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WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING; THE CORPORATE MAN

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING: THE
CORPORATE MAN

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University

1978

MASTER OF ARTS (1978)
(Political Science)

McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario.

TITLE: William Lyon Mackenzie King:
The Corporate Man.

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NUMBER OF PAGES: xii, 150.

ABSTRACT

This study consists of an examination of the political philosophy of William Lyon Mackenzie King. An examination of King's book Industry and Humanity reveals his political philosophy, as expressed in his book, to be that of corporatism. Although a professed liberal and leader of the Liberal Party in Canada for many years, King's advocacy of corporatism as a means of overcoming industrial and social conflicts, is seen as a conservative measure.

King's success as a labour conciliator in industrial disputes during the early years of this century and later political success earned him the name of "conciliator". However in this study it is argued that King was in fact a "controller" of events. Data provided by the King diaries and other material in the literature has been utilized within the framework of Object-Relations theory. Within this framework inferences have been drawn to show that King was in fact a "controller" and not a "conciliator" due in part to an obsessive-compulsive personality.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been researched and written under the supportive and helpful direction of Drs. Howard Aster, Roman Marsh and Andrew Brink of McMaster University. To them I owe a debt of gratitude for encouragement unstintingly given in the undertaking of this work.

Also I wish to extend my gratitude to my long suffering and patient son, Paul, who during the writing of this work gave me the time and "space" to complete it.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the corporate nature of Mackenzie King's political and social ideology as expressed in his book Industry and Humanity. Although the foregoing book was a study in the principles underlying industrial reconstruction, following World War One, there are embedded within the material corporate notions that have a global dimension. King's plan for industrial peace known as the Colorado or Rockefeller Plan called for representation by four parties to Industry. Industry is defined as the division of men's labour accompanied by the use of machines to produce goods efficiently and in large quantities for the market place. The four parties to Industry were stated by King to be Capital, Management, Labour and the Community.

Two forms of corporatism have emerged in this century. These are "state" corporatism and "societal" corporatism.¹ Both forms function to prevent class conflict and are perceived as an answer to nascent pluralism (the beginning to be of more than one ideology or idea) and the seeming decay of capitalism. State corporatism arises within nascent pluralism and societal corporatism within advanced capitalism. State corporatism is achieved and usually maintained by coercive means within the framework of a one party system. Examples are provided by Italy, Germany, Portugal and Spain.

Societal Corporatism is achieved in western liberal democracies by co-opting on a voluntary basis the industrial, business, commercial and trade union interests within the state. It will be argued that King's corporatism closely paralleled that of "state" corporatism as he advocated "company unions" which would deprive workers of the right to form or join autonomous trade unions. He advocated state intervention to avoid industrial or social conflict and stated that the larger industries became the more amenable were these concerns to state control. Education was a means by which the individual could be trained to work productively and express a sense of commitment to the community. The moulding of Public Opinion was a device to be used by the media to ensure that "right standards" and "right relations" existed among the four parties to Industry.

The global aspect of King's corporatism is apparent as the problems that beset Industry "would be freed of some of its perplexities were conditions the same within competing areas".² King did not state what areas were competitive but he was concerned that the poorer areas of the world that were starting to industrialize would prove to be unfair competitors because of their lower wages and standard of living. Consequently among the competing nations of the world the diversity of living standards, the law and even civilization among nations were a contributing factor to the problems of Industry.³ King, therefore, advocated similar industrial practices on a global scale accompanied by an

homogenization of cultural values to minimize the possibility of industrial and social conflict.

The delineation of the principles underlying industrial reconstruction will be examined in this thesis. The application of these principles were perceived by King to be a solution to industrial and social unrest. If these principles were adopted by the four parties to Industry (i.e. Capital, Management, Labour and the Community) the maximizing of production in industry could be accomplished in an efficient manner and within a peaceful milieu. In attempting this feat King did not pursue a rational method to overcome industrial or class conflict but instead advocated "faith" among the parties to Industry. Modern man, having lost his faith in other men, was only interested in the pursuit of the material. Consequently the common interests of men had given way to antagonistic interests. The implementation of corporatism would see the emergence of common interests and the eventual emergence of what King called a "new order" or new civilization.

The notion that King's corporate thinking arose out of his family experience will be examined. The King family was unusually tight-knit in which the needs of the family took precedence over individual needs. Consequently the "development of a corporate identity involving the internalization of a common set of values"⁴ was not conducive to the development of self autonomy on King's part. The

common set of values within King's industrial plan called for efficiency and maximum production in Industry. Although known as a labour conciliator his advocacy of corporatism would lead one to view King as a "controller". "King felt great discomfort in circumstances other than those he could control himself".⁵ In "excusing himself from the triviality of mainstreet politics" King said, "I've always found that you can control people better if you don't see too much of them..."⁶ Inferences have been drawn from the data and utilized within the framework of Object-Relations theory to show that King was a "controller". The corporate unity of the King family and his anxious attachment to a manipulative maternal figure brought about a lack of ego development on King's part. Object-Relations theory has been used in preference to classical instinctual theory as the former concerns itself with primary relationships established between the infant and mother and parents. Object-Relations theory is concerned with social relationships extending from primary relationships (the family) to differentiated relationships (maturation of the individual and the ability to relate successfully to individuals outside the family milieu).

The release of King's diaries into the public domain has brought about a renewed interest in King because of their idiosyncratic nature. The public image that King projected is not re-inforced by reading his diaries. For example, it was popularly believed that he was not interested in women but his diaries belie this notion. Industry and Humanity

was read by few and misunderstood. For some his book was a radical statement politically while for others it was seen as a device to acquire political power. However Industry and Humanity is a body of thought politically defined in terms of corporatism. Although a professed liberal the advocacy of corporatism by King is seen as a conservative measure.

King's book was published in 1918 and he clearly foresaw that inventive technology would bring about industrial and social changes. However, although industrial changes would occur King did not wish the social structure to change. He advocated corporatism as a means of achieving efficient standards in industry and industrial growth while at the same time socially maintaining the status quo. King declared that society's institutions and organizations were neutral entities and had to be approached as such. Men were not to meet in the market place on equal terms but to have "faith" in one another. King's absence of faith in the material world and its institutions, and his contrary faith in faith itself divorced from the world of things, people, energy, atoms and molecules, was at the root of his total conservatism".⁷ To come to a partial understanding of King one has first of all to read his book Industry and Humanity.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

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2. W.L. Mackenzie King. Industry and Humanity. Thomas Allen, Toronto, 1918. p. 61.
3. Ibid, p. 62.
4. Joy E. Esbrey. "Personality and Politics: A New Look at the King-Byng Dispute". Canadian Journal of Pol. Science. VI #1 March 1973. p. 39.
5. John C. Courtney. "Prime Ministerial Character". Canadian Journal of Pol. Science. March 1976 ix:i p. 96.
6. Ibid, p. 96.
7. H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry. The Age of Mackenzie King: The Rise of the Leader. Wm. Heinemann, Ltd, London, 1955. p. 280.

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CHAPTER ONE

ASPECTS OF CORPORATISM

"Theories of the corporate state have an ancient lineage,¹... In 1918, however Mackenzie King was one of the first writers to apply corporatist thinking to industrial conflict on the North American continent. He stated: "A systematic corporatist organization would allow the peaceful resolution of conflict".² In seeking industrial peace the appeal of modern corporatism appeared to lie in the notion that a "concept of mutual rights and obligations...[was] presumed to have united the mediaeval estates in a stable society".³ The emergence of class conflict in capitalist society had led European nationalists and syndicalists to agree "that democracy was the greatest mistake"⁴ of the nineteenth century. Society was "dominated by a powerful minority, with the apparatus of State serving their will".⁵ This domination was achieved and maintained at the expense of the working class i.e. labour. Modern industrial society was characterized by "the frightening isolation of modern man, who, in the factory, the office and at home finds himself reduced to an orphan".⁶ If the conflict between Capital and Labour was to be solved an alternative to liberal bourgeois democracy had to be found. In seeking reforms many nineteenth century thinkers "looked for economic democracy, corporatism and class collaboration".⁷ A move towards a corporative society would

see the re-emergence of corporations or guilds similar to that which existed in mediaeval times. However modern corporatism would be imbued with modern notions. This would entail "uniting employers and workers in the different branches of economy in occupational corporations...in order to direct them toward the common aim of national production in a feeling of confidence and reciprocal responsibility".⁸ In these corporations "employers and employees would sit together with the same rights".⁹ Modern corporatism, therefore, is an attempt to answer "the individualism and competition which characterized the emerging dominance of the capitalist mode of production, and against the industrial and political conflict which was the ineluctable product of that development".¹⁰ To date, however, the experience of corporatism in the twentieth century has not measured up to its idealistic premises.

Corporate theory extends along a left to right continuum. The following theme closely parallels that of King's corporatism.

Corporatism rejects liberal individualism and Marxist class analysis in that both proceed from the belief that conflict is inevitable and to a certain extent legitimate. In corporatism conflict is not seen as inevitable and is therefore illegitimate. Corporatism seeks to eliminate conflict by basing social integration around functional and vocation groupings seen to be the "natural" basis of society.¹¹

P.C. Schmitter, however, "by defining corporatism in terms of praxis" liberates the concept "from its employment in any particular ideology or system of ideas".¹² Consequently "praxis" corporatism is found to be "compatible with several

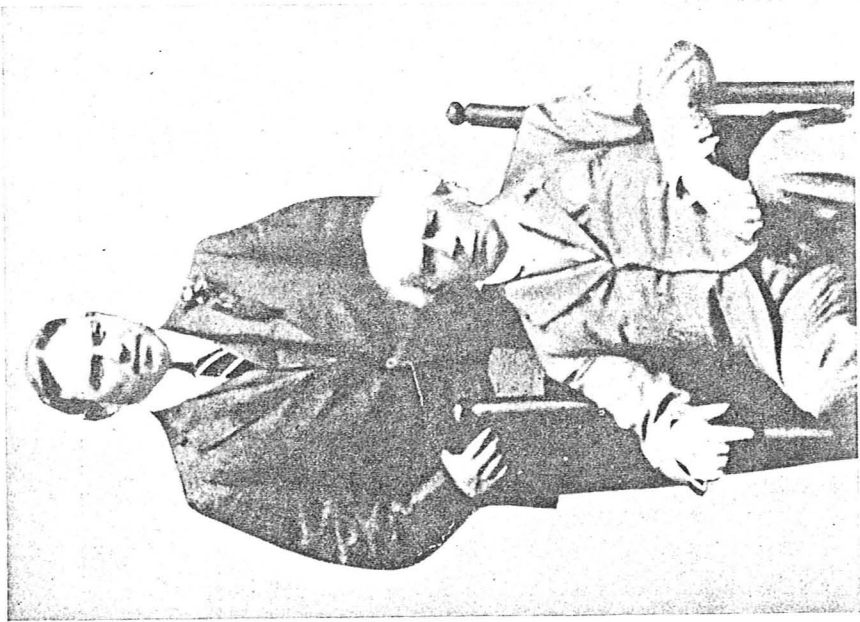
different regime-types, i.e. with different party systems, varieties of ruling ideology, levels of political mobilization, varying scopes of public policy etc".¹³ Within the framework of praxis two forms of corporatism have emerged in this century. These are "state" corporatism and "societal" corporatism. Whether found in a "state" or "societal" milieu corporatism sees the emergence of corporate bodies as for example, industry, business, commercial, farming and trade unions as units. The members of a specific unit usually act as a single individual as far as their common interests are concerned. Each corporate unit is represented equally under the assumption that the economic interests of each unit are reconciled. Reconciliation, within the corporate body, of the representative units is a measure by which the common good of the society, ideally, can evolve.

Societal corporatism is to be found in the western liberal democracies. It is associated "with relatively autonomous, multilayered territorial units; open, competitive electoral processes and party systems".¹⁴ Corporatism, therefore, in liberal democracies is brought about on a coalitional basis in the name of the common good. Conversely, "state" corporatism is associated with "political systems in which territorial subunits are tightly subordinated to central bureaucratic power; elections are non existent or plebiscitary;...¹⁵ The coalitional aspects of "societal" corporatism are not evident in "state" corporatism because corporative units are usually brought into being by governmental decree. State

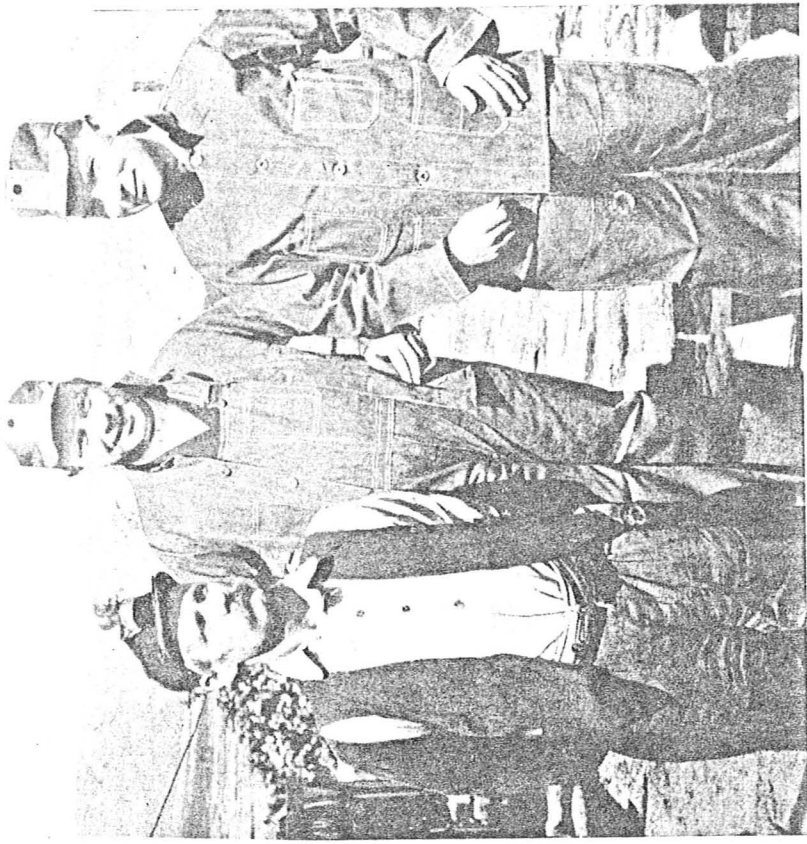
corporatism is to be found where "party systems are dominated or monopolized by a weak single party;..."¹⁶ and ideology tends to be exclusive. Consequently authoritarianism and anti-liberal sentiment is to be found in "state" corporatism. The implementation of state corporatism is "closely associated with the necessity to enforce social peace" and not by co-opting and incorporating but by repressing and excluding the autonomous articulation of subordinate class demands..."¹⁷

Under Italian Fascism, German National Socialism and the authoritarian states of Spain and Portugal the middle classes were too weak to respond to subordinate class demands within the framework of the liberal democratic state.¹⁸ Conversely, societal corporatism arises in advanced capitalist states where a stable middle class exists "due to the processes of concentration of ownership...and rationalization of decision making within the state to associate or incorporate subordinate classes and status groups more closely within the political process"¹⁹ is perceived as necessary.

Under the impact of a one party system in Italy corporate units came into being by 1926. By 1936 twenty-two units were said to exist composed of professionals, workers and artists. Designated corporations, these bodies were attached to a National Council of Corporations, the deliberative body.²⁰ Newly created institutions such as the fascist militia paralleled those of state institutions i.e. the army. These new institutions were created and maintained by the Fascist Party.



Leader and disciple: Mackenzie King and Sir Wilfrid Laurier



Mackenzie King with John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (on the right), and a miner, Archie Dennison, in Colorado, 1915

The Fascist Party Secretary eventually assumed ministerial rank and consequently attended cabinet meetings.²¹ Parliament was abandoned. The Corporative Chamber took its place. However this body never met. The creation of Party institutions saw the withering of state institutions and the eventual absorption of the state by the Party.²² Opposition to the Fascist Party resulted in severe penalty and this combined with an armed force, the Fascist militia, stifled all dissent.

In the modern industrial state it is the producers who are the main targets of re-organization. Consequently producers were grouped into trades and professions (i.e. professors and engineers) with their voice being heard in local chapters. Within these chapters competing interests [were] to be reconciled in the name of the common weal.²³

As noted above both state and societal corporatism attempt to overcome class conflict by coercion or by co-opting interest groups such as business and labour. In 1925 Italian employers opposed the notion of equal representation as to the management of industry and said so. Under the corporative system they felt they would be swamped by the working force. In a gesture of appeasement the 1927 Charter of Labour stated: "The worker is an active collaborator in the economic enterprise of which the management as well as the responsibility devolves on the employer".²⁴ Members of the corporative labour unions in Italy could not elect their own representatives in that the

government installed "Black Shirts" in the unions and they directed all union activities.²⁵ The "Black Shirts" were members of the Fascist Party. In Germany "when the employers' economic organizations, semi-official in character, were made into "occupational groups" by the law of February 27, 1934, no "representative" of the wage earners was even admitted".²⁶ Instead on June 8th, 1933, the head of the National Socialist federation of office employees, said: "It is clear from now on that trade organizations will be deprived of the functions that have given them the character of trade unions up to the present".²⁷ It is clear from the foregoing that the State in the modern industrial world can afford to appease the owners of the means of production even though that State is a corporative one. It is apparent that the concerns of the owners of the means of production were paramount in relationship to those of trade union members. The creation in Germany of the Labour Front saw "employers introduce into their contracts a provision that only members of the Labour Front can be employed".²⁸ Leo Panitch has noted, corporatism in Italy and Germany saw "the abrogation of liberal democracy" and the destruction of working class organizations.²⁹ Under "state" corporatism both Italy and Germany had striven to achieve the organic unity of their respective societies. However the facade of organic unity and social harmony was maintained with the use of force and coercion and this was eventually to collapse.

The tendency to corporatist structures emerged in liberal democratic societies prior to and since W.W. II.

Corporatism like Socialism, Communism and Fascism is only one of the many responses to the failure of liberal democracy. The management of advanced capital economy has seen the state playing an increasing role so that business organizations and trade unions tend to integrate their interests as far as national economic planning and incomes policy programmes are concerned.³⁰ The pejorative connotation of corporatism has given way in liberal democratic states such as Britain to the use of such terms as neo-corporatism or "liberal" corporatism. In 1969 in Britain "new group politics" saw "a system of quasi-corporatism bringing government and producers' groups such as business, labour and agriculture into intimate and continuous relationship in framing, applying and legitimating state policies".³¹ The distinguishing trait of "liberal corporatism" lies in its voluntary nature and high degree of co-operation among interest groups who shape public policy.³² Liberal corporatism, therefore, in contrast to other forms is characterized by the autonomous nature of group involvement and the voluntary association and integration of conflicting social groups.

The victory of the British Labour Party in 1964 brought the unions affiliated with the Trades Union Congress into co-operation with the government "in a voluntary tripartite policy on the promise of full employment, a national economic plan, and extensive trade union input in decision making".³³ Pressure from foreign creditors and the country's financial community plus the abandonment of goals forced the unions, after

three years of co-operation, to withdraw their support. The defeat of right wing union leaders, and rank and file dissent, further helped to defeat the tripartite arrangement.

Other countries with corporative structures such as Austria, Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands have proved more stable than Britain. These countries, however, "contain the most highly centralized union confederations in the western world".³⁴ The insulation of union leadership from the pressures at the plant level tends to support corporatist arrangements. The control of strike funds by union leaders and the state's imposition of a ban on unofficial strikes and the provision of "a statutory framework for collective bargaining and incomes policy..."³⁵ combine toward corporative stability. During the 1960s and 1970s, however, wage restraints in Sweden and the Netherlands led to industrial unrest with the eventual decentralization of unions.

