increased rapidly during this period. The greatest stimulus, however, came with the war demand for knitted goods.

During the period 1923-29, a period of prosperity for the textile industry as a whole, hosiery and knitted goods output increased some 32.8%.¹⁵

D. Silk and Artificial Silk

For many years the silk industry was a luxury industry, importing its raw materials. Two important factors, however, influenced the growth of the silk industry in Canada. The use of wood pulp as the basis for synthetic silk, and the fashion change from cotton and wool to artificial silk (rayon) fabrics during the 1920's revolutionized the industry. This fashion change in dress accounted for a 302.8% increase in the volume of production of the silk industry during the period 1923-29.¹⁶

III. 1930 TO PRESENT

This period in the history of the textile industry is characterized by the general depression, changes in the tariff policy of Canada, and the effects of World War II.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Beginning in 1930, an upward revision of ad valorem rates and the imposition of specific duties took place throughout the entire three column tariff, and the Canada-United Kingdom Trade Agreements of 1932 and 1937 resulted in reductions on some textile items under the British Preferential Tariff. During the intervening years, i.e., 1932 to 1937, special hearings were held before the Tariff Board which resulted in the removal of duties and in the reduction of duties on some items under the British Preferential Tariff.

Other important changes took place which affected trade relationships between Canada and the United States. Previously, the General Tariff rates had applied to imports from the United States, but as a result of the United States Trade Agreement in 1935, the Intermediate Tariff rates became the prevailing rates. These rates are considerably lower than the General Tariff rates.

Although the number of establishments in the textile industry has been increasing steadily since the early 1920's,¹⁷ there was a general decrease in capital invested, number of employees, amount paid out in salaries and wages, cost of materials used, and gross value of production from 1930 to 1934, with the low point being reached in 1932 and

¹⁷ See Appendix A.

1933. Beginning in 1935, there was a noticeable upswing in business activity in the textile industry. This activity received its greatest stimulus during World War II, surpassing the peak level attained in 1929.¹⁸

Whereas the cotton, woollen, knitted goods, and other main groups of the textile industry were experiencing decreased business activity during the depression years, the silk industry continued the expansion first begun in the 1920's. This rapid expansion lasted until 1935, and although some decline in activity took place the following years until 1940, the industry remained well above the 1929 level.¹⁹

The demand of the Armed Forces beginning in 1939 was the main contributing factor to the increased expansion experienced by the textile industries during the war years. Supplies of raw material were brought under government control and were allotted to manufacturers on a priority basis. Existing stocks of raw silk, necessary for the manufacture of parachutes, were frozen in 1941. When Japan attacked the United States, imports of real silk from that country ceased and considerable amounts of silk of Japanese origin which had heretofore been imported from the United States were no

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ The Textile Industries of Canada 1940, 1941 and 1942, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Table 82, p. 102.

longer available. Nylon was substituted for parachute making. In producing for the civilian market, particularly in the women's hosiery line, the knitted goods industry felt the impact of the disappearance of real silk. When nylon was directed into parachute making and was no longer available for civilian use, rayon yarns were substituted for the hosiery trade.

In 1942, the last year for which figures are available from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the textile industries ranked sixth (10.5%) in Canada in gross value of production, third (14.4%) in number of persons employed, third (11.0%) in salaries and wages paid, and sixth (8.5%) in amount of capital invested.²⁰

The textile industry has developed into one of the largest primary industries in Canada because of the protection accorded it by tariff regulations. Its early concentration in Eastern Canada was largely due to historical accident, and since that time a combination of favourable circumstances has contributed to its growth and development in that section of the country.

Perhaps no other factor has been singly responsible

²⁰ Ibid., p. 8

for the rapid growth and expansion of the textile industry since 1939 than World War II. With the Government emerging as the sole buyer for textile products, the textile industry surpassed the 1929 peak. A natural consequence of this expansion was the transmission of new prosperity to the needle trades.

CHAPTER IV. THE NEEDLE TRADES INDUSTRY IN CANADA

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

A. Location

The needle trades industry is concentrated in Eastern Canada, particularly in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario.¹ The establishment of the clothing industry closely paralleled that of the textile industry which developed in Quebec and Ontario about a hundred years ago. This made possible the location of clothing factories close to the supply of raw material and to the supply of labour. The city of Winnipeg, however, has become the main manufacturing center of men's work clothing, particularly overalls and work shirts, in Western Canada and a sizeable center on a comparative basis with the other work clothing concerns in the East. This concentration in work clothing is partly due to the heavy employment in the transportation industries in Winnipeg, particularly railroads, where dirty, heavy work is done in the shops and in the yards. In 1939, the last "normal" pre-war year, the gross value of production of the eleven establishments in the city amounted to two and one-half million dollars.²

¹ See Appendix B.

² The Textile Industries of Canada 1928 and 1939, Table 133, p. 129.

The prime locational factor, however, is accessibility to the market. At first, because of the traditional location of the industry near the source of supply, and now, because of proximity to the New York City area which is the center of the garment industry in the United States, Montreal and Toronto have become the centers of the garment industry in Canada. This is particularly true in the case of women's factory clothing where style and fashion play an important role.

Climate is another important aspect of location. On the whole, the per capita consumption of clothing in Canada, particularly woollen clothing, is extremely high due to the severe winter weather.

B. Type and Size of Establishments

Establishments in the needle trades vary from individual proprietorships and partnerships to corporations. The main characteristic of many branches of the trade, in which very little capital is needed to begin operations, tends to restrict the type of establishment, in most instances, to the single-owner variety. The needle trades seem to be an industry particularly characterized by small establishments.

There are several reasons why establishments in the needle trades are predominantly the single-owner type,

and of these, initial financing is the most important. Capital requirements are not heavy in most branches of the trade, as many of the power-operated sewing machines and the pressing machines can be purchased on the installment plan. Factory space can be rented because in the smaller establishments all the operations (cutting, assembling, finishing, pressing, and packing) can be done in one room. Even wage expenses are low if the shop employs few workers. Some of the smaller establishments are purely "family" organizations. The father, sons, sons-in-law and other male relatives do the cutting, pressing, and packing, while the women in the family do the machine stitching and finishing.

Another reason for small-unit concentration is that the smaller the establishment, the more adaptable it is to vagaries in fashion and fluctuations in business activity. Small plants can be easily reorganized during periods of slack activity and the overhead cost of idle machines can be avoided.

The third reason relates to the disadvantage of the corporate form of enterprise. One must comply with special regulations in order to become incorporated, and once incorporated, special taxes are imposed. A corporation may have an advantage in obtaining funds for financing, but it is only superior in those establishments where large-scale operation leading to low-cost production is prevalent. As

has been pointed out, only in those branches of the industry where style is rather stable and where clothing can be subjected to minute division of operation is it advantageous to incorporate and do business on a mass-production basis.

The size of the establishment is primarily dependent upon three factors--technological efficiency, managerial functions, and market opportunities. The number of machines installed, which in turn influences the size of the work force, depends upon the type of garments to be sold. If concentration is centered in a cheaper line of clothing, such as the men's work clothing industry where overalls, denim pants, and cotton shirts are fabricated on a mass-production basis, the typical factory unit is between 250 to 300 machines. This calls for considerable division of labour, with each operator working on a certain section of the garment. Such occupational specialization, which leads to a worker becoming proficient in a single operation, is particularly advantageous in the production of cheap garments. Most of the operations are unskilled or semi-skilled at the most and can be learned in a few weeks. Since the majority of the workers are women, most of whom have had previous sewing experience in the home, they soon develop a great deal of speed and skill in their particular line.

Where stylized clothing is produced, especially in the higher priced women's suits and coats, the tendency is

for the business unit to be small. Fewer machines and workers are used since the garments must be meticulously tailored. A single, skilled operator assembles the entire garment. Skilled craftsmen such as designers, pattern makers and cutters are the highest paid in the industry and are usually found in the small "exclusive" shops.

Clothing concerns tend to be large or small depending upon the functions of management. In the small shops, management functions are thinly spread over a wide range of duties. One person may be responsible for decisions concerning the hiring of workers, purchase of materials, supervision of production processes, and the sale of finished goods. In larger establishments, these functions may be completely decentralized to such an extent that separate departments are maintained, headed by individuals who have had specialized training in the field. Such departments may include Designing Departments, Purchasing Departments, Advertising Departments, Sales Departments, and Shipping Departments. In the unionized shops, a floor foreman or forelady supervises production, and he or she is usually a person who has intimate knowledge of the various processes through actual experience of operation.

The extent of the market is another factor influencing the size of establishments. Canadian clothing manufacturers must compete with American manufacturers, both

for the domestic market and for the lucrative American and foreign markets. Canadian manufacturers, therefore, seek the most advantageous bargaining positions possible, both from the standpoint of final sale of their product, and from the standpoint of acquiring labour, raw materials, and low transportation costs. It is because of the highly competitive nature of the industry that many clothing manufacturers rely so heavily upon labels. The union label has long been a source of strength in the men's work clothing industry, but manufacturers' labels have also become important. These labels immediately identify the product, and the consumer is more likely to continue purchasing an article of clothing which has the familiar label of a particular designer or firm.

C. Production Organization

1. Contracting Shops. In the needle trades, contract shops are called "outside" and sometimes "runaway" shops.³ These shops accept orders from an "inside"⁴ shop on

³ The use of these terms gained predominance during the sweat shop era when workers were at the complete mercy of the contractor. If a contractor chose to disappear with the wages of the workers, he could, and often did, hence the term "runaway". The abuses of contract shops have largely disappeared since the advent of unionization, but the terminology still persists.

⁴ An "inside" shop is a manufacturing shop. See Footnote 5.

a contract basis and fabricate the garments from cut or uncut cloth supplied to them by the jobber or manufacturer. Anyone who has been in the trade long enough to learn the mechanics can very easily go into the contracting business. Contract shops are smaller than the manufacturing shops since most of the work must be done by hand or on a sewing machine. Very little capital is required to open a shop--sewing machines and a room can be rented. The largest item of expense is for wages to the workers. Low cost, rather than quality, is stressed. Contracting is common in shops fabricating men's and boys' outer garments, women's dresses and outer garments, fur goods, and hats. Contracting flourishes in the women's clothing trade because frequent style changes make possible the operation of small units with low overhead costs.

Contracting has been associated with the needle trades from the beginning of the 1880's. The use of immigrant labour encouraged "outside" shops since Eastern Europeans and Italians were accustomed to employment in small handwork shops. These newly arrived workers were willing to work for lower wages at a time when competition for jobs was keen. This was the era of the sweat shop, of working days as long as eighteen hours, of miserable wages. Job security was an unheard of luxury. The practice of employing apprentices and learners was also introduced. Workers were

required to buy or rent their own machines, and supply equipment such as needles.

Many manufacturers prefer the contracting system since it enables them to concentrate on merchandising. It relieves them of the responsibility of working conditions and they are able to save on production costs. By pitting one contractor against another in bidding for work, they can farm out their unsewn garments to the contractor offering the lowest price. The contractor has the burden of supervising, expanding, and reducing the working force.

Contracting in Canada has never reached the same proportions as in the United States. In Western Canada, it has never been an issue, and when contracting is done in the West, it is done on a periodic basis.

2. Manufacturing Shops. In the needle trades industry, manufacturing shops are called "inside" or "legitimate" shops.⁵ All of the work is done under one roof, from the initial design to the completion of the finished garment. The manufacturer purchases the material, hires the workers, supervises production, and arranges for the sale of the finished garment to the retail trade. In the women's

⁵ The use of these terms distinguishes or contrasts the meaning from that associated with contracting shops.

clothing trade, inside shops are called "jobbers", in the men's clothing trade, "manufacturers".⁶ The jobber or manufacturer can expand or contract operations by increasing or decreasing the number of contractors to whom he farms out his work.

Manufacturing shops are common where expensive material is used in the production of high quality work for an exclusive clientele. They are also common where operations are less favourable to subcontracting and small establishments because of the wide use of machinery, as in the production of men's shirts, collars and cuffs, underwear and nightwear, men's garters, suspenders and neckwear, corsets, men's overalls and work clothes. Inside shops have declined in recent years because of the predominance of small shops rather than large factory units.

3. Custom Tailoring and Dressmaking. This branch of the industry has declined in importance since the introduction of large-scale factory units. Prior to the rise of the factory system skilled custom tailors and dressmakers made the complete garment, particularly for members of middle class and wealthy families. Clothes for the workers were made in the home by the women in the family.

⁶ The use of these terms does not imply differences in function.

Factory production of ready-made clothing began to replace custom work by the 1880's. The decreasing cost of factory-made clothing placed these new garments within the price range of the workers.

