LION IN A DEN OF DANIELS:
A STUDY OF SAM LAWRENCE, LABOUR IN POLITICS

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"Sir, I feel like a lion in a den of Daniels."

from Maiden speech. Sam Lawrence, M.L.A.

PREFACE

> Posterity may know we have not loosely
> through silence permitted things to pass
> away as in a dream.
>
> Richard Hooker

When the French poet wrote: "There is nothing stronger than an idea whose time has come," he was unwilling, perhaps because of an inclination toward philosophical idealism, to credit himself with much importance in the historical process. Yet Victor Hugo and many of his colleagues acted as vehicles for revolutionary ideas; by articulating them, the ideas gained some existence in history. This is a study of a British-born Canadian trade unionist and socialist politician. Samuel Lawrence -- "Sam" to "comrades" and opponents alike -- was a professional municipal politician in Hamilton, Ontario, who articulated certain revolutionary ideas and helped in some measure to gain their existence in history.

Socialism and trade unionism were essentially associated with Lawrence's political career. His socialist and trade union beliefs and affiliations were the foundation of his political career and their shifting value as a firm foundation for this thirty-five year career alternately fortified and threatened the political existence of the man who held them consistently.

What was the relationship between Sam Lawrence, socialism, trade unionism and politics? That question is the cornerstone of this inquiry which is not concerned with the specific accomplishments and defeats of Lawrence's public life except as they help to answer the question. We shall see, for example, that the alderman's sponsorship of the Homeside residents' cause against tax increases in the twenties served to establish him as a champion of the "working class underdog." The controller's support for an art gallery and the university indicated a desire for an improvement of the educational and intellectual opportunities for the children of his electors. The reader will note that Lawrence's incessant concern as controller and mayor to keep down the municipal tax level drew favourable electoral response from the propertied residents of Hamilton who were otherwise appalled at his "outside interests."

These interests involved Lawrence in May Day parades and union organizing rallies; they also caused him to support increased government welfare programs, the expansion of recreation facilities and the implementation of vast public works programs. These interests, unflaggingly held by Lawrence, also provided the politician with his greatest trial. As the C.C.F. mayor of Hamilton in 1946, Lawrence found himself called upon to support one of Canada's most violent strikes and yet maintain the public trust as Chief Magistrate.

Many people were wont to appreciate Lawrence's mingling of socialism and trade union support with his public offices. For instance, he was criticized by the Hamilton Review, which

> would never concede his right to bring them (his political party beliefs) into City Hall as the Chief Magistrate of the city. As a devout Socialist, Mayor Lawrence brought his conscious participation in the class struggle into a field of public affairs where it did not belong . . . .[1]

Did Sam Lawrence interpret history as a class struggle? When did he acquire this view of history and how intense was his belief and conscious participation in the class struggle? What role did he see the labour movement taking in this conflict? Would the struggle be abetted through involvement in the bourgeois party system? How did he conceive of the I.L.P. and the C.C.F. parties aiding the proletarian cause?

Sam Lawrence was elected to the Ontario legislature in essentially a two-way contest between himself and a Conservative in 1934. Three years later, a Liberal entered the lists and won Hamilton East from the first C.C.F. member elected in Ontario. This period was the only occasion when Lawrence held public office above the local level. Did he desire to maintain his provincial stature? Was his unsuccessful candidature for the federal House in 1925 indicative of a strong desire to move beyond the municipal political field? What was the basis of his support in municipal

elections? Why was he unable to carry that support continuously beyond the municipal level? This inquiry will be completed when these questions have been answered.

No study on Sam Lawrence has been made before now. Material on the trade unionist politician is sketchy and widely-dispersed; no personal papers of Lawrence seem to exist. Most of the material, then, for this study was gathered from primary sources. Secondary sources which comment upon Lawrence do so only casually in relation to another topic of concern. For instance, Lawrence figures in a chapter on "The Big Strike and After" in William Kilbourn's Stelco history, The Elements Combined, and in a chapter on labour in C. M. Johnston's history of Wentworth County, Head of the Lake. Astonishing, however, is Lawrence's even poorer showing in the U.S.W.A. and C.C.F. histories: Vincent D. Sweeney's The United Steelworkers of America: Twenty Years Later, 1936-1956 and D. E. McHenry's The Third Force in Canada: the C.C.F., published in 1950.

Information for this study has come mostly from newspapers, unpublished notes, and personal interviews. Newspapers consulted were the Toronto Globe and Mail, the Toronto Telegram, the Toronto Daily Star, the Financial Post, the Hamilton Herald, the Hamilton Daily News, the Hamilton Review and the Hamilton Spectator. The latter is the only newspaper that has sustained itself in Hamilton. Consequently, much information has been collected from its pages

and, because of its dominant position in Hamilton's civic life, many editorial comments have been included as they reflect upon Lawrence and the socialist and labour movements. The Southam Company was founded in 1877 when William Southam acquired a half interest in the Spectator which had been publishing for several decades. Although there were almost 2,000 shareholders in the company by 1960, there is "little doubt that control still rests with members of the Southam family."[2] Since 1877, the company has grown to include full and partial control of many newspapers, radio and television stations, and business and professional journals. Two interesting documents were borrowed from the Spectator files for this study: one was a compilation of some of Lawrence's activities during the thirties and the other a memo of an address given by Lawrence at a C.C.F. meeting following the municipal elections of December, 1940. Another interesting document on Lawrence is a tape recording of the city council debate in August of 1946 when, as mayor, he was asked to support the importation of police to help the Hamilton force open the picket line. The recording is in the possession of a second cousin to Lawrence, Alderman David Lawrence, of Hamilton.

The personal interviews were conducted at the homes or offices of people associated with Sam Lawrence as relatives, civic administrators, trade unionists or politicians. The interviews were granted on the condition that no views or

statements of facts would be attributed to those interviewed. However, remarks have been quoted when it was felt they contributed a degree of insight on a relevant matter. Co-operation was received in this study from Mr. James Berry, former city clerk, Mrs. Ellen Fairclough, former Hamilton councillor, Mr. David Lawrence, a second cousin to Sam Lawrence, a trade unionist and city councillor, Mr. J. G. O'Neil, former editor of the Hamilton Spectator, Mr. Hugh Sedgwick, a trade union official, Mr. James Stowe, a trade union official, Mrs. C. H. Raynham, a sister of Sam Lawrence, Dr. Freda Waldon, Hamilton's former chief librarian, Mrs. Elizabeth Wood, a member of the Hamilton East Independent Labour Party and two widows, one whose husband was a Stelco striker in 1946 and the other's, a non-striker.

Without the assistance of these individuals, this study could not have been made; their cooperation is gratefully acknowledged. Equally valuable was the advice received from Dr. J. D. Hoffman from whom is derived, in no small way, the nature and coherence of this work. Now I, like Shakespeare's Puck, ". . . am sent with broom before, / To sweep the dust behind the door."

I

SAM LAWRENCE: AN INTRODUCTION

> I have never said or done anything in my life that would lead anyone to doubt my loyalty to democracy and the common people. I don't profess to represent the other people, but I try to be fair. They haven't a single thing on me.
>
> - Sam Lawrence, December 15, 1940.

A fortnight earlier, Sam Lawrence had received the approval of Hamilton electors to serve another term on the city's board of control. The victory had not been stunning. Although he carried four of the city's wards, Five to Eight, he garnered only 28 more votes than his nearest opponent, who came first in only one ward. Nevertheless, the independent, but Conservative-minded Hamilton Spectator noted that the socialist Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, (C.C.F.) - Labour candidate had set a new record in local elections, being the first controller to lead the slate in four successive years. No one had been certain this record would be established until the votes had begun to mount up for Lawrence in the north-end "Labour wards." Besides battling opposition from the usual sources which disapproved of his commitment to socialism, the labour movement was seriously split and Lawrence, who had been attacking German fascism since the early thirties, encountered a whispering

campaign suggesting a lack of support now for the war effort.