The British Ministry of Labour in 1965 noted an obvious problem in tripartite arrangements:

If trade union leaders accept these wide responsibilities there is a risk they will cease to be regarded as representatives of their members' interest and their influence and authority may be transferred to unofficial leaders. (U.K. Ministry of Labour, 1965; 3).³⁶

Although, at present, corporatism is advocated by institutions such as the Roman Catholic Church and remnants of the Social Credit Party as an answer to industrial and social conflict it would appear that in practice this does

not happen. Industrial conflict did not disappear under Fascism in that the iron fist of the state prevented the working class from mobilizing and unifying itself industrially or politically.³⁷ A more recent example of the ineffectiveness of "state" corporatism is provided by Portugal. The collapse of forty-eight years of authoritarian rule exposed the sclerotic nature of Portugal's corporative institutions.³⁸ However it was not corporatism itself that contributed to the collapse of the Portuguese regime. Rather it was the exclusion of "rationalistic technocratic reform within the state apparatus and the extension of some modicum of authentic representational accountability".³⁹

Within western democracies the use of coercive legislation to impose corporative units or tripartite agreements on interest groups is anathema to liberal democracy. Consequently the voluntary agreements that are entered into among interest groups in the liberal democratic state only hold up if the needs of each group are being met. Therefore, in the liberal state "a further cycle of the establishment, breakdown, and re-establishment of corporatist structures"⁴⁰ exists. In view of the foregoing statement "the concept of corporatism, as well as that of pluralism, implies the same old-fashioned theory of power in which state behaviour is accounted for by reference to interest group pressure".⁴¹ In other words whether one has state or societal corporatism the power base remains the same i.e. Capital has more clout

than Labour. Consequently the notion of equality inherent in liberal democracy and corporatism is sheer window dressing viz a viz unequal partners, i.e. Capital and Labour.

The corporate aspect of Mackenzie King's thinking surfaced early in his dealings with industrial conflict. In 1900 at the age of twenty-five King was Deputy Minister of Labour in the Laurier government when Canadian industry was in its adolescence. King's first attempt at the conciliation of industrial conflict took place at the Montreal Cottons Ltd, Valleyfield, Quebec, in October of 1900.⁴² Conciliation was defined by King not as a method to settle industrial disputes but as the necessary application of "compulsory conciliation", which he termed "mediation". The Valleyfield mill strike was not called by the three thousand inside employees but by two hundred labourers employed in excavation work in an extension to the mill. The men downed tools in an attempt to secure \$1.25 instead of the \$1.00 a day they were being paid.⁴³ The strikers interfered with cement and coal supplies to the Company so that eventually four companies of infantry men and two cavalry units were called in. The arrival of troops brought the operation of the mill to a halt as the inside operatives refused to work in the face of such a phalanx. The eventual removal of troops saw work resumed inside the mill but the lawyer for the company refused an offer of conciliation by the Federal Government. King, however, arrived on the scene to visit the parties concerned. In the meantime the Company fired individuals whom they considered had been responsible for

creating absenteeism among the inside work force. Meanwhile the case of the two hundred cement workers had been lost sight of. "The company had discontinued the excavation project and consequently no work was available for the labourers who had left their employment".⁴⁴ How successful then were King's efforts at conciliation? H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry state that in the true sense of a mediaeval guildman the Valleyfield strike was King's "masterpiece" and that while he worked on larger canvases later he did not come up with anything new.⁴⁵ Valleyfield was the genesis and congealment of King's conciliatory efforts. In effecting the return to work of the inside workers and the removal of troops King's account in the Labour Gazette showed that "everyone won".⁴⁶ The attempt, however, of two hundred men to secure \$1.25 a day failed, but King stated:

Many of the labourers obtained work from the municipality almost immediately after the commencement of the strike, others received employment elsewhere, and at the time the settlement was arrived at between the mill operatives and the company, but few of the labourers were still out of employment. (Labour Gazette Vol. 1. 1900, p.103).

In the same year an industrial dispute occurred in the boot and shoe industry in Quebec City. The resistance to "certain small changes in the industry...involved the discharge of employees".⁴⁷ Attempts to destroy the unions and a lock-out on the part of the Companies involved saw both parties suffering economically. Consequently the dispute was referred to Archbishop Begin of Quebec. Under his auspices a three

party "system of arbitration and conciliation was established in the industry..." the details of which were based upon the principles of the Papal Encyclical, Rerum Novarum.⁴⁸ The encyclical is corporate in nature suggesting that man's position and status in society is divinely willed.

H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry state that "the theory of conciliation and the methods finally adopted by Mackenzie King and translated into legislation in the form of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act closely resemble those of Archbishop Begin".⁴⁹ King transposed the notion of "Divine Will" in the affairs of men into that of the Public Will "between parties willing and able, in the final phase, to fight each other on nearly equal terms".⁵⁰ Whether King consciously or unconsciously absorbed elements of catholic corporatist thinking is difficult to establish. However it is pointed out in Business and Government in Canada that the roots of corporatism run very deep in British political thought. Thus corporatism is by no means "foreign" to Canada. It is readily identifiable with the strong Tory touch which persists in the Canadian political heritage from Britain.⁵¹

Mackenzie King's corporate blueprint for industrial peace entailed the co-operation of four parties to Industry i.e. Capital, Management, Labour and the Community. By Capital King referred to the owners of the means of production. Management were individuals who King believed possessed superior intelligence and Labour referred to the working class whom he believed possessed inferior intelligence. Community

"emphasize[s] the area within which a people share a common interest with respect to the subject under consideration". King buried this statement in a footnote on page 30 of his book Industry and Humanity. The subject under consideration in King's book was not only industrial peace. He sought an industrial civilization based on corporatist principles which had global implications. One encounters the term Community quite often in Industry and Humanity but it is only in the footnote that the impact of corporatism comes through. As noted King's plan called for equal representation among the four parties to Industry.

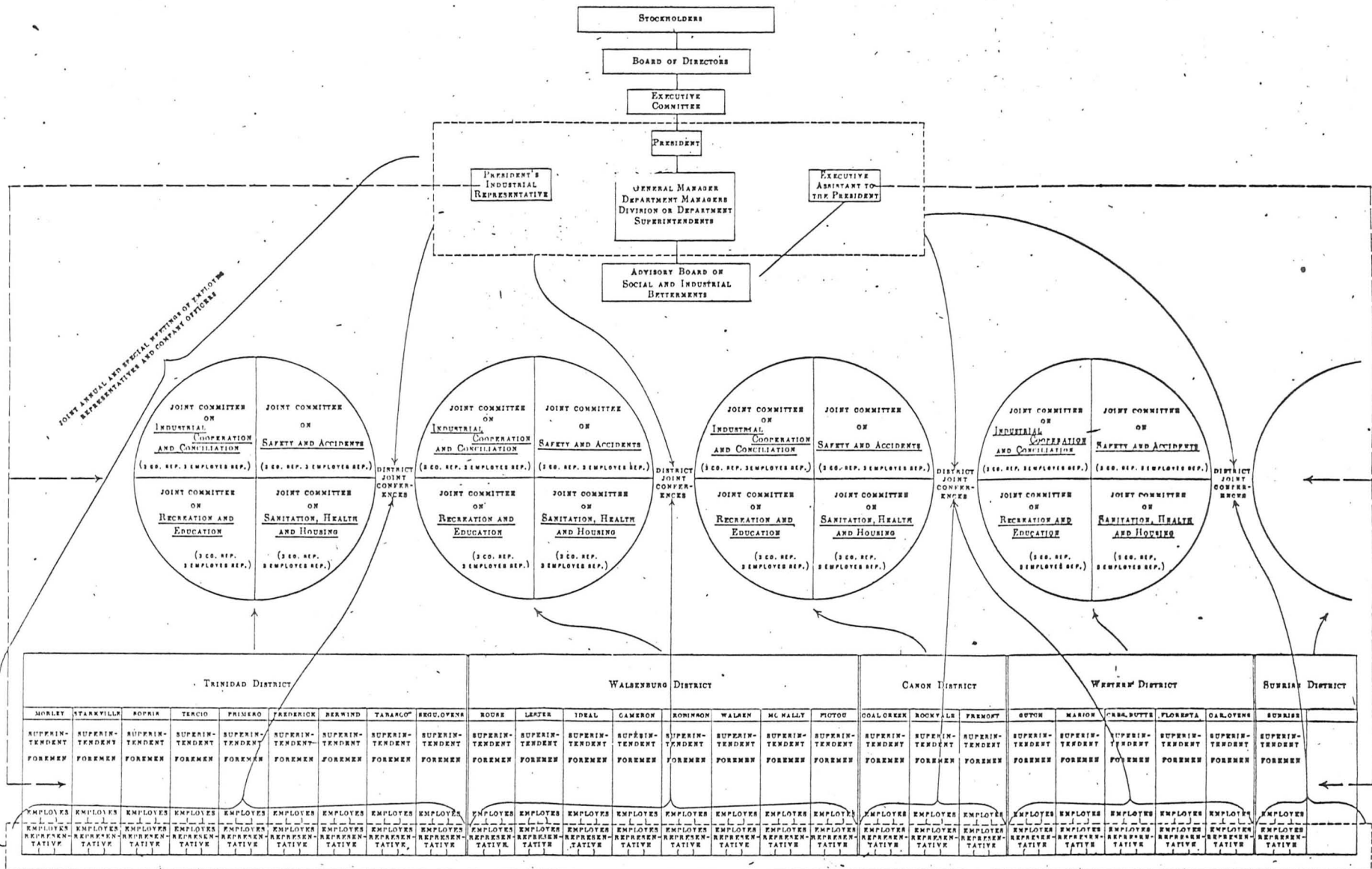
In October of 1915 King put into effect his plan at The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, Ludlow, Colorado, U.S.A. Prior to this the management of the Company had exclusive control of a demoralized and disorganized frontier settlement at Ludlow. Representation of the four parties to Industry "was made the basis of a plan of government within Industry..."⁵² Representation would cover every phase of the Company's relations with its employees, and took cognizance, as respect possible re-adjustments, of the existence of four parties to Industry, and of their common interest in a joint venture.⁵³ "An Agreement in the nature of a Collective Bargain respecting Employment, Living and Working Conditions was drawn up between Management and Labour, and signed by the representatives of each".⁵⁴ This agreement "provided for the uncovering and early elimination of grievances, and an orderly and expeditious procedure for the settlement of all matters requiring adjustment".⁵⁵

It should be noted from the above that although King wrote of the existence of four parties to Industry he did not indulge in a class analysis of the parties. King also lightly skimmed over the economic position of the parties but he was able to differentiate individuals on an intelligence quotient. The ambiguous wording of the Agreement referred to is interesting in that it states that it is "an agreement in the nature of a collective bargain". Collective bargaining implies the notion of an agreement between a union and a company. However, King's attempts at conciliation did not call for negotiation with independent and autonomous unions as his plan called for the installation of "company unions". If the settlement of industrial disputes was not possible within the frame-work of the plan provision was made for referral of disputes to a third party. In this case the party would be the Colorado State's Industrial Commission and their findings would be binding on all concerned. In granting to Labour equal representation called for within the plan, provision was made so that Employees' Representatives would not be discriminated against. If discrimination of one of the so called equal partners to Industry was possible it is clear that King saw the power base of Labour as very weak. In effect his plan called for the further weakening and division of Labour and its organizations.

An Employees' Bill of Rights, termed Labour's Magna Charta (sic), allowed employees to approach the highest officials in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. The bill also provided for the posting of scale wages, working conditions

and the rules regarding labour laws. Under the terms of the Bill machinery was set in place for the election of Employees' representatives to Joint Standing Committees. For every one hundred and fifty employees one representative was elected to a committee. The working population in the Company in 1915 numbered, approximately, twelve thousand which gave rise to eighty representatives. King presents no data as to the representational base of stockholders, management and superintendents of the Company. King believed that the worker in acquiring equal representation in Industry moved from a position of status (i.e. master and servant relationship) to one of contract which improved his position markedly. However, this meant that the worker contracted with the employer "instead of through a trade agreement made with a labour union..."⁵⁷

A graphic illustration of the Colorado Plan is attached. Each labour district possesses four joint committees. Each committee comprises three employer representatives and three employee representatives. These committees concerned themselves with Industrial co-operation and Conciliation, Safety and Accidents, Recreation and Education and Sanitation, Health and Housing. From the graph it can be seen that employees had direct access to the company president's industrial representative through district joint committees. It would appear that the implementation of King's plan called for "the elaborate organization of boards"⁵⁸ within a single company.



PLAN OF INDUSTRIAL REPRESENTATION IN THE MINING CAMPS OF THE COLORADO FUEL AND IRON COMPANY IN COLORADO AND WYOMING

Regardless of the elaborate mechanisms designed to ensure industrial peace four major strikes occurred at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company between 1915 and 1922.⁵⁹

King was able to overcome objections to "company" unions by contrasting the development of political liberties in democratic states to that of the autocratic nature of industry. Industry in recognizing the Industrial Representation Plan accepted the notion of executive responsibility towards the representatives of the four parties to Industry. Although trade unions had fought for organized and unorganized labour, unorganized labour had no representation. Consequently as most of the employees of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company were not unionized the company in entering into a contract with the men granted them representation.⁶⁰ In seeking a parallel between political government and industrial government King was able to say "the time is likely to come when, in some way, the working force will have some measure of control over the executive;..."⁶¹ To date the history of corporatism has shown that the working force is not able or is prevented from influencing the decision making process. With the installation of the Colorado Plan King said "it is entitled to a place in the foundations of a new order, wherein all that the past has achieved in the development of free political institutions will yet play a part in the evolution of the highest form of Industrial Government".⁶²

H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry note that King's notion of community as a factor or a party to industrial government is

based on strange logic.⁶³ However as noted earlier the footnote which appears on page 30 of Industry and Humanity conforms to the corporate notion of community. King's new order, which is corporative in nature, contains the vision of political and industrial governments as being one. "The probabilities are that for years to come they will exist side by side, mostly distinguishable, but, in much, so merged that separateness will be possible in theory only".⁶⁴ In his book Industry and Humanity King could accept the collectivist notions of Socialism in that these were consonant with his conservative thinking. Similarly, he perceived that industrial societies led to class conflict as shown by the following:

[T]here is too often a sort of disguised truce between Management and Capital on the one side and Labour and the Community on the other. They look at each other, as one writer expressed it, "across No Man's Land", an area of ever-present possible conflict which, in their common interest, ought to be the ground of joint approach.⁶⁵

In undermining Labour's right to possibly emerge as a potential political force King strengthened the hand of Capital. Therefore, the merging of political and industrial governments, as envisioned by King, would have to occur within the framework of a dominant and exclusive ideology. Consequently, it is the contention of this writer that King was advocating "state" corporatism. In so doing and if carried to its logical conclusion King's new order would have been a disservice to both Capital and Labour. The emergence of

societal corporatism in advanced liberal democracies is predicated on "open, competitive even combative, interest politics - pluralism in other words..."⁶⁶ The emergence of societal corporatism does not preclude "the essential characteristic of capitalism, namely the dependence upon an intense appeal to the money-making and money-loving instincts of individuals as the main motive force of the economic machine".⁶⁷ King consistently sought "legislation directed to strengthening the state's power to investigate labour disputes, to compel arbitration and conciliation..."⁶⁸ The imposition of arbitration is disliked by unions as they usually find that they come out second best in any industrial dispute. King would deny to Labour the very precepts underlying liberal theory i.e. equality and liberty. His advocacy of corporatism and particularly "state" corporatism is a measure of the conservative nature of King's political thought.

As noted earlier the implementation of state corporatism is closely associated with the necessity of enforcing social peace. King believed that his plan would bring about law and order not only in industry but globally. "The methods of preserving peace between nations are precisely similar to those that obtain in Industry. International conciliation is the same in principle as industrial conciliation; international arbitration, the same as industrial arbitration; judicial settlement of international disputes by a Hague Tribunal and supported by a world opinion enforceable by an international police, the same in principle and method as the compulsory

investigation of industrial disputes under statutory authority".⁶⁹ It is clear that King not only felt that corporatism would ensure industrial peace on the North American continent but he also felt that corporatism would ensure peace at an international level. In referring to the power of the state King had little to say except: "In measures aimed at the protection of society, the police power must not be confused with aggressive force; the two are fundamentally different".⁷⁰

It was stated earlier that King felt that the technology of culture and industrial practices among competing nations would lead to industrial peace. "How much easier it would be to take adequate account of human values, were employers guaranteed equal privileges and bound by identical restrictions; were there for all like accessibility to resources and markets; were intelligence and skill invariable; (my emphasis) and were the standards of living the same throughout the world! Instead of similarity, however, there is diversity everywhere".⁷¹ King protested the widening of competition in the market place because "from centre to circumference, persists the varying conditions, the fluctuating tendencies, the remorseless and never-ending change".⁷² King appears to have had an abhorrence of change and one might suspect of Industry itself. It would appear that King abhorred the very realities of this world; the diversity of culture, the variability of intelligence and skill.

Bruce Hutchison has stated that King's book might be termed his Mein Kampf were it not for the evil connotations of the latter work. However some of King's ideas are certainly inconsistent with liberal theory. It is clear that he did not

perceive Liberalism evolving or that "its adaptability is a sign of vitality".⁷³ In other words King did not perceive that within the liberal democratic states the evolution of "societal" or "liberal" corporatism would emerge. It is clear that King was seeking some form of equilibrium between Capital and Labour in North America and among the competing nations of the world. This he believed could be accomplished by corporatism, a world tribunal and international police. The setting up of an international body, the United Nations, and the existence of a United Nations peace force has, up to the present time, done little to effect international peace.

As stated earlier King believed that Labour in contracting within the framework of his industrial plan achieved equal representation in the governing of Industry. Later, however, he stated that "partnership is essentially a matter of status". In perceiving that the parties to Industry did not perform similar functions or receive equal reward the representatives did, however, achieve status. This status, therefore, implied equality, "as respects the right of representation, in the determination of policy on matters of common interest".⁷⁴ On the one hand King says that Labour improved its situation in moving from status to a contractual position when it came to work. However when it came to representation in Industry the functions performed by each of the parties determined status. Thus the equality premise of contract between employer and employee breaks down at the

representation level. King gave with one hand and took away with the other.

The implementation of the Colorado or Rockefeller Plan into North American industry did not take place without some opposition. In May of 1915 King was called before the Commission on Industrial Relations sitting in Washington, U.S.A. to explain the nature of his plan. The chairman enquired whether the Joint Committees and Boards set up in Colorado were solely composed of individuals from within the Company; that only referees or umpires came from the outside. King evaded the question and then burst out: "You do me a great injustice - I want to make this plain - you do me a great injustice if you try to infer that this was any attempt not to recognize the union or any attempt to evolve machinery which would prevent the union getting recognition".⁷⁵ Notwithstanding the plan was in place for over twenty years in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. In 1938 the National Labour Relations Board pronounced the "industrial councils" to be company unions, ordered them dissolved and ordered free elections to be held in the plants of the Company.⁷⁶

King's plan for the representation of the four parties to Industry took place in Canada under the aegis of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907 and operated for eighteen years. The Imperial Privy Council in 1925 found the Act unconstitutional while King was Prime Minister but neither he nor anyone else called for the re-establishment of the system.⁷⁷

In passing one should mention that rhetoric is a tool of the state. In seeking the acceptance of his principles for industrial and global peace King invoked the Christian motif.