Today, custom industries still persist, but they are for the "exclusive" trade, particularly in women's garments. Ready-made suits for men can be purchased in department stores, but it is still a practice for many men to have their clothes made to order.

D. Seasonality and Role of Style

Style plays a very important role in women's clothing. It is because of this factor that the average establishment for the production of women's clothing is small. Production tends to be fairly stable in men's clothing because the vagaries of style are absent.

Seasonality is linked with the role of style. Fashion-conscious women, influenced by advertisements and the whims of designers, tend to alter their entire wardrobes from season to season. It is not primarily a desire for exclusiveness, but rather an ambition to keep abreast of current fashions that influences the choice of women in clothing every year. Together, these two factors cause a high rate of mortality in some firms. A few come in at the peak of the season in order to take advantage of new fashion

trends. Older established firms find it difficult to alter inventories and dismantle machinery. In some cases it is necessary to purchase new, special-use machinery, such as nail head machines, for decorative purposes.

II. UNIONS IN THE NEEDLE TRADES

The largest and most influential needle trades unions in Canada are almost exclusively affiliates of their respective International organizations in the United States, which are in turn associated either with the American Federation of Labour or with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The Canadian prototypes of the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations are the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, and the Canadian Congress of Labour. Membership in these Canadian organizations is not compulsory, but most of the unions have found it advantageous to identify themselves with an organization which deals exclusively with the problems of organized labour in Canada. Both the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, organized along craft lines in the same manner as the American Federation of Labour, and the Canadian Congress of Labour, organized along industrial lines in the same manner as the Congress of Industrial Organizations, are autonomous organizations with many International unions affiliated with them. They have their own constitutional provisions for

admitting and expelling unions, and have their policies formulated by delegates representing the Canadian membership.

The Canadian and Catholic Federation of Labour is predominant in the province of Quebec. This organization is extremely nationalistic in approach, advocates "Canadian" industrial unionism, and urges the dissolution of all association with unions in the United States. Compared with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, and the Canadian Congress of Labour, the Canadian and Catholic Federation of Labour is extremely weak in membership. The National Federation of Clothing Workers, the National Federation of Glove Workers of Canada, and the National Federation of Full Fashioned and Circular Hosiery Workers are all associated with the Canadian and Catholic Federation of Labour. According to the 1945 report on trade union organization in Canada, the combined membership of these three unions was a mere 300.⁷

Unionization in the needle trades dates back to the nineteenth century when journeymen tailors were organized into the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. Large-scale organization, however, did not begin until 1891 when the

⁷ Annual Report on Trade Union Organization in Canada, 1945.

United Garment Workers of America-AFL was formed by a group of members of the Knights of Labour. In 1900 the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was formed and has remained the largest and most influential trade union in ladies' garments.

The most important unions in the needle trades in Canada today are the following:⁸

1. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-AFL and TLC
2. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO and CCL
3. International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada-CIO and CCL
4. United Garment Workers of America-AFL and TLC
5. United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union-AFL and TLC
6. International Glove Workers' Union of America-AFL and TLC

Since its secession from the United Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has remained the largest union among men's clothing workers. The United Garment Workers, although decreasing in membership and prestige since the rise of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has been one of the most aggressive fighters against sweat

⁸ See Appendix C.



shops. In its heyday--1890 to 1910--Local No. 81 of the United Garment Workers was responsible for the passing of a resolution by the Trades and Labour Congress which asked the Dominion Government to make an investigation to discover the extent to which sweating existed in Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton and Ottawa. This was to be a test for all Canada, with a view to eliminating the evil.⁹ The United Garment Workers also introduced the union label in the clothing industry around 1900 as a remedy for convict labour manufacture, sweat-shop, child labour, long hours, and bad working conditions, as well as for dishonest workmanship.¹⁰

The needle trades unions developed a militant press early in their history and at present these official journals are among the best of the labour papers. The primary aim of the labour press is to keep the members informed of the activities of their respective unions, but it also keeps members up-to-date on activities of the labour movement in general, both at home and abroad.

Besides the official journals of the International unions in the United States, which have sections devoted to

⁹ Harold A. Logan, The History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 63.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 80.

Canadian labour problems, the locals issue their own papers, usually mimeographed, which concentrate on material of importance to their own particular branch of the needle trades and especially on the quality of labour-management relations in their own city.

Below is a listing of the important American Federation of Labour, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, and Canadian Congress of Labour publications, as well as a listing of those of the International unions:

American Federation of Labour

"American Federationist" - monthly
 "Labour's Monthly Survey" (economic and
 statistical analyses)
 "Weekly News Service"

Congress of Industrial Organizations

"CIO News" (National Edition) - weekly
 "CIO News" (Special Union Editions) - monthly
 "The Economic Outlook" - monthly

Canadian Congress of Labour

"Canadian Unionist" - monthly
 "Les Nouvelles Ouvrieres" - monthly

Trades and Labour Congress

"Trades and Labour Congress Journal" - monthly

The International Publications

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-
 AFL and TIC - "Justice", twice-monthly,
 published in New York in Yiddish, Italian,
 and Spanish.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO and CCL - "The Advance", semi-monthly, published in New York.

International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada-CIO and CCL - "Fur and Leather Worker", monthly, published in New York.

United Garment Workers of America-AFL and TLC - "The Garment Worker", monthly, published in New York.

United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union-AFL and TLC - "The Hat Worker", monthly, published in New York.

International Glove Workers' Union of America-AFL and TLC - "The Glove Workers Bulletin", monthly, published in Wisconsin.

The characteristics of the needle trades in Canada and in the United States are almost identical. The managerial problems relating to production techniques, to type and size of establishments, and to the general instability of the trade because of its seasonal nature are not lessened by international boundaries. If anything, these problems have greater implications in the United States because the industry has been established for a longer period of time and is more mature than the industry in Canada.

The development of a sizeable needle trades industry in Winnipeg is of recent origin. The immaturity of the industry in relation to the development of the

needle trades in Canada generally raises the question of the future of the industry in the West.

CHAPTER V

THE NEEDLE TRADES INDUSTRY IN WINNIPEG

I. STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

The needle trades industry has existed in Winnipeg in some form or another almost from the time of Winnipeg's incorporation as a city in 1873. During this early period the production of clothing was restricted to home sewing. Custom tailors and custom dressmakers were the first of the clothing workers to become organized.

The rise of the factory system in Winnipeg coincides with the increase in population which took place in Winnipeg during the two decades 1894-1914 as a result of mass immigration from Europe. The population increased from 35,000 to 203,000¹ and Winnipeg found itself the most important city in Western Canada. Many of the newly arrived immigrants sought employment on the Canadian Pacific Railroad and on the farms. They required rough work clothing in ever increasing amounts with the result that the first clothing factories erected were those which produced overalls, work pants, and work shirts.

The establishment of the clothing industry in Winnipeg was also coincident with the development of trade unionism in the industry during the first two decades

¹ Canada Year Book, 1947.

of the twentieth century. The men's clothing trade was the main trade in Winnipeg; it required a great deal of skilled and unskilled labour; and the manufacturers were seemingly unconcerned over any display of union consciousness by their employees.

During World War I, Winnipeg clothing concerns received military orders for shirts, caps, and pants. The cloak trade was in its infancy in Winnipeg and the firms then in existence had neither the equipment nor the working force large enough to accommodate war orders. Most of the orders for uniforms and great coats were sent to Eastern Canada.

The 1919 strike² was the first set-back to the industry. Although the strike originally involved the demands of the building trades workers for higher wages and shorter hours, and of the metal trades workers for union recognition, the strike soon transcended these issues and settled into a question of the right of workers without direct grievances of their own to strike in sympathy with other workers. Practically all workers in every conceivable line of industry, including 900 garment workers,³ joined the

² The strike began May 15, 1919, and ended June 26, 1919. 27,000 workers went out on strike.

³ News item in The Winnipeg Tribune, May 16, 1919.

building trades and metal trades workers on the first day of the strike. Although the strike lasted only six weeks, its repercussions were felt throughout Canada. When the strikers returned to work a large percentage of them found that their jobs had been filled. A great deal of bitterness was directed toward the Strike Committee for its negligence with respect to enforcing the re-instatement without prejudice of all workers who had taken part in the strike.

The 1920's was characterized by labour unrest. Some leaders believed the 1919 strike was but an expression of organized labour's discontent with the rising cost of living. Even though money wages had increased during the prosperous war years, the increase was negligible in comparison with the rapid increase in prices. Several strikes in the needle trades took place during the decade, but none reached the proportion of the 1926 fur strike which was a minor victory for the union. The union succeeded in obtaining increased wages and a standardized working week, but these gains were lost when membership declined and the union became inactive.

The clothing industry is highly seasonal, sensitive to fluctuations in the economy. As was the case throughout Canada, the clothing industry declined sharply during the depression of the thirties. Union members were unable to pay their dues, and unions and management fought continuously over reduction in wages. Since the production of clothing

is a "secondary" industry, consumers wear their old garments as long as possible during periods of economic stress.

Wages in the clothing industry were as low as \$3 a week for unskilled and \$10 a week for skilled workers. Workers reacted negatively toward union organization after strikes in the cloak industry called by the Needle Trades Industrial Union failed. Representatives sent to Winnipeg during the depression to organize various sections of the needle trades found an almost impossible task facing them. They had the triple task of overcoming the apathy of the workers toward organization, overcoming the workers' fear of the employers, and overcoming the anti-union sentiments of the employers.

The cloak and dress industries were organized during the period 1935 to 1939, and the fur industry in 1936. The 1936-37 fur strike, which was eventually lost, called attention to the nature of the trade and the conditions which prevailed in it. The fur industry is both a seasonal and a luxury trade. It is divided into retail and wholesale manufacturing branches, with employees about equally divided in both branches. Wages in the retail trade are higher because the work is done on a custom basis. During the war years employees were able to work the whole year because of government contracts. In normal times, the busy season is

during the summer months, while the slack period is from January to April. To give work to as many employees as possible, the union has inserted a division of work clause in the contract. As far as it is practicable, the work is divided among the employees in the department.

The fur dressing and dyeing industry is an auxiliary or service industry. There is no manufacturing, buying, or selling, and employees have no contact with the consumer. They dress and dye the skins and blend stripes. They receive the skins, process them, and send them back to the manufacturer. Labour cost is the determining factor in setting up a fur dressing and dyeing shop because 60% of the total cost is in the form of wages. In the manufacturing and retailing business, the raw skins constitute the largest item of expense. Labour cost seldom exceeds 10% of total costs.⁴

Perhaps the greatest single factor contributing to the rapid expansion of the needle trades in Winnipeg was World War II. Almost every clothing shop in the city of Winnipeg received contracts for military orders. Table I shows the three-year growth of selected branches of the women's and men's clothing trade from 1939, the last "normal"

⁴ This information was received from Mr. Muni Taub, organizer for the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union-CIO.

pre-war year, to 1942, a peak war year.

TABLE I
COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR SELECTED BRANCHES
IN THE MEN'S AND WOMEN'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY
IN WINNIPEG, 1939 and 1942

	<u>Establish- ments</u>	<u>Employees</u>	<u>Gross Value of Production</u>
MEN'S CLOTHING			
<u>Windbreakers and Work Pants</u>			
1939	7	221	\$ 757,336
1942	9	290	1,357,991
<u>Trousers and Separate Garments</u>			
1939	6	196	\$ 654,253
1942	6	391	1,543,514
<u>Overalls and Work Shirts^x</u>			
1939	11	839	\$ 2,468,275
1942	11	1,258	5,789,426
WOMEN'S CLOTHING			
<u>Ladies' Wear</u>			
1939	3	49	\$ 105,940
1942	6	264	891,627
<u>Coats and Suits</u>			
1939	6	654	\$ 2,254,492
1942	15	933	4,452,268

^xCompare this with figures of 1942 production in Toronto and Montreal:

Montreal - 10 establishments, 869 employees, gross value of production \$ 2,894,104.

Toronto - 13 establishments, 685 employees, gross value of production \$ 2,561,710.

Source: The Textile Industries of Canada 1940, 1941, and 1942, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.