A public post-mortem was held at the Allan Studholme-C.C.F. Club.[1] A crowd gathered at the Ward Six clubrooms at Barton and Wentworth Streets to hear views on the topic: "The Truth About the Municipal Elections." But the views of one man in particular were of greatest interest. Introduced by the chairman as the man some people had tried to crucify recently, Lawrence took the opportunity to talk about himself and review important events in his life "to prove whether (he had) the right . . . to serve Labour in Hamilton and the City of Hamilton against the traducers who (said he had) not that right."[2]

Lawrence recalled that he was born in 1879, the fourth child in a family of five boys and five girls. He had lived in a two-storey stone house in Norton-sub-Hamndon, Somerset, whose thatched roof had been replaced with slate by his father. The elder Lawrence was a stone mason and his son Sam gave him credit for the position he had taken in the labour movement. Lawrence described his father as a radical liberal and told the C.C.F. audience of two objects on the parlour wall: the emblem of the stone mason's society dated 1833 and a picture of William Ewart Gladstone.

Lawrence attended school from the age of three until ten. Next to the school building was Norton cathedral which represented an important influence in his life; the family attended the Anglican church regularly and the children were

admonished to "learn to live right every day and not become like those who go from church to Hell on Sundays."[3] The year after he left school, Lawrence was working twelve hours a day, from six to six, and was apprenticed to a stone mason at thirteen. He had served half his time when his father became foreman at the construction site of Norfolk castle in Sussex. Lawrence went to London at seventeen and joined the Operative Stone Masons' Union in Battersea and was shop steward at the age of eighteen.

The Allan Studholme-C.C.F. club members were told of Lawrence's desire to seek adventure and his subsequent enlistment in the Coldstream Guards and his service in the Boer War. He talked of the disagreeable discipline of army life and his rejection of corporal's stripes. He also told them of how he became a socialist.

It would not have been the prerogative of a professional soldier to ask why he was being ordered to fight in a particular situation. But Lawrence was not a professional soldier and probably like many other young recruits, finding his presence in South Africa difficult to understand, he often asked the question. Knobby Taylor revealed himself more veteran than Lawrence for when the young recruit posed the riddle to him, he replied: "Because of the Kimberley mines." Taylor loaned Lawrence a book; and before it was returned Lawrence had read Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward several times.

* * *

It is not surprising that a novel by the American author from Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, reached an enthusiastic audience in South Africa. Within ten years of its publication in 1887, almost one million copies of Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward were sold in the United States and England.[4] The literary response included fifty similar American utopian novels,[5] William Morris' News From Nowhere and H. G. Wells' The Time Machine.[6] The popular response included the establishment of Bellamy Clubs in the United States and in European countries and their colonies, the establishment of an International Bellamy League, and clubs and a political party in the United States called after Bellamy's ultimate utopian form of society, Nationalism.

Until the last decade of the nineteenth century, the frontier in America had served as a national safety valve, providing a means of quitting uncongenial surroundings. The years in which that era closed saw increased industrialization, urban growth, combination of capital and friction between capital and labour. It is against this background that the utopian novel and its popularity is to be understood.

Through the Knights of Labour and then the American Federation of Labour (A.F. of L.), the American working class manifested considerable class consciousness and resoluteness to secure an amelioration of conditions. Though less practical than organizing, literature had an

immense attraction as a means of escaping reality. But there is added significance to this manifestation when it is appreciated that this was the first popular utopian movement in the United States of purely American origin.

Bellamy eschewed Marxism and its dynamic component, class warfare. Marxism was anathema to many Americans at that time and it was not an irrelevant factor in the success of Looking Backward that Bellamy's socialism was removed from Marxism and consistent with "the American way." The great merit of Bellamy's social structure was its air of being American in his use of trends already apparent in the United States.

His basic criticism of the competitive liberal system was moral. He advanced the cause of complete equality, even of income, on two grounds, common humanity and industrial efficiency. Bellamy's was the age of large economic trusts. Was it not logical and desirable that the next step would be to one all-encompassing trust, the government? His idea of society evolving without bloodshed into government by "The Great Trust" was not so much a socialist reverie as a realistic projection of current trends.

Bellamy's popular quest for economic equality was an attempt to restrain a growing industrialism with the bonds of Jeffersonian democracy. As both Christian and Jeffersonian, he represented a well known pattern of social activity: seeing the problems of society in economic terms and their

solutions resolved socialistically or communistically, the engagé from the higher levels of society, suspicious of revolutionary technique and distrustful of capitalist and labour agitators, appeals to the middle classes for non-violent change.

Charles Beard and John Dewey independently listed Looking Backward second to Marx's Das Kapital as the most influential book published since 1885.[7] And Stephen Leacock, in The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice, published in 1920, discussed Bellamy's novel in a separate chapter. "No single influence," Leacock wrote, "ever brought its (socialism's) ideas and its propaganda so forcibly and clearly before the public mind as Mr. Edward Bellamy's brilliant novel, Looking Backward."[8]

* * *

Not only did Sam Lawrence recall the book to the members of the C.C.F. club that evening in 1940, but he referred several people to it, telling them of its importance in the development of his class consciousness and his decision to devote his time to the activities of Labour.

Though a highly intelligent man, Lawrence could not be classed an intellectual. He was "not a vociferous reader, but a practical man" whose militant socialism was expressed in activity. A Communist organizer who participated with Lawrence in many public events, particularly during the

depression, pays him the highest compliment by describing him as "a modest, unaffected man whose mind was instinctively clear of nationalism and racism and possessed of class internationalism." Lawrence's class position was strong; he was a socialist almost by instinct.

Though branded a Communist by his labour and political opponents, Lawrence had important differences with that part of the proletariat "conscious of itself." He rejected as unnecessary the central thesis of Leninism, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin had been a shrewd theoretician in emphasizing this feature of Marxism to circumvent problems raised by the inaccuracy of the revolutionary timetable and success of the October revolution in the relatively underdeveloped capitalist backwater of Tsarist Russia. Having accepted the supremacy of Moscow dicta from its beginning in 1921, Canadian Communists were required to adhere to Leninism. Though a militant socialist who praised the Soviet Union after returning from May Day celebrations there in 1936, Lawrence objected to the dictatorial features of Bolshevism and was never a member of the Communist Party.

An "old-line party" supporter who sat on city council with Lawrence today notes "the thin wall" which separated Lawrence from the Communists. The more cautious elements of Hamilton's organized Labour then objected to Lawrence making Labour serve "as the tail of a kite to Soviet activities."[9] The Communists, however, as one informant said,

applauded Lawrence's "perspective" and his awareness of "the fascist threat to the whole socialist movement."

Besides his service of two terms on the National Executive board of the stone masons' union in England ("I probably was the youngest man ever to sit on the executive"),[10] Lawrence told the C.C.F. meeting in December, 1940, of his activities as a member of the I.L.P. The Independent Labour party's agitation at this time was not radically socialist, which may have been wise in view of the possible objections from non-socialist members of the Labour Representation Committee (L.R.C.) or harsh demands for stringent orthodoxy from another L.R.C. component, the Social-Democratic Federation (S.D.F.). The S.D.F.'s influence was largely felt through its control of various trades union bodies, but notably the London Trades Council where from 1904 to 1906, the S.D.F. controlled the positions of chairman and secretary.

Lawrence was a delegate to the London Trades Council during this time and was among several labour officials invited to sit on a committee to draw up the regulations for the Unemployed Workmen Bill which was introduced in 1905. The bill gave legal recognition to voluntarily established distress committees but left them greatly dependent on private generosity. The bill engendered a varied reaction from the labour movement. Some trade unionists feared that the proposed Labour Exchanges would be used by employers as

sources of strike-breakers. Confusion bred disorder and a modified bill was allowed to pass which omitted the important principle of providing work for the unemployed at public expense.

Lawrence left the I.L.P. and joined the S.D.F., serving as secretary of a branch from 1910 to 1912. He made no reference to the Bill or to his Social-Democratic affiliation that night at the C.C.F. club except to say with regard to the former that the London Trades Council had received a letter from the Government "commending its delegates for the fine work they had done."