Is it too much to believe that, having witnessed Humanity pass through its Gethsemane, having seen its agony in its Garden of Fears, having beheld its crucifixion upon the cross of Militarism, Labour and Capital will yet bring to a disconsolate and brokenhearted world the one hope it is theirs alone to bring; and that, in the acceptance of principles which hold deliverances from the scourges that beset Mankind, they will roll back the stone from the door of the world's sepulchre today, and give to Humanity the promise of its resurrection to a more abundant life.⁷⁸

King was able to find parallels in the Gospel of St. Mathew which related to his plan. Verse fifteen was the method of Conciliation and Mediation. Verse sixteen illustrated Investigation and Arbitration and Verses fourteen and seventeen related to the power of an informed Public Opinion and the power of the Community to ostracize.⁷⁹ Whether King's plan for homogenization included Christianization is not made clear. He did quote his mentor, Dr. Eliot, who said: "The main reason that Christian society is slowly proving stronger than any other is that the fundamental doctrines of Jesus were love to God and the neighbor, and the brotherhood of man". "It is time to apply these doctrines thoroughly to modern industrial relations".⁸⁰

One can only assume that King and Dr. Eliot were historical and religious illiterates. The two thousand year history of Christianity has not improved man greatly and love

of God and neighbour is not an exclusive attribute of Christianity. Such a belief is presumptuous. How King would have viewed the present day Arab control of the world's purse strings is difficult to decide. However the global dimensions of his plan would have precluded such an event in that he did not see beyond the Christian world.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

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57. Ibid, p. 443.
58. The Age of Mackenzie King: The Rise of the Leader. p. 204.
59. Ibid, p. 207.

60. Industry and Humanity. p. 444.
61. Ibid, p. 444.
62. Ibid, p. 448.
63. The Age of Mackenzie King: The Rise of the Leader. p. 263.
64. Industry and Humanity. p. 386.
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CHAPTER TWO HISTORY REVISITED

The use of Investigation and the manipulation of an informed Public Opinion were for King instruments to curtail what he perceived to be anti-social behaviour. Anti-social behaviour involved lock-outs on the part of the owners of the means of production and strikes on the part of Labour. "Investigation prior to severance of industrial relations is an effort by the community to protect itself against the anti-social consequences of open warfare. The community, as one of the partners in Industry, has a right to this protection".¹ In seeking peace King advocated equal representation in Industry but the form that it took lessened the liberty of workers. History had shown, however, "that liberty and equality could be exclusive as well as complementary".² The power of public Investigation was such that King felt there could "be no interference with real liberty in a measure which protects society and at the same time protects the individual who believes himself to be wronged".³ King felt that the presentation of investigative "facts" was so irresistible that "an informed public opinion and the agencies that create it, which in the use of force are antagonized rather than made sympathetic".⁴ This last statement conveys King's notion that anti-social behaviour will be met by antagonism and not sympathy by agencies that manipulate public opinion.

A careful reading of Industry and Humanity shows the writer to be deeply pessimistic and profoundly conservative. One cannot even say that King possessed a "world view" in that his book is addressed to all quarters of society. By addressing himself to all quarters King was probably being prudent in his quest for power. However, H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry believe that something other than prudence and opportunism motivated King. They argue that his book showed no evidence of the rational, secular foundations of traditional liberalism. In fact he retreated towards the supernatural and the psychic. King's analysis of industrial unrest "was too terrible to contemplate, and he had neither the mind nor the heart to see and go beyond it".⁵ King retreated to the "Dark Ages of the supernatural where the material world... assume [d] secondary importance".⁶ In that milieu "faith" healed and the central theme of King's prescription for industrial and social peace is faith. The common interests of men in the market place can be perceived by "faith" and the banishment of fear achieved in a similar manner. King in seeking parallels for his ideas reverted to the Middle Ages and the Bible. In reviewing contemporary labour legislation King spoke of the need for a minimum wage and better working conditions but he never actually brought forward such legislation when he became Prime Minister.

In advocating an Employees' Bill of Rights in 1915 for the employees of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company King

muddied the water. Both the United States and Canada as liberal democracies possess devices for the extension of political and social autonomy to unions, business organizations and a variety of other groups. King was very aware that the nascent development of Labour's power could bring about a possible shift in the structure of authority in society. This he effectively curtailed.

In reverting to the Middle Ages King stated: "I believe it can be shown that law and order within Industry at the present time is just about at the stage constitutional development reached in England under the Norman and Plantagenet Kings".⁷ King perceived the autocratic nature of Industry in North America. However he did little to extend those devices, as noted above, which exist in the liberal state and guarantee political and social autonomy to a variety of groups. As Industry possessed an autocratic nature some capitalists behaved in a despotic manner similar to that of King John of Magna Carta fame. In the manner of Magna Carta King wished to see, for the sake of law and order in Industry, "a simple written statement in printed form of the rights of the employer and employee respectively on all matters which are likely to become subjects of controversy".⁸ A booklet entitled The Colorado Industrial Plan by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. contains a copy of the Plan of Representation and Agreement adopted at the Coal and Iron Mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (1916). (U.S. Library of Congress.)

Society in the middle ages, although dominated by what King called autocratic rule, was for him a time of

stability, "fixity" and law and order. Possibly the Ontario society in which he grew up in was perceived as somewhat similar. Ontario society in the 1870s was an agrarian one possessing "an almost Utopian excellence in the eyes of the farmers themselves, for there were no landlords in the European sense, no tithes and no burdens imposed upon them from above."⁹ By 1893 when the King family moved from Berlin (Kitchener) to Toronto, Canada "had commenced moving away from the age of farming, lumbering and commerce into the age of industrialism and high finance".¹⁰ The emergence of factory owners brought in its wake "an industrial wage earning class".¹¹ Late industrialization in Canada would have afforded King a comparison of a near Utopian excellence to that of the social dislocation following industrialization. While advocating a Magna Carta for labour King acted contrariwise in that he sought the power of the state to compel arbitration and conciliation in industrial disputes.

In referring to Magna Carta King asked: Would the descendants of men who were ready to sacrifice everything for the assertion of fundamental rights in the state prove indifferent to the maintenance of similar rights in modern Industry?¹² "It would be unfortunate for both Industry and Liberty if they were".¹³ Unfortunately King did not pursue the fate of Magna Carta of 1215. This document was sealed between the King and barons on June 19th, 1215, but within three months civil war broke out and the King was dead by the

end of the year. In August of the same year Pope Innocent III declared the document null and void in that it had been extracted by force. "In 1215 Magna Carta was a failure".¹⁴ The document was valid for three months only and within this period none of its provisions were executed. The charter was re-issued in 1216, 1217 and 1225 with the last version becoming embedded within the common law.¹⁵ As early as 1216 the more ambiguous and vague clauses were dropped from the charter and by 1297 sixty-three clauses of the 1215 version, noted by King, had been reduced to thirty-seven clauses.

King plucked six clauses from the Great Charter which he felt were applicable at the time of writing Industry and Humanity. Clause thirty-nine (clause twenty-nine in 1297 version) stated that no freeman should be proceeded against except by due process of law. This, King believed, if applied to every worker would secure him against arbitrary treatment and unjust discrimination in Industry.¹⁶ Clause thirty-nine, however, was simply an assertion of a generally recognized axiom.¹⁷ The principle existed under Henry I of England, in the Treaty of Constance of 1183 and was an accepted procedure between king and barons in the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁸ Clause sixteen which related to a demand for a knight's services King paralleled to that of "sweating" in Industry. The ambiguity and non-specific nature of this clause was open to interpretation. "The Crown continued to demand and obtain service in Poitou and Gascony under Henry III and Edward I".¹⁹ Clause seventeen which referred to Common pleas confirmed existing procedure

in returning "to the arrangements of the earlier years" of King John's reign.²⁰ Clause forty stated: "To none will we sell, to none will we deny or delay, right or justice".

King related this clause to clause thirty-nine but it refers not to individual rights but community rights. The assumption was that the liberties at issue were to be held by a community, not by a series of this or that status, but by the realm.²¹ Clause thirty-five related to measures and Clause forty-five concerned itself with the appointment of efficient justices and constables etc.

A small charter issued in 1237 by Henry III confirmed the liberties of Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest in perpetuity. "Nearly twenty-two years after Runnymede the liberties were at last formally secure[d]".²² The mythical qualities of Magna Carta arose in that men saw a continuity between the charter of 1215 and that of 1225. "In time some men became completely confused".²³ The original charter "embodied a revolutionary programme" while the 1225 re-issue was a statement of law.²⁴ The belief that Magna Carta was "the greatest constitutional document of all times - the foundation of the freedom of the individual against the arbitrary authority of the despot"²⁵ cannot be totally substantiated. "Magna Carta was not a sudden intrusion into English society and politics. On the contrary it grew out of them".²⁶ The barons in fact "looked back to an idealized past" in that they converted their interpretation of custom into undisputed law".²⁷ By the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries the charter had declined in importance but each succeeding generation has put its own stamp on the charter. Attempts at reform were begun in the Elizabethan reign and between 1828 and 1969 thirty-three of the thirty-seven clauses of Henry III's charter had been repealed.²⁸ Magna Carta modelled on the coronation oath of Henry I of England was an instrument designed to define more precisely the obligations of feudal society. It was feudal in form and character, a statement of feudal law and custom.²⁹

It is possible that King never researched the evolution of Magna Carta. However its mythical qualities had an instant appeal. The revolutionary idea that Labour was in need of a Magna Carta captured the imagination of many. The report to the President of the United States on the Colorado strife (February 23rd, 1916) referred to Magna Carta. In Canada "labour leaders were dumbfounded" by the radical notion of "rights" but "discovered that it meant very little in terms of the development of the labour movement".³⁰ To re-iterate "rights" already existed. It can only be assumed that for the sake of law and order King attempted to delay the exercise of "rights" for as long as possible as far as Labour was concerned.

The near Utopian excellence of society in late nineteenth century Ontario may have been perceived as a model by King for mediaeval society. He stated that the "fixity" of this past only gave way to the "fluidity" of the present in comparatively recent times. The "transition from an unchanging

social order to one permeated with constant change"³¹ is stated to account for the instability of the present day problems of Capital and Labour. He further stated that the "unity that underlay mediaeval Christendom was one of clerical organization and a common religious life and sentiment".³² Mediaeval society was essentially a military one which if one was not engaged in war one had to be prepared for it.³³ From the tenth to the fourteenth century a growth in population co-incided with a corresponding growth in agriculture and increased technical efficiency. However the arrival of the Black Plague brought about "a drastic, though unevenly distributed, reduction of the European population."³⁴ Depopulation brought about a demand for higher wages, rents fell and the prices of industrial goods rose.³⁵ The tensions generated by social unrest culminated in the Great Peasant Revolt in England during 1381 which says a lot for Magna Carta. Many revolts took place during the period in question and, though not accepted by all, the literature shows that these revolts were "as natural to the seigneurial regime as strikes are to large-scale capitalism".³⁶ King's vision of a future homogenized society cannot be paralleled to that of the mediaeval era. In the north of England the population was of Scandinavian descent and the manorial holdings which King believed to be self sufficing and stationary was not a common feature in England.

Mediaeval trade and industry was depicted by King as being self sufficing. However, a military society needs

equipment. In 1172 one hundred axes, one thousand picks, two thousand shovels and sixty thousand nails were despatched to Ireland. Richard I's crusade required fifty thousand horse-shoes with spare fastenings as well as a large quantity of iron for ships.³⁷ The working of lead, coal and iron mines were a source of revenue to the Crown in the form of taxes. In tin mining alone taxes amounted to six hundred pounds in 1199 and close to eight hundred pounds in 1214. All industry was subjected to state control with the cloth industry being closely supervised. Trade occurred between England and the Flemish trading centres including Cologne and France. The Norse speaking people of northern England traded across the North Sea and furs from Russia were brought in by Swedish and German traders. Foreign traders were under the protection of the king on the payment of a tax. The prosperity of the twelfth century was strained with the arrival of the Plague. A labour shortage arose and the Labour Statutes of 1351 attempted to regulate wages. However the legislation hampered the competition for labour and the workers would not accept its limitations. In Richard II's first parliament: "The commons declare that they are impoverished by the outrageous wages demanded by labourers and ask for inquiry by the justices twice a year, strict enforcement of the wage laws and prohibition of holidays with pay".³⁹ From 1380 on regulation of Industry was attempted by the enactment of Statute Rolls in an attempt to curtail consumer prices and to provide protection against the deceitful practices of the merchants. "During the fourteenth century

the strike was well known, and when a master would not agree with his workmen the other workmen of the craft would come out and cease work until the dispute was settled".⁴⁰ Workers with grievances could turn to the Church and conflict between employer and employee was ameliorated by this body. The growing wealth of England and its industrial activity saw the emergence "of great employers of labour" who made it difficult for qualified apprentices to become their own masters.⁴¹ The rise of a capitalist class and economic pressures forced the guild and merchant groups to descend into the journeyman class during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴² The guild system was of a limited nature, however, in that businessmen's organizations already flourished during the Middle Ages.⁴³ A fishmonger of the late fourteenth century "came to be regarded as a type of wealthy capitalist, a principal object of popular hostility and of the jealousy of the smaller crafts."⁴⁴

The foregoing information on Magna Carta and mediaeval history is an over simplification of the events that took place during this period. However they are presented in an attempt to refute King's notion that mediaeval society was "fixed" and stationary. He was, I believe, drawn to this period because of its seeming order. Although King decried despotic autocratic rule he did not discuss autocratic rule itself. However in his drive to impose order on contemporary Industry he did state:

A supreme intelligence would be required to direct and co-ordinate "the efforts of all peoples of all stages of advancement, in all parts of the world". Such would be the task of co-ordination were Industry throughout the world to be conducted on a basis of complete efficiency.⁴⁵

As will be shown later the supreme intelligence for King implied the Almighty.

As noted earlier societal corporatism arises where the middle class is strong enough to co-opt subordinate class interests. In North America and particularly in Canada "the petite bourgeoisie was the largest subordinate class...and there was less need on the family farm for the kind of benefits associated with the welfare state..."⁴⁶ King, therefore, felt that he was confronted with two classes Capital and Labour whose conflicts he perceived threatened social peace. His answer to this problem, as I have tried to show, was "state" corporatism applied to Industry. He also believed that if competing nations would pursue their interests in accordance with his principles peace would ensue. King's faith in science and technology was contradictory in that these disciplines in and of themselves denote change. King abhorred change and he attempted to circumscribe both man and the material world. His plan for industrial peace and a projected new order can only be described as static and authoritarian.

King's notion of democracy did not include that notion of liberty peculiar to and a cornerstone of liberal theory. In 1945 the Archbishop of Quebec found his notion of democracy to be congruent with that espoused by King. "If

we agree with Mackenzie King that democracy means the point at which an organized society recognizes its members' right to equality in what they undertake; the opportunity for as many as possible to develop their latent strengths and skills in complete freedom without restraint; the freedom for all, under the protection of laws they themselves have made, to enjoy the fruits of their own labour fairly and adequately" it is unlikely that this democracy has yet been achieved in our society and we can only hope that corporatism will come and correct the omissions and abuses".⁴⁷ There is nothing in the literature prior to W.W.II to indicate that anyone comprehended the corporate nature of King's plan for industrial and global peace. However, it is apparent that in 1945 the Archbishop of Quebec clearly discerned what King was attempting and obviously agreed with him.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

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16. Industry and Humanity. p. 191.
17. Magna Carta. p. 63.
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19. Ibid, p. 217.
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CHAPTER THREE INDUSTRY AND HUMANITY

When he published Industry and Humanity in 1918 William Lyon Mackenzie King was forty-one years of age. This book which purportedly deals with the principles underlying industrial reconstruction arose out of twenty years experience on the labour scene. In 1900 King entered the Laurier administration as a labour conciliator in the newly created Department of Labour. He eventually became Deputy Minister and then Minister of Labour until the Laurier government was defeated in 1911. During the war years 1914 to 1918 King worked for the Rockefeller Foundation as a labour conciliator. Consequently, King had experience of both the American and Canadian labour scene. In the introduction to his book King points out that prior to W.W.I "Capital" and "Labour" viewed each other with a mistrust born of fear, and that industrial progress and competitiveness had led to war between nations. In other words Industry had been used to destroy Humanity.¹ King states that the community spirit and corporate consciousness which the war aroused could be mobilized, in peace time, for the establishment of "right relations" in Industry and that Labour and Capital have the power to secure the world from further wars.²

David Jay Bercuson in his introduction to the 1973 edition of King's book notes that it "contained all the prime ingredients to become a classic in the field of social planning

and industrial relations".³ The book, however, went unnoticed for almost half a century. The reasons are probably to be found in the nature of the book's convoluted and rhetorical style plus a somewhat bathetic conventionally expressed Christian ethic. H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry note that King "expresses no faith in institutional reform as a means of meeting social needs".⁴ King believed that "Faith" could bring about social harmony and a change in man's behaviour in the market place.

Forms such as the institutions of the state appear to have meant little to King and this is quite evident in his writing. Contemporary reviewers, such as George Milton Janes writing in the American Economic Review (1919) did not discern the corporate nature of King's solution to social and industrial unrest. In 1952, however, Bruce Hutchison in his book The Incredible Canadian was to state:

Were it not for the evil connotations of that title, Industry and Humanity (sic) might be called King's Mein Kampf (sic). While it was in all respects the antipode of Hitler's work, a Christian's challenge to everything Hitler and all other dictators stood for, still, it parallels Hitler's testament in its basic design. It exposes King's final thoughts on politics as he would never expose them again. It accurately forecasts his future. In retrospect it makes cold logic of a career which seemed to be a catalogue of inconsistencies. And, more accurately than any other document, it proclaims the current revolution in Canadian life.⁵

Contemporary critical appraisal of Industry and Humanity is sparse, and as noted, little or no apprehension is apparent of the corporate nature of King's book. David Jay Bercuson

felt that King was much misunderstood in that his "plea for action [is] couched in millennialist terms".⁶ David J. Bercuson, however, has missed the point in that King did not plead for action. King's prescription for industrial peace was aimed at the containment of any possible conflict between Capital and Labour.

King's book is concerned with the reconstruction or democratization of Industry following W.W.I. King, however, not only wanted to reconstitute Industry but wished to distinguish between good and evil men. Progress in industry and rising feelings of nationalism among the nations of the world brought about strife and hatred in human relations. King believed that this situation brought about disorder and ferment, akin to disease. He supports this contention with Louis Pasteur's germ theory of invading organisms that attack the human body causing a pathological condition. King would root out the pathology which affects the "right relations" between the four parties to Industry, i.e. Capital, Labour, Management and the Community. Man instead of being ruled by fear in his life's activities should strive to replace this by Faith in other men.

King believed that contemporary industry was akin to the Frankenstein monster in that both brought about destruction. This destruction paralleled that of war. The genius of man resulted in the creation of instruments more powerful than man and he appeared to lose control of them. The early stages of

industry was perceived as good but Capital and Labour are able to transform industry so that the destruction of humanity is possible. King does not say when and where the early stages of industry arose. He clearly foresaw, however, that technological advances would bring about sophisticated instrumentation in industry. This instrumentation in and of itself was neutral, neither good nor bad, but it was up to man to decide as to the positive or negative use of that instrumentation in industry. The wrong use of this instrumentation by either Capital or Labour would lead to the destruction of humanity. Man's condition will not change "as long as men are unwilling to recognize that the whole is greater than its parts, and that Humanity has rights superior to those of Industry or of Nationality".⁷ Writing within a global perspective King laid no blame for the ills of society on any particular section of society or its institutions. Like the Frankenstein monster institutions are neutral; but it is the use of those institutions by man which moves society for good or evil. For example King quotes William James that fundamentally "a certain blindness in human beings" is the cause of war.⁸ Man is blind to the feelings and values of other men regarding their condition or ideals and the "blindness" is responsible in the final analysis for conflict between men and between nations. As noted by H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry, King did not pursue James' thought on "human blindness" in that James states: "It absolutely forbids us to be forward in pronouncing on the meaningless of forms of existence other

than our own..."⁹ The "blindness" of man could be obliterated, however, not by understanding other men but by the homogenization of men and industry on a global scale. This is what King advocated.