II. PRESENT INDUSTRIAL PICTURE

The ladies' cloak and suit branch of the needle trades is the largest single section of the women's factory clothing industry in Winnipeg. There are more firms manufacturing cloaks and suits than in all the other sections of the trade. In 1945 there were eighteen cloak and suit establishments in Winnipeg which employed 913 workers and whose gross value of production amounted to \$5,817,434. Total salaries and wages paid out amounted to \$1,320,234.⁵ This represents an increase over 1939 of two establishments, 259 employees, and \$3,562,942 in gross value of production. The increase in salaries and wages paid out for the same period amounted to \$674,918.⁶

The ladies' wear section of the trade has also shown an increase in employees and gross value of production since 1939. In 1945 there were seven establishments which employed 231 workers and whose gross value of production amounted to \$752,106. Total salaries and wages paid out amounted to \$216,352.⁷ This represents an increase over 1939 of four establishments, 182 employees, and \$646,166 in

⁵ Report on the Women's Factory Clothing Industry in Canada 1945, Ottawa, 1947.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

gross value of production. The increase in salaries and wages paid out for the same period amounted to \$174,942.⁸

In the women's industry, the value of production per individual establishment varies from \$5,000 a year to \$1,000,000 a year and over. The great bulk of the ladies' cloak and suit firms in the Winnipeg area are in the \$100,000 to \$200,000 year range.⁹

None of the firms manufacturing women's factory clothing in Winnipeg occupies a single factory building. According to Mr. Morris Neaman, manager of Sterling Cloak Company, workers in the Winnipeg area have not become "acclimatized" to factory production. Most of the cloak firms in Winnipeg occupy one floor of buildings in the Princess Street area.

The men's outdoor and work clothing branch of the needle trades is the largest single section of the men's factory clothing industry in Winnipeg. The only other sizeable branch of the trade in Winnipeg is the trousers and separate garments section. In 1945 there were seventeen establishments in Winnipeg concentrating on windbreakers and work pants, employing 649 people and with gross value of pro-

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

duction amounting to \$2,668,825. Total salaries and wages paid out amounted to \$709,655. In overalls and work shirts there were thirteen establishments, 1,035 employees, with gross value of production amounting to \$4,326,531. Total salaries and wages paid out amounted to \$1,096,533.¹⁰

The firms manufacturing work clothing in Winnipeg are the oldest in the city. Most of them were established during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Monarch Overall Company, established in 1911, is the largest work clothing firm in Winnipeg with sales amounting to over \$1,000,000 yearly.¹¹ In addition to overalls and work shirts, Monarch manufactures sport clothing such as parkas, ski suits, and slacks; in children's wear it manufactures play clothes.

The needle trades industry in Winnipeg has gone through successive stages of development--from the production of clothing in the home to its present status as an industry characterized by custom shops and factory production. The early economic development of Winnipeg with respect to the railroad industry and industries servicing

¹⁰ Report on the Men's Factory Clothing Industry in Canada 1945, Ottawa, 1947.

¹¹ This information was received from Mr. Steinberg, manager of Monarch Overall Company.

the railroads, the increasing population, the effects of the 1919 strike, the depression of the thirties, and the consequences of World War II contributed either adversely or favourably to the expansion of the needle trades in Winnipeg.

The implications raised in this connection with respect to labour supply and union organization will be examined in the following chapters.

CHAPTER VI

THE LABOUR FORCE

The needle trades have always employed a high percentage of women, a traditional sex distribution which is largely of historical origin. Women have always been dressmakers in the home, and with a short training period in the operation of power sewing machines, they can easily acquire enough skill to work in a factory. Women workers in the needle trades are almost exclusively operators, and the work of an operator is at best unskilled or semi-skilled. The highest concentration of women is in men's garments, ladies' dresses, knitted goods, fur goods, and gloves. The sex distribution is about equal in the cloak and suit trade.

Cutting is the most skilled trade in the industry and requires years to learn. This is because the art of cutting and fashioning garments, especially fur garments, is a highly paid craft, guarded jealously, and passed down within a family group almost as a legacy. Men tend to predominate in this trade, partly because they are the more stable members of the work force, and partly because the operation of a cutting machine requires strength and long hours of standing. The new power-operated cutting machines are designed to cut through several layers of material at one time. In the fur industry about 65% of the male workers are cutters, blockers, and trimmers, and 85% of the female workers are operators and

finishers.¹

The age group is rising in the needle trades for several reasons. The trade has always attracted women and girls of low economic status and with minimum educational qualifications. Because of the social stigma which is commonly attached to factory workers, many young people are deserting factory jobs for white collared positions in stores and offices. Paradoxically, skilled factory workers in unionized shops draw larger wages per week than the average clerk, but white collar positions are more socially desirable than factory jobs, no matter how wide the differential in financial remuneration.

Another reason for the lack of interest in factory work is because no scheme for training workers for the needle trades exists in Winnipeg.² At present, the only training available is on-the-job training. All factories have a training period for workers and in unionized shops these workers must receive the minimum wage while in training. During World War II, war time training was subsidized by the government. In 1941, certain sections of shops were set aside

¹ These estimates were given by Mr. Muni Taub.

² A Needle Trades Training School has been proposed by union representatives, management representatives, and the Department of Education. A Needle Trades Training Council was inaugurated in 1946.

exclusively for the training of war workers. The International Fur and Leather Workers' Union has on-the-job training for veterans. The minimum wage is forty cents an hour, and the employer gives an additional five cents an hour increase every four months. The balance is paid by the Department of Veteran Affairs on the basis of whether a veteran is single, married with no children, or married with children.

The labour force reflects the heterogeneous elements of the population of Winnipeg. The largest percentage of needle trades workers is of Ukrainian, Polish, German, French, Jewish, Russian and Anglo-Saxon stock, with a smaller percentage of Chinese and Japanese. Different sections of the trade reflect different nationality concentrations. The largest single concentration in the fur trade is the Slavic group, the second generation of which is Canadian-born. Jews, Anglo-Saxons, and French-Canadians form the next highest concentration.

The manager of one of the largest overall manufacturing plants in the city states that his workers are mostly of Polish, Ukrainian, German, Anglo-Saxon, and French-Canadian stock.³ According to him, members of these

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Mr. Steinberg, Monarch Overall Company.

nationality groups show different degrees of capability in performing single operations--i.e., German workers are the most conscientious and diligent, while the French-Canadians are the most agile.

Turnover is high because women are constantly leaving the trade because of illness, marriage, or a variety of other reasons. The average woman operator remains in the trade for a period of four to five years. Monarch Overall Company, whose labour force is composed almost entirely of women, has had some of its workers continue in the trade for twenty-five years or more.

Union and management officials estimate that the needle trades industry in Winnipeg can absorb between 1,000 and 1,500 additional workers. At present the total labour force fluctuates between 4,000 and 4,500. The principal problem centers around the difficulty in obtaining workers skilled in various crafts. World War II, which contributed to the growth of the industry, also had an adverse effect upon the labour force. Many of the skilled male mechanics left the trade for military service. They were replaced by young girls and over-age workers who were largely unskilled and who learned a single operation on military garments. The continued loss of skilled male workers to the armed services created a disastrous condition in the industry.

In 1943 the Dominion Government embarked upon a

national survey of industries with regard to determining manpower requirements.⁴ The ladies' cloak industry was considered non-essential, but upon intervention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and as a result of meetings held in Ottawa with the Deputy Minister of Labour, the industry was classified essential. Although this adroit maneuver prevented the further loss of skilled mechanics to the armed services, it did not solve the problem of increasing the number of skilled mechanics in the trade.

One method has been utilized to obtain additional skilled mechanics for the needle trades. In 1947, because of the increasing need for workers in the needle trades, and because the Winnipeg labour market could not supply the workers, an arrangement was made with the Department of Labour and the Immigration Service for the entry into Canada of displaced workers from Eastern Europe who were skilled tailors. Mr. Samuel Herbst travelled through Europe to select such workers and make arrangement for their transportation to Canada.

To date Mr. Herbst has not issued any statement concerning the present status of these displaced workers. Whether they will create additional problems with regard to their integration into the labour force in the needle trades,

⁴ Ten Year Jubilee, p. 47.

or to their integration into community life, is largely a matter of conjecture. Many of these workers have friends and relatives in Winnipeg and as a consequence their introduction to Canadian life will occur in a friendly atmosphere.

The labour force in the Winnipeg needle trades is characterized by a high percentage of unskilled and semi-skilled women operators and a smaller percentage of skilled male operators. Both of these groups are representative of the foreign-born elements in the population. The sex distribution is due to the peculiarities of certain sections of the trade which stress strength in the manipulation of machinery and of other sections with a concentration in crafts which require a long period of training and apprenticeship.

Labour turnover remains a chronic problem in the trade. Labour leaders attribute this to the general instability of women workers, to the social stigma commonly associated with factory employment, and to the lack of job-training programs for the specialized crafts. The recent entry of displaced persons into Canada who are both skilled and experienced in various needle crafts, and the proposed Needle Trades Training School⁵ which has as its purpose the education of young people for needle trades employment,

⁵ See Chapter XII for a discussion of the Needle Trades Training School.

should mitigate to some extent the excessive labour turnover in the trade.

CHAPTER VII

THE NEEDLE TRADES UNIONS IN WINNIPEG

There are four International Unions functioning in the Winnipeg area, individualistic in leadership, tactics, and philosophy, but united in common objectives for the labour movement and for stabilization of the needle trades industry. Each has had its vicissitudes, but it is because of the persistence of the labour leaders that the needle trades in Winnipeg today is almost a completely organized industry. The efforts of these unions have culminated in a unique history of sound labour-management relations and in increasing contractual benefits for their membership which lend credence to the claim of the needle trades unions that they are among the most progressive in the labour movement, both in Canada and in the United States.

Antagonism between American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organizations unions is practically a tradition in labour movement history, but the Winnipeg locals are unequalled in their history of co-operation. They have established the Winnipeg Council of Needle Trades Unions, an organization composed of members of the four International Unions, and the spirit of cooperation displayed by this Council has permeated all phases of union activity.

The words of Mr. Samuel Herbst, organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-AFL, reflects

the cordial relations between the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations unions in Winnipeg. Mr. Herbst says that the unions in the two affiliate bodies are:

"united to protect our interests and to improve conditions throughout the industry. Any manufacturer, whether a member of an association or an independent, who attempts to hamper us will be fought by all the needle trades unions."¹

Of the nine locals in the needle trades in Winnipeg, five are affiliated with the American Federation of Labour and four with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. At present, membership in the Congress of Industrial Organizations locals exceeds that of the American Federation of Labour. Table II shows the approximate membership in each local, and the strength of the Internationals.

¹ News item in the Winnipeg Free Press, March 20, 1947.

TABLE II

MEMBERSHIP IN THE NEEDLE TRADES UNIONS IN WINNIPEG, 1948

International Union and Local No.	Approx. Local Member- ship	Approx. Total Inter- national Member- ship	Total Affili- ate Body Member- ship
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-AFL			
Cloakmakers' Local 216	900		
Dressmakers' Local 237	200		
Knitgoods Local 304	100		
Total		1,200	
United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' Inter- national Union-AFL			
Local 35	150		
Total		150	
United Garment Workers of America-AFL			
Local 35	300		
Total		300	
TOTAL AFL MEMBERSHIP			1,650
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO			
Local 459	1,200		
Total		1,200	
International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada-CIO			
Fur Workers Local 91	410		
Dressers & Dyers Local 175	170		
Leather Workers Local 430 ^X	220		
Total		800	
TOTAL CIO MEMBERSHIP			2,000
TOTAL, ALL MEMBERSHIPS			3,650

^XIncludes a Glove Workers' Branch.

Source: Totals obtained from Union Representatives--Mr. Samuel Herbst of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Mr. Leo Fridell of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Mr. Muni Taub of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada. Mr. William Gilbey, former officer of the United Garment Workers of America, supplied the figures for that union.

I. THE UNITED GARMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-AFL²

The oldest garment union in Winnipeg is the United Garment Workers, Local 35, which was chartered in 1899. For many years the United Garment Workers enjoyed monopoly privileges in the Winnipeg market as it was the only union in the men's garment trade, with approximately two-thirds of the needle workers in the city organized into Local 35. The union, however, believed in a conciliatory policy toward management and capitulated to the demands of the employers during periods of slack activity by accepting wage cuts and reduction in hours.

The United Garment Workers grew into an organization of 1,300 during the depression of the thirties, but continued discontent with United Garment Workers leadership and policies

² Mr. William Gilbey, former officer of the United Garment Workers, provided the material used in this section. Repeated attempts by letter, phone, and personal visits to obtain an interview with Mrs. Emily Ross, manager of the union, proved fruitless.

caused dissension within membership ranks. The union continued until 1944, chiefly because of the collective bargaining agreement still in existence between it and the Garment Manufacturers' Association, at which time the bulk of the membership transferred to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO. The United Garment Workers is still active in one large shop in Winnipeg, Western King Manufacturing Company, but the entire membership does not exceed 300.