In 1906, the then twenty-seven year old trade unionist and Imperial War veteran stood in an abortive election campaign for the Battersea borough council and, six years later, decided to follow three of his brothers and one sister who had already gone to Canada. No reason for his emigration could be found in any strictly personal terms except that most of the family had decided to move and the advertisements for Canada dripped of honey. The last to come was the widowed elder Lawrence in 1913; but after a few months the pull of his roots proved too strong and he returned to England.

Upon Sam Lawrence's departure for Canada, the London Stone Masons' Society passed a resolution of thanks for the services he had given the labour movement. Lawrence read the resolution to his audience in 1940 before embarking on

the story of his work in Hamilton for the Canadian labour movement. To that date, the work would have included eighteen years as an elected official: seven years as a Labour alderman on the city council, nine years as a member of board of control and almost four years during the depression as the first and only C.C.F. member in the provincial legislature.

His audience could also expect to hear of his activities as a representative of Labour in their councils. There would be talk of the Independent Labour party and the question of its affiliation with the C.C.F., Lawrence's activities in May Day rallies and the Canadian League Against War and Fascism, his visit to the Soviet Union and his support in 1940 of political freedom for Communists. This scion of the British working class would also refer to his membership on the Hamilton and District Trades and Labour Council from 1912 until 1937, when demands for his expulsion came from William Green, Samuel Gomper's successor as president of the American Federation of Labour, the subsequent split in organized Labour in Canada, the establishment of the Canadian Committee of Industrial Organization and the organization of the United Steel Workers of America in Hamilton.

II

EARLY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN CANADA

When Sam Lawrence came to Hamilton, Ontario, on April 9, 1912, with his credentials from "The Friendly Society of Stone Masons," he was received by a properly organized trade union movement in an industrial city of 82,095 people, situated at the head of Lake Ontario. Hamilton had already been the site of much labour organizing and agitation and the men and women who came in 1940 to hear Lawrence talk of events in that city since 1912 were no doubt aware of this and had been active or at least present during the events he was to recall.

* * *

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Britain's North American colonies were a land of wilderness with small, isolated mills and factories. The small country town of less than 7,000 people called Hamilton depended for its existence upon some local industries and nearby farming, lumbering and fishing operations. The primitive, localized Canadian economy was about to change and Hamilton, itself, was on the verge of a transformation to a great industrial centre.

New public works such as the construction of railways and canals improved commercial transportation. The old Welland canal was completed in 1830 and canals were constructed at Lachine and Cornwall on the upper St. Lawrence a few years later. When the Burlington canal was built late in that decade between Lake Ontario and the bay which now serves as Hamilton's harbour, the city then had access to other areas on the lower Great Lakes and Quebec and Montreal. The establishment in the 1850's of a rail connection between London and Montreal with Hamilton as a division point improved the "roads of commerce." This extension of the market for the industrial products of Hamilton provided a great stimulus for manufacturing.

This economic transformation naturally brought changes in the nature and condition of labour. The early country economy revealed a feudal attitude toward labour; but the new public works and the industrial activity which was their issue required a larger work force and a more mobile or "free" labour market. Manpower formed the base of industrial activity and as industry grew, the labour force expanded as well. The population of Hamilton was under 7,000 when it was incorporated as a city in 1846. Twelve years later, the figure had more than quadrupled.

Trade unions are not unlike other human institutions, fashioned to considerable degree by their environment. Early unionism in Canada, whose recorded origin appears to be in

Hamilton in 1827,[1] was an expression of collective attempts of isolated working men to improve their condition. These unions or "societies" were only mutual benefit organizations designed to assist their members in illness and to establish a base wage or "price" below which the members agreed not to work.

Beginning with this simple craft group approach, Canadian unionism was to develop through the nineteenth century, in step with industrialization, two additional approaches. After they became aware of their potential strength and aware of the limitation of their freedom, "organized" workers turned to the state and began to demand favourable legislation. This development came late relative to the union movement in Britain and the United States. Approaches to government came in the 1870's and were established on a permanent basis with the formation of the Trades and Labour Congress in 1883. The unions then were beginning to employ a third technique, collective bargaining. This involved greater recognition by the employer than the mere acceptance of rule directed among the workers themselves. Supported by the achievements wrought through political activity, this third technique of unionism became a base of strength for organized Labour. In the twentieth century, the craft-oriented labour movement was to experience disruption from within as the demand increased for the vertical organization of industrial unions -- another change in the labour

movement necessitated by the new conditions in industry.

Though only an expression of forms of self-help in the beginning, trade unionism in Canada has maintained a reformist attitude toward society in general. While concerned with the daily mundane matters of negotiating and administering contracts, the movement has kept at least in partial view, an ultimate goal, to cause fundamental changes in the economic arrangements of society, substituting more socialized forms of the production and distribution of wealth for the capitalist ones. From its inception the Canadian trade union movement has been "political" in its direction. A part of the great liberal reform movements of the times, Canadian trade union reformism has been influenced by both British and Canadian conservatism. Reform thought has consequently been more accommodative and concerned with broad social questions than irresponsible or narrow-minded in its outlook. Canadian trade unionism has sought to liberate the old society rather than to separate from it after having wrung from it its due. The early political role of organized Labour in Canada will be discussed below and the question of political activity will be seen as a distinctive feature setting apart factions in American organized Labour which are dramatically reflected in Canada. In Canada, much of the internal strife will be seen centred around Sam Lawrence.

Judged by contemporary standards, the labour force of the nineteenth century endured a deplorable existence.

The worker then experienced in life little more than years of toil. Even late in the century labour supporters were lamenting the slowness in the improvement of working conditions in Hamilton where "hundreds of young girls and children (who were) working from ten to fourteen hours per day" and where "Boys, working for two dollars per week," would be fined by their employers for tardiness and would "have to be punctual and careful that at the end of the week they (would) not come out in their employers' debt."[2]

Seeds for the union movement were imported into Canada in the minds of the British artisans who came to supplement the work force mid-way through the nineteenth century. Ottawa in the 1860's was "one of the strongest union towns in Canada."[3] This was the period when the Parliament Buildings were being constructed by the skilled stone-cutters and masons from England "who were already soundly versed in the gospel of organized labour."[4] Many skilled workmen arrived in Hamilton from Britain to work in the railway shops. They too were experienced trade unionists and provided Hamilton unionism and the spirit of mutual assistance with considerable impetus.

In this period, British trade unions became the first outside unions to establish branches in Canada. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers established a Toronto branch in 1850 and others in Hamilton, Kingston and Montreal in the following year. The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and

Joiners, another British union, set up branches in Hamilton and Toronto in 1860. There is some evidence that an English stonemasons' organization had supporters in Canada at this time. It would probably have been related to the workers on the Parliament Hill site in Ottawa. The popularity of these societies was the result of an emphasis on mutual benefits. The carpenters' society, for instance, made insurance arrangements for its members against unemployment, sickness and death.

Canada's reciprocity agreement with the United States from 1854 to 1866 encouraged not only commercial intercourse but the infiltration of American labour organizations. The Iron Moulders' Union of North America was the first to establish branches in Canadian cities, including Hamilton, from 1861 to 1863. Hamilton delegates attended that union's convention in Cincinnati in 1861. In 1864, the American-based Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers established a branch at Hamilton followed one year later by the National Typographical Union. The Knights of St. Crispin, organizers in the shoe industry, created seventeen lodges in various provinces by 1870, including one at Hamilton.

The first city central in Canada, heralding federation, was the Toronto Trades Assembly, organized in 1871. Its beginning was closely followed by similar organizations in Hamilton and Ottawa. The Hamilton Assembly was particularly active in the nine-hour movement which, for the historian of

Canadian trade unionism, provides a convenient demarcation point. Up to that time, there had been no Canadian labour movement. As Canada as a whole sensed nationhood with the linking of four former colonies in 1867, so the country's labour force was becoming aware of its unity of purpose and the strength afforded it by that unity. With the nine-hour movement, Canadian labour began a concerted effort to influence legislation.