The mainspring of industrial^{un}rest, according to King, is due to antagonistic interests. Capital seeks profits and Labour believes that profits are obtained at their expense in the form of bad working conditions and poor wages. Common interests are shunted aside, and whether power is in the hands of Capital or Labour, both work toward their own ends and not that of the common good. As good and evil contends in man so the same situation pertains to nations and organizations. In the struggle between good and evil, Evil must be held in check, and King states that a time may come when communities may possibly "brand those individuals who are life destroying germs in human society". When that time comes, the corpuscles of the body politic may combine as effectively to destroy its pathological germs, as in the human body, white corpuscles combine, and seek to destroy the germs of disease".¹⁰ Unhappily, this early notion of King's was put into practice during the era of National Socialism in Germany. The Jewish minority and German citizens, incapacitated either physically or mentally, were destroyed and eliminated. The same policy was also carried out in territories occupied by the German forces during W.W. II. King saw two laws at work in Louis Pasteur's germ theory: the Law of Blood and Death vs the Law of Peace, Work and Health and the cosmopolitan character of these two laws had an impact world wide on the industrial scene. Industrial conflict loomed

so large in King's thinking that he sought a radical change in the nature of man to achieve peace, or as he would say "human nature being what it is" mechanisms to control man. In the final analysis King laid great emphasis on "Faith" among men to achieve peace both industrially and among nations. However if this mechanism failed to work the incorrigibles could be rooted out as noted above.

King did not participate in W.W.I but he graphically conveys the misery of war. His abhorrence of war, however, is of the industrial kind. He felt that the Russian upheaval of 1917 and the possibility that Capital might wish to return to pre-war working conditions alarmed him. In his attempt to come to grips with industrial power King presented an historical over view noting that the Greek "City States" were an example of civilization at its highest. Self sufficing towns and cities were maintained into modern times but he presents no data as to where these cities and towns were located or that they were in fact self sufficient. The contention is that modern industry destroyed a stable order of small entrepreneurships and industries. Under these conditions both Capital and Labour are in a fluid position and their activity has world wide consequences which creates both uncertainty and instability. Industry wrenched from a communal base moves into the cosmopolitan sphere with adverse results to local communities and this in turn affects nations themselves. King felt that industrial relations affected people of the world more directly than international relations. As the nations of the world

failed to resolve their differences through war these problems may well be solved if industrial problems could be solved.

The mobility of workers and the fluidity of Capital that industry brought about was an accomplished fact. One may shudder at the immensity of what has happened but "regrets concerning their existence are in vain".¹¹ The disintegrating factors and mobility of Capital imperils the working man in a highly industrial society when it moves to other areas of the world where working conditions and wages are below standard. The Law of Competing Standards is, therefore, advocated by King in that the gains acquired by Labour in highly industrial societies should not be jeopardized by countries whose labouring class work for less (i.e. those of the Orient and war ravaged Europe following W.W. I) Competition which Capital brings about puts at risk gains of the industrial worker when confronted with cheap overseas labour "in the absence of intelligent direction in world affairs".¹² The forces that move Industry produce an alienated worker and consequently he is unable to perceive the problems of Capital. Both Capital and alienated worker suffer instability from competition and lack of work but neither party perceives that their difficulties are mutual. In safe-guarding its interests Capital consolidates regardless of the effect on individual life and is unwilling to recognize that Labour needs to consolidate its own forces.

As noted earlier King's thesis has a global perspective in that the world's market place is "composed of all kinds and conditions of people...who are one another's rivals".¹³ There

are men who mistake the means for ends and men with high ideals who compromise themselves in the market place. Globally industrial problems could be alleviated if men were activated by like motives and possessed similar conceptions of human worth and destiny.

Not only does King attempt to reduce human nature to men of "like motives", he also states that the diversity of conditions between competing nations exacerbates the problems of Industry.¹⁴ Cheap labour from abroad drives out higher priced labour at home and he wished the Law of Competing Standards to be recognized by economists with its immediate incorporation into economic science.

By the use of analogy Gresham's law on bimetallic metals is used by King to bolster his Law of Competing Standards.¹⁵ Gresham's Law states that if one of two coinage at par, for example gold and silver, becomes worth more as metal than as money it will be driven out of circulation by the cheaper coinage. The use of this law by King is somewhat mechanical in that the real wages of an expanding work force will depend on whether the economy is stagnant or expanding. The Law of Competing Standards was an attempt to protect higher priced labour in North America from coming into competition with imported cheap contract labour from the Orient. Concern regarding the importation of contract labour arose when anti-Oriental riots broke out on the west coast of Canada and the United States during the early years of this century. These incidents took place in Canada during 1907. King would lay industrial unrest

at the door of heartless men who imported cheap labour. However he made no mention of the fact that new societies, such as Canada and the United States, encouraged wholesale immigration. He also presented no statistical data to show, at least, relatively that the North American worker was better off than his Oriental counterpart.

The existence of sweated labour in Toronto (1897) and Chicago (1896-97) provided King with evidence of the operation of the Law of Competing Standards. Not only was the Law of Competing Standards an attempt to protect higher priced labour in North America but it was a device by which racial discrimination could be effected. Those individuals not of North European stock could be screened out. King appears to have had racial tendencies as he stated that, although, the North American Indian might disappear a higher civilization (i.e. Anglo-Saxon) had been planted in North America.

On behalf of the Canadian and American governments King travelled to India, Japan and China seeking agreement to limit the number of passports issued to those wishing to enter North America. Representatives of these countries were supposed to believe that no discrimination or restrictions were being imposed on them in that the "established standards of Canadian and American labour...standards, bestowed in part by nature, but won also in part through struggle and self denial", were being guarded.¹⁶ The superior standards of North American labour instead of being subjected to stress under the Law of Competing

Standards were to raise the lowest to the highest. Both sides had much to learn from each other. The Occidental could export technology and an European value system and conversely the Orient could export the virtue of thrift and frugality...and of obligation in family and social relations".¹⁷ This is an example of King's attempts to overcome differing value systems between men and the standardization of industrial practices and social values globally. It could also be viewed as a sop to both parties. However, the Law of Competing Standards with its so called "higher standards" was a technique of excluding Asians from the Canadian labour market.

The problems that beset both industry and man were perceived by King to be due to a lack of discernment between the "materiel" and the "personnel". By this King meant that the man of industry had been overwhelmed by materialism and was not concerned with human life. Industry as an end in itself was only concerned with the production of goods i.e. the "materiel". However, industry as a means to an end which King envisioned as a social service was concerned with human life i.e. the "personnel". As noted earlier King wrote about industrial problems from a global perspective. In his stated concern, therefore, for the "personnel" he felt that Humanity took precedence over industry and nationality and stated that: "Over all nations is Humanity".¹⁸ In contrasting man's apprehension of the value of "personnel" and of "materiel", standards that fail to distinguish between either, "are without meaning as factors in the ultimate solution of industrial

problems".¹⁹ The Christian ideal of man possessing an immortal nature is the ultimate and man created in the image of God cannot be cast into some industrial model. King's Christian ethic is somewhat biased in that "other views may compel a regard for human life but none can inspire the reverence for it that the Christian concept does".²⁰ The overwhelming materialism of the industrial age caused men to look upon each other as commodities "when in fact, so far as human personality and its possibilities go, the universe is meaningless apart from the life of the spirit".²¹ Man's behaviour in the market place was of little concern as Industry on a world scale is willing to sacrifice human well being in deference to Capital invested by stock holders who expect a return on their money unimpaired by philanthropy.²² Consequently one section of the community benefits at the expense of another and the Law of Opposing Interests is at work instead of the Law of Common Interests. Political Economy, concerning itself with Capital and Labour, and the distribution of wealth from Industry, overlooks other more human aspects in the enterprise while the dictates of Political Economy hamper men from acting more humanely. The abstract nature of Political Economy is likened to the use of terminology which is abstract in nature, i.e. Labour and Capital. Labour is an item in cost production, and Capital with a small "c" is only identifiable by its association with corporate entities. The notion that capital with a large "C" is representative of human lives (past effort) is never entertained by Labour.

The labourer is bound to his labour in that it is a part of himself whereas capital can be separated from the Capitalist and, without control by some individual, capital is meaningless. The use of capital with a large "C" is only of concern in so far as it is affected by human motives and as these motives affect human life".²³ The setting aside of abstractions by Nations, Labour and Capital and the recognition of the humanity of others will go a long way to "common understanding, mutual forbearance and enduring peace".²⁴ King does not actually define what he meant by abstractions unless he was referring to the abstract nature of Political Economy as he perceived it. If he believed, however, that the nations of the world would become increasingly industrialized it was up to Capital and Labour to set aside their mutual antagonism and work toward a common goal, albeit within the framework of corporatism.

The use of inventive technology in Industry can affect the worker and cause him misery and insecurity and subject him to forces beyond his control. However, vast organization in Industry and Vast Wealth "so many fail to see... are in themselves neither good nor evil".²⁵ Whether Industry is in the hands of the Capitalist (a free market economy) or Socialist (managed economy) management is of no consequence as the capitalist manager would be replaced by political managers. Control of industry might change but its form and structure would continue to exist. It is not the form of Industry that is relevant but the possible abuses of industrial organization such as lock-outs and strikes.²⁶ King is not concerned with

the ownership of Industry but only the control of it. Large-scale organization is the one thing that makes possible effective control of Industry by the State.²⁷ What is peculiar about King's notion of the neutrality of things, i.e. Capital, Labour and institutions is that he appears to abstract man from the objective world. The neutrality ascribed to capital with a small "c", together with labour as an item in production is such that man must approach these institutions with neutrality so as not to upset the balance between the efficient running of neutral institutions and men who are themselves also neutral. In not giving credence to "forms" King may have appeared anarchistic in his thinking, but secular theorists from Hobbes to Marx believed that institutional forms are necessary in the face of man's capacity for self-annihilation; "...that institutional organization is the way out, and that man either through the agency of individuals, or the community will...is capable of controlling his destiny".²⁸ King was not a liberal thinker and was far from anarchistic. It is my impression that if he had ever been faced with an extreme political situation such as outright anarchy he would have imposed his own "forms". This, of course, would have been "state" corporatism. King, it would seem, believed that "our civilization is dominated by carnivorous animals..."²⁹ but one has the impression that he was naive about the world and all its problems.

King stated that due to human intelligence the problems of the possible production of all but unlimited wealth was already solved. It was the job of Education and the Government

to pursue the more equal distribution of this wealth.³⁰

The exploration of resources throughout the world and large scale industrial output was only hampered by the amount of capital available for such endeavours. The needs of mankind were being met in undreamed of measure and it is in the large-scale industrial organization that the hope and not the despair of Labour laid".³¹ King believed that Capital promoted personal liberty. The growth of industry had released man from being tied both to a master and the soil. The journeyman and the serf had occupied an inferior status in society. An industrial worker, however, was able to contract for work with an employer on equal terms. The choice of where and when his services were to be employed was now left up to the employee. The recognition of contract as the fundamental condition of civilization was but a step to an International Court of Justice leading to a League of Nations supported by international police to enforce all decrees.³² It is popularly believed that King was ahead of his time in advocating a League of Nations. However as will be shown later King was not an original thinker but a collator of other peoples' ideas. At the time of writing Industry and Humanity the notion of a League of Nations was more than likely "in the air".

In releasing man from serfdom Industry takes on a moral overtone and according to King its homogenizing impact is an instrument of civilization. As an employee was able to contract with an employer on an equal basis for work it was believed that this opened the door to trade unionism. In other words

"the right and power of voluntary association is made possible by Capital" because of its acceptance of contract.³³ It will be noted that "the right and power of voluntary association" meant for King the signing of a contract between an employer and an employee within a Company. It did not signify the right of an outside agent, i.e. a union, to bargain collectively on behalf of workers. A world empire maintained by Force could be superceded by a Commonwealth founded on Industry which would be the ultimate in industrial and political development. Under these conditions the brute instinct of Fear would be overcome by "the sublime quality of Faith, Reason not Force must control, and the Perfect Man not the Perfect brute is the purpose back of all creation".³⁴ King's pessimism over the social impact that industrialization has was such that he attempted to order Industry and asked that man pursue Faith and utilize his Reason. However it was man who had rationalized large-scale industry. Also in a secular world Faith had become somewhat tarnished and Reason itself was under attack. King, like many others, believed that man had been seduced by scientific knowledge and this had led to war and conflagration as man was only concerned with "matter and not the world of the spirit". Man does not have to deny matter but it should occupy a subordinate role to that of the world of spiritual reality "[f]or it is spirit, not matter that gives meaning to the sum of things entire".³⁵

King stated that the Brute who thinks he is the one to survive is mistaken; his path leads to destruction. It is

the man of the Spirit, the more perfect man who is the survivor, the man who aims at destroying every obstacle to "perfect" manhood".³⁶ For King the brutish man was the materialist. Drawing upon Darwin's doctrine of the Survival of the Fittest King perceived the Brute as an inferior specimen. Man in his attempts to dominate and destroy his fellow man was evidence that he had not reached his highest form. A world at peace based upon international and industrial co-operation would see the emergence of the man "fittest to survive". This man would be of the Spirit. The materialistic interpretation of life had brought man immeasurable misery and as there is no co-operation between material objects it is through the Law of Christian brotherhood and mutual aid man will find the sublime expression of sacrifice and love. The State and Industry have to recognize the fundamental difference between material and human values or become a white sepulchre.

In understanding the complexity of modern industry King saw that the transformation of nature's resources was a common activity of Humanity and its expansion was Humanity's common task.³⁷ Technology applied to natural forces and natural resources was limited only by man's ingenuity, and the many processes required to transform resources into commodities and services was only incidental to the totality of industrial methods. One has the impression that the bifurcation of man and his labour in the incidental processes of industry is of little consequence when compared to the resulting commodities

and services. It is not the form of labour that is of primary concern but the final outcome of that labour. The labourer, for King, possessed little intelligence when compared to the superior intelligence which he believed Management possessed. However, both had a role to play in that the labourer's "effort is hardly more than muscular and he works at the direction of another" while the brain power of Management "guides and directs the industrial process".³⁸ For maximum efficiency the worker has to appreciate the fact that his portion of the industrial process is a part of the whole in common with the other parties to Industry. Labour's effort is of little value unless intelligently directed by intelligence of the very highest order, and consequently King regarded Labour and Management as separate and distinct factors in industrial production. In stating that King may in fact either consciously or unconsciously performed the role of "controller" rather than as a labour conciliator it is of note that he stated that the ongoing complex and multifaceted processes of industry would require "a still higher order of skill and of directing and organizing intelligence..." A supreme intelligence would be required to direct and co-ordinate the efforts of all peoples of all stages of advancement, in all parts of the world. Such would be the task of co-ordination were Industry throughout the world to be conducted on a basis of completest efficiency".³⁹

It is management which is assigned the direction of Industry, Capital is at their disposal and they are concerned with the overall direction of industry, production and

distribution etc. Although Capital, Labour and Management are the three parties concerned directly in Industry the services that the Community renders is of such importance that it is deserving of separate consideration. It is the Community which provides the framework for normal government, industrial and social intercourse but: "Let the Community once fail in doing what is expected of it, and Labour, Capital and Management also necessarily fail in the due performance of their respective services. Industry becomes like some vast mechanism out of gear".⁴⁰ The joint co-operation of the four parties to Industry results in wealth from production, wages to workers, interest on Capital invested, rent, salary to management and the Community benefits from commodities culminating ideally in an "orderly organization and peaceful behaviour throughout the State".⁴¹

The proper adjustment of a troubled Industry results in efficient production. In repetitively stating that "Faith" rather than "Fear" between the parties to Industry is fundamentally important and that common interests must prevail rather than opposed interests, King stated, that industrial discord must yield to "right relations" or more dire prospects are in store for a society which is unable to overcome industrial problems. Although the concept of four parties to Industry is an abstract notion it is the attitude of the parties toward each other that is of importance. To effect co-operation and co-ordination requires little more than

ordinary human intelligence if that intelligence is tempered by a common aim and common justice. An assumption of a right attitude between parties makes all else so simple as to be amenable to mathematical calculation.⁴² In referring his reader to an appended Chart #1, which purports to illustrate the nature of industrial relations, King noted that any displacement of the circles results in confusion and lack of progress. The chart appears to be cosmic in nature and up to the present time has not been amenable to mathematical verification. As A. McGregor has noted it was "something that one could appreciate only with the help of the word-of-mouth explanations of the author himself".⁴³ The chart, I believe, is a diagrammatic example of "control", circumscribed and static, with no room for flexibility or movement in a new direction.

The diversification of Industry globally is such that interdependence results and the well being of communities depends on an efficient industry. Consequently Industry can no longer be viewed as a "mere revenue producing process pursued for purposes of private gain".⁴⁴ However, participation in industry will take on the character of a social service of the highest order "since it is of a kind on which all other services whatsoever depend".⁴⁵ Because of the monolithic nature of Industry a solution to its problems is not to be found in forms, but a spirit of Faith instead of Fear founded on the belief of an underlying order should enter into individual and community relations. In stating that participation in Industry is to be viewed as a social service by all participants King neatly

NO. I

CHART ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE NATURE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

CHART No. I is intended to illustrate that industrial relations are in the nature of relations between human beings, arising in connection with the parties to, the terms of, and the working-out of, an agreement, expressed or implied, between Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community (the parties to Industry) to unite in the work of production; also that all phases of the relationships thus created are affected by the observance or disregard of principles underlying the Law of Peace, Work, and Health.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
COMPRISE
THE RELATIONS BETWEEN HUMAN BEINGS
AS THESE ARISE IN CONNECTION WITH

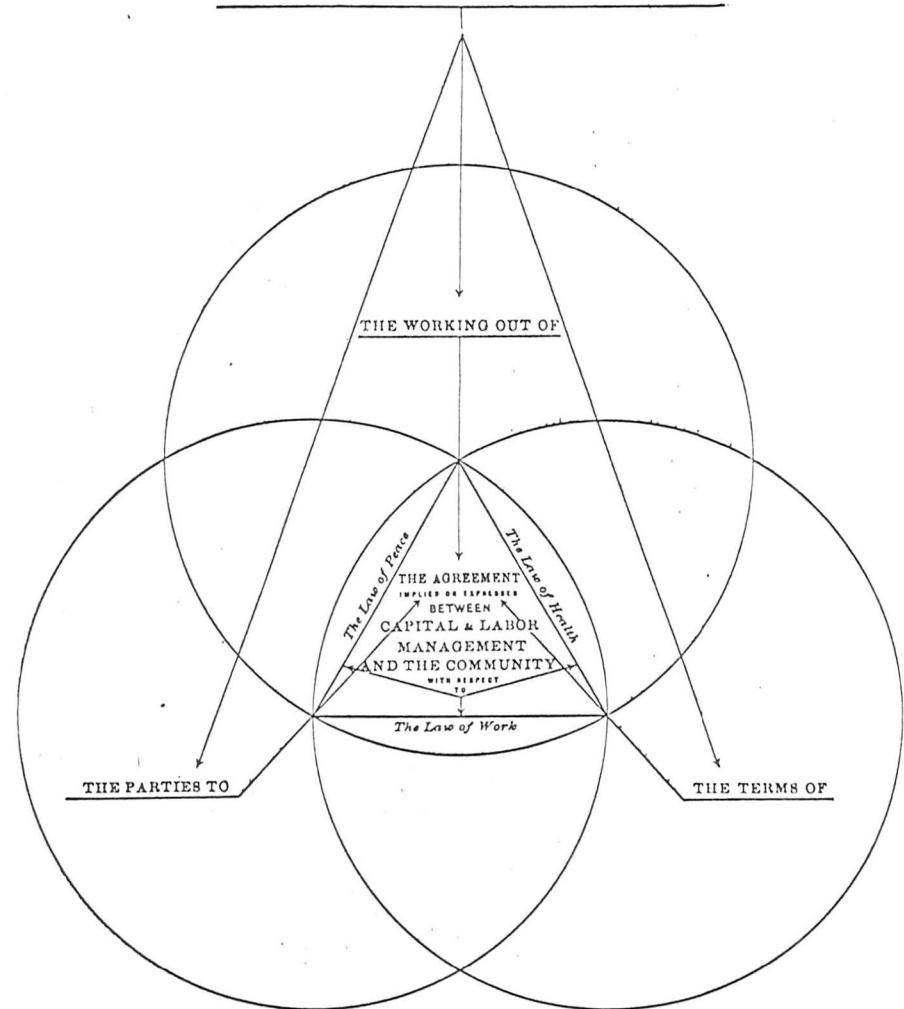


CHART ILLUSTRATIVE OF
THE NATURE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

side stepped the notion of nationalization. King was not interested in who controlled or managed Industry because its forms and structures would continue to exist whether in the hands of a Capitalist or a Socialist. In effect he expressed corporative notions as the four parties to Industry had roles to play to the extent that industrial progress was not hampered. Under corporatism "the role of the employer, of the manager, is envisaged as a social function and he is held responsible towards the men whom he employs and towards the community as a whole".⁴⁶

Mackenzie King's penchant for the physical laws of nature led him to apply these same laws to man's behaviour. At one time he had removed from a Boston church basement to his summer home at Kingsmere a sun dial. This sun dial was irrefutable evidence of an underlying order which governed nature and he contended that it was rational to perceive an underlying order governing human nature. Was it not man's wantonness that had caused him to depart "somewhere from the purpose of God among men?"⁴⁷ The dials of human conduct were turned to evil instead of to a Divine purpose. In extrapolating the ordering of the sun dial to the dials of human conduct King appears to imply that an ordering of man's behaviour could be achieved if only the dials were set correctly.