Several opinions have been advanced in an attempt to explain the rapid disintegration of the United Garment Workers. Chief among these is the feeling that the union has not kept abreast of recent technological developments in the trade and has remained markedly backward in obtaining increased contractual benefits for the membership.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION-AFL³

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-AFL began its organizational activities in Winnipeg in 1935, one year after the cloakmakers, under the direction of the Needle Workers Industrial Union, lost a six weeks' strike. The International in New York sent a veteran organizer, Mr.

³ Material for this section was obtained in a personal interview with Mr. Samuel Herbst, organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union-AFL.

Samuel Herbst, to conduct the organization drive in Winnipeg. With the assistance of the Winnipeg and the District Trades and Labour Council, and a few progressive manufacturers, three locals were subsequently organized in Winnipeg.

Conditions in the dress and cloak sections of the needle trades at the time of Mr. Herbst's arrival in Winnipeg left much to be desired. Hours were as high as sixty to seventy weekly⁴ with wages correspondingly low. Skilled operators and cutters received between \$18 to \$25 weekly, skilled pressers \$18 to \$22 weekly, and unskilled workers \$6 to \$7 weekly.⁵ The majority of the workers were in a demoralized state of mind because the loss of the 1934 strike was an indication to them that improvements in the trade could not be achieved. Along with this psychological reaction was the added fear of retaliation by employers if the workers joined a new union. As 1935 was a job-scarcity year, workers were willing to tolerate the conditions prevailing in the trade rather than risk joining the union.

Because of the attitude of the workers toward the union, Mr. Herbst found it necessary to "adopt measures which are not strictly in accordance with union organi-

⁴ Ten Year Jubilee, p. 5.

⁵ Ibid.

zation".⁶ He communicated with employers and attempted to get their approval of unionization in the cloak industry "on the basis that a Union helps to stabilize an industry and ends competition between employers at the expense of labour".⁷ He was successful in this attempt.

The first agreement was an individual agreement concluded between the new Cloakmakers' Union, Local 216 and Jacob-Crowley Manufacturing Company. The agreement called for an increase of \$1 a week for all workers in the Jacob-Crowley shop, and time and one-quarter after forty-four hours. Both the workers and the manufacturers were suspicious of the agreement signed with the Jacob-Crowley shop, but the persistent efforts of Mr. Herbst and a few other manufacturers who were interested in a stabilized Winnipeg market led to the organization of a Manufacturers' Association comprising the leading cloak firms in the city. It was only upon threat of a strike that the Association agreed to sign a collective agreement with the union in October 1935.

A review of the benefits received by the union in each succeeding agreement shows the increasing importance

⁶ Ibid., p.7

⁷ Ibid.

and prestige of the Cloakmakers' Union.⁸

Terms of the First Cloak Agreement,
October 1935 to June 15, 1937.

1. Closed union shop.
 2. Forty-four hour week for the first year of the agreement; forty-two hour week for the second.
 3. Wage increases during the first year of the agreement:

\$10 and less per week	.....	15% increase
\$10 to \$20 per week	.....	10% increase
\$20 to \$30 per week	.....	\$1 per week increase
- During the second year, wage rate adjustments shall be agreed upon between the union and the manufacturer.
4. Time and one-quarter after forty-four hours.
 5. Appointment of an impartial chairman. The union considered it necessary to appoint such a chairman to insure enforcement of terms of the Agreement.

Terms of the Second Cloak Agreement,
June 16, 1937 to July 15, 1939.

1. Closed union shop.
2. Forty hour week, eight hours a day, five days a week.
3. Wage increases:

Cutters	.....	\$1.50 per week
Operators	.....	1.50 per week
Operator-helpers	.....	2.00 per week
Pressers	.....	1.50 per week
Finishers	.....	1.50 per week
Other crafts	.....	1.00 per week
4. Time and one-quarter after eight hours, each day a separate day.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 17-25.

Note: In July 1939 this agreement was renewed for two years. Wage increases consisted of \$1 for all members. Adjustments were made between the union and the employers in special cases.

Terms of the Third Cloak Agreement,
October 30, 1941 (effective January 12, 1942)
to December 31, 1944.

1. Closed union shop.
2. Forty hour week.
3. Establishment of wage scales as follows:

Operators	\$32.00	per week
Cutters	32.00	per week
Pressers	32.00	per week
Finishers	22.00	per week
4. Time and one-quarter after eight hours, each day a separate day.

Terms of the Fourth Cloak Agreement,
November 1944 (effective January 1, 1945)
to December 31, 1947.

1. Closed union shop.
2. Forty hour week.
3. Change from time to piece work.
4. Time and one-quarter after forty hours, based on average weekly earnings on piece work.
5. One week's vacation with pay. All cloak shops to close at the same time of the year.

The piece work system was instituted because of the Government's Wage Control Order. Under this Order wages were frozen, but with the introduction of the piece work system, the union was able to get increases on the incentive

basis.⁹ Both the workers and management raised strenuous objections to the introduction of piece work. Management claimed that the cost of the garment would increase on the piece work system. Workers feared the possibility of the "speed-up", and unskilled workers, who receive the same wage on the time system regardless of the number of pieces they produced, feared that they might not be able to make as much money under the new system.

Today some cloaks are produced on a "split-up" or "section" system. This system of splitting up the garment was necessary because the industry lacks skilled mechanics. A skilled worker who makes the complete garment is solely responsible for the garment, but where several individuals are working on the garment, one skilled person takes charge of the section work. This system of manufacturing cloaks is suitable for the mail order trade but where styles are important, the section system can not be used. However, the combination piece work and section work enables the lesser skilled workers to make a wage comparable to that earned by skilled workers.

The last cloak agreement contains some of the most liberal provisions of any agreement in the history of the needle trades in Winnipeg. The duration of the agreement is

⁹ Ibid., p. 27.

for a five year period, the most extensive period to date. A feature of this agreement is the provision for bonus payments. Not only does the agreement provide for increased payments to compensate for increases in the cost-of-living, but it also provides for a corresponding decrease in payments with a reduction in the cost-of-living index. This is probably the first time that a union has consciously undertaken an action of this sort. The usual procedure is to procure as many benefits as possible regardless of the prevailing economic conditions; to forego such benefits because of a future change in economic conditions would seem to set a dangerous precedent.

Terms of the last Cloak Agreement,
January 1, 1948 for a five-year period.

1. Closed union shop. All beginners must have union cards and must notify the union before giving quitting notice to employers.
2. Forty hour week.
3. Increase in minimum scale for skilled workers from \$40 to \$43 per week.
4. Check-off.
5. No strikes or lockouts for the duration of the contract.
6. Abolition of outside work. No permanent employee shall engage in overtime work in any plant other than the factory of his employer.
7. Bonus payments to compensate for increases in cost of living. Base fixed at cost of living index 120, computed as follows:

- 121-129 7% bonus on the total amount earned each week, including overtime at the established overtime rate. Applicable to all employees, whether on time work or piece work. Employee must have completed forty hours work each week during 1947. Time work allowed only for illness or bona fide lay-offs.
- 130-134 10% bonus.
- 135-139 15% bonus.
- 140 & over .. 5% for each five points increase thereafter. Reduction in the cost-of-living index will result in decreases in the bonus awards until the base of 120 points is reached.

8. Medical and hospitalization fund. Free medical, hospitalization and surgical care available to all employees and their families. Employers to contribute 5% of their total payrolls towards the fund, union 1%. Control of fund in the hands of joint committee of representatives of the union and the manufacturers.

The most unique clause in the last agreement is the following:

"Having in mind that no agreement no matter how well prepared nor how all-inclusive, nevertheless requires intelligent and well qualified representation in order to afford to those interested the maximum benefit, and having the fullest confidence and highest regard for Samuel Herbst, local representative of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-AFL, whose vast experience and good judgment in the industry locally has been of great benefit to employers as well as to employees, it is distinctly understood that the union agrees during the term of the agreement to employ only Mr. Herbst as its duly authorized representative."¹⁰

¹⁰ News item in The Winnipeg Tribune, August 15, 1947.

This clause points to the unusual esteem in which Mr. Herbst is held by the employers. It was largely through his efforts that a union exists in Winnipeg today, but appreciation for his past work should not obscure the fact that the quality of Mr. Herbst's leadership has been often open to question. Admittedly, in the early days of union organization, the strong personality and persuasive attitude of Mr. Herbst were the only weapons available to the then impotent union. The fact that Mr. Herbst organized management before he organized the workers is ample evidence of this.

As far as the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-AFL in Winnipeg is concerned, Mr. Herbst has absolute power. Of course, the Executive Boards of the locals are responsible for policies pertaining to their respective bodies, but the guiding hand of Mr. Herbst is always present. The workers might not appreciate his methods, but they respect his obvious attempts to achieve the aims of the union.

The attitude of the ladies' garment workers, and of leaders in the other needle trades unions, is that the prevailing standard in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-AFL locals today is one of intra-union autocracy rather than intra-union democracy. The union was desperately in need of experienced guidance during the first

hectic years of its existence, but now that it is firmly established and recognized in the Winnipeg area, paternal dictatorship is no longer justifiable.

The clause in the last agreement concerning the retention of Mr. Herbst's services by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-AFL is perhaps an admirable testimonial to his efficiency in dealing with management, but it also raises grave doubts about future dealings with management when and if a change in union leadership occurs.

The Dressmakers' Union, Local 237, was chartered in 1939. The Cloakmakers' Union gave financial assistance in the organizational drive. According to Mr. Herbst, conditions in the industry have improved "60%".¹¹ The Knitgoods Workers' Union, Local 304, was chartered in 1941. The knitgoods industry in Winnipeg is small, but wages have increased "40%" since the establishment of the union.¹²

The Dressmakers' Union, Knitgoods Workers' Union, and the Capmakers' Union have agreements similar to the one of the Cloakmakers. The significant difference lies in the provision for extra vacation time and in the absence of sick benefit schemes. These locals receive two weeks vacation with pay, the extra week presumably given to compensate for

¹¹ Ten Year Jubilee, p. 37.

¹² Ibid.

the lack of sick and health benefits. The difference in the provisions of the Cloakmakers' agreement and in the two other locals associated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for sickness benefits is explained on the basis that the Cloakmakers' Local is the largest in membership and the oldest in point of establishment. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union hopes to standardize all agreements of locals affiliated with it in the future.

At present there are four shops under contract to the Dressmakers' Union, two under contract to the Knitgoods Workers' Union, and four under contract to the Cap Makers' Union.¹³ The Cap Makers' Union is an affiliated local of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union but is under the leadership of Mr. Samuel Herbst.

III. INTERNATIONAL FUR AND LEATHER WORKERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA-CIO¹⁴

The International Fur and Leather Workers' Union-CIO was re-established in Winnipeg in 1943 with the assistance

¹³ See Appendix E.

¹⁴ Material for this section was obtained in a personal interview with Mr. Muni Taub, organizer for the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union-CIO.

of a former native of Winnipeg, Mr. Myer Klig.¹⁵ Separate contracts were signed with individual shops until a master bargaining agreement could be drawn up between the Union and the Furriers' Guild. The first organizer for the Fur Workers Local 91, Mr. Leo Roussin, accepted the position for a one-year term, and in the Fall of 1944, Mr. Muni Taub was sent to Winnipeg from Montreal to continue with organizational work.

A brief review of the history of trade union organization in the fur industry in Winnipeg will focus attention on the obstacles that have been overcome and on the achievements of the union.

In 1926 a general strike for improvement of conditions in the fur industry took place in Winnipeg. Concessions were granted by the employers in the form of a forty-four hour week, time and one-half for overtime, and increases in wages. The union, apparently content with this victory, did not consolidate its position by continuing with organizational drives. By 1933 the union had practically disappeared from the trade.

Local 91 of the International Fur Workers of the United States and Canada was chartered in 1935 after a number

¹⁵ Mr. Klig is now associated with the International office in New York.

of workers in the industry expressed their desire to the Executive of the Trades and Labour Council to become organized as a union. The new local became affiliated with the Winnipeg and District Trades and Labour Council. The local applied to the International office in New York for an experienced organizer and subsequently an organizer was sent from Toronto to organize the industry. Repeated attempts of this organizer, of members of the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council, and of Mr. A. MacNamara, then Deputy Minister of Labour for Manitoba, failed to get the Furriers' Guild to meet with the union. The union considered it inadvisable to call a strike because the fur season was almost at a close and the union membership was still quite small.

In July 1936, upon a second request to the New York office of the International by officers of the Trades and Labour Council and Local 91 for an organizer to assist in negotiations for an agreement, Mr. Morris Reiss, First Vice-President of the International arrived in Winnipeg. Following the same line of attack as his predecessor, Mr. Reiss attempted to meet with the Guild, and after this proved a failure, he enlisted the aid of Mr. John Queen, then mayor of Winnipeg. Mr. Queen managed to bring about a meeting between members of the Guild and the Union representatives. The attitude of the Guild was that their workers did not belong to and had no desire to join the union, and that the union was

not representative of the Winnipeg workers.