The movement began in Toronto in 1869 when the typographers asked for a reduction of hours from 60 to 58 each week. The Toronto printers refused to see a union committee delegated to press for the reduction. Two years later, Hamilton workers formed a nine-hour league whose secretary was to become an important figure in the Canadian nine-hour movement. When the Toronto printers steadfastly refused to see the Toronto committee in 1872, a strike was called for March 25. One month later, a "workingman's demonstration" was held at Queen's Park to impress the legislators and the public with the unity of labour and the reasonableness of its demands. Twenty thousand people heard speakers denounce the bête noire, the Hon. George Brown, a Father of Confederation and editor of the Toronto Globe from whose pen flowed daily denunciations of unionism. This type of reaction from Liberal sources gave credence to the popular definition of a Liberal as a man who believed that humanity was more important than other people's prejudices.

The reply from the Master Printers' Association and its leader, George Brown, came in the form of charges of "seditious conspiracy" against twenty-four of the leading strikers. The Combination Acts of 1792, which had already been superceded by other laws in England fifty years earlier, were to be enforced against "combinations of workers" who sought "to lessen or alter the hours of work, to obtain an advance in wages, to quit work before work (was) finished" or in any way condone "conspiracy in restraint of trade."[5] Workmen responded by marching to the Toronto city hall to hear speeches from their leaders. Fortunately a federal election was approaching and another Father of Confederation and prime minister, Sir John A. MacDonald, perceived the electoral possibilities of the situation. A Trades Union Act was hastily presented to the Commons and passed, exempting unions from the provisions of the old laws. The strike now had legal support. The twenty-four workers were released from jail without being brought to trial. In this movement, skilled labour leaders from southern Ontario had come into close association around a cause, had won public support and succeeded in influencing the legislative process. There was now talk of a national labour union.

There had been much province-wide support for the striking printers. A meeting held in Hamilton in May, 1872, of delegates from nine-hour leagues created the Canadian Labour Protective and Mutual Improvement Association to

promote the common cause and to secure further social benefits. There were arguments for the unity and education of all workers and there were proposals made for the establishment of libraries and reading-rooms suitable for the intellectual and social improvement of the workers.

Forty delegates called into convention in Toronto in 1873 by the city's Trades Assembly, unanimously decided on September 23 to form a permanent organization, the Canadian Labour Union (C.L.U.). All the delegates were from Ontario and a Hamilton delegate was chosen third vice-president. The C.L.U. lasted for four years, succumbing finally in the face of an economic depression. But its objectives had been clearly stated in 1873. While it existed, its membership declared an obligation

> . . . to impress upon the labouring classes . . . the necessity of a close and thorough organization . . . to agitate such questions as may be for the benefit of the working classes, in order that we may obtain the enactment of such measures by the Dominion and Local legislatures as will be beneficial to us, and a repeal of all oppressive laws which now exist.[6]

Daniel J. O'Donoghue, a vice-president of the C.L.U., became the first Labour candidate to sit in the Ontario House of Assembly when he won an Ottawa by-election in 1874 and retained the seat in a general election later in the same year. From outside the legislature and now from inside it, the Government was urged to set up machinery for arbitrating labour disputes, to establish a bureau to compile and publish

labour statistics and to supervise the system of apprenticeship with advisory boards of employers and employees.

A revival in the labour movement accompanied the return of prosperity. That radicalism should thrive in times of hardship is an assumption of doubtful validity in Canada. We shall see that the C.C.F. presented little challenge to the status quo during the depression of the 1930's but experienced its zenith in popularity during the prosperous war and post-war years.[7] The most impressive phenomenon in the late nineteenth century was the advent and rise of the Knights of Labour. Started in Philadelphia in 1869, the militant Knights crossed the border and established their first Canadian assembly in 1881 in the basement of an unfinished downtown Hamilton office building. In a short time there were twenty-five assemblies in the city and the organization spread throughout Canada. In 1885, the order's general assembly was held at Hamilton.

The Knights admitted no distinction between skilled and unskilled workers. They sought to have checked "the alarming development and aggression of aggregated wealth" which threatened to "lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses."[8] They advocated producers' and consumers' co-operatives, the eight-hour day, equal pay for both sexes for equal work and full manhood suffrage. In the provincial election of 1883, the Knights made an unsuccessful effort to have a member elected from

Hamilton.

In the same year, The Toronto Trades and Labour Council sponsored a meeting of Ontario unionists which called itself the Canadian Labour Congress (C.L.C.). The unionists started where they had left off six years earlier and encouraged direct political action to have legislated a board of arbitration and a law fixing employer liability in industrial accidents. At the second assembly in 1886, the labour organization established friendly relations with the Dominion Grange, the national farm organization. In 1888, Hamilton's Trades and Labour Council was established on the same basis as the Toronto organization founded seven years before and operated directly in municipal politics.

In 1887, the C.L.C. met at Hamilton and adopted the name Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (T.L.C.). At the outset, the T.L.C. had hoped to combine both the craft unions and the Knights of Labour. The political activity of the Congress was influenced in these years by the policies of affiliates from the two rival American organizations, the Knights and the craft-oriented American Federation of Labour. Although political resolutions were passed at the annual T.L.C. conventions, the international unions of the A.F. of L. prevented the Congress from participating directly in political activity.

The crusading spirit of the Knights soon waned and the American president of the A.F. of L. increased his pressure

to have them ousted from the T.L.C. Confusion existed among the rank-and-file of the Congress and in 1901, Samuel Gompers encouraged the Congress to define its position more precisely with reference to the A.F. of L. international craft unions and the Knights of Labour. The following year, the T.L.C. decided to exclude all Knight assemblies and to refuse recognition to national craft unions which had an international counterpart.

While it had been to Britain that Canadian labour leaders had looked for ideas and precedents, it was finally from the United States that Canadian trade unionism came to take its lead. It was with the advent of the Knights of Labour in Hamilton in 1881 that American unionism made its most powerful initial impact and, as history would have it, it was the demise of the Knights in Canada two decades later that consolidated the American appeal, that led Canadian trade unionism to identify itself with continental interests of American market unionism.

Industrial unionism was beginning to develop at the end of the nineteenth century within the trade union movement. In the twentieth century, the numbers of unskilled and unorganized workers in industries would rise to significant proportions in the labour force. But the feeble and belated efforts of the A.F. of L. to "organize the unorganized" would fail and the international North American trade union movement would break apart. Nevertheless, the T.L.C., along

with the Hamilton and Toronto city centrals (Trades and Labour Councils), would hold important positions on the labour stage until 1940.

* * *

In the same year that the Canadian trade union movement ousted the extreme political activists and aligned itself with the business unionism of Gompers' A.F. of L., the Boer War came to an end and a newly-wed couple began their life together in the Battersea borough of London. In a few years, Isabella and her Imperial War veteran husband, a recent convert to socialism and the Independent Labour party, would decide to leave Battersea for Canada and Hamilton. To the future dismay of Canadian "Gomperites," the husband would bring more than his credentials from "The Friendly Society of Stone Masons."

III

EARLY SOCIALISM IN CANADA

"I am still a member of the East Hamilton branch of the Independent Labour party, the oldest functioning Labour party in Canada," Lawrence told his attentive audience at the Allan Studholme-C.C.F. club. He was relating experiences of the thirties, when a debate raged within the I.L.P. branch over affiliation with the newly-formed C.C.F. "I was regarded as the spearhead of the movement (C.C.F. in Hamilton), being a controller and being present at the majority of (branch) meetings. . ."[1]

Lawrence spoke that night of the opposition he met in the Labour party to his proposal of affiliation with the C.C.F. More than one-third of those voting on the question were opposed. Some of the branch members were supporters of the Conservative and Liberal parties; others were just supporters of Labour who chose not to align themselves with any force whose primary aim was to gain political power. "Not one of them (was) a socialist," said Lawrence.