In stating that science rationally attempts to explain the natural world by physical laws King sought similar laws to order society. These are to be found in Louis Pasteur's

so called Law of Peace, Work and Health which, according to King, is of divine inspiration leading to the perfection and well being of society. King appears to have lost sight of the fact that man does not always rationalize his experience of the world, and often does not even act in his own self interest. He wished to assign to Industry, a neutral entity, a human face yet order man's behaviour so that he is amenable to control and organization. For King, however, the universal application of the Law of Peace, Work and Health results in the possibility of a perfectly adjusted industrial order giving rise to a perfectly organized political order in which variation from the laws applicable to Industry would be unnatural.⁴⁸ Again, however, it is not the forms of organization in Industry or the amount of remuneration to be found there that is important, "but the application of right principles to the human relations which the contacts of Industry occasion".⁴⁹ The principles underlying the Law of Peace, Work and Health can act as a force in the progress of mankind and aid in "the art of adjusting the relations of man".⁵⁰ These principles are helped by Discovery, Invention, Government, Education and Opinion. From the foregoing it can be seen that King as well as advocating that men have faith in one another the "force of principals" is an added dimension in achieving industrial peace.

The principles underlying Peace are based on justice and the recognition that personality means all in industrial and international relations. The rules of conduct and methods of organization in Industry are only instruments; insignias upon the face of the dial of human relations.⁵¹ The protection

of workers against unscrupulous subordinates is the responsibility of management whose own conduct must be above reproach. Fundamentally, for King, alienation in Industry could be overcome by men of character who inspire confidence, and character "finds no adequate substitute in forms or devices of any kind..."⁵² The loss of personality in Industry, which alienation had brought about, could be overcome "by instrumentalities which serve to eliminate Fear and establish Fear".⁵³ By "instrumentalities" King did not mean autonomous labour unions or organizations but a so called Magna Carta of Labour which was part and parcel of his Colorado Representational Plan and which was put into effect in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. This, of course, led to "company unions". King quoted at length from the Magna Carta of 1215 and stated that a similar instrument would be a step towards law and order in Industry. A representative of Management would oversee disputes between employer and employee and he would dispense or administer justice and supervise labour policy. Discipline would be administered by the management's representative who in dealing with "human nature possessed of inferior qualities, tempers justice with mercy".⁵⁴ The appointment of a representative of management did not preclude the right of Labour to organize groups to advise its interest and in fostering a community of interest between the parties to Industry. Although through group activities Labour may accrue social and welfare benefits, these schemes are no substitute for justice or that the personality of man is eventually recognized.

King believed in the potency of Conference stating that had Conference occurred the first world war would not have taken place.⁵⁵ Conciliation is the best method in adjusting differences in Industry as it takes into account both consideration for human feelings and facts. King does not say what these human feelings and facts are. Conciliation is not a method but the "necessary application" given a hardened attitude between disputants of "compulsory conciliation" which is known as mediation. Given the authority a conciliator enhanced with "personality" combined with experience and resources..."usually finds a way or makes it".⁵⁶ The use of conciliation in industrial disputes appears to be aimed more at soothing hurt feelings than at the actual remuneration received for work performed as King states: "Men will stand for short allowance when they will not stand for impudence".⁵⁷

Investigation and arbitration are other methods used for dealing with disputes. Investigation brings to light facts and data which has the Power of Truth to remedy evil. Investigation is "a high tribute to human nature" as "collective opinion will approve the right and condemn the wrong".⁵⁸ The more formal process of Arbitration is viewed with mistrust by Labour "because of supposed insidious class interests"⁵⁹ and unlike Investigation carries the notion of Force. To attain industrial peace self imposed customs and regulations have to be taken up by all concerned such as has evolved under English common law in the political sphere. The democratization of Industry could probably result in "the means of escape from the dilemma of

domination by a ruling class over a subject class on the one hand" in contrast to "a chronic state of civil warfare with the classes perpetually struggling for advantage, with small consideration for the public welfare".⁶⁰ Although King sought democratization in Industry the role of unions in North America was not vigorously sought as "agencies of social control over their members".⁶¹ This accommodation could not be realized as King mindful of the need for some forms of social welfare schemes never actually articulated or formulated any such schemes. He was unwilling to grant to union leadership, who possessed an inferior nature and low intelligence, that degree of autonomy to be self directing and responsible. Investigate potency surfaced early in King's thinking. Not yet seventeen years of age and a student at the University of Toronto King stated in his diary: "I move the resolution "to strike" until we were granted an investigation...⁶²

The principles underlying the Law of Work "are founded upon a recognition of personality...a discernment between human and material values and a belief in common as contrasted with opposed interests".⁶³ Labour's hopeless position, the opposition of Capital to Labour organizing, all conspire to deplete Labour so that it is not able to give of its utmost. The mobility of Capital does not suffer the paralyzing effects of Fear that Labour does and no one recognizes the fact that should Fear be removed the output of Industry would multiply manifoldly. Labour would become possessed of a zeal for efficiency and Management would be restricted only by its own incapacity.⁶⁴

Capital's fear is that sufficient labour will not be available for Industry, investment will fall off and this concern is greatest where Capital is "fixed" in plants and equipment. Management is the one party to Industry which has the least to fear. Production in industry depends on good management and supply never equals the demand for this form of high grade intelligence. The rewards of Management are fabulous though care must be exercised where the expectation of reward is excessive or where it seeks monopoly. "In this respect, its position is on all fours with that of the other parties to production".⁶⁵ This is a peculiar statement but it is evident that, in the final analysis, King believed that it is Management who directs and controls events.

"The right of all parties to Industry to share progressively in increased productivity...is a corollary of the right of each to share equitably in the output"⁶⁶ gives rise to a further set of fears to the four parties to Industry. The complexity of Industry makes it almost impossible to determine mathematically the respective contributions by the four parties and what their remunerations should be. This situation might tempt one party to Industry to use Might but a belief in ultimate Right can contribute to the general well being of all concerned. In determining wages for Labour adequate wages are beneficial to all parties as effort is maximized and a minimum of waste occurs. Adequate wages are difficult to determine as this depends on the job to be done, the energy and skill required, the character and temperament

and even the heredity of the worker.⁶⁷ Labour is suspicious that wages are kept low as an item in the cost of production and the notion of profit sharing is regarded as an act of benevolence on the part of employers. Labour perceives profit sharing to be an instrument aimed at weakening class effort and the non recognition of autonomous unions. Co-partnership in Industry was favoured by King as Labour could have shares in a company, elect members to the Board of Directors or a committee of management while at the same time being directed by Management. This is what the Colorado Plan called for, but as already pointed out Labour's representation within the Plan turned out to be not one of representation but one of status. Self governing workshops are not successful in that: "Neither Capital nor exceptional ability are readily obtainable by Labour where it seeks to confine the ownership of business to its own class".⁶⁸ Whether Industry engages in co-operatives, co-partnerships etc. success has shown that large business is not anathema to Christian principles which contain more of true democracy than any other.⁶⁹

Labour is suspicious of labour-saving machinery and scientific management because they do not understand the total process of Industry and one cannot stop Invention. Because of the social nature of Industry it is incumbent upon the Community to provide new openings and provision for those workers displaced by automation. Scientific management is little more than getting rid of confusion and perfecting adjustments. However, if

it is carried "to the point that it unfits human beings for further adjustment [it] is in reality unscientific, and the management that allows such a practice is defeating its own ends".⁷⁰

Such is the convoluted nature of King's book that George M. Janes took as the principles underlying the Law of Work to be "the transformation of natural resources into commodities and services... and the right of all parties to share progressively in increased productivity..."⁷¹ However, it is the recognition of Personality, a discernment between human and material values, a belief in common interests in contrast to opposed interests which are the principles underlying the Law of Work. King believed that in following these principles a more equitable distribution of goods might take place but this is due to Personality and common interests. A materialistic interpretation of meeting society's needs did not fall within the scope of King's prescription for industrial and social peace.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

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2. Ibid, xvii.
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CHAPTER FOUR
A COMMON IDEAL

For generations Labour has been "ill-paid, ill-housed, ill-nurtured, ill-taught".¹ With this statement King moves to a consideration of the Principles underlying Health. These are the sacredness of life, the value of personality and its rights, and in total the recognition of Industry as a public service, and "to divert attention from individual self-interest to community well-being".² Where bad conditions exist Investigation will seek the cause as industrial peace and efficiency depend on industrial working conditions. In the interests of the Community measures taken to ensure the life and limb of Labour not only benefits the Community "but in a special way increases productive power and thereby the ability of investors to earn profits and working-men to earn wages".³ The avarice and greed of employers brought about the enactment of protective legislation as far as child and female labour was concerned. This eventually led to Public Health, Housing and Educational legislation. King's first-hand experience of conditions under which Bell Telephone female operators worked compelled him to state "The working of women at high pressure should be made a crime at law as it is against Nature herself".⁴ If industrial communities are not to become decadent the health and well being of the working

population is of primary concern.

At a meeting held in Lugango, Italy, in 1910, King believed that his Law of Competing Standards was evolving as the International Labour Association were seeking a substitute for white phosphorus. This substance caused "phossie jaw" among workers engaged in match making. On returning to Canada King personally visited various individuals who suffered from "phossie jaw", such was his disbelief that similar conditions existed in Canada. He presented a Bill to Parliament seeking the removal of white phosphorus from the Canadian working place. However, he stated that the intervention of the State in the work place was not as superior as voluntary effort. In an era of unlimited and ruthless competition the gap between rich and poor had widened and, although, voluntary effort is superior, the State may find it imperative to act in economic terms for the social good. The anti-social behaviour of private property constitutes a danger to the Community and should this situation persist the Community "may be expected to see the organization of society on some other basis".⁵ The justification for private property is only possible on the grounds of community service. Labour in striving for a National Minimum life standard sought to eliminate fears attendant on the question of health among the work force. Therefore, any social doctrine that stressed that the economically strong support the economically weak had Right on its side. King reminded the owners of the means of production that State

intervention in the form of taxation was one way of remedying problem areas in Industry. King tempered this last statement by asking are the social needs of the working force an obligation of the employer only? The answer was "no" as social needs was an obligation to be shared by the four parties to Industry. King's concern with the health of the working force is equalled only to that of efficiency in the work place. "The time may yet come when it will be everywhere seen that in the maintenance of standards of health is the surest means of maintaining standards of efficiency".⁶ The garden cities of England were evoked by King as examples of decent living arrangements: the work force remains healthy, and consequently is more efficient than those who reside in the city. "International effective regulation in Industry is expressive, through the course of time, of God's economy at work in the world".⁷

The two fold purpose of Industry is to advance material and social well being which needs the co-operation of the four parties to Industry. This is the supreme task. The application of the underlying principles of Peace, Work and Health requires the co-operation of all but fundamentally it is a matter of attitude and spirit. A common aim in a common venture renders a much needed social service requiring a share of life (labour) and fortune (capital). This venture requires a partnership in which duties and privileges are shared progressively in gains and proportionately in losses and the acceptance of Round Table Conference would lead to the highest efficiency. It appears that King might be advocating a

socialized form of the means of production as he stated that Municipal, State Socialist and Collectivist aims should be fostered but their inherent weaknesses avoided. In seeking a durable method of government in Industry, however, it is a "Community of Control" that is advocated rather than "Co-operative Management" as: "Management is a function which does not admit of divided authority".⁸ Working not only both sides of the street but both sides of the left and right of that street King then stated a "Community of Control, effected through the principle of Representation, would be "Co-operative Management" in its truest and fullest sense".⁹

The Round Table Conference with adequate representation is the basis of industrial government. Representation, however does not imply equality but equality as regards the right of representation as far as common interests are concerned. Partnership in Industry is, therefore, a matter of status and not based on identity or function or even equality of services or rewards. Labour's fundamental right of representation is based on its skill and life, Capital's representation its material investment, and Community representation is possible because it provides the framework for the operation of Industry. Capital and Management have to avoid an exclusive attitude as the parties to Industry provide the financing of Industry in the form of interest and wages etc. Denied the opportunity to co-operate in Industry, Labour competes with Capital, thus causing a

neglected Community to strive for collectivist control. Greater representation in Industry will take time and the basis of society will have to alter fundamentally to bring about harmony and accord among all classes in society. Instead of continued disputes between the parties concerned once it is grasped "that in matters of government in Industry, forms are wholly secondary, that attitude and spirit are all-important, and that the application of right principles never fails to effect right relations, the real advance will have begun".¹⁰ Capital, on its own behalf, had been able to exert pressure on political government. However, Labour can now do the same, and the development of democracy may see Labour and the Community exercise more control than Capital or Management. "History is continually presenting paradoxes expressive of the underlying order which tends, in the last analysis, to bring all men and things into conformity with itself".¹¹ King stated that the merging of industrial government and political government was a future possibility and their separateness would be apparent in theory only.

In pursuing the notion of government in Industry King traced the long history of the principle of representation in political government. Contemporary government in Industry, however, could only parallel the form of political government that existed at the time of King Edward I's reign in England as it was just beginning to concede representation. King described various forms of Socialism ranging from Christian Socialism to Syndicalism to whom he ascribed motives of rapaciousness akin to war. "Syndicalism makes it appeal to the ignorance and

prejudices of the masses".¹² The Syndicalists were opposed to involvement in parliamentary manoeuvres because reform Socialists helped to put forward ameliorative legislation as it pertained to the working class. Consequently, the Syndicalists looked upon reform Socialists as traitors to the working class. Syndicalists "demand a direct assault upon the agencies of the bourgeois state through autonomous workers' organizations. The principal weapon would be direct action - the strike, and in the final analysis, the general strike - which would render the entire capitalist enterprise inoperative".¹³

Keeping in mind the various distinctions of socialism the serviceable elements of socialist thought could be utilized to evoke a community spirit without actually slipping into socialism of whatever form. "The acceptance accorded socialist thought is mainly attributable to a belief in the power of Socialism to evoke such a community interest and spirit".¹⁴ These socialist elements that bind a community during war time arise in a period of abnormal conditions and is not sufficient proof that socialism is an enduring system. Although the binding elements of socialism were attractive to King he asked: "Is it to be expected that a change in external methods of organization will alter the inner workings of human nature?"¹⁵ His answer was negative as human nature "senses the limitations of such a system and the Socialist State is based too largely on a conception of human nature which leaves human imperfection out of account".¹⁶ The dissemination of socialist elements,

however, would see Labour vastly increase its influence with the eventual control of Industry shared by all resulting in partnership in Industry leading to industrial democracy. Control of industry in a very real sense is in the nature of ownership in that to own a thing is to have the right to control it. Ownership apart from control is a negative kind of possession; control with or without ownership is a positive one.¹⁷ Public ownership is not a convergence of the interests of employer and employee but the four parties to Industry engaging in Round Table Conference is Joint Control. "The form of industrial organization, and even the immediate ownership of the instruments of production, are wholly secondary to Control".¹⁸ In essence... "what any one or all actually owned of the instruments of production would be unimportant as compared with the degree of control which each exercised over the workings of Industry and its results".¹⁹ Although representation in industrial government may take the form of a Directorate, Management because it exercises an executive function... "need not be robbed of any of its necessary measure of control".²⁰ Regardless of the perception of who controls Industry it would seem that in the final analysis it is Management who actually wields the power. King is very reticent about where power resides but in stating earlier that Management "is on all fours" with respect to the other parties of Industry he was acutely aware of where power evolves.

The acceptance of Industry as a social or public service is achieved through the agencies of Education and Public Opinion.

evident in King's plan was distasteful to many but it was his hope that in an era of political and industrial change his Plan would be entitled to a place in the foundation of a new order.²³

Recommendations for industrial reconstruction which emanated from England during W.W.I in documents such as the Whitley Report, the Garton Foundation and the British Labour Party were reviewed by King. However, it is the Whitley Report that impressed him the most. The report "applies to the whole of Industry the principle of Representative Government. At a single bound, Freedom has leaped forward in a manner hitherto unparalleled".²⁴ "Industrial Service has become the "moral equivalent" of Military Service".²⁵ In passing one might note that King did not acknowledge the partial use of William James' familiar phrase from W.W.I "the moral equivalent of war". The similarities of the Whitley Report and the Colorado Plan were noted by King as both provided a constitution for Industry. He pointed out, however, that both were independent documents and owed their origins to ideas that were "in the air". With partnership in Industry the need for militancy is defused and co-operation inspired by Faith overturns Fear. King's passion for organization is evident because "[t]o bring everyone into line, organization is necessary".²⁶ The more extensive organization is, the greater the possibility of unpropitious developments if the attitude of opposing organizations is not changed from one of militancy into one of effective

co-operation in the creation and maintenance of right standards".²⁷ Whether democratization of industry proceeds from the top as advocated by the Whitley Report or from the bottom as advocated by The Colorado Plan is of secondary importance. With this last statement King left the impression that the Colorado Plan was more democratic than the Whitley recommendations for industrial reconstruction. However, the recommendations of the Whitley Plan were not enacted into legislation in England.²⁸ As one of the recommendations of the Whitley Report the setting up of works councils was on an entirely voluntary basis. Between 1918 and 1920 over one thousand works councils were formed in British industry. From 1921, however, and with the return of more normal conditions interest in works councils declined.²⁹ The Whitley Plan called for voluntary effort to reconstitute British industry and is a far cry from the institution of corporatist practices which King advocated.

In the areas of Education and Public Opinion the controlling aspects of King's thesis is very evident. Education as a basis for industrial efficiency and social well being would impart a knowledge of public health and the application of a trained intelligence to the practical affairs of life. "Especially is there a duty upon all who have to do with Government, Education and the moulding of Opinion, to see that right ideas are made to prevail".³⁰ In shaping Opinion, the author and journalist etc. has the duty to inspire the right attitude in Industry and the Community has the responsibility to ensure that fair and just standards prevail

in Industry. Education can teach the right use of leisure and the humblest person has the potential to experience exalted sentiments and noble delights. Education brings about a sympathy with all human life, and affords glimpses of "the vast world of inner life beyond us, so different from that of outer seeming".³¹ Education and the moulding of public opinion are familiar instruments in propagandizing what one wishes to achieve. King obviously was well aware of the potent force of these devices. Conventional education takes on the form so that trained individuals limited to a specific occupation are produced as the State and the home trains the child "with respect to habits as well as with regard to occupation".³² For himself, King had high aspirations and attained them. However it would seem that King would circumscribe the aspirations of the more humble person.