After all peaceful attempts failed, the union called a strike in the industry on August 11, 1936. At the time of the strike, 105 of the approximately 415 workers in the trade were members of the union. The strike was one of the longest in the history of the labour movement in Winnipeg, lasting nine months. The International office spent between \$90,000 and \$100,000 on the strike.

Newspaper accounts during the period August 1936 to August 1937 describe the manner in which the strike was conducted. The Guild was adamant in its anti-union stand and the union was equally adamant in its determination to organize the industry. Charges and counter-charges were made by each party. Particularly noticeable was the Guild's liberal use of epithets and phrases such as "gangster tactics", "foreign agitators", and "New York radicals". The employers resorted to lockouts and to intimidation of workers who joined the union. Union leaders received fines and jail sentences. Mr. Justice Adamson awarded damages to the Hurtig Fur Company in the amount of \$2,869.76 in connection with picketing of its premises and a permanent injunction against picketing. The injunction was upheld by the Court of Appeal.

The strike had a disastrous effect upon the fur industry in Winnipeg. The union lost the strike, but the victory for the employers was illusory. The fur market in

Winnipeg was lost because the furriers in the city were forced to transfer their orders to Montreal and Toronto. Many of the skilled fur workers who were members of the union left Winnipeg. Some had been blacklisted, and others left because they did not want to work for lower wages. This was the situation which existed until the conclusion of the first collective agreement.

On January 1, 1945 the first collective agreement was concluded. Membership in Local 91 was then 200. A number of other shops were organized after this agreement was signed and today the total membership in Local 91 is 410 dues-paying members. The local now has a master bargaining agreement with the Furriers' Guild of Canada, Manitoba Division.

The present agreement is a two year agreement, commencing June 1, 1947 and expiring May 31, 1949. It has an "open end" clause¹⁶ regarding wages which is to be negotiated between March and May 1948 on a thirty-day written notice by the union or by the Guild. The following contractual benefits accrue from the present agreement:

1. A closed union shop.
2. Check-off of dues, fines, and assessments.

¹⁶ An "open end" clause is one which states that wage rates are not fixed for the duration of the agreement. Either party to the agreement, upon a thirty day written notice, can request negotiations for wage increases.

3. Two weeks trial period for experienced workers supplied by the union. Thirty-day trial period for apprentices and beginners.

4. Eight hour day, five day week, one hour for lunch.

5. Time and one-quarter after eight hours, for Saturday work, and for unpaid legal holidays.

6. One week's vacation with pay, All fur shops to close at the same time.

7. Paid statutory holidays--Good Friday, Dominion Day, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas Day.

8. Elimination of home work.

9. No strikes or lockouts during term of duration of agreement.

10. Medical, Hospital and Sick Benefit Plan.

11. Wage scale for each craft. Blanket increase of \$3 week to those employees earning \$30 week or less, \$4 to those earning \$31 week or more.

There are thirty-two firms under contract to Local 91 of International Fur and Leather Workers' Union-CIO.¹⁷ The same agreement is in effect with firms that are not members of the Furriers' Guild.

Local 175 is a local of dressers and dyers with a total membership of 170. Working conditions are almost the same as those which prevail in plants under contract to Local 91. Local 175 has had two contracts with the manufacturers, the first of which went into effect January 1,

¹⁷ See Appendix E.

1945.

The present contract of Local 175 went into effect June 1, 1947. The major gain was a $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour across-the-board increase with an open end clause for adjustment in wages which is to go into effect March 1, 1948 for the balance of the contract. The contract expires December 30, 1948. Overtime rates in the dressing and dyeing industry are paid at a rate of time and one-quarter after forty-two hours. At present there are three firms under contract to Local 175.¹⁸

Local 430 of the Leather Workers has a total membership of 220. It does not have a master bargaining agreement which applies to the shops under contract to them, but has a separate agreement with each individual shop. Some of the shops under contract to the local are secondary shops which manufacture shoes, saddles, and other products from leather. The Dominion Tanners Limited, on the other hand, is a primary manufacturing concern which makes leather out of raw hides.

Local 430 was chartered October 17, 1945 and at present has seven companies under contract.¹⁹

Each of the three locals of the International Fur

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

and Leather Workers' Union-CIO holds separate membership meetings and has a separate Executive Board. The leadership of the three locals is centralized in the Winnipeg Joint Board, consisting of representatives from the three locals. The Board is affiliated with the Canadian Congress of Labour and sends delegates to the Winnipeg Labour Council.

IV. MANITOBA FUR EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION-INDEPENDENT

This association is actually a company union, formed by the employees of the Hurtig Fur Company with the assistance of the employer. The association came into existence during the 1936-37 fur strike when Hurtig Fur Company was the most anti-union shop in Winnipeg. The Company refused to recognize the International Fur Workers' Union and aided in the formation of the Manitoba Fur Employees Association to prevent organization by the International.

At present the Association has a membership of thirty and is not affiliated with the Trades and Labour Council.

V. THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA-CIO²⁰

The youngest needle trades union in Winnipeg is

²⁰ Material for this section was obtained in a personal interview with Mr. Leo Fridell, manager of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO.

the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO. It came into existence in 1943 as a result of dissension and dissatisfaction within the ranks of the United Garment Workers of America. The great bulk of the membership in the men's clothing trade joined the Amalgamated when the Winnipeg Local No. 459 received its charter in 1944. At the time of the schism, an agreement was still in existence between the United Garment Workers and the Garment Manufacturers' Association. The Amalgamated was not certified until 1945 and the first agreement with the Association was signed September 24, 1945. At present there are thirty-three plants in Winnipeg whose workers are organized within the Amalgamated.²¹ From the standpoint of membership, Local 459 of the Amalgamated is the largest in Winnipeg, with 32% of the unionized members in the entire industry.²²

Before the Amalgamated came into existence, labour standards in the men's clothing trade were at a low level. Wages for a forty-hour week were as low as \$12 and \$13 and there were very few shops where union representatives could enter. Consequently, one of the first jobs tackled by the Amalgamated was adjustment of the piece work rate. Today the

²¹ See Appendix E.

²² See Table II.

minimum average wage for the industry is \$25 a week, but experienced workers earn up to \$40 a week. Mr. Fridell²³ estimates that 90% of the 1,200 total membership in the Amalgamated is composed of women operators.

The first contract between the Amalgamated and the Garment Manufacturers' Association called for a forty-hour week, time and one-half for overtime on Saturdays, and time and one-quarter for overtime on weekdays. The contract also specified two weeks vacation with pay after a worker has had two years employment.

The Garment Manufacturers' Association and the Amalgamated announced a standard rate for cutters in 1946. Cutting is a highly specialized craft and one in which men predominate. First class cutters, those who lay out the material, mark the patterns, and cut, were to receive \$1 an hour. Second class cutters, those who cut from materials already marked, were to receive 77½ cents an hour. This increase was to cover twenty-five manufacturing concerns throughout the city. A joint application by the Association and the union was submitted to the Regional Labour Board for approval of the increase, retroactive to August 1, 1946.

The Amalgamated has a closed shop provision in its

²³ Mr. Leo Fridell, manager of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

contract. No worker can be employed unless he has a permit from the union. The employer can only hire in the open market if the union cannot supply the desired workers from its rolls. After six weeks, a worker so hired must join the union.

Labour-management cooperation in the trade is good. The Amalgamated accomplished all of its contractual gains peacefully, without resorting to strikes. Collective bargaining agreements are made on an industry-wide basis between the union and the Garment Manufacturers' Association. Grievances, however, are settled on a shop basis, with the Grievance Committee of the union and the individual employer concerned.

A unique feature of the Amalgamated's contract with the Garment Manufacturers' Association is the health fund which includes sickness and death benefits. The fund is of a contributory nature, with 1% contributed by the employee, and the other 1% contributed by the Garment Manufacturers' Association. The fund is kept in trust and is administered by a Board of Trustees or Directors, consisting of four employers from the Association and four members from the Union. Officers are elected annually. Mr. Berkowitz of Monarch Overall is president and Mr. Fridell of the union is treasurer.

At its inception, benefits consisted of \$8 for

females for thirteen weeks in any year, \$12 for males and \$500 death benefits. Since then benefits have been increased to \$10 for females, \$15 for males. The death benefit of \$500 still stands. Hospitalization is provided up to 50% of the hospital bill.

The first educational class for shop stewards was inaugurated in October 1947 on a two-week basis. Plans have been made to enlarge the scope of the class to include lectures on grievance procedure, and lectures on the labour movement in general.

Besides the forty-hour week, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO has asked for a basic minimum for all learners, a standard to correct any wage inequalities, and a basic standard to be applied for pricing new garments.

The history of labour organization in Winnipeg does not differ to any marked extent from the usual pattern of organization. In any industry there are always a few manufacturers who are extremely anti-union and still others who are more than willing to cooperate and bargain with the recognized union.

Inter-union conflict arose in the early days of organization between the United Garment Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union over the question of jurisdiction in some shops. A later conflict

arose between the United Garment Workers and the Amalgamated leadership. Outside of these two instances, the traditional rivalry between craft and industrial unions is conspicuously absent. The spirit of cooperation and mutual assistance might be a reflection of the present calibre of union leadership; on the other hand, it might be a prognostication of inter-union objectives.

CHAPTER VIII

LABOUR STANDARDS

The length of the working day, working conditions, and overtime rates are standardized throughout the needle trades in Winnipeg, but differences exist in various branches of the trade with respect to paid vacations, paid holidays, wage rates, health and sick benefits and other benefits peculiar to the particular branch of the industry. The entire industry is on an eight-hour day, five-day week, with time and one-quarter after eight hours, on Saturdays, and on non-paid holidays.

The following breakdown will point up the similarities and differences in the various agreements:

1. Closed union shop is recognized throughout the entire industry.

2. Wages.

The minimum weekly wage in the fur industry is as follows:

<u>Cutters and Head Cutters</u>	
1st Grade (Head Cutter)	\$50.00
2nd Grade	42.00
3rd Grade	38.00
<u>Trimmers</u>	29.00
<u>Blockers</u>	27.00
<u>Operators</u>	
1st Grade	36.00
2nd Grade	28.00
3rd Grade	22.00
(with one year's experience)	

<u>Finishers</u>	
1st Grade	\$31.00
2nd Grade	27.00
<u>General Help</u>	
(with one year's experience)	22.00
<u>Apprentices</u>	
Starting rate	16.00
After seventeen weeks' employment	18.00
After thirty-four weeks' employment	20.00
After one year's employment	22.00

The minimum weekly wage in the men's garment industry:

<u>Cutters</u>	
1st Class	40.00
2nd Class	31.00
<u>Other Workers</u>	25.00

The minimum weekly wage in the cloak industry:

<u>For skilled workers</u>	43.00
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Other workers are paid according to the scale.

3. Legal Holidays with Pay

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-AFL
Christmas Day

International Fur and Leather Workers' Union-CIO

Good Friday
Dominion Day
Labour Day
Thanksgiving Day
Christmas Day

4. Paid Vacations

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-AFL
Two weeks after two years employment.

International Fur and Leather Workers' Union-CIO

One week after one year's employment.
Employees with less than a year, but more than a month receive vacation pay on a pro rata basis. All fur shops close at the same time, second week in July.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-AFL

One week vacation. All cloak shops close at the same time.

5. Medical, Hospital, and Sick Benefit Fund

Furriers' Welfare Fund

Employers contribute 2% of their payrolls.
Sick benefits amounting to \$10 a week starting on the eighth day of illness for period of eight weeks. Employees pay \$1.75 per month for single persons, \$4 per month for married employees and their families.
Medical attention is given by arrangement with the Manitoba Hospital Service Association.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO

1% contributed by employers (of total payroll)
1% contributed by employees (of total union roll)

\$10 week sick benefits for females for thirteen weeks

\$15 week sick benefits for males for thirteen weeks

50% of the hospital bill paid

\$500 death benefit

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-AFL

Free medical, hospitalization, and surgical care for all employees and their families.
Employers contribute 5% of their total payrolls.
Employees contribute 1%.

6. Overtime Rates

The general overtime rate is time and one-

quarter after forty hours.

Fur Industry

Saturdays and legal non-paid holidays,
time and one-quarter.

In the fur dressing and dyeing industry,
time and one-quarter after forty-two
hours.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO

Time and one-quarter for overtime on week-
days.

Time and one-half on Saturdays.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-
AFL

Time and one-quarter after forty hours.