"Independent Labour party" was a popular phrase which British working class immigrants brought into Canada with them. Sometimes it was the name of a party organization which made significant, if temporary, electoral gains in various

parts of Canada. At other times it signified no more than a "study group" out of whose circles would occasionally come candidates to stand for public office. Three Hamilton branches of the Independent Labour party, one of which is still in existence, were chartered during World War One by the Ontario I.L.P. The president of the I.L.P. at that time was Walter Rollo, M.L.A. for Hamilton East, an office Lawrence would hold later as a C.C.F. representative.[2]

In 1934, however, although still active in nominating candidates for public office, the Hamilton I.L.P. was experiencing difficulty in rousing enthusiasm and, after some debate on Lawrence's proposal, decided to affiliate with the C.C.F. A quarter of a century later, the C.C.F. would be a party along with a united national Labour organization to the formation of the New Democratic Party (N.D.P.); but the East Hamilton I.L.P. branch would continue to exist as the oldest and perhaps the only functioning I.L.P. in Canada. Monthly meetings are still held "as a committee" in members' homes and a modestly-endowed "Sam Lawrence Scholarship" is administered for the leading student in a McMaster University course on "labour problems" and a small fund is kept up to aid N.D.P. candidates in elections.

The C.C.F. in the thirties represented a renewed attempt by pragmatic reformers to build an effective socialist party in Canada. The material they had to work with was the shambles finally created by the split in the Socialist Party

of Canada over the promulgation of the "Twenty-One Points" by the Third International in Moscow in 1920 and subsequent divisions in the socialist movement during the decade.

* * *

Little can yet be said about the origins of socialism in Canada; but to the degree that movements have sporadically sprung up, flourished and withered, it can be reasonably argued that geography and personalities have played havoc with the various attempts to establish viable socialist parties in Canada. For many years socialism was represented in Canada by pockets of isolated individuals pursuing their own courses in line with their own theories. It was not until the C.C.F. was formed in 1932 from remnants of provincial Labour parties, labour organizations and farmers' groups that a sustained success was achieved. Even after that, however, the party was never far from collapse and in its new garb as a slightly left-of-centre reform party, it still faces the old problem of welding together, or even interlocking, the various parts of the country into a viable political power with an ideology acceptable to the general membership.

Britain and the United States are the major external sources of Canadian socialism with Europe having contributed indirectly by exporting the idea to the other two sources. The proximity of the United States has always been a vital factor in Canadian life and in the spread of the idea of

socialism, it is no less important. If the ideas of Edward Bellamy, for example, could reach into South Africa, it should not be unexpected that an active Nationalist Club in Toronto in the 1880's and 90's campaigned for the city's ownership of the street railway system. Of the thousands of British immigrants to Canada, many were diehard socialists who had acquired their ideas from the trade union movement.

Labour's first entry into the legislatures, as mentioned above, was in 1874 when the Ottawa Trades Council succeeded in their campaign to have Daniel J. O'Donoghue elected to the Ontario legislature as a "Workingman's Candidate." Re-elected later, O'Donoghue finally met defeat at the end of the decade.

In 1883, a national labour meeting made the first pronouncement on labour representation in Canadian legislatures. Ontario unionists meeting in Toronto under the name Canadian Labour Congress resolved that "the working class of this Dominion (would) never be properly represented in Parliament or receive justice in the legislation of the country until they (were) represented by men of their own class and opinions."[3] At the 1886 gathering, unionists were urged to seek out candidates and support them. A suggestion that unionists support candidates who accept most of the Congress planks was dropped the next year and in 1889 came the first mention of an "independent political party." In 1892, the convention resolved to "take into consideration

the advisability of forming a labour party"[4] and three years later resolved that "labour organizations should . . . unite for independent political action."[5]

During the 1880's the Hamilton and Toronto central councils and the Knights of Labour were nominating candidates in federal, provincial and municipal elections. Labour was notably successful in local elections in Montreal and Vancouver in 1892. In 1896, labour nominated a candidate who stood as a Liberal and was elected to the House of Commons. Two years later, the national president of the labour Congress was elected to the British Columbia legislature as an Independent Labour party candidate. Standing on the same ticket, though calling himself a Liberal, he was elected to the House of Commons in 1900.

Though Labour had become politically active, there was as yet still an indefinite link between it and socialism. In 1904, the miner that the Nanaimo I.L.P. sent to the provincial legislature in 1900, joined the Socialist Party of Canada on whose ticket he was elected and represented for many years. In the same year, the labour-socialism link was joined at the federal level with the election of the socialist editor of the Winnipeg central's organ People's Voice. Another socialist labour member was elected from Montreal in 1906. The two federal members did not represent any socialist party organization, they being at that time "tiny, unsubstantial, and ephemeral."[6]

The fortunes of the Independent Labour party of B.C. are typical of the fate of socialist efforts in Canada. Members from the Nanaimo I.L.P. joined with Vancouver and Victoria unionists in 1889 to form the Labour party of British Columbia. It advocated the eight-hour day, public ownership and government control of the medium of exchange. Disputes broke out in the party and it collapsed after the Victoria faction expelled the Nanaimo faction. The Nanaimo element was not particularly upset by the turn of events; in a 1900 provincial election, it sent its own representative to the legislature.

Elsewhere, in Ontario, the Socialist Labour party formed in 1880 was followed by the Canadian Socialist League, part of which survived and was absorbed by the Socialist Party of Canada which is not to be confused with the Canadian Socialist Federation whose headquarters were also in Ontario. Parts of the Socialist Labour Party survived apart from the Canadian Socialist League and formed the United Socialist Labour party in 1900.

In British Columbia, the United Socialist Labour party became the Socialist Party of British Columbia in 1903 and sought and secured representation at a Congress of the Second International in 1904. The party that year renamed itself the Socialist Party of Canada and until World War One provided socialism with strength during the early years of organization with its "colourful, energetic, intelligent

Marxist leadership."[7] The Socialist party divided eventually and the splinter, the Social-Democratic party, merged with the Federated Labour party which subsequently joined the One Big Union in 1919.

In 1917, the Dominion Labour party (later the Canadian Labour party) was formed in Alberta and became more popular than the Socialist party. Labour parties sprang up in five other provinces but their only substantial success was that of the I.L.P. in Ontario which joined with the United Farmers of Ontario to form the Government from 1919 to 1923.[8]

The later split in the Socialist party over the "Twenty-One Points" of the Third International has already been mentioned. The splinter in this case became the Workers' Party which, in December, 1921, absorbed various other organizations to become the Communist Party of Canada. However, the impetus given the socialist movement by the Socialist Party of Canada in the first years of the century was not entirely spent by the beginning of the third decade. After December, 1921, the struggle for a socialist-labour party and the political drive for socialism, separate from Communism, was renewed by a new band of pragmatic reformers led by J. S. Woodsworth who became the first leader of the C.C.F.

* * *

The stonecutters in Hamilton could not find Lawrence a job when he presented his card from the London "Friendly Society of Stone Masons" in 1912 and he moved to Brantford. Finding no local in existence there, he organized one. When he returned to Hamilton later in the year, he attended a union meeting and was elected president and became a delegate to the city central.

Although Lawrence was a delegate to the city central until 1937, another association was forged in his early years in Hamilton which, in the perspective of his lifetime was just as important as his labour office. When Lawrence came to Hamilton, he joined a local branch of the Social Democratic party and later, encouraged by George Halcrow, Labour M.L.A. for Hamilton West, joined the Homeside club of the I.L.P. When Homeside failed, Lawrence became a member of the East Hamilton club. In these early years of the Ontario I.L.P., the two clubs and the Central club boasted a membership of 1,200.

By the end of 1920, less than one year before the Communists and socialists separated from each other, Lawrence had been in Canada for less than nine years. In the meantime, he had become well known as a Labour supporter among Labour elements because of his position on the city central and his membership in the I.L.P. In December, he was nominated for the first time as a Labour candidate for alderman in Ward Eight in Hamilton's approaching municipal elections. Though

he was unsuccessful, it was hardly to be Lawrence's last election campaign; he was nominated again the following year and on this occasion, began to forge what was to be a long chain of electoral victories as a "Labour man."