The Community and Public Opinion are useful instruments in bringing pressure to bear on the noxious activities of Capital and Labour. Capital and Labour indulge in lock-outs and strikes and "[v]iewed from the standpoint of democracy, what are they but a combination by men not elected by the people and not accountable to the people, to prevent other citizens from exercising their rights".³³ Industrial strife for King was anarchy and he appeared to have had a horror of civil conflict. An informed Public Opinion plus Investigation would right wrongs and remove injustice. He felt that: "There is no right superior to that of the community as a whole".³⁴

It would appear that, although King constantly re-iterated the need for Faith he himself was quite devoid of this quality. In investing institutions and organizations with an aura of neutrality he overlooked the notion that in reality they lose their relevance if society's needs are not being met. Obviously loss of relevance does not occur because of neutrality; the loss is one of emotional and social investment. To invest man and society's creation with neutrality is an attempt, not at change, but at containment so that the four parties to Industry could engage in corporate activity without conflict. The implementation of the Colorado Plan helped to dampen down the bitterness of the employees and forced the employers to behave in a more expedient self interested fashion. Although Labour was granted representation in the form of "company unions" the employees' representative could only put forward recommendations instead of demands. Whether these recommendations were acted upon or not was up to Capital and Management. King had studied Marx during his University days and believed that the consolidation of Capital and pauperized Labour led to class conflict. Unlike Marx, however, King's prescription for industrial peace was more hierarchial and organic. If as King believed that unlimited wealth and production was a reality, given the right conditions, it is surprising that he advocated corporatism. In fact, corporatism "operates in an impoverished and sharply competitive world".³⁵ Liberalism in North America with its individualistic and somewhat anarchist strands does not readily lend itself to the

entrenchment of a so called working class. Possibly King, although a professed liberal did not see that Labour would eventually constitute a force in society and itself become imbued with middle class values.

King wrote about the fears of the four parties to Industry but he did not tackle the central problem of: "Why are human being inhuman? Why does humanity destroy itself? Why is life loaded with death? And what is the way out of the dilemma of man".³⁶ Unable to answer these questions King combined conservative and socialist elements into a corporative system which kept intact Capital as the owners of the means of production and the condition of Labour ameliorated to the extent that their more urgent demands were muted. The emphasis by King on the role of Management is an element of corporate structure as Labour and Management may sit together as representatives of Industry but "they do not sit together as equals: the Manager [is] the leader".³⁷ It would appear to me that King advocated corporatism as a means of overcoming industrial strife but he was unable himself to come to terms with the human dilemma. Emil Ludwig stated that: "King's most outstanding talent is a power of reconciling contrary elements" and referred to him as a "Mittler " (mediator)³⁸ of Canadian anatagonisms. Emil Ludwig's portrait sketch of King plus those of Owen E. McGillicudy³⁹ and John Lewis⁴⁰ outline the positive aspects of King's thesis but the material is so adulatory and effusive as to negate any attempt at criticism.

A subtlety of writing style and expression will be noted in King's book Industry and Humanity if one can overcome the

tendency to "being squashed by the words and strangled by the sentences".⁴¹ Within the context of the material terms such as Capital, Labour, Management and the Community are neutral and consequently neither party can be identified as agents in industrial disputes. Stripped of its bathetic and convoluted qualities the principles which underlie the Law of Peace, Work and Health, i.e. justice, mercy, a regard for personality and a regard for the sacredness of human life could only have been perceived, by King, in the abstract. The motives and forces that galvanize men into action are not taken into account by the writer. As noted by Frank H. Underhill the book is a "collection of uplifting abstract moral platitudes...like most sermons" and there is no commitment "to anything much beyond general principles".⁴²

King's vision of a new civilization shows little evidence of confronting the human dilemma but its controlling and organizational elements are apparent:

It is not alone a new dawn Labour and Capital may summon forth; they can create a wholly new civilization. Let Labour and Capital unite under the inspiration of a common ideal, and human society itself will become transformed. Such is the method of creative evolution. Substances and forces hitherto separate and distinct, brought into harmonious relationship, become transformed into substances and forces capable of rendering higher and greater service. So it is in the whole realm of life. Men or nations unite for a given purpose. Under the inspiration of an hitherto unknown ideal, they become capable of a service vaster than any of which they have ever dreamed. Let Labour and Capital unite under the ideal of social service:

the work of material production will go on; not only will it vastly increase, but the whole complexion of Industry will become transformed. No longer will Industry be the battleground of rival and contending factions; it will become the foundation of a new civilization in which life and happiness abound.⁴³

King's success as a labour conciliator brought about the installation of his Industrial Representation Plan in many of North America's large corporations. Nevertheless, his vision of a new civilization barely got off the ground. As noted previously in the United State the "industrial councils" were found to be "company unions" and were dismantled under the Wagner Act of 1935. In Canada the Plan was found to be unconstitutional in 1925 by the Privy Council. Changes do take place in society, some are barely perceptible, and others are momentous. King did not seek change but containment of the status quo. King's prescription for social and industrial peace was built upon bare bones; it lacked the flesh and blood to make it work.

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CHAPTER FIVE
PRIVATE LIVES

As noted earlier in this thesis the notion was expressed that Mackenzie King although known as a "conciliator" may in fact have possessed the attributes of a "controller". It has been shown that King's prescription for industrial peace was one of corporatism buttressed by state intervention. Consequently, it is perceived that King advocated a form of "state corporatism" in contrast to the more liberal form of "societal corporatism" evident today in many of the western democracies. It was further postulated that King's corporatism arose out of his family experience. This family was unusually tight knit in which group needs took precedence over individual needs.

H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry have noted that studies of Mackenzie King have passed over the first forty-five years of his life. Information from these studies has been thin and repetitious.¹ With the release, however, of King's diaries into the public domain within the recent past more attention can be directed at his career prior to 1919. Consequently the diaries have been searched seeking clues that might point to a "controlling" personality. The search, therefore, has been confined to the early portions of King's diaries in that "a firm sense of inner identity marks the end of the adolescent process and is a condition for further and truly

individual maturation.²

King's immediate family is an interesting one as his mother, Isabel King, was the thirteenth and last child of William Lyon Mackenzie. Known as the "little rebel" Mackenzie was a key figure in the 1837 rebellion of Upper Canada. Mackenzie had turned Upper Canada on its head, involved if not directly, indirectly, many individuals in death, imprisonment and banishment. His role in the rebellion was "cold comfort to the men and their families whose lives he had ruined and to the reform cause which he had greatly injured".³ Mackenzie and his family, following the abortive uprising, sought refuge in the United States until following a pardon in 1850 the Mackenzie family were able to return to Canada. Mackenzie had often compared the backwardness of Upper Canada to that of the United States in that he believed that ideal democracy reigned there. This ideal became quickly tarnished as his penchant for seeking out corrupt practices quickly surfaced. His published findings, backed up by the use of private correspondence, had the effect in one instance of preventing a former President, Martin Van Buren, from seeking a return to the Presidency in 1848.⁴ Mackenzie was never troubled by the ethics of publishing private correspondence. "He was obsessed with every speck of corruption that he saw, and only by publishing could he relieve his feelings."⁵ His political activities during his exile were such that at one stage he was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment, of which he served twelve months, for breach of the United States' Neutrality Act. During his political career King often

referred to his grandfather's struggle for representative government in Upper Canada. He could also, however, point to his paternal grandfather, John King, who had been a bombardier on the government side during the 1837 rebellion. King, therefore, had the best of both worlds.

William Lyon Mackenzie's parents were Scots both belonging to the Mackenzie clan. At his birth Mackenzie's mother was forty-five years of age and his father some eighteen years younger. The temperament of both parents were diametrically opposed as Elizabeth Mackenzie was a stern Calvinist and the father wild and improvident. Shortly after Mackenzie's birth his father, following a night of merry making, caught cold and died in the late winter of 1794.⁶ In the face of a stern environment and much bible study imposed by his mother Mackenzie attempted to leave home at the age of ten years. In early manhood he travelled to England and Europe (Paris) where he indulged in gambling. Mackenzie arrived in Canada in the late Spring of 1820 and in 1822 his mother arrived with his future bride, Isabel Baxter, and a son, James, who had been reared by Mackenzie's mother. There appears to be no record of the mother of Mackenzie's first born. Mackenzie was never to be separated from his mother again until her death at the age of ninety during the family exile in the United States. Mackenzie married Isabel Baxter and set up house with both wife and mother.

Contemporary observations of Mackenzie and his mother show that both were small in stature possessing similar features which expressed restless twitching habits.⁷

Mackenzie, apparently, suffered from migraine headaches all his life and when aroused appeared to be inflicted with St. Vitus dance.⁸ From the literature it appears that Mackenzie was somewhat of an obsessive personality. He kept lists of the thousands of books that he read and it was difficult to tell, because of a prodigious memory, "where he left off and the filing system began".⁹ He believed in the power of the printed word as words were "efficient weapons". He was endowed with an "accountant's passion" as there was a "system in everything".¹⁰ Mackenzie had a good head for business but his attacks on men in public life took precedence over that of his family's financial security. Mackenzie's inability to form genuine friendship either within or outside the political sphere saw him "far more deeply attached to wife and mother and children than are most men".¹¹ Public justice took precedence over all needs including that of the welfare of his family so much so that Mackenzie gave up a thriving business and entered the publishing and political arenas. Embarking on a public career Mackenzie and his family were never to be free of financial worries and often came close to starvation during the family's exile in the United States.

On his return to Canada in 1850 Mackenzie sought a seat in Parliament. In a by-election held in Haldimand County Mackenzie topped the polls in 1851. Several weeks after entering the House a motion brought forward by Mackenzie led to the break-up of the great Reform Ministry.¹² However, until his retirement in 1858 Mackenzie never attained the

influence that he had enjoyed prior to the 1837 rebellion. He rejected responsible government and became more radical as he grew older. Time and events had passed him by during his exile in the United States and it would appear that he was merely tolerated until he retired. Upper Canada "was ready for and demanded a colourful demagogue in the 1820's, a rebel in the 1830's" and Mackenzie filled that role but by his return to political life in 1850 Canada had moved from an agrarian to a commercial society.¹³ He was, therefore, of no further interest.

H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry have noted King's lapse from the rational in political thinking and this can be contrasted to that of Mackenzie's romanticism. Anthony W. Rasporich perceives Mackenzie's anti-rational mould of romanticism as fitting some of the basic symptoms of Isaiah Berlin's description of the romantic mind:

[I]ts concern [is] with subjective or creative activity over and against the objective or real; a stress on the quality of vision, right attitudes of mind and heart rather than right answers provided by reason; and self-sacrifice as an ennobling ideal rather than worship of programmes in the abstract.¹⁴

Mackenzie despaired of the world as he found it and concerned himself with the world as he believed it should be. King similarly to Mackenzie, found institutions or forms unimportant; "rather more crucial were the particular uses to which good or evil men put them",¹⁵ Mackenzie sought "a reign of the saints on earth, - a government founded upon the heaven-born principles of Jesus Christ".¹⁶ Thus did he perceive the rebellion of Upper Canada in 1837.

Isabel Mackenzie and John King were married in Toronto in December of 1872. Within the space of five years four children were born. These were Bella, Willie (Mackenzie King), Jennie and Max. King described his early years as those of an average, normal boy who took part in all activities which younger men enjoy.¹⁷ King, however, did not come from an average family as will be shown in the remainder of this thesis. John King was an unsuccessful lawyer, a writer and a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto. It is apparent that he was unable to satisfy Mrs. King's ambitions as to social position and financial security. His sense of failure... was never far away, and he was in constant need of reassurance and a new stimulus.¹⁸ Mrs. King was subjected to cycles of extreme activity followed by periods of nervous exhaustion.¹⁹ She possessed a frolicsome side to her nature as she would romp and play with the children. However, as the children grew she remained essentially the companion rather than the parent.²⁰

The notion that Mrs. King was more of a companion than a mother or parent to her children leads one to question what effect this behaviour may have had on her offspring and more particularly Mackenzie King? Mrs. King's "early life had been dominated by traumatic changes, hardship, disappointment and frustration".²¹ Consequently "by heritage and experience she lacked the capacity to adequately fulfil the mothering role".²² In marrying an unsuccessful man Mrs. King continued to experience disappointments and frustrations. The lack of

money in the King household was always a pressing problem. However, as the children grew it was not their demands that were pre-eminent but those of the mother. A move from Berlin (Kitchener) to Toronto in the summer of 1893 did not improve the financial situation as was hoped. Nevertheless, in society it was Mrs. King who shone and not her now teenage children. "[T]o ensure that she was well attired at all times was a major occupation - almost an obsession - of the family".²³ In a letter to Mackenzie King his sister Jennie described such an occasion.

Mother and I went to the garden party at Government House yesterday and enjoyed it very much. As usual we worked till the very last moment but the result was all that could be desired and Mother looked a perfect little picture. She wore her black and white silk made over & trimmed with lace, and her little bonnet was sweet...Sir Oliver (Mowat) spoke so nicely to Mother going in and said he was so glad she had come and going out he had another little word with her.²⁴

Mrs. King was "the pivotal figure in the family"²⁵ displacing to some extent the paternal role of her husband. The inability of John King to improve the family's social and financial positions saw a transference of Mrs. King's demands and attentions to her eldest son.²⁶

Mrs. King's self interest and her desire to remove the opprobrium attached to the name of Mackenzie ensured that individual needs were subordinated to group needs. "All the intense loyalty and affection that were dominant characteristics of this unusually tight-knit family came to be focused through her onto Mackenzie King".²⁷ The family was not only inward looking but isolated as well. Mrs. King did not get on well

with her relatives and her husband's father died before he was born. The family was not one that looked out into the world with optimism. In a letter to King dated January 14th, 1897, Mrs. King wrote: "United we stand, divided we fall". A little more than a year later on April 6th, 1898, the tone varied little: "I am very weary but that is nothing new for mother, it is only one more lesson not to put your trust in anything under the sun". At this time, and in his early twenties, King was enrolled as a graduate student at Harvard University. Suffering as he was from acute anxiety and distress at this time, the letters must have been disillusioning if not shattering. He was worried about money and could not make up his mind as to what career to follow. It appears that Mrs. King expressed no particular desire to see her son enter politics but she was ruthlessly bent on restoring the family's social position and sought financial security. The parental expectations fell on King in that "each parent sought in the eldest son a substitute to fulfil needs left unsatisfied by the spouse and the self".²⁸

Mackenzie King started his diaries on September 6th, 1893, and these were maintained until two days before his death in 1950. King's official biographers prudently omitted any reference to his private life. The release of the diaries into the public domain and C.P. Stacey's book A Very Double Life overcomes this deficit. It was thought by some that King "was an entirely sexless creature"²⁹ but a reading of the diaries belies this notion. As C.P. Stacey notes

"Mackenzie King's lady friends were as the sands of the sea for multitude".³⁰ King persistently sought, into late middle age, the ideal partner but his often expressed desire to marry and have a family of his own never materialized. King was never able to find a partner who could measure up to his idealized and resented mother.

There is little in the early diaries to indicate the anxiety and distress that King later felt while attending the University of Chicago and Harvard University. King entered the University of Toronto in 1891 graduating in 1895. He led a very active life attending the Sick Children's Hospital on Sundays to engage in prayer and hymn singing and lecturing to Working Men's Clubs and the Socialist Labour Party. His round of activities also took in what was described as "wanderings" and "time worse than wasted". These references occur frequently in the diaries and refer to his visits to local Toronto prostitutes. However he simultaneously tried his hand at converting these ladies by getting them into institutional care. The attempts at conversion lapsed in 1895 but the wanderings continued, as far as the record shows, while King was a cabinet minister in Ottawa. Why and when King became concerned with the working poor is difficult to pin point but the children had been exposed, at an early age, to the family history as it referred to William Lyon Mackenzie. The stories of Mackenzie's struggles in the political arena and the childhood experiences of Mrs. King would more than likely have had an indelible impact on impressionable young ears.

On November 4th, 1895, while addressing the Working Men's Club in Toronto King expressed ideas which are to be found twenty-four years later in his book Industry and Humanity. At the meeting he "endeavoured to shew the great advances on all sides of the modern phase, contrasted with previous centuries...There were over 60 working men present". These ideas are to be found in expanded form in Chapter IV of the aforementioned book in which King attempted to show that the working man was much better off than in previous centuries. King always identified with labour himself but this identification was somewhat ambivalent. If the working man was of the "sensible kind" not the revolutionary or socialist type he was King's man.³¹ Similarly if the owners of the means of production were sensible their wealth did not preclude friendship with King. What he sought were men who possessed similar values and ideals. These included a commitment to a life of service, the dedication of self to great and noble causes, and the sacrifice of pleasure to the call of duty.³² Prior to entering the University of Chicago King worked for the Globe newspaper in Toronto. One of his duties was to report the events at the Woodbine Race Track and he recorded his feelings with regard to the society set and the working man.

I walked to the betting ring to watch the crowd. I must confess that a mingled feeling of disgust contempt and sadness came over me as I saw the mass of men with apparently no high thoughts or desires wasting or risking what money they might possess. The class are a hard one to deal with. So too, the Society set, poor feeble minded creatures only pleasure to be looked at & to look at others. I did not enjoy the races much.³³

There is little in the early diaries about King's family. He does record his unhappiness over his "wanderings, his frequent bouts of crying in Church and his thoughts about the ups and downs of life. While working for the Globe he asked for a raise in wages which was objected to as he was not a permanent employee. He remarked:

An example of the meanness of a grit politician also of large corporations. If I were at all independent I would leave this concern. But I will use these men as means to my end meanwhile.³⁴

At this time King was twenty-one years of age (1896) and a sense of morbidity can be discerned later in the summer upon hearing of the death of a fellow under graduate from the University of Toronto.

I seem to hear his voice all day saying "Rex, it is lovely here" &c. It might be only imagination.³⁵

King entered the University of Chicago in 1896 and immediately set about making arrangements to live at the Hull House settlement. Miss Jane Addams had set up in Chicago a settlement modelled on the ones that Arnold Toynbee had erected in England. Called University settlements, university men went into and lived among slum dwellers. Volunteers who entered the settlements worked among the poor not only at economic relief but to bring about the desire for self-improvement among the needy. Farlier King had been exposed to the works of Arnold Toynbee and had been enraptured by their contents. He identified so closely with Arnold Toynbee that on one occasion at a lecture his name "brought all the blood to my face in a rush. I felt it almost as a personal

reference",³⁶ King loved both Arnold Toynbee and Miss Jane Addams for the work that they involved themselves in. However, Arnold Toynbee had died in 1883 and when King actually experienced Hull House his enthusiasm for the work diminished and possibly his regard for Miss Addams also. The inadequacies of King's father and the failure of his grandfather meant that neither served as an "adequate masculine ideal or model",³⁷ As a life long idol of King, Arnold Toynbee was the ideal father figure, and at last he had found a model for his future work in life.³⁸

On October 24th, 1896, King moved into Hull House but he only stayed two months. He had already made contact with labour organizations in Chicago and was engaged in a round of activities which included some duties at Hull House. The settlement was situated in a very poverty stricken area of Chicago and King had to travel through the area to get to the University. By January 8th, 1897, King was so upset that he feared a breakdown. In fact the stark poverty of the area affected him and his university work.³⁹ Although, Arnold Toynbee was King's ego ideal King could not continue to work at the University settlement. However, as late as 1939 King could say:

Out walking, I thought of Arnold Toynbee and of how, when I had read his Industrial Revolution, I was so overcome with emotion at finding my ideal of a man and the purpose of life in the kind of work which he had set for himself, that I recall kneeling down and praying very earnestly that I might be like him.⁴¹

The inference can be drawn that King lacked "ego strength".⁴²

On leaving home for the first time he had sought refuge in Hull House but was unable to cope with the conditions he found there. Four days after moving into the settlement he was worried about his plans and quite unhappy.