Wages in the fur industry in Winnipeg are lower than in Toronto and Montreal. Mr. Taub indicated that the wage differential was due to the lost 1936-37 strike and to the influx of a large number of girls who were paid apprentice or learner's wages. The employers claim that the workers in the Winnipeg area are not as skilled as those in the East.

Standardization of working conditions, hours, and wages is a major objective in trade-union organization which has been realized to some extent by the needle trades unions in Winnipeg. The minor differences which exist are traceable to the peculiarities of the various branches which comprise the needle trades. Each branch has its problems which must be solved in terms of the agreement which the union is able to conclude with management. The success or failure in concluding such agreements is directly dependent

upon the bargaining strength of the union and the attitude of management.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATIONAL, RECREATIONAL, AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

The needle trades unions in the Winnipeg area do not have a coordinated program of educational, recreational, and cultural activities. Union representatives are unanimous in their opinion that such a program is necessary, but at the time of organization the exigencies in the trade with respect to wages, hours, and working conditions were such that all the energies and resources of the locals were focused in that direction. An added reason for the comparative lack of educational and social activities is due to the short length of time that the locals have been functioning in the Winnipeg area.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, one of the oldest unions in the area, has had an Educational Department since 1939. The Winnipeg Stitcher, official organ of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union, issued by the Educational Department, made its initial appearance in the same year. The paper was edited by Samuel Herbst, Manager, and Catherine Hart, Educational Director. The purpose of the paper was to bring to the membership "the news, views, and happenings in the shops and in the Union".¹ With the

¹ The Winnipeg Stitcher, "Introducing Our New Baby", Vol. I, 1939.

formation of the Educational Department, the Union began sponsoring such sports activities as baseball, free swimming classes, and bowling leagues.

The initial Winnipeg Stitcher was a four-page mimeographed paper with sections on Sports by George Wileman and David Greenberg; a guest editorial by Isidore Drucker, Canadian Organizer for the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union; a Sick Corner in which illnesses of union members were reported; a "Whisper" Corner which reported the every day activities of the members; and a Quiz Section. The following sample questions were taken from the Quiz Section:

1. When and where was the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union born?
2. When were the Winnipeg Locals 216 and 237 chartered?
3. How many members are on the General Executive Board and can you name them?

The Educational Events Calendar listed the activities for the week which varied from chorus meetings at the Union Hall to free swimming classes at the Pritchard Baths.

The Winnipeg Stitcher was soon abandoned, largely because of lack of funds, and also because the quality of the editorials and reported news did not improve. The approach remained on the "amateur" level. The International paper, Justice, which is available to all dues-paying members, has adequate coverage of Canadian news.

The union still sponsors sports activities, lectures, banquets, and dances. In 1942 the children's orchestra, composed of children of the union members, performed at the convention of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada which was held in Winnipeg. This orchestra also performs at many union meetings and functions.²

II. THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS

The Amalgamated issues a copy of its International newspaper, The Advance, to every dues-paying member. The Winnipeg local issues no shop bulletin of its own.

The Amalgamated holds educational classes for shop stewards on a two-week basis. The first classes were inaugurated in October 1947 and plans have been made to make these classes a regular feature of educational work. The new classes will include lectures on grievance procedure and on the labour movement.

III. THE FUR AND LEATHER WORKERS

In addition to the Fur and Leather Worker, official organ of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union which is distributed to dues-paying members free of charge,

² Ten Year Jubilee, p. 29.

the Winnipeg Joint Board (Locals 91-175-430) issues a mimeographed shop bulletin which is mailed to all shops. The bulletin carries a variety of items.³

In the social vein, the union sponsors annual dances and banquets. In sports it sponsors a bowling league and a baseball team. In educational work, the union has progressed further than the other needle trades unions in the city. It buys literature from the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Canadian Congress of Labour and distributes it free of charge to the membership. Even though it has no classes or discussion groups, it pays the fees for workers who wish to attend classes sponsored by the Workers' Educational Association. Locals 175 and 430 show motion pictures furnished by the Labour Film Council of Canada.

The Winnipeg Council of Needle Trades Unions⁴ recently drafted an educational and recreational program for the mutual benefit of their respective unions. The main features of the program are as follows:

1. Joint lectures.
2. Mass meetings of needle trades workers to inform them of the aims and aspirations of the unions.

³ See Appendix D.

⁴ This Council is composed of representatives of the needle trades unions in Winnipeg. The three standing officers are Mr. Samuel Herbst (ILGWU), Chairman; Mr. Muni Taub (IFLWU), Secretary; and Mr. Leo Fridell (ACW), Treasurer.

3. Classes in cooperation with the Workers' Educational Association.
4. Concerts, choir, and dances.
5. Sports activities.
6. Public Relations and Publicity Committee.

The program is still in the formative stage. To date no conscious effort has been exerted to put the features of the program into effect. The unions prefer to conduct their educational and recreational activities in a cooperative manner, using as their criterion the success that the unions have enjoyed in other cooperative ventures.

During the few years that the Council has been functioning in Winnipeg, it has relied upon a pragmatic approach--it has taken care of the material needs of the membership first, and has delayed consideration of other needs until a time when the necessary funds and the qualified personnel are available. It is for this reason that the extra-contractual objectives of the needle trades unions with respect to educational, recreational, and cultural activities have not been achieved to date.

CHAPTER X

EMPLOYER ORGANIZATION AND LABOUR POLICIES

The majority of the needle trades firms in Winnipeg are organized into associations and guilds. Each association is a cohesive group, protecting the interest of its members in much the same manner as trade union organizations protect the worker.

The history of these associations reflects the changing attitude of the employers. The early attitudes of employer associations toward unionization varied from overt manifestation of antagonism to complete apathy. Some of the organizations are relatively new in the Winnipeg area, others have been established for years. A review of the most important and influential organizations follows.

I. THE WINNIPEG LADIES' CLOAK AND SUIT MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION

This Association, comprising the largest firms in the cloak and suit industry in Winnipeg, was organized in October 1935. The Association was not a "voluntary" organization of the employers in the sense that the original impetus to form an association came from an instinctive tendency to protect and promote their own interests. It was formed through the efforts of an International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union organizer, Mr. Samuel Herbst, who used the cogent argument "that a stabilized labour market

will lead to a stabilized industry".¹ The first firm to become a member of the Association, as well as the first to enter into agreement with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was Jacob-Crowley Manufacturing Company Limited, one of the oldest manufacturing firms in Winnipeg and long antagonistic to union organization in the industry. Conferences with other firms followed which eventually led to the organization of an association of cloak manufacturers. Mr. B. Jacob, of Jacob-Crowley Manufacturing Company Limited, became the first president of the Association.

Today the ten largest firms in the ladies' cloak and suit industry are members of the Winnipeg Ladies' Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association.² Its thirteen years of relationship with Local 216 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have been amicable and during that

¹ Ten Year Jubilee, p. 11

² These firms are:
Dominion Cloaks Limited
Goldberg Brothers Limited
Jacob-Crowley Manufacturing Company Limited
Madewell Garments Limited
Model Cloaks Limited
National Cloaks Limited
S. Stall & Son Limited
Sterling Cloak Company Limited
Ontario Garment Manufacturing Company Limited
Junior-Wear Company

time there has not been a single instance where resort to the use of the strike weapon has been necessary. The agreements it has concluded with the local show a successive record of increasing contractual benefits.

II. THE MEN'S GARMENT MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION

This Association consists of the largest firms in the men's garment industry in Winnipeg and includes firms whose chief items of manufacture are overalls, work shirts, sport clothing, fabric gloves, fine shirts, and suits.

The relationship of the Association with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO, which is the largest and the most important union in the men's garment trade in Winnipeg, has only existed for a period of two and one-half years. Before the trade was reorganized in 1945 under the Amalgamated, the Association had a long record of agreements with the United Garment Workers of America-AFL.

As in the case of the ladies' cloak and suit industry, the Association and the Amalgamated have a record of mutual assistance and cooperation. Contractual benefits have been received amicably, and there has not been an instance where the Amalgamated resorted to the use of the strike weapon to achieve its aims.

III. THE FURRIERS' GUILD OF CANADA (MANITOBA DIVISION)

The Manitoba Division of the Furriers' Guild of Canada has existed in Winnipeg for many years. Unlike the Associations in the ladies' cloak and suit industry, and in the men's garment industry, the Guild has been inimical to organization in the fur industry. The stubborn attitude of the Guild toward meeting with members of the Union in the early days of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union-CIO was the precipitating factor in the 1936-37 fur industry strike. Mr. Robert Jacob, Commissioner, who was appointed by authority of Order-in-Council 1276/36 to inquire into the dispute between the fur manufacturers and the fur workers, stated in a memorandum dated May 21, 1937 to the Minister of Labour and the Attorney-General of Manitoba that "every possible effort had been made (by the Executive Committee of the Union) in an amicable way to get the employers to negotiate; nothing was left that could be done except to call a strike, which was done on Tuesday, August 11th, 1936".

The near collapse of the fur market in the Winnipeg area after the disastrous 1936-37 strike rather than a desire to recognize the union was the motivating factor in the Guild's metamorphosis. Since the re-establishment of

the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union in the Winnipeg area, the union has concluded a master bargaining agreement with the Guild. Relations between the Guild and the union since 1943 have apparently been amicable.

IV. THE PATTERN OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Relations between the unions and employers in the Winnipeg area are cordial. The spirit of cooperation which exists between them has resulted in some of the most advanced labour-management policies in the needle trades.

To speed production and to minimize absenteeism during the war, labour-management committees were established in shops working on war contracts so that orders could be filled on schedule. Labour-management committees were also established in the men's clothing industry with Sam Herbst as Chairman and J. Berkowitz of the Garment Manufacturers' Association as Vice-Chairman.

Since the war, the unions and the companies have met in joint conferences to discuss the advances made by the industry. They have endorsed a resolution urging the establishment of a Needle Trades Training School which will train workers for a profession in the industry. They feature annual banquets and dances where representatives of management and the union membership spend the evening in social

camaraderie. There is every reason to assume that this spirit of congeniality will continue in the future.

CHAPTER XI

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

The government, as the exponent of the public interest, plays a significant role in labour relations. Generally, public attention is not focused on any particular branch of industry until a strike occurs. Even then, unless the strike is prolonged, resulting in economic and social loss to the community, public reaction to specific disputes tends to be negative.

Labour legislation takes a variety of forms. There are laws which deal with the length of the working day, minimum wages, compensation for occupational diseases and accidents, compensation for unemployment, and regulation of the conditions of employment. The Manitoba Factories Act, Fair Wage Act, Workmen's Compensation Act, and the Minimum Wage Act are examples. The needle trades unions have been especially interested in this type of labour legislation because of the hazardous health conditions which prevail in some branches of the trade. An illustrative case is the fur industry where chemicals and dyes used in processing the skins subject the workers to dangers of industrial disease.

At the same time unions are primarily interested in legislation which guarantees the right of unions to exist

and to bargain collectively with management, which guarantees the right to strike and to picket, and which provides machinery for the peaceful adjustment of labour disputes. The legislation applicable in these matters is the Manitoba Wartime Labour Relations Regulations Act. This Act applies the provisions of the Dominion Wartime Labour Relations Regulations Act to employees in certain industries in Manitoba. The provisions are applied by the Legislature to employees whose relations with their employers in matters covered by the Dominion Wartime Labour Relations Regulations Act are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Legislature to regulate. The Manitoba Industrial Disputes Investigation Act was repealed and the Strikes and Lockouts Prevention Act was suspended.

With the passage of the Manitoba Wartime Labour Relations Regulations Act, the Dominion retired from the field of provincial labour legislation. The Dominion Act (PC 1003) applied only to dominion matters such as inter-provincial communications. An amendment to PC 1003 continues the Manitoba Wartime Labour Relations Regulations Act until it is superseded by some other act.

The Manitoba Wartime Labour Relations Regulations Act gives both employees and employers the right to join organizations of their own selection, the right of authorized representatives of each party to enter into negoti-

ations with a view to concluding a collective agreement, and provides the machinery for conciliation in the event that the two parties cannot effect an agreement within the thirty day period. Other provisions in the Act pertain to the duration and renewal of agreements, grievance procedure, unfair practices, and strikes and lockouts. The Act is administered by a Board and maintains strict enforcement procedures.

The role of government with respect to the needle trades unions has not been significant. The benefits which they have received in the past have not come as a result of legislation, but rather through the persistence of union leaders. On the whole management has adhered to the provisions of the law in the matter of hours and wages. In some cases it has been necessary to call in an impartial chairman to settle bargaining disputes but this has been the exception rather than the rule. During the first ten years of existence of the Cloakmakers' Union, the impartial chairman in the industry was called upon twice to act.¹ The Fur Workers' Union has utilized the conciliation machinery of the government from time to time, but this is understandable in the light of the belligerent attitude that the fur manu-

¹ Ten Year Jubilee, p. 19.

facturers manifested previously in their association with the union.