LABOR'S FRIEND

LAWRENCE

SAM LAWRENCE, I.L.P. ALDERMAN

IV

SAM LAWRENCE: ALDERMAN, 1922-1928; CONTROLLER, 1929-1934

The gods looked as favourably upon Lawrence's political debut in Canada in January, 1921, as they had upon his Battersea coming-out in 1906. He stood fourth in a field of five aldermanic candidates and drew no editorial comment from the Spectator which observed in general:

> Labor will have seven representatives this year in the council, two on the board of control . . . and five on council . . . . The opinion among old timers is that labor's best day is past.[1]

The following year, Labour's representation fell from seven to three on city council. Standing first in the list of eight aldermanic candidates in Ward Eight, Sam Lawrence was one member of the trio salvaged from the general rejection of the I.L.P. slate of nine candidates. Lawrence was then forty-three years old; he would live for thirty-seven more years -- four years in voluntary retirement and thirty-three years as an I.L.P. or C.C.F.-Labour member in public office.

Ward Eight was a large, industrial ward in the north-east corner of Hamilton stretching halfway through the city from the bayfront south to Main Street. Its western boundary was Gage Avenue and its eastern limits extended to the edge of the city at Strathearne Avenue. Heavy industry was con-

centrated at Hamilton's north-east end and the property of the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco) which would be an important location in the "organizing of the unorganized" two decades later sat in what was to become Lawrence's bailiwick.

The municipal election of 1923 provided the local I.L.P. with an issue relevant to its provincial platform, the construction of a hydro-radial line through Hamilton, from Port Credit to St. Catharines. The radials became the subject of a municipal plebiscite when Hamilton's city council failed to ratify the existing Hydro-radial agreement before a deadline set by the provincial government.[2] The I.L.P. candidates, favouring the supervision of the project by the Hydro-Power Commission of Ontario, stood with Sir Adam Beck and the conservative Spectator against "powerful financial and corporate interests"[3] and "sinister influences."[4]

Fifty-eight percent of the electorate voted on January 1. Lawrence was elected alderman with the "second largest vote in the city" while Sir Adam Beck's "grandest and most portentious" project was laid to rest. The hydro radials were given support in Wards Seven and Eight, the city's "labour districts," but failed to receive overwhelming support anywhere. Wards One, Two, Three and Four were credited by the Spectator with the defeat of the radials. These wards ran along the southern and north-western parts of the city where the assessment rolls listed more "merchants" and professional people than "labourers" who predominated

in the Ward Seven and Eight lists.

The total aldermanic vote for the four candidates in Ward Eight was 5,866. Assuming each elector cast two votes, we can say that 2,933 people voted for aldermanic candidates. The Ward Eight vote total on the radial agreement was 1,655. Since only ratepayers were permitted to vote on the agreement, a money by-law, the discrepancy in the figures would appear to distinguish the approximate proportion of propertied and non-propertied persons in Lawrence's ward. This assumption, however, would lead one to an inaccurate view of propertied residents for, in evaluating the vote, the Spectator noted another factor in the rejection of the radial agreement:

> . . . that almost every incorporated company in the city took advantage of its right to appoint a person to cast a vote on the money by-laws was regarded as most significant. It is claimed by some that a goodly share of the majority against radials is made up of such votes.[5]

The temporary alliance between Labour and conservatism in Ontario against "the powerful financial and corporate interests" is indicative of common ground between these Canadian elements which is often ignored today by socialists in search of common ground and power with the Liberal party. The change in Hamilton's electoral sentiment is seen particularly marked when the result of the vote in 1923 is compared to the vote on Hydro railways in 1919. The city's ratepayers then favoured the proposition by three to one and

"although its defeat (in 1923) was not exactly a sweeping one, still it was sufficiently emphatic to leave no doubt as to Hamilton's views on the matter of publicly-owned electric railways, as proposed under the 1922 agreement."[6] It may have left no doubt, too, about the strength of a waning Canadian conservatism.[7]

Lawrence stood successfully as a Ward Eight aldermanic candidate for the next four years. The Spectator published large portions of nomination speeches by candidates for mayor and board of control but ignored the large field of aldermanic candidates. References to Lawrence during election campaigns appear non-existent though post-election comments are numerous about Ward Eight's veteran alderman pulling the largest vote of any aldermen-elect.

In the election of December, 1924, Lawrence was one of only two I.L.P. candidates elected. But the main interest of that election in retrospect is the inauspicious political debut of a man Lawrence would one day call "a burglar's dog." Lawrence was involved in many disputes with people of all interests, labour and management, socialist and non-socialist and, as he told his supporters in 1940, he always tried to be fair. John Humphrey Mitchell, however, was the greatest disappointment for Lawrence. Some people thought Mitchell was his protege but their paths were always too wide apart for such an intimate relationship to be established.

The breach between them conspicuously widened and

became irreconcilable after Mitchell became the Labour member of parliament for Hamilton East in a 1931 by-election. Lawrence had declined the offer of I.L.P. nomination and though the eventual winner had been endorsed by the East Hamilton I.L.P. and was expected to support the socialist group led by J. S. Woodsworth, Mitchell refused to sit with the C.C.F. when it was formed later with the support of the I.L.P. He was beaten by the Conservative candidate in the general election of 1935 when the new C.C.F. party ran another John Mitchell against him.

"But Humphrey Mitchell went to Ottawa and got a good job," Lawrence told the Allan Studholme-C.C.F. club meeting.[8] Mitchell had been selected by the prime minister to be the first chairman of the National Labour Board and one year later, in December, 1941, he became the federal minister of labour and entered the House after winning a February, 1942, by-election in Welland. He was re-elected in 1945 and was the minister of labour in the Liberal Government when Lawrence was mayor of Hamilton and when the newly-organized C.I.O. union, the United Steelworkers of America struck the steel industry in 1946. Lawrence was an old man when he died in 1959; but if he remembered Humphrey Mitchell, he remembered the only man he thoroughly disliked. Meanwhile, in 1924, the Spectator observed that Humphrey Mitchell "failed to poll the vote that was expected of him."[9]

In the federal general election of 1925, Lawrence

was the unsuccessful Labour candidate in Hamilton East. Even at that time he was not wholeheartedly supported by the Trades and Labour Council. The Spectator noted a general belief that the alderman's failure to dissociate himself from a left wing political group cost him many votes. "In the result in East Hamilton is . . . seen a clear mandate from the working men that a tinge of rouge will not go in Hamilton."[10]

The Conservative incumbent had been expected to retain his seat while only the positions of the Labour and Liberal candidates for the doubtful honour of second place were in doubt. The constituency included all of Wards One, Seven and Eight and parts of Wards Two and Six. The fight for second place was close. Not one division in Homeside, the extreme east end of Hamilton where Lawrence had been piling up his aldermanic majorities, gave him a vote total that was even close to the Conservative candidate. South of King Street, in the wealthier areas, the Liberal led Lawrence in almost every division; but from King Street to the bayfront, Lawrence gained enough support to come second with a lead of 81 votes, 3,383 votes behind the Conservative victor.

To deal with "ifs" in history is a futile diversion. It will never be known if Lawrence could have won the election with the official support of the city central. It does not seem likely. But the experience would not be lost on Lawrence who probably drew some valuable conclusions from it. It was

the first election in which he had only "unofficial and sympathetic" support from the Trades and Labour Council, a fact which must have made him thoroughly aware of its non-radical nature and wary of future disappointments in the city central. The lack of popular support in the north-end generally and particularly in Homeside was notable. Unable to carry even his local Labour supporters with him to the federal level, he was content to concentrate on the municipal field for almost a decade.