As I read I began crying despite myself. - The burden of life, seems to (sic) much. Yet I do not know if the ministry is the best place. Even Economics seems a paltry thing besides the eternal & real principles of life. As I thought of the world & Eternity, I threw down the book & said "That is all I have to tell. Why do I cry so bitterly. Why pray so earnestly"? I ran thro' the pages of my bible & my eye wd. fall involuntarily on such passages as these Galatians I, 15-16, 1 Corinthians IV - 1, Romans XV-20-21. Acts XXVIII - 31.43

A note of disillusionment or cynicism is evident by November of 1896 in a conversation with a Mr. Moore on the way to the University:

[W]e both agree on the foolishness of certain methods of certain social reforms & both look for much from educat'n & religion...44

During his year at Chicago King expressed the desire to leave the University and seek a job. He also expressed the desire to attend a British university such as Oxford or Cambridge. Returning to Toronto for the Christmas holidays King wrote an article on his experience at Hull House, and talked to the Socialist Labour Party on industrial conditions in Chicago. He had trouble sleeping as his mind was active and his thoughts came rapidly.

Many were exceedingly beautiful but I cried out once "Oh God no more" I longed to rest but these thoughts as revelations of life would not cease coming...45

In spite of King's expressed unhappiness while in Chicago

his year end review of 1896 is quite optimistic. He believed that his stay at Hull House among the poor enabled him "to look upon the problems of life with more earnestness and sincerity". His belief in God had deepened and he had had "glimpses into the unknown, and who will say that there have been almost direct revelations".⁴⁶ There is little to show on December 31st, 1896, that King was interested in labour problems but he did contemplate three worthy ambitions - a leading position in political life, a leading position in University life and a leading position in the Church.

Although King had been imbued with the ideals of Arnold Toynbee when it came down to the concrete he was unable to face the situation. In June of 1896 King wrote an extraordinary letter to his friend, Henry Albert Harper, in which he stated:

The world, the toiling weary world is crying loudly for you & me why do we pass by on the other side. Poor suffering humanity & the erring many how they need our help, our comfort, our strength! I can hear their voices tonight, some crying from beds of loneliness & pain for a heart to appeal to. Some weeping in factories & sweat-shops for the arm of a deliverer to shorten their hours & secure them their bread...Long have I heard the awful din often have I recoiled back into my selfish rest but other voices tell me now to go, no longer to wait, & surely I will heed them...⁴⁷

King's ideal self sought the role of social reformer. However, his family was not overjoyed when he entered Hull House and they urged King to cultivate those at the University who could help him.

King left Hull House in January of 1897 and applied

himself with such zeal to his University work that he found it hard to control himself aright.⁴⁸ He was influenced by Dr. T. Veblen's lectures on Socialism to the extent that he believed that socialist tendencies would prevail.⁴⁹ However on a visit to Pillman (sic) (Pullman's Carriage Works?) he was impressed with the place and the working conditions as they outwardly appeared:

It was evident they were "controlled" & well under the hands of the authorities, but they certainly seemed to be better off than workmen in crowded centres.⁵⁰

In March of 1897 King came down with symptoms of typhoid and entered St. Luke's Hospital in Chicago. He was impressed with the nurses whom he felt were imbued with Christian virtues and charity. It is evident that his hospitalization was not entirely unwelcomed as everything was lovely and three weeks later after his discharge he wished to be back at St. Luke's. King's delight with the nurses was such that he escorted more than one to the theatre. However it was Mathilde Grossert who was constantly in his mind so much so that he could not "help almost loving the nobility of character" he found in her. This lady was to cause King much soul searching and anxiety during the following year.

Throughout the summer of 1897 King was worried about his future and about remaining in Toronto without remunerative employment. However Harvard University offered him a scholarship, and once again filled with noble ambition, in spite of his financial difficulties, he was determined "to find a way or make it".⁵¹ During this time his resentment against

Professor James Mavor of the University of Toronto rose to the fore. Professor Mavor had considered King unfit to undertake graduate work at the University of Toronto. Consequently he had not supported King's application for a graduate Fellowship. King never forgave Professor Mavor this slight as: "The disappointment of Toronto has been greater than I at first realized. Mavor's action has weakened my faith in men. Such actions tend to make men selfish & indifferent, I am making myself sick with worry".⁵² The news of the Harvard scholarship meant that King would be able to show his worth "and Mavor & Toronto will regret its action".⁵³

A striking feature of King's diaries is his constantly changing attitude towards people and ideas. Between January and April of 1897 he veered from conservative to socialist tendencies. His constant worry over a career and his financial position was very evident but it did not impede his academic work. His "joyless voluptuaries"⁵⁴ continued in spite of his anguish and "time worse than wasted". One gets the impression that King worried about almost every aspect of daily life. Within the space of four days King recorded that his father's love affected him but he was also irritated by his father's inability to manage the family's financial resources. King copied into his diary extracts from the literature that caught his attention. He also included portions of his own letters to other individuals. Also recorded were portions of letters from other people including those of Mathilde Grossert.

H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry noted the derivative nature

of Industry and Humanity. Therefore, it may not be wide off the mark to say that the book was probably an amalgam of everything that King voraciously read. William Lyon Mackenzie was known to publish unacknowledged material and it is more than likely that his grandson did the same. One unacknowledged example has already been noted. This was King's use of William James' phrase "the moral equivalent of...". King continued to work on the article regarding Hull House but he stated "much of it is stolen directly and it does not satisfy me at all".⁵⁶

During the summer of 1897 King did the rounds of the sweat-shops in Toronto. The conditions he found was "a story of Hell" and his mind was all ablaze. He resolved to work, work for his fellow man but to this date he had not decided in what capacity. King was certainly sensitive to the plight of the working poor but as his Plan for Industrial Representation shows his concern was paternalistic. One can infer that he equated the plight of the poor with his own sense of inadequacy. Although King was to become Prime Minister of Canada and financially secure he was never able to overcome the feelings of inferiority that dogged him throughout his life. King's data on the sweat-shop situation was reported to the Hon. William Mulock, a close friend of his father. The outcome of this meeting was that King was offered Two hundred dollars to report on sweat-shop conditions. Sir Wm. Mulock offered to put in force any practical remedy that King would suggest as sweat-shop practices were also being carried out in the Department that Sir Wm. Mulock headed, i.e., the Post Office. King often expressed the notion "to find a way or

make it". In effect King took it upon himself to look into the conditions of sweat-shop practices in Toronto. Throughout the summer King had been obsessed with "making" it to Harvard. Much later when acting as a labour conciliator the settlement of disputes was on the basis of what King deemed to be the wisest course - he would find a way or make it.

King arrived at Harvard University in the Fall of 1897. His immediate loneliness and restlessness led him to "wandering". Having taken up residence at the University King found that he could not afford the fees. He found cheaper lodging and sought financial relief from the Bursar at the University. King broke down and went to his room saying "that this victory was to make me a leading man at Harvard. I packed my trunk after crying almost bloody tears".⁵⁷ King wrote home telling the family of his financial difficulties, the discouragement that he felt and the impossibility of undertaking serious work at the University while suffering such strain. He informed them that he was thinking of leaving school and taking a position as a factory inspector in Boston. He had found the first few days at Cambridge the most trying of his life. He appealed to his father to raise a loan ending his letter with a postscript that - "I am here to win & win I can and will".⁵⁸ The notion that King would give up the appointed task laid on him by his family brought a quick response. John King told his son that he must never endure such a strain again and that King could put his confidence in him to see him through safely

because "[w]e must look ahead, you know,..."⁵⁹ King's appeal to his family is couched in terms of blackmail and submission. If the money could be found for King to continue his academic career he would submit to his parent's wishes. If not he would leave school and go to work in a factory.

King did settle down at Harvard and found the atmosphere quite congenial. In his cheaper lodgings he found what he sought "a little of woman's care and the independence of being alone. I am a boy no longer".⁶⁰ His desire to make his mark at Harvard caused King to become nervous and excited. He wandered "like a lost child at the biddings of passion playing the child of Hell".⁶¹ He took a quick liking to the professors he encountered particularly Dr. Charles E. Norton, Dr. Frank W. Taussig and Dr. William J. Ashley. King felt that Professor Taussig liked him and he loved him with all his heart in return.⁶² King had encountered Professor Ashley in Toronto and he had been quite helpful in getting King settled at Harvard. However, King's attitude was ambivalent toward Professor Ashley as, at first, the professor was a "true friend". An examination paper returned by Professor Ashley to King bore the following comments:

This paper produces the lectures very intelligently, but there is hardly as much evidence of independent thinking as I should like to see. Your facility in writing is a little dangerous. I gave an A against my rule never to mark unoriginal work, because the reproduct'n is so intelligent. But I do so with hesitation.⁶³

King made no comment on the above but recorded the remarks into his diary. The following February Professor Ashley again remarked: "Your greatest danger is your facility of

expression".⁶⁴ King believed that Professor Ashley envied him his powers. Throughout his academic career he read vast quantities of literature which he abstracted for examination purposes. He reproduced lecture material which had no depth to it. He was aware of this problem but his rigid daily time table left him little room for critical or reflective thinking. He described in a letter to his brother, Max, how he worked:

If you decide to work till ten at night do not stop at nine thirty and do not work till ten ten stop at ten sharp. If you do this you will see at the end of a week you can look back on the work you have done and find it fitting into squares, each bit of it will stand out almost as a distinct block - there is no sensation of the mind to equal the pleasure of this except perhaps that which comes from complete concentration... These little squares mount up and I find that the pleasure comes when one sees his duty well done.⁶⁵

On January 29th, 1898, King "simply wrote as a machine"⁶⁶ during an examination and believed, some two days later, that if someone loved him he could work better.

During the early months of 1898 King realized that he lead "a very double life".⁶⁷ He wandered around Boston looking at the poor life and came home "feeling that evil was more hateful to me than ever and that somewhat that good had gained the better part".⁶⁸ On a trip through a Turkish smoking den and China Town King was able to resist temptation and "felt a bitter hatred of sin,..."⁶⁹ He expressed the thought that his sin "wd. destroy me".⁷⁰ It is during this struggle and his growing belief that science would be the greatest interpreter of religion that a rare reference is made to his mother. King had little faith in either institutions or other people. He needed science to confirm the necessity of religious belief

and he was overly dependent on the maternal figure. It is also at this time that he embarked on a love relationship by mail with Miss Mathilde Grossert. His thoughts about his mother were "with feelings that are sad and timid".⁷¹ King was now twenty-four years of age and his obsession with sin and guilt, his search for ideal models, his aspirations for a leading position and the desire "to write like Tolstoi one day"⁷² indicate a somewhat adolescent individual. His feelings regarding his mother are also ambivalent. Mrs. King in relegating her unsuccessful husband to a secondary position in her life had focused all her expectations onto her son. This was a heavy burden. However because of King's dependency on the maternal figure he was unable to express his own desires and wants. King apparently never questioned the expectations that his family had of him, at least, consciously. If under too great a strain he knew he could apply subtle pressure knowing that they would respond even if it meant the family had to go into debt. Despite the foregoing King's own ambitions and his fear of poverty, which he himself had never experienced, precluded a critical appraisal of his own situation. He knew he was destined for some leading role but he was consistently vague as to its concrete aspects. During his long academic career King took from his family. After his defeat in the 1911 election King refused offers of an editorship and the leadership of the Liberal Party in Ontario. Despite his family's precarious financial position he actually did little to help even when in a position to do so.

King's thought that he felt "sad and timid" when thinking of his mother indicates a conditional relationship. King had never been forced to recognize that he was not the centre of his mother's world - for he was.⁷³ The generational boundaries were not sharply defined as King once said - "I have known poverty at first hand because my mother had often gone to bed hungry in her exile,..."⁷⁴ King had spent his early childhood within a family milieu that saw a reversal of parental roles. In this Victorian family the father was solicitous and the mother a strong dominant figure.⁷⁵ As well as the generational boundaries not being sharply defined the blurring of parental roles had an impact on King. It has been said that King had a woman's mind with all its intuitions. Intellectually he was almost more feminine than masculine...⁷⁶ King had been named after his grandfather and the family's expectations were that his success would wipe out his grandfather's failures. However it was implicit that he was not to behave as his grandfather had, in a wild improvidential manner. King, however, was often impetuous and possessed a romantic turn of mind. King was always urged by his parents to make social contacts both at the University and in society and they expected him, eventually, to make a brilliant social marriage.

As stated earlier Mrs. King's early life had been dominated by trauma, frustration and disappointment. It was further noted that by heritage and experience she lacked the capacity to adequately fulfill the mothering role. Her needs

and demands were so pre-eminent that the family's loyalty and affection were focused, through her, onto King. "In return she demanded nothing but the surrender of his autonomy".⁷⁷

Given Mrs. King's background her son's lack of autonomy or "ego strength" can be attributed to a mothering figure who exhibited a deprivational mode of parenting. It has already been noted that the King family was unusually tight-knit in which group needs took precedence over individual needs. In other words the King family was a corporate one in which the internalization of a common set of values seriously impaired the inner unity of the individual.⁷⁸ W. Ronald Fairbairn has postulated that the vicissitudes of childhood instead of being grounded in the Oedipal situation can be projected back to primary or dependent relationships. Instead of dealing within a frame-work of classical instinctual theory the question of autonomy can be approached from the point of view of object-relations. Objects can be animate or inanimate as they possess intrinsic value. Consequently given the biological the first object that the infant strives to relate to is that of the mother or surrogate. In seeking comfort and nourishment the first social relationship that the infant establishes is that between himself and his mother.⁷⁹ The reality of the early life experience can lead in two directions. "Good object experience simply leads to good ego development".⁸⁰ Conversely bad object relations lead to a splitting of the object and concurrently to a splitting of the infant's immature though intact ego. Given the foregoing it should be noted that mothers and parents are not completely ideal objects

as they have needs of their own, and to this extent all infants suffer a degree of deprivation to a greater or lesser degree.

Object-relations thinking perceives the infant as having an immature but intact ego possessing potentialities. The unitary ego develops its own internal structure as a result of its earliest experiences in object-relations.⁸¹ A depriving mother after internalization is "split" into first an exciting though frustrating object and secondly a rejecting object.⁸² The exciting object excites the needs of the infant but never satisfies them. That element of the mother termed the rejecting object after internalization is identified with by the infant. The two constituents termed excitatory and rejecting objects are splits of the bad object of the mother. Given that mothers and parents are not all bad the good object of mother "is projected back into the real external mother who is then idealized so as to make real life relations as comfortable as possible".⁸³ The splitting of the mother into good (idealized) object, and bad (excitatory and rejecting) object is paralleled with splitting of the infantile unitary ego.

Before describing ego splitting it is necessary to note that the term "libido" within the context of object-relations thinking, is seen as "the primary life drive to object-relations and ego growth,...".⁸⁴ Infant object splitting in the deprived situation leads to:

- (a) an infantile libidinal ego unceasingly stimulated by the exciting object, hungrily craving the personal relations without which the psyche cannot grow a strong ego, but manifesting in adult life as chronic over-dependency, compulsive sexuality, and craving for appreciation;
- (b) an infantile antilibidinal ego identified with the rejecting object, an undeveloped childish conscience, negative and hostile, self-persecuting, inducing fear and guilt,...

and

- (c) a central ego conforming with the idealized parents, after the emotionally disturbing aspects of both objects and ego have been split off and repressed.⁸⁵

Ego strength in the individual should ideally see with maturation a lessening in dependence on primary relationships.

"The abandonment of infantile dependence involves an abandonment of relationships based upon primary identification in favour of relationships with differentiated objects".⁸⁶

The refusal or inability to turn to differentiated objects in later life can be attributed to a disturbance in the object-relationships of the developing ego.⁸⁷ A disturbance in object-relations leads the infant to adopt measures to make his life more comfortable long before the Oedipal situation occurs.

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CHAPTER SIX

DOUBTS AND COMPROMISES

It was noted in the last chapter that King suffered anxiety on being absent from home. Therefore, a second look at his letter to Henry Albert Harper written in 1893 would appear to indicate that he was anxious at being separated from his family prior to leaving for Chicago. King started his diaries in 1893 and little appears in them prior to 1896 to indicate that he was anxiously attached to his mother. In this letter King appears to identify with the working poor but these sentiments were quickly dampened following his experience at Hull House. He never again indulged in settlement work. King, it would appear, deluded himself as to his knowledge of the working class as he had little contact with this stratum of society.¹ His corporate prescription for industrial peace arose out of his family experience. While working as an industrial conciliator settlements were effected by the plan that King deemed wisest; it was not a compromise worked out either by the disputants or to please the disputants. It was King's solution, just as earlier family compromises had been Isabel King's solutions.² King believed that more could be done for the workers by winning over employers to social reform than by working class direct action.³ In the letter referred to, King displayed more of his own suffering than that of the working poor.

During this period that King believed he was leading "a very double life" he renewed his acquaintanceship with Miss Mathilde Grossert. Miss Grossert was one of the nurses that King had encountered during his stay in St. Luke's Hospital in Chicago during 1897. This lady was an emigrant from Germany. Apparently, she was well educated and intelligent and older than King. C.P. Stacey states that she may have been two years older than King, but King records her age as being twelve years older than his. They had corresponded since King left Chicago and on his return to Harvard in early 1898 she had become an obsession with him,⁴ This love affair carried on by mail was one "of intimacy based on distance".⁵ King was a great letter writer and many of his relationships followed a similar pattern in that he could project his ideal self by mail, get a response, and share in reciprocal strengthening.⁶ In pursuing relationships "of intimacy based on distance" based on the projection of his ideal self, King received the appreciation and attention that he sought. By this method he was able consciously or unconsciously to overcome the possibility of rejection. With Miss Grossert, however, King got somewhat more deeply involved to the extent that he believed himself to have been truly mad.⁷

In earlier correspondence during February of 1898 King had found in Miss Grossert the combined graces and

virtues which constitute the ideal woman. With Mathilde by his side he could stand "against all the world", and Mackenzie's voice "shall be heard in Canada again".⁸

Miss Grossert was backward about encouraging King and did not respond immediately to the February communication. On March 6th, 1898, King wrote again and recorded portions of the letter in his diary.