The needle trades unions have had their share of experience with unsympathetic court officials. During the 1936-37 strike of the Fur Workers' Union, Mr. Justice Adamson awarded the Hurtig Fur Company \$2,869.76 damages in connection with picketing of the company's premises, and also awarded them a permanent injunction against picketing. The union carried the case to the Court of Appeal, but the injunction was upheld.

Efforts to remedy the shortcomings of labour legislation in the province have taken the form of a proposed labour code for Manitoba. This new Industrial Relations Act will replace the Manitoba Wartime Labour Relations Regulations Act. The Act will embody several of the provisions already in existence in various labour relations acts, but will also draw upon the experience of other countries that have succeeded in legislating adequate industrial relations machinery.

CHAPTER XII

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The recent expansion of the needle trades and the continuing problem of labour supply have served to focus the attention of both labour and management on some means of solving their common problems. For management, the problem seems to be one of limited factory space; for labour, the problem seems to be one of adequate training. Two schemes have been introduced which should effect some solution of these two pressing problems. That the idea of a Needle Trades Training School was conceived by labour, management, and the provincial government might be an indication of the provincial government's growing interest in labour-management relations which are beyond its usual concern over strike actions and conciliation matters.

I. NEEDLE TRADES TRAINING SCHOOL

In August 1946 at a meeting of management, labour, and government officials, a committee known as the Needle Trades Training Council was formed. This committee consisted of the following representatives: one of each of the management associations (cloaks, furs, caps, gloves and garments); one of each of the three unions; one of each of the Department of Education, Department of Labour, National

Film Board, National Employment Service, School Board, and the Department of Veterans' Affairs (Canadian Vocational Training Branch). This Council met to formulate plans for a Needle Trades Training School which had as its purpose the encouragement and training of young people in the needle trades. The primary aim of the school will be to teach "job pride".

Mr. H. Stephens, in charge of the Employer Relations Branch, set forth the three approaches of the needle trades plan:

1. Making of technicolor films by the National Film Board. The films are to be of a vocational nature and will portray the needle trades industry advantageously. The films will be distributed throughout Canada and will be shown in Manitoba classrooms.
2. Establishment of a Needle Trades Center similar to manual training schools and technical schools. Practical factory methods will be taught.
3. Training "on the job" two days a week similar to the technical training in schools.

In February 1947 R. H. Johns, Director of Technical Education in Manitoba, recommended the setting up of a Needle Trades Training School in Winnipeg in a report to the Department of Education. Mr. Johns, Mr. Hugh Stephens (representative of the National Government Employment Service) and Morris Neaman (Winnipeg manufacturer) had previously visited the New York Needle Trades School to study the

latest technical training methods for the needle trades. The recommendation called for an Advisory Board composed of representatives of the industry, labour, and education in the province to advise the Minister of Education on relevant matters including work to be taught, teaching staff, equipment required, organization and teaching areas, and disposal of the school's products.

In June 1947, at a meeting of the Needle Trades Training Council, plans submitted by R. H. Johns were approved. The needle trades will be taught in the Greater Winnipeg Technical-Vocational High School to be built during 1948-49. A similar "needle crafts family" is to be organized in the Manitoba Technical Institute. The Council also favoured a Bureau of Education for the needle trades industry.

The needle trades unions have been vociferous in their agitation for a technical school which would include in its curriculum instruction in the various operations connected with the needle trades. The necessity for a consistent training program is quite apparent when one realizes that the only training now available is on-the-job training. It is impossible to learn the more specialized crafts in a two weeks training program. If the needle trades school becomes a reality, skilled crafts such as cutting, pattern making, and designing will be taught to young people as a profession.

II. NEEDLE TRADES CENTER

The factory space occupied by the needle trades industry in Winnipeg, cramped quarters in buildings which house other industries, is inadequate in view of the recent expansion of the industry. The buildings are old and difficult to renovate into the type of plant necessary to good production and the continued health of the workers.

In January 1947 Mr. Sam Herbst visited New York to ask Mr. David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, to support the Winnipeg union's plea for a million dollar loan of Canadian International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union funds to local manufacturers which would enable them to set up a manufacturing center in Winnipeg similar to the garment center in New York. If the loan is granted, a fourteen story building will be erected in Winnipeg.

There are two contradictory reports concerning the outcome of the New York meeting. In a newspaper interview¹ upon his return to Winnipeg, Mr. Herbst stated that President Dubinsky had reacted favourably to the idea, but that the loan was contingent on approval of the Toronto and Montreal centers. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

¹ News item in the Winnipeg Free Press, January 29, 1947.

has invested \$2,000,000 in Canada which belongs to the large eastern as well as the smaller western locals of the union.

According to a report received from the New York Office of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the International denied that it intended to make a loan to the Winnipeg needle trades manufacturers to construct a model, central manufacturing plant. One official said:

"Our policy is not to lend money to manufacturers. We are a union, not a manufacturing concern. Nor is it our policy to go into competition with manufacturers. Relations between the Winnipeg locals of the union and the manufacturers there are most cordial."²

Whether or not the needle trades center ever reaches the blueprint stage remains to be seen. But there is no doubt that the industry has expanded greatly during the past fifteen years and that it has outgrown the quarters which it now occupies. The fact that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union locals in Winnipeg are the most ardent supporters of such a center might be the first step in enlisting the financial support of the other garment unions in the city.

² News item in the Winnipeg Free Press, January 16, 1947.

CHAPTER XIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The features which distinguish the needle trades in Winnipeg from the industry in Eastern Canada and in the United States are immaturity and relative small-scale. In comparison with other manufacturing industries in Winnipeg, however, the needle trades have expanded rapidly in recent years.

During the comparatively short period of time that the needle trades unions have been functioning, they have established an enviable record of achievement. They have elevated the industry from the degradation of sweat shop conditions to a respected level where labour standards are among the best in the city. The achievements of the unions seem still the more remarkable when one considers the obstacles that had to be overcome before a militant union organization could be established. In thirteen years the needle trades unions have achieved a closed shop, a shorter working week, higher wages, and job security. The increasing strength of the unions becomes apparent when one studies the increasing contractual benefits that they have been able to obtain for their membership.

At present the needle trades unions in Winnipeg have almost realized their goal of a completely organized

industry. Of the approximately 4,500 needle trades workers in the city, there are 3,650 organized. The degree of union success can be explained partially on the basis of union methods and leadership, but on the other hand, World War II, which caused a significant expansion in the industry, and the protection accorded to unions by wartime legislation, provided an ideal framework within which to conduct union activities.

During the war, many women who had never worked previously nor held a union card sought employment in garment factories. Many firms were working on government contracts, and a minimum of labour-management friction was necessary to fulfill the contracts on time. Both the employers and the workers were amenable to the demands of the unions. The majority of the women had male relatives in the armed services and appeals to patriotism became not only an effective method of recruitment, but also a means for reducing absenteeism.

The unusual features in some of the collective bargaining agreements are most apparent in wage provisions and in sickness provisions. A case in point is the provision in the Cloakmakers' agreement for bonus payments based on an increase in the cost-of-living index and for downward revisions with a corresponding decrease in the index. The Cloakmakers' agreement is the only one in the needle trades

industry in Winnipeg which has a personal job security clause for a union representative. This one instance indicates the increasing vested interests on the part of some union leaders in terms of their contributions to the unions and to the industry.

The present results of recent collective bargaining are reflected generally in the matter of wages, hours, working conditions and union security. The terms of the present agreements represent without a doubt standardization of wages and working conditions. The differences in agreements of the various unions can be explained in terms of the length of time that the individual union has been functioning, the total membership, the attitude of the association with whom it deals, and the nature of the needle trades section over which it has jurisdiction. The unions that have been functioning for at least ten years and the ones that have retained cordial relations with management appear to have the better agreements.

There seems to be a high degree of stability in the industry as witnessed by the few instances in which a conciliation officer has been called to act, and the complete absence of strikes since the 1936-37 fur industry strike. This means more than a decade of peaceful collective bargaining activity.

A further indication of stability is the increasing

time length of the collective agreements. The present Cloakmakers' agreement runs for a period of five years. This might be a reflection of the present trend in union-management organization which is in contrast to the early period. It might also be an indication of the integration of union-management interests and objectives with regard to the stabilization and expansion of both the industry and the labour force.

The handicaps which the unions were obliged to overcome in the early days of organization concerning managerial attitudes towards labour have served as a major point of strength. The fur industry was a stronghold of anti-union sentiments for years, and many shops began organizing company unions in order to frustrate the organizational activities of the International Unions. In other instances management has been reasonably willing to cooperate with the recognized bargaining agency. The necessity for education of both labour and management in collective bargaining relationships was recognized early in their association. This was demonstrated in Mr. Herbst's organization of management as a prerequisite to the organization of the workers.

The weaknesses of the unions were noticeable in the early history of organization and glaring defects are still apparent. The International Ladies' Garment Workers'

Union particularly seems to be an authoritarian organization internally. That the labour leaders are personally ambitious appears natural in the light of recent successful union activity. In a city the size of Winnipeg, the activities of union officials come to the public notice more often than they do in larger centers. Because there are only four needle trades union leaders, it becomes easier to assess their merits. The garment manufacturers state that the unions with whom they deal are extremely efficient in operation, and that the personality of the leaders largely affects the relationship between management and labour. Some leaders have adopted an unfriendly attitude as a counter weapon against the hostility of the manufacturers, while in contrast other leaders have systematically incurred the favour and goodwill of management. In the case of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, the strike weapon has been used to obtain its ends; in other unions it has not been used at all.

On the other hand, the role played by union leaders should not be under-emphasized. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union and the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union concluded their first agreements with management at the peak of the war. The leaders of these two unions were young and energetic, and seized every opportunity to consolidate their gains. In both cases these men had been

former workers in Montreal shops and were personally familiar with needle trades problems. In addition to this practical knowledge, they had the advantage of training in the International offices.

The words of Mr. Muni Taub, organizer for the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union-CIO, although voicing the sentiments of the three locals associated with the International, reflects the general attitude of the labour leaders in the city;

"The main achievements should be recorded and reviewed; our weaknesses be recognized and overcome; the main problems and tasks of the coming year be set forth".

The gains of unionism have not been wholly unilateral. Although the labour force benefited in the matter of hours, wages, and working conditions, management has profited by a stabilized industry and market. The needle trades workers and the manufacturers concede that the Winnipeg needle trades market would still be in a state of disorganization if the union representatives had not retained the courage and determination to organize the industry in spite of the belligerent attitude of many manufacturers. By improving standards in the shops where they have contracts, the unions have won the respect of both labour and management. By participating in various drives

and giving financial assistance to charitable and other institutions, the unions have won the respect of the general public.

As has been pointed out, union-management cooperation in the needle trades remains on a high level. Industry-wide bargaining has become the practice since the unions maintain master agreements with the manufacturers' associations.

Joint union-management objectives of stabilizing the industry and the labour force is represented by attempts to reduce turnover by improved job-training programs, by job classification and the institution of piece rates, and by the proposed Needle Trades Center.

In recognizing their weakness in several aspects of union organization, the needle trades unions are continually striving towards improvements. The conspicuous absence of educational activities constitutes one of the shortcomings that has hampered the unions in developing trained union officials. For many years, the single objective of union activity has been that of general improvement in working conditions throughout the industry. With the realization of this objective, the unions can now direct their energies toward long-range planning for educational and cultural improvements.