In the local elections two months later, Lawrence outdistanced his nearest opponent by 551 votes; and only 35 percent of the electorate voted at the end of an apparently uneventful campaign the following year when Ward Eight voters re-elected him with the largest vote secured by any alderman. Lawrence managed the same feat in 1927, gathering 581 more votes than the second alderman from Ward Eight. In its post-election comment, the Spectator observed that "Alderman Lawrence will be the oldest sitting member in the city council next year."[11] He was now forty-eight years old and next autumn he would tell the electorate: "Seven consecutive terms as alderman give me qualifications to seek higher office."[12]

* * *

Lawrence's nomination speech was business-like. Although a Labour candidate for board of control, he made no direct mention of this obvious source of support. Probably

aware now that radical or even pro-labour remarks might lose him support from his now city-wide electorate while the labour vote was assured, he limited his remarks to the need for hospital accommodation, a plan for a western entrance to the city, and the need of an adequate swimming pool for the first Empire Games to be held in Hamilton in 1930. He also remarked favourably upon the need for an art gallery, the planned move of McMaster University to the city from Toronto, the construction of a new Canadian National Railway station, and annexation of part of the Mountain area.

Lawrence also referred to a matter that would stand him in good stead in this election and provide him with electoral support from the wealthy, residential areas in the city later -- the municipal tax burden on property owners. "It checks development and is contrary to the established practice in all progressive communities," he said.

Only thirty-five percent of the electorate voted in 1928 when the first alderman from Ward Eight was elected to board of control. Lawrence carried Wards Five to Eight in the north central and north-east section of the city to be the second of four controllers after the incumbent senior controller. He drew least support from Ward Two in the wealthy south central part of Hamilton in an election that the Spectator found encouraging to Labour. Agnes Sharpe, a radical Labour candidate for board of education trustee in Ward Eight, was the first woman elected to a civic office in

Hamilton and Humphrey Mitchell, who had been secretary of the city central for many years, became a Ward Eight alderman.

Lawrence's election tallies the following year differed little from 1928. He carried Wards Five to Eight again and did poorly in Ward Two. His vote in the southeasterly Ward One and the southwesterly Ward Three was consistent with the other candidates. The electorate in the northwesterly Ward Four were evenly split on him. He had served longer on the city council than any other councillor and, as second controller, he would be in charge of the works department for the second year. Much of his nomination speech had concerned his accomplishments in that department during the last year and the good prospects for more public works during a time "when the opportunities of finding employment (were) scarce."[13] He noted the provision of recreation areas in the east end of the city and the more than 1,000 old age pension claims passed by board of control. The latter work, Lawrence said, had been "a particular pleasure to (him), having for many years taken an active part in pressing the government to render its social obligation towards our aged people."

This pattern in nomination speeches and election results continued for three more years. Each year was as "trying and abnormal as the previous one" and each year the city had embarked on an "extensive public works program." In 1932, he spoke eloquently about the difficult financial

position of the city during the depression which was caused by "the restricted avenues of revenue, and the compulsory assumption of obligations that really (belonged) to the provincial and federal governments."[14] He continued:

> Municipalities whose powers are very limited under the Municipal Act, have a problem of magnitude never before experienced in the history of the Dominion, in the provision of shelter and sustenance for the men, women and children who are unwilling victims of the depression. Notwithstanding opinions to the contrary, this is primarily a human problem, which in its application deeply affects the mental and physical well-being of our people. It is of the utmost importance that policies having to do with this important problem shall be tempered with human principles arising out of our experience.

He spoke of the "absolute necessity" for a national scheme of unemployment insurance and urged "all the forces of progress along with that of the municipalities to lend their aid in bringing about the establishment of such an undertaking."

Each year, Lawrence was elected to board of control on the strength of victories in the north central and eastern industrial wards. His worst showings were still in Ward Two but even they improved year by year. Lawrence fell to the fourth and last position on the board in the elections of 1930 when a "well-known sportsman and athlete" received a record total vote in his first election. Although admittedly "handicapped by a lack of municipal experience," Sam Manson, whose "connection with the British Empire Games . . . had

associated him in the public mind as one who could put things over,"[15] was comforted by the fact that "successful handling of the affairs of the city entail(ed) only a certain degree of common sense and the exemplification of ordinary business principles."[16] Manson was nominated for the mayoralty and board of control the following year, but decided on trying for re-election to the board. He talked of his work in the relief department:

> To me it has been not only a duty but a labor of love, . . . coming into close touch with so many cases of extreme distress . . . and knowing that it was not the wish of those whom the depression had not affected that any deserving citizens, more especially the women and children, should suffer from want or privation . . . .[17]

Manson stood fourth in his last election that year and Lawrence became the first controller and vice-mayor for the first time.

Humphrey Mitchell had been elected Labour member of parliament for Hamilton East a few months earlier and did not stand for local election. The electorate in Ward One did, however, send a new representative to council in 1931 who was to precipitate Lawrence's greatest public trial. Nora-Frances Henderson had conducted a "brisk campaign" to become the first woman elected to Hamilton's city council.

This election, at the end of one of the worst depression years, produced an even split between the Labour candidate Lawrence and an "old-line" politician. Of the eight candidates for board of control in 1932, the latter

captured Wards One to Four and Lawrence took Wards Five to Eight. F. F. Treleavan took Lawrence's first place position from him, winning the wards south of King and Main Streets and west of Bay Street. The wards east of Bay and north of King and Main Streets supported Lawrence. Ward Eight in the north-east, now north of Main Street and between Ottawa Street and Strathearne Avenue following boundary changes in 1931, was the strongest Labour ward. The electorate there gave Lawrence more than 2,000 more votes than Treleavan and elected two Labour aldermen and a Labour school trustee.

The municipal election of 1933 had an extra ingredient added to it which brought the wrath of the elite groups into the election through the Spectator. In the summer of 1932, a federation was formed of farm, labour and socialist organizations. The first program of the C.C.F. was formed the following year in Regina and, in December, 1933, the party entered a slate of candidates in Hamilton's elections. The party slate was led by Controller Lawrence, a candidate again for board of control. The Spectator fumed:

> Have you ever stopped to consider what would happen if the distribution of relief got into the hands of an irresponsible clique or political party, -- the favouring of political friends and ward heelers that would go on -- the fattening of the few and the neglect of the many -- the opportunities for graft and building up of party machinery that would be afforded?[18]

The editorial, published two days before the election, filled almost an entire page:

> . . . the electors would do well to turn deaf ears to the fulsome promises and platitudes of demagogues whose real objective, concealed under a screen of fervour, is usually to secure a salaried place for themselves in the administration.

The Spectator doubted that the C.C.F. candidates were representatives of the working class. "Can it be," it asked:

> that they are put up by a small group which they themselves dominate and not in reality by that good old hard-headed multitude commonly referred to as the working class, who in the past have so creditably asserted themselves by electing such men as the late Allan Studholme and the present federal member for East Hamilton, Mr. Humphrey Mitchell -- men in whom any class or party or administration might well take pride?

The "glory of British democracy" was praised for the selection of administrators "without regard to class distinctions" which were rapidly disappearing at any rate "before the advance of popular education, industrialization and organized sport."

Lawrence's nomination speech differed little from the previous year and the Spectator conceded that regardless of his party affiliation he would likely "live it down."[19] Lawrence was elected first controller two days later on a city-wide poll that fell only 1,700 votes short of the total pulled by the mayor-elect, "a fine tribute to the city-wide esteem in which he is held . . . ," commented the Spectator. The C.C.F. candidate won five wards, Four to Eight, the entire north end of the city and still had his poorest showing in

south-central Ward Two.

Although no new C.C.F. candidates were elected to city council and the six who stood for school trustee were defeated, Labour was represented by other successful candidates who rejected the C.C.F. label. The disinclination of many unionists to align themselves with the C.C.F. party was demonstrated when E. W. A. O'Dell, the president of the city central, was elected alderman in Ward Five. Lloyd Smith, Lawrence's C.C.F. running-mate for board of control, who in his nomination speech had criticized the imbalance of class representation on council, stood sixth in the race of seven. The seventh candidate was A. C. Avery, whose nomination speech left no doubts about his affiliation with the Communist party.