I love you with all my heart. I have spoken of friendship and admiration but I never felt words so hollow before. It is not friendship, it is love, deep deep love, deep and true. It is not admiration, it is love true, true love and it is all love of you. You, Mathilde Hedwig Grossert, you I love and with all my heart. These were the words I wrote this morning in a letter to Miss Grossert... Strangely enough I wrote the letter while I was in a dull cold mood or rather feeling as one does who is more or less tired and who has little hope. Yet I expressed my thoughts as I believed them to be most true. I mailed the letter at two and it is now beyond my reach, for good or ill Miss Grossert knows my heart and I have taken a step which a year ago I would have believed impossible. Indeed I had decided never to think of marriage till I had a home provided and now I have practically proposed.⁹

C.P. Stacey states that King was being dishonest with Mathilde; the letter was one of the romantic exercises to which he had become addicted. No one reading the above could expect any good to come of the relationship.¹⁰ On March 10th, 1898, Miss Grossert replied asking King to be patient and he immediately assumed that he had been refused thinking, at least for the present, that it was for the best. However a few days later he changed his mind and wrote the lady again recording portions of the letter in his diary. This pattern

was to continue as King believed on one day he loved Mathilde and the next day he did not. In his initial attempt to move from a primary relationship (mother) to that of a differentiated object (Miss Mathilde Grossert) King's anxiety surfaced. By March 29th, 1898, King wrote Miss Grossert that he desperately loved her and if he ever got her in his arms she would never get away either in this world or the next. He did not mail this letter as he believed it to be too earthy and the truest love is far above all this,¹¹ Instead he sent a telegram begging her to write. By the end of the month his doubts again surfaced and after dining with friends and having "a most delightful time" he ended the day with the following:

There is this very night the eternal fight within my breast. Sin and wrong would tear her from me. Thoughts come to me which are begotten of the devil and which would ask me if I have gained all. They say she has never written and that my love grows cold. Base & foul thoughts begotten in hell itself. Too often have you tried to lure me from heaven itself, I will have none of you. You offer me ambition and the world. You tell me to gain it alone, - to hell again with you all. For in my best my purest moments I love this woman most. I have not prayed since a child to be guided in this matter right to be deceived now. God has heard my prayer and he gives to me the one who will keep me nearest to Him.. I have had a long wait, but faith is strong.¹²

King's troubles were compounded as he had informed his family of his attachment to Miss Grossert. Mrs. King applied the whip without mercy.¹³

The struggles have been long and hard at home and I hope you will not think me selfish when I say I had counted on you to help to lift the cloud. Things are looking brighter than they were but no matter which way we turn it must take time to lift the burden off our shoulders... I have built castles without number for you. Are all these dreams to end in dreams? I am getting old now Willie and disappointment wearies and the heart grows sick. Sometimes when I hear you talk so much what you would do for those that suffer I think charity begins at home and as you do so shall it be done unto you. I am not grasping for myself but I do feel for your sisters and I know you who have such a big heart will not forsake me.¹⁴

A good example of manipulativeness is offered by Mrs. King's last sentence. She is not grasping for herself but she does not wish her son to foresake her. King's father was equally forthright:

Your first duty is to those at home; it is a duty that should outweigh every other consideration, and the performance of it in a loyal and manly spirit will do more to give you lasting satisfaction and happiness than any other course you can lay out for yourself.¹⁵

It is clear from the above that King's parents did not or could not extend the notion of autonomy to their son. Quite clearly his first duty was to those at home and he was not to act independently.

King, apparently, had proposed to Miss Grossert as he received a telegram from her saying - "My answer, yes". However King had been ordered home to discuss the situation. His father's argument that to be engaged would cramp King in every way was cogent. King promised that he would not become engaged but he would not promise not to love the girl or not

to engage himself at a later time to her.¹⁶ King travelled to Chicago to see Miss Grossert and his diary entries became confused and excited. The meeting was an emotional one but King is overcome, once again, with doubts. The thoughts that he longed for did not come nor was he carried away as he hoped to other worlds. In fact, as C.P. Stacey suggests, he was shocked to discover that he felt physically attracted to Miss Grossert.¹⁷ Both parted on the basis that neither was ready for an engagement and King felt that he had kept faith with both his family and his beloved. Back at Harvard King now believed that Miss Grossert had deceived him as she was not the ideal that he believed her to be. "If she had been in a home instead of an institut'n she would have been the most beautiful and loving of girls. Oh it is a mistake - this new woman, worldly freedom idea. I have been like Peter, I denied my lord for a girl's sake, but I will do better",¹⁸ "New women are a perversion",¹⁹

The above state of affairs continued into the late summer of 1898. King longed for a letter from Miss Grossert but he also said on May 7th, 1898: "I will cease playing with her, and perhaps she will realise some day it was not well to play with me".²⁰ King continued to bombard the lady by mail in a highly romantic fashion and religious tone. He became very excited writing wildly, not reflecting and talking only of himself and his plans. Christ, Arnold Toynbee and Miss Grossert came to be one and the same person. "When I

love the one I love the other, and to turn from one is to turn from the other".²¹ By the middle of August Miss Grossert wrote King - "My worst fears are confirmed - neither your letters nor your actions are those of a sane man".²² King travelled to Chicago but whatever happened there was too painful to record. He did feel, however, that his love for Mathilde was that of a child for his nurse. "I always feel she is older than I am, she is more to me like a mother than a sweetheart,..."²³ King was able to consort with prostitutes but with women of his own class he carried into these relationships the same ambivalent feelings that he had for his mother. By September 1898 King felt much better as the Chicago matter was over and he had been a foolish boy to sever himself from love at home. Christ had been a dutiful son as his last thoughts on the cross were for his mother.²⁴ King, however, was still sufficiently disturbed by the foregoing events that he consulted a doctor in January of 1899 because of the possibility of a mental breakdown. King's attachment and dependency on his mother was sufficiently strong that he was unable to move outside this primary relationship without causing acute anxiety to himself to the extent that he thought he would break down.

Although King had undergone considerable emotional strain during 1898 his academic work did not suffer. He was also, at this time, doing his best to get his sister, Bella, back home. She had arrived in Boston to enter the nursing profession but King had advised against it "owing to my

present feeling of the loneliness of a lonely world the work is very noble".²⁵ Bella, however, was not homesick "in fact she felt as thou' a load had been left behind which is true!".²⁶ John King protested at his son's attempts to get Bella home as it had caused some unpleasantness in the family. King possibly perceived that his parents had laid a burden on his shoulders which he found hard to carry. Nevertheless he did. However as noted earlier when he was financially able to help the family he only did this grudgingly. King's ill-fated relationship with Miss Grossert appears to be related to a growing aversion to modern women and his concern with building up the home. Bella did not return to Boston after the Christmas holidays to the great relief of King. He turned his attentions homeward and his diary contains portions of a letter written on November 27th, 1898:

[S]poke in it of home of the need of our united action in building it up and of mutual acknowledgement of love and aim in so doing. I spoke much of the rule of law whichever becomes more real to me and which I hope all will take to heart... We have I think mistaken many things and have to go out into the world misled by our love for humanity, to sacrifice ourselves too much and our home as well... We are highly nervous and need quiet strength.²⁷

King's political ideas also underwent a change as socialist propoganda was creating a feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction. It was tending to break up homes and as the home was the stronghold of the nation all reforms must reckon with this.²⁸

King was never again, as far as the record shows, to encounter another Miss Grossert. He was able to consort with prostitutes but his approach to women of his own class was "awkward and timid".²⁹ In later life King formed a relationship with two married couples, The Rev. and Mrs. William Herridge and Mr. and Mrs. Godfroy B. Patteson. Mrs. Herridge was to cause King some "happiness and pain" but Mrs. Joan Patteson filled the place of mother in King's heart. C.P. Stacey was tempted to say that King was "a sort of cuckoo in the nest". It is also an example, however, of "intimacy based on distance". Within these relationships, however, King found friendship, a home to go to and a maternal milieu in which he felt at ease.

In March of 1899 King was granted a Travelling Fellowship from Harvard but hesitated about going so far away from home because of his loneliness. Nevertheless, he maintained his academic standing without effort and lectured working class girls on a high moral plane. He continued to record in his diary portions of the literature he studied and some of it appears reminiscent of Industry and Humanity. He had encountered a work of Henry Drummond which dealt with a scientific interpretation of religion - natural law as applied to spiritual life.

All life must be under one law, it appears to be so, the more we see of the universe & understand of man the more we see the unity in all things, a one underlying will, a

Supreme Intelligence directing all things
in accordance with invariable law.³⁰

The foregoing is, of course, the underlying theme of Industry and Humanity. King in fact was "a man who could collate and summarize the work of others rather than developing innovative lines of thought".³¹ The notion of Round Table Conference in the book may have been derived from Alfred Tennyson's The Idylls of the King. King thought it a noble sentiment: "A round table of chivalrous men in our day we need greatly".³² King was a follower as his loyalty and sense of duty bound him to his parents, and his leadership of the Liberal Party was perceived as a sacred duty imposed upon him from on high.³³ King may have expressed simplistic religious views but his belief in God was a very strong defence. As he was both loyal and dutiful to his corporate family the same views constituted his world view. Consequently all life, under one law was to be directed by a Supreme Intelligence, i.e. God. King in his political life was not motivated by the need to seek change or bring about social reform. In his political vocabulary "unity" not progress or reform was his watchword.³⁴ The unity and strong sense of duty which were the underpinings of King's corporate family was extended by him into the political sphere. King attempted to model himself on the life of Christ as "till I am thirty or thereabouts"³⁵ he would prepare himself for his life's work. As Arnold Toynbee had become an ideal so did Christ when King "equated his burdens with those of Christ".³⁶

As noted above religion was a strong defence for King but even here he could be assailed by doubts. Ego defences are not always troublesome and life without them is not possible.³⁷ King had been heartened to read that even the great were less than virtuous. Also it appears that he may have been "neurotically blasphemous"³⁸ as he sought evidence that God himself was less than perfect. King was thirty years of age when he recorded the following:

One cannot but be impressed with the "human" conception of God which they embody, - an assumption being continually present of a Being of like impulses if not similar immoral characteristics e.g. wrath destruction, & weaknesses, e.g. forgetfulness etc. - like ourselves. The inspiration to my mind is not in any truth of fact recorded, but in eternal truth of law unfolded to him who can look below the surface to the real depths below.³⁹

The confirmation that the great were less than virtuous proved re-assuring to King when his religious ego defence was threatened. If King indulged in activities not consonant with his ideal self he could take comfort in the fact also that God himself was less than perfect.

Prior to leaving Harvard and going overseas King during the Fall of 1899 spent some time at Newport tutoring the two sons of Elbridge T. Gerry. The Gerry family were wealthy and King came into contact with other wealthy men such as Cornelius Vanderbilt at Newport, Rhode Island. At first King believed he was really living but his extreme sensitivity brought about a change in attitude. The rather more libertine attitude of the very rich appalled him as "the rottennes of

Sodom is in this place".⁴⁰ He believed such people to be beneath him and he pitied them rather than envying them. Any perceived slight crushed him into absolute wretchedness as he could not "suffer anyone to make me feel I am beneath them or in any way inferior. I bow only to the scholar, the worker and the religious man. A scholarly hard working christian gentleman seems to my mind an ideal sort of man".⁴¹ His distress was such that:

I find my nature like to that of a sensitive plant, which shrivels completely at a slight, and can only be drawn out in the warmth of appreciation & k/ledge of good will. Even when I know I am very welcome & where kindness is shown me, I find it impossible to rid myself of a painful sensitiveness which destroys much pleasure.⁴²

Although King was timid socially he was not timid in seeking out those who could help forward him in a career. He sought out the great both in the United States and England. He was able to reconcile this activity with his concern for labour as many of these individuals shared his religious beliefs, they possessed a sense of duty and were interested in labour problems. Lady Violet Markham, a member of the British aristocracy, was such a one and independently wealthy. An "intimacy based on distance" was established between King and Lady Markham as they corresponded frequently up to the time of her marriage. King then dropped the correspondence only to resume it again on the death of her husband. King was able to project his ideal self in his correspondence as he and Lady Markham shared common ideals. However she did discern his somewhat rigid mode of thinking and had cautioned

him against being politically partisan:

Still more I would urge you to guard against the assumption that spiritual truth is with your own belief & your own beliefs alone... to assume that our beliefs are better than those of other people is to launch oneself on the first wave of an unprofitable sea of selfrighteousness.⁴³

King saw himself as a social reformer but he did not focus his activity within the working class. His own fear of poverty, inherited from his mother, and change precluded this. After his defeat in 1911 at the polls King stated later: "I was in the government that was defeated and it seemed to me like a revolution".⁴⁴ He refused to take job offers as previously noted, and Lady Markham was to provide for some time three hundred pounds per year referred to as a "political scholarship".⁴⁵ King was able to accept gifts of money from this lady and others, although, by this date he was far from poor.

King was not consciously a sycophant; indeed he believed that he despised such behaviour.⁴⁶ All his friends belonged in the top rank of the community and it would appear that he was not above using them. While abroad in 1900 his father had written King about the introduction into the House of Commons of the Hon. William Mulock's Fair Wages Resolution Bill. It will be recalled that the Hon. William Mulock was a friend of the King family. He was also to be King's future patron.

I can sit in the b/ground & watch the movement,
& make politicians to this extent my puppets.
Tho Mulock may have an eye to votes in this
matter if the resolut'n can be made effective
that matters little. It is one stage more.
His report will be the one they cannot escape
from - + results for good.⁴⁷

King would not have believed himself opportunistic. In bringing forward measures that he believed helped the poor and needy, King could rationalize whatever success came his way as those who sacrifice themselves for others are rewarded by God. King with his connections could have entered any profession and most likely have succeeded. However, he could not have done this as the corporateness and expectations of his family had been strongly internalized. King's industrial plan in which he advocated "partnership" of the four parties to Industry implied not equality but status. In effect this reflected the basic condition of his family. Each member possessed equal status as far as the common good was concerned - some contributed more in terms of service and some reaped more of the rewards.⁴⁸ The same pattern of corporateness was utilized by King during the year 1900 to 1911. During this time he was consecutively an editor, Deputy Minister, Industrial conciliator, an international negotiator, Member of Parliament and Cabinet Minister. He stepped into each position, set up the machinery and installed individuals who were as highly principled as himself. He then moved on. King was not content with the mundane activities of daily political life. As leader of the Liberal Party it was up to

the supporters to run the organization. "If the party failed at election time it was their fault, not his".⁴⁹ The foregoing strongly suggests that King saw himself as the "pivotal" figure as his mother had been within his own family.

King's struggle with his own doubts about himself and his sinfulness appears never to have left him. He entered upon his public career in 1900 with ambition unsatiated. He was, however, plagued with a neuralgic type of pain in his head and quite deep depressions. His lassitude was such on getting up in the morning that he tried to work "but it has been against the odds of a great depression".⁵⁰ His lethargy and inertia continued through 1904 to 1906 during which time he badgered Sir Wilfred Laurier for a seat in the House and effused over his mother. He felt that he was undergoing a "moral and intellectual suicide"⁵¹ and should be imprisoned unless he could take himself in hand. More than previously his diary records how he felt about his mother. She was beautiful, pure and holy. "There have been few on earth to compare with her beauty of soul, purity of life and love".⁵² However shortly before her death Mrs. King's illness took a critical turn and her son could not be found. He had been out "wandering". King's depression was always close to the surface and this was fortified during his student days when he was abnormally conscious of his own so called sinfulness and his ever constant search for ideals. His self pre-occupation precluded critical self examination. During the writing of Industry and Humanity

he fell into a period of abnormal introspection and was nervously over-wrought.⁵³ The defences and anxieties engendered by a lack of ego-strength were the source of fatigue that King apparently suffered throughout his life. He had to reconcile his thoughts of a noble mother with that of her self interest and ruthlessness.⁵⁴ This he was able to do by repressing the latter attributes of his mother. Consequently he was able to rationalize his own self-seeking in terms of being the chosen one and having a mission to fulfil in life.

In the light of the foregoing it is difficult to perceive King as an "active-positive" personality. John C. Courtney in his article "Prime Ministerial Character" saw King as markedly ambitious, confident, possessing a positive self-image and not prone to excessive pre-occupation with life's disappointments...⁵⁵ He also states that King "felt great discomfort in circumstances other than those he could control himself",⁵⁶ Given the attributes of an "active-positive" individual, it is difficult to equate these with a person who felt the need to control events. While at Newport King found himself in an environment he could not control, hence his discomfort. He was faced with vast wealth and a life style that was in sharp contrast to his own life experience of want and emotional deprivation. The wealth fascinated him but he found moral character wanting. The same controlling aspects are evident in his thoughts on his future patron the Hon.

William Mulock:

One notices in a man like this a want of discipline in manner and method. There is not the contained reserve of a scholar, nor his value of time, & love of order. It is living how & where you can, here & there & everywhere & look out for votes & "jolly" wherever you go. This I could not do. An earnest aim & purpose would suffice.⁵⁷

King was active in one respect whether acting as a labour conciliator or Prime Minister. This involved bringing all parties to the truth. While others had to be prepared to give a little to gain a little, he could only give time, time to reconsider, to see the wisdom of King's position and to follow the path.⁵⁸ John C. Courtney only utilized three or four entries of the diaries covering the years 1894 to 1895 prior to King's departure for the University of Chicago and Harvard University. Therefore Courtney has overlooked some very relevant material the consequence of which can only be assessed by a reading of Industry and Humanity. King reconciled both radical and conservative political thought within the framework of the corporate to the effect that he imposed the containment that he sought both in his own life and that of society's. As late as 1936 and 1937 King "could have cried from fatigue...and hopeless extent of things to be done. It is all wrong when I should be the happiest of men in Canada."⁵⁹ At this time King could not have been troubled by a political upset as in 1936 and 1937 the Liberal Party held the majority of seats in the House of Commons. In 1937

King was close to sixtythree years of age but he felt:

very tired all day - weary, weary, weary,
I can not through (sic) off a sort of endless
fatigue...I feel the years coming over me...
more fearful of controversy, not equal to
the perpetual fight, longing for rest &
peace...What to do I hardly know. I can
only pray...that God may give me strength
and courage for at least another 7 years.⁶⁰

King did not retire as Prime Minister until 1950 though he could have done so earlier and lived quite comfortably. Over the years he had amassed a small fortune. However he could not. "In a process of expanding "incorporation" he became the party and the party became part of himself - inseparable from him at a conscious level. The party became a substitute for the lost family. The incorporative self also included Canada and the people of Canada indirectly through their support of the Liberal Party".⁶¹ King's sister Bella died in 1915, his father in 1916, his mother in 1917 and his brother Max in 1922. Only his sister Jennie remained in this life to remind him of his lost family. In Industry and Humanity King's principles for industrial peace could be applied to the political and international spheres if only "Faith" abounded. King believed that faith was the only true way to solve problems. In his own way he acted upon this principle and he was successful but it was not faith in his fellow man that sustained him but faith in God. He was, therefore, pursuing God's interest in the world. In the political arena King became the benevolent all seeing "father"

above the conflict. In following his truth and God's one could bring peace and harmony in place of turmoil.⁶² In not attaching blame to any section of society for industrial or international problems King left the way open for men to have faith in one another regardless of their position in society. King was astute enough not to say in his book "follow my truth" and God's truth as King perceived it. His message was embedded in rhetoric and a convoluted style. King through his incorporate style removed himself, on an emotional level, from all contact that caused conflict or anxiety. His book Industry and Humanity reflects the same condition. Men should not compete or bargain in the market place on equal terms, as liberal theory advocates, but put their trust in faith and a Supreme Intelligence.

An attempt has been made to show that King was a "controller" of events and not a "conciliator". Some aspects of King's corporate world view have been outlined and inferences drawn, from the data, as to some aspects of his personality. Early deprivation led to a lack of "ego strength", but his ambition and a strong sense of mission in life led to political success. He was never able to overcome, however, his feelings of inferiority and a sense of sin. King never outgrew the corporate structures that maintained his family and his own sense of the political. During his student days and in later life King was assailed by self doubt, a precocious conscience and a sense of sin.

He was able to maintain himself by obsessive behaviour and a belief that he was the chosen one. The purpose of this type of behaviour is an attempt "to achieve some security and certainty for the person who feels threatened and insecure in an uncertain world. The possibility of controlling oneself and the forces outside oneself by assuming omniscience and omnipotence can give one a false illusion of security. Therefore the main ingredient is one of control".⁶³ Religion was a strong defence but even here his doubts could surface in spite of King's urgings that faith could sustain man and society.

As a successful politician King maintained his identity in "doing" rather than in "being".⁶⁴ As an overlying conforming personality he had accepted as a youngster work as the only criteria of worthwhileness and more than likely he had become a slave of his own technology.⁶⁵ King was driven by his need to succeed and one suspects that as Prime Minister he had become entrapped in a golden cage of his own making.

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