With the continued cooperation of the manufacturers

and the government, and the maintenance of public interest, the needle trades unions expect not only to consolidate the gains of past years, but also to seek continually wider avenues by which the goal of industrial democracy can be attained.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

PRINCIPAL STATISTICS OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRIES IN CANADA 1917-42

APPENDIX A

Year	Establish- ments Reporting	Capital Invested	Employ- ees	Salaries and Wages	Cost of Materials Used	Gross Value of Production
1917	1,067	\$191,338,745	76,978	\$ 47,764,436	\$131,225,032	\$241,129,562
1918	1,082	226,806,601	76,356	51,089,510	181,249,000	312,429,442
1919	1,163	249,905,911	80,094	64,401,512	211,709,646	365,567,993
1920	1,304	302,758,185	87,730	84,433,609	256,233,300	429,974,335
1921	1,097	252,659,493	69,572	65,170,585	162,538,309	291,498,769
1922	1,089	259,324,870	80,558	69,685,529	151,333,320	293,910,377
1923	1,212	272,449,467	84,700	74,087,846	174,620,799	318,887,512
1924	1,263	283,735,083	82,189	70,454,963	177,332,689	305,778,131
1925	1,297	289,918,431	86,493	74,259,166	190,805,507	321,610,202
1926	1,348	299,997,102	91,600	80,371,061	200,728,207	348,692,376
1927	1,464	330,531,421	98,346	87,610,662	197,075,056	364,579,420
1928	1,528	346,407,711	102,985	93,811,007	221,548,044	394,887,834
1929	1,534	360,762,584	103,881	94,969,433	217,954,088	403,205,809
1930	1,518	344,481,374	97,691	86,653,151	182,367,726	339,118,853
1931	1,548	326,722,509	93,701	81,832,473	151,223,346	296,133,986
1932	1,593	296,699,948	90,946	73,797,503	127,881,152	257,108,957
1933	1,740	298,730,436	95,707	72,813,424	143,184,861	279,475,267
1934	1,823	304,646,116	105,319	82,882,512	173,069,165	326,451,924
1935	1,859	306,429,696	109,947	88,235,820	182,181,502	340,795,016
1936	1,879	316,273,003	114,966	95,016,170	197,336,683	366,285,008
1937	1,941	322,204,180	121,677	105,056,051	219,813,775	400,383,726
1938	1,927	307,299,840	115,745	99,275,365	180,050,478	346,215,005
1939	1,930	347,248,927	121,022	107,117,035	203,618,197	392,657,759
1940	1,958	394,493,058	138,973	133,136,316	298,656,288	547,451,110
1941	2,104	439,078,775	156,892	159,339,028	367,149,392	666,438,539
1942	2,369	464,161,573	165,478	185,731,313	441,718,052	793,304,750

Source: The Textile Industries of Canada 1940, 1941 and 1942. Census of Industry, Canada - Department of Trade and Commerce, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, General Manufactures Branch.

APPENDIX B

PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRINCIPAL NEEDLE TRADES INDUSTRIES IN CANADA 1942
(By Number of Establishments)

Province	Women's Factory Clothing	Men's Factory Clothing	Women's Clothing Contractors	Men's Clothing Contractors	Hats and Caps
Quebec	455	234	52 ¹	91	76
Ontario	261	117	15	10	78
Manitoba	27	29	-	-	14 ²
British Columbia	23	13	-	-	-
Alberta- Saskatchewan	6	7	-	-	-
New Brunswick	3	3	-	-	-
Nova Scotia		7	-	-	3 ³

¹ This figure includes establishments in Manitoba.

² This figure includes establishments in Manitoba and British Columbia.

³ This figure includes establishments in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Source: The Textile Industries of Canada 1940, 1941 and 1942. Canada - Department of Trade and Commerce, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, General Manufactures Branch, Census of Industry, Ottawa 1947.

APPENDIX C

REPORTED MEMBERSHIP IN THE FOUR LARGEST NEEDLE TRADES UNIONS IN CANADA

Year	United Garment Workers of America		International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union		Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America		International Fur and Leather Workers' Union	
	Locals Membership		Locals Membership		Locals Membership		Locals Membership	
1912	16	4,035	7	-	-	-	-	-
1913	24	2,926	8	2,053	- ²	-	2	150
1914	22	3,000	10	4,100	-	-	2	115
1915 ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1916	12	1,627	11	3,800	7	7,000	6	600
1917	13	1,000	11	3,250	12	7,000	6	600
1918	14	2,030	11	3,500	12	5,500	5	400
1919	-	1,700	-	3,223	-	9,500	-	-
1920	12	1,260	11	3,702	15	9,750	6	990
1921	13	2,000	10	2,079	15	9,750	5	518
1922	11	700	7	1,105	14	9,750	6	380
1923	10	700	7	1,245	15	7,715	6	900
1924	10	700	7	1,400	15	8,000	6	481
1925	10	700	9	2,205	15	5,600	6	335
1926	10	1,278	9	2,665	16	4,300	7	300
1927	10	1,578	9	1,200	15	6,000	7	500
1928	10	1,268	8	656	14	6,300	6	600
1929	8	1,278	10	1,500	15	7,000	6	2,000
1930	7	1,000	10	3,500	15	7,000	7	2,000
1931	6	1,250	10	3,000	15	5,000	6	1,057
1932	6	750	10	1,500	15	5,000	5	800
1933	6	750	9	1,500	15	6,500	4	875
1934	6	750	9	2,000	15	6,507	6	1,000
1935	6	500	10	4,000	15	6,500	6	1,818
1936	7	500	13	4,836	14	7,000	6	1,547
1937	7	750	17	8,014	20	6,505	8	1,656
1938	8	1,750	16	8,307	20	11,155	10	3,000
1939	8	-	16	-	21	-	10	- ³
1940	8	750	17	8,500	22	5,355	10	2,725
1941	7	750	19	10,300	22	6,895	13	1,882
1942	7	750	19	10,767	21	8,000	12	2,641
1943	8	1,200	20	9,996	21	8,500	16	2,400
1944	11	1,200	21	10,274	23	7,000	19	5,000
1945	11	1,350	21	11,259	24	9,250	22	5,000

¹ No report available for 1915.

² Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America formed as independent Union in 1914, bulk of membership seceded from the United Garment Workers of America. Affiliated with C.I.O. in 1936.

³ Merged with Leather Workers in 1939. Now known as International Fur & Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.

Source: Annual Report on Labour Organization in Canada, Department of Labour, Ottawa.

APPENDIX D

INTERNATIONAL FUR AND LEATHER WORKERS UNION

WINNIPEG JOINT BOARD, LOCALS 91-175-430

306 Donalds Building, Winnipeg, Manitoba

February 21, 1948.

SHOP BULLETIN

1. (a) FOLLOWING THE LAST MEMBERSHIP MEETING Official notice has been sent by Local 91 to the Furriers Guild to commence negotiations in accordance with open-end wage clause #20 of the current agreement. Full report will be given at the next membership meeting in March. Notice of meeting will be posted in every shop.
 - (b) LOCAL 175 IS PRESENTLY NEGOTIATING wage adjustments in accordance with open end clause with the assistance of conciliation officer appointed by labor Department. Local 175 members will be notified by separate notice about special meeting to get full report on negotiations.
 - (c) THE LOCAL 430 MEMBERSHIP MEETING will take place Wednesday, February 25th, 8.00 p.m. at Union Hall, 304 Donalds Block. Reports on negotiations and agreements regarding Local 430 shops will be dealt with. Every member is requested to attend!
2. THE CANADIAN CONGRESS OF LABOR endorsed the Canadian Appeal for Children Drive. Read the Appeal sent to every shop and let your conscience be your guide. Fill out your own pledge card, stipulating the amount you wish to donate and then turn it in to the Management. Cards will be distributed by shop chairmen.
 3. THE RISING COST OF LIVING is, in the opinion of the Canadian Trade Unions, due to the decontrol policy of the Federal Government. The Winnipeg Joint Conference on Price Control issued a Petition to the Prime Minister demanding re-instatement of Price Control. The Joint Board endorsed this petition and urges each and every member to sign it. (A member

Appendix D (Continued)

- wishing to take a Petition to his friends and neighbors can obtain one from his Shop Chairman). Return all petitions not later than 5th of March.
4. THE JOINT BOARD IS CALLING A MEETING of all those interested in organizing a year-round program of RECREATIONAL, EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL activities. This meeting will take place on TUESDAY, MARCH 2nd, 8:15 P.M. at the Union Hall, 304 Donalda Building. Every Shop Chairman should send at least one member to participate in the organization of such activities. If you are interested and want to help, you are cordially invited to come to this meeting on TUESDAY, MARCH 2nd.
 5. EVERY MEMBER WHO HAS RECENTLY CHANGED his or her address is urgently requested to notify the Union Office or give such new address to the Shop Chairman. This will help the Union Office to obtain your "FUR AND LEATHER WORKER" issued by the International and will enable you to receive any mail from the Union Office.
 6. ANY MEMBER INTERESTED IN PURCHASING ANY ONE OF THE BANQUET Pictures can do so by ordering one from the Union Office, at the price of \$1.00. You can see these pictures at the Union Office.
 7. THE WINNIPEG CITIZEN, new co-operative daily newspaper will commence publication Monday, March 1st. Become a reader of this newspaper. Fill out a subscription blank (The shop chairman has order forms) and the paper may be delivered to you seven o'clock in the morning. You can still subscribe for shares and purchase Loan units at 5% interest.

JOINT BOARD, I.F.L.W.U.

APPENDIX E

UNIONIZED NEEDLE TRADES SHOPS IN WINNIPEG

I. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIOA. Local 459

Acme Garment Company
 Belmore Children's Wear Limited
 Canadian Garment Limited
 Canadian Shirt and Overall Company
 Canadian Sportswear Limited
 Casey Jones Glove Manufacturing Company Limited
 Deerant and Stanley
 Freed and Freed Limited
 Gunn Garment Limited
 H. and R. Manufacturing Company Limited
 Hercules Manufacturing Company Limited
 Kaplan's Manufacturing Company
 Manitoba Clothing Company Limited
 Manitoba Pants Manufacturing Company Limited
 Mid West Garments
 Monarch Overall Manufacturing Company Limited
 (two plants)
 Northern Shirt Company Limited
 Peerless Garments Limited
 Perfectfit Glove Company
 Pick Overall Manufacturing Company Limited
 Quality Pant Manufacturing Company
 Royal Garment Manufacturing Company
 Sandison, Alex (Tailor)
 Standard Clothing Manufacturers Limited
 Sterling Garment
 Superior Leather and Sportswear Limited
 United Garment Limited
 Utility Glove Company
 Western Garment Manufacturing Company
 Western Shirt and Overall Manufacturing Company
 Limited
 Winnipeg Pants Manufacturing Company
 Winsome Dress

Appendix E (Continued)

II. International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of
the United States and Canada-CIO

A. Fur Workers' Local 91

Alcone Fur Company Limited
 Alexander Fur Company
 Allan Fur Company
 Bond Furriers
 W. Cohen Fur Company Limited
 Cohen and Katz Furs
 F. Cooper (Hollinsworth)
 L. Crust
 Diamond Furs
 Durable Fur Company
 Eagle Fur Company
 Fradkin Liberson Limited
 Glazerman Fur Company
 F. W. Gynn Fur Company Limited
 J. H. Hecht and Son Limited
 Holt Renfrew and Company Limited
 Jacob-Crowley Fur Department
 M. Kim Furs
 Kolchin and Boxer Limited
 L. Lieberman Manufacturing Company
 Lister Furs
 Ludwig Furriers
 Mitchell Fur Company
 H. Myers Fur Company
 Neaman Fur Company Limited (two plants)
 Shell and Simovitch Furriers
 Shumsky Fur Company Limited
 F. Silverman
 Stall Fur Company
 Stewart-Hecht Fur Company
 Toronto Fur Company Limited

B. Dressers and Dyers' Local 175

D. Cohn and Sons Limited
 Sterling Fur Dressers and Dyers Limited
 Trans Canada Fur Dressers and Dyers Limited

Appendix E (Continued)

C. Leather Workers' Local 430 (Includes Glove Branch)

Canada West Shoe Manufacturing Company Limited
 Canadian Rawhide Manufacturing Company
 Dominion Tanners Limited
 Great West Saddlery Company Limited
 Leather Products Limited
 Western Glove Works Limited
 Western Rawhide Harness and Tanners Limited

III. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-AFLA. Cloakmakers' Union Local 216

Canadian Cloaks
 Capital Cloak Company Limited
 Dominion Cloaks Limited
 Goldberg Brothers Limited
 Jacob and Crowley Manufacturing Company Limited
 Joly-Ette Apparels Limited
 Junior-Wear Company
 Leveys Fashions
 Madewell Garments Limited
 Model Cloak Company Limited
 National Cloaks Limited
 Ontario Garment Manufacturing Company
 Pudavick Garments
 S. Stall and Son Limited
 Sterling Cloak Company Limited
 W. C. Junior Wear Company
 Waldman and Stone Limited

B. Dressmakers' Union Local 237

Hart, Donald Limited
 Jacob Fashions
 Ladies Kraft Manufacturing Company
 Stall Sportswear

C. Knitgoods Workers' Union Local 304

Cambridge Knitwear Mills
 Rice Knitting Company Limited

Appendix E (Continued)

IV. Manitoba Fur Employees Association-Independent

Hurtig Fur Company

V. United Garment Workers of America-AFLA. Local 35

Western King Manufacturing Company

VI. United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union-AFLA. Cap Makers' Union Local 35Brill Hat and Cap
Buffalo Cap and Neckwear Limited
D. M. C. Cap Manufacturing Company
Manitoba Cap Company