Sam Lawrence served seven terms as a Hamilton alderman during which time he unsuccessfully sought election to the federal House as an I.L.P. candidate. He was in his fifth term as controller when he decided to stand as Hamilton East's C.C.F. candidate in the provincial election of 1934.

* * *

In the June election, the Conservative incumbent, William Morrison, faced Communist, Independent, and Labour-Socialist candidates as well as the C.C.F. nominee. Morrison had defeated his Liberal opponent in the 1929 outing by more than 3,500 votes and there was no Liberal standardbearer in

the 1934 race.

The C.C.F. was the real opposition in Hamilton East, but Morrison thought it best to warp them together as the "wild-eyed" people with radical ideas. He said at one "enthusiastic Conservative rally" that a shorter work week would help solve the unemployment problem and when it was objected that workers would have nothing to do with their spare time, his hardly brilliant reply was that the workers could do "what they ha(d) been doing the last two years with no work at all."[20]

On the day prior to the election, the Spectator thought the Government had had "decidedly the best of the argument" in the campaign.[21] It berated the "ill-mannered extremists" whose "vilification and coarse conduct" did not stop "at the throwing of tomatoes" during political meetings. But regardless of whom they were supporting -- but it does not seem likely that "hoodlums and mob rule" would be associated with the Conservative party -- the Spectator urged the other electors to "vote for the party and the man measuring up to the required standards of character and service . . . ."

On June 20, the Hamilton East electors chose a successor to William Morrison and Allan Studholme and Walter Rollo. Rollo had been president of the I.L.P. during its brief reign with the United Farmers from 1919 to 1923. In 1934, Sam Lawrence was the first C.C.F. candidate elected

to the Ontario House of Assembly, defeating Morrison 10,458 votes to 7,213, a majority of 3,245 votes. The three other candidates polled only 1,393 votes.

Morrison was one of 67 Conservatives who were defeated in that election, their membership in the House falling from 84 seats to 17. The Liberals gained 50 seats in the province and their membership rose from 15 to 65 seats. The new premier of Ontario was Mitchell Hepburn, a mention of whose name will still draw hoots and jeers from a Labour audience, mindful still of his obstruction of the C.I.O.'s industrial union organizing drive in the province.

V

SAM LAWRENCE: AGAINST HEPBURN AND GREEN

After his election to the provincial House in 1934, Lawrence expressed "little faith in the ability of the Liberals to bring in reforms of a concrete and permanent nature."[1] Nevertheless, he promised to support any measure that "appeared to be in the interest of the people he (represented) and the Socialist cause." However, he found himself drawn not to the debates in the House but elsewhere in the cause of the working class: to the industrial union drive and the affairs of Hamilton labour; and after the life of one parliament, he would return from Queen's Park to local politics.

* * *

The Communist party had been declared illegal in Canada in 1931 and its political candidates were thereafter brought forward under "the United Front." A Workers' Unity League (W.U.L.) was formed and while it was concerned "to bore from within" established unions and direct them towards the interests of international Communism, its constitution declared that "the organization of the unorganized must be the main and central task."[2] The W.U.L. established a system of dues collection to support the organization of national

industrial unions and by 1934 claimed to have 24,253 members. One of its important achievements was the organization of the automobile, steel and rubber industries before the C.I.O. drive. Communist leadership is credited with stimulating industrial unionism among those industries in Canada and when the C.I.O. began its Canadian drive, the organizing director of the W.U.L., J. B. Salsberg, "received" the representatives and "handed over" the unity league groups.

At the May Day rally of 1935 in Hamilton both Sam Lawrence and Salsberg appealed for an anti-capitalist united front composed of all working class organizations. One year later, Lawrence praised the "different attitude adopted by the Communists" who no longer set themselves apart from the working class movement but who were willing "to do some reforming . . . from within. If we can get the militant workers -- men who have sacrificed by going to jail -- on our side, the better for the workers of Canada."[3] The call had gone out from Moscow in 1935 for a united front against fascism and the majority of the W.U.L. membership accepted the judgment of their Soviet comrades. Both Lawrence and Salsberg addressed the first meeting of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee in Hamilton in 1936.

It has also been said[4] that Salsberg engineered the appeal to the United Automobile Workers in Detroit during the General Motors strike at Oshawa in 1936-37 which brought the C.I.O. union to Canada, engendering the wrath of Premier

SAM LAWRENCE, M.L.A. MAY DAY RALLY, MARKET SQUARE, 1935

Hepburn and providing the election issue in 1937. Hepburn was certainly not popular with the "radical" elements of Labour. Lawrence had called him "Herr Hitler" in 1935 and continually criticized his failure to implement "the promises of 1934 that the unemployed would be better off and better cared for, and that there would be employment for them."[5]

The move of the C.I.O. into Canada was expected soon after the Committee of Industrial Organization held its first constitutional convention in 1938, changing its name to the Congress of Industrial Organizations and establishing itself as a rival to the A.F. of L. The C.I.O. was created shortly after the 1935 A.F. of L. convention when the supporters of John L. Lewis failed to convince the majority of the craft-oriented A.F. of L. led by Gompers' successor, William Green, that

> . . . common sense demands the organization policies of the American Federation of Labor must be molded to meet present day needs . . . in the great mass production industries . . . .[6]

Unknowingly, the North American continent waited upon a fundamental, revolutionary turn in the evolution of its labour movement when the A.F. of L. unionists, having weathered the Open Shop and the Corporate drives in the twenties, refused Lewis' demand "to enter upon an aggressive organization campaign in (the mass production) industries."[7]

In the Oshawa strike, General Motors of Canada

insisted on negotiating with a union of its own employees. The matter became a heated political controversy when Hepburn intervened in the efforts of his minister of labour to have the company negotiate with local and international union representatives. He dismissed the minister of labour from the cabinet as well as his attorney-general with whom he was at odds. The premier warned against further organizing in the province and with Hepburn's support, manifested by a massing of provincial police in Toronto, the company's position succeeded in April, 1937. The "bastard agreement," a type of collective bargaining concluded by the local, omitting any mention of international connections, prevailed in Ontario among the new C.I.O. unions until the war.

Lawrence criticized Hepburn for "butting in," creating "all the newspaper ballyhoo," and undermining the "capable labour department." He saw the "Oshawa matter" as only a small part of a larger picture in which "Mr. Hepburn was trying to protect his friends among the mining moguls in the north," whose companies would "surely be organized."[8] Lawrence told a meeting of the United Steelworkers' Action committee at Port Colborne that:

> . . . it would require fifty premiers to keep the C.I.O. from organizing in the mining industry of the north . . . (where) the workers are beginning to realize that they are being exploited by the financial barons of the province who are being given the protection of the government . . . . The stand of Labour is 'Hepburn must go!'[9]

The last year had been hectic for Hamilton's trade

unionist M.L.A. and the remainder of 1937 would provide him with little rest from labour and political activities in the public limelight. As the stonemasons' delegate, he had been selected in the Spring of 1936 by the Hamilton city central to accept an invitation from an association known as Friends of Soviet Russia to attend May Day celebrations in Moscow. The same invitation had been extended to the C.C.F. and other non-Communist Western left movements and arose out of the Third International's call the previous year for a world-wide co-operation of Communists and other "true left elements (to) assure victory in the struggle against fascism and capitalism for creation of soviet governments . . . ."[10] Lawrence had been selected on March 6 by a majority of one vote to accompany the C.C.F. delegate, but the entire matter was brought to the labour council floor on March 20 by conservative unionists protesting the "soviet methods of boring from within the organization."

The dispatch of Lawrence to May Day celebrations in the Soviet Union was raised in a letter to the council from Local 700 of the Operating Engineers' Union which flatly opposed the proposed visit. At the second meeting, Lawrence recalled that criticism had arisen in January among council delegates about his political activity and the result of that meeting had been a resolution expressing appreciation for his work as a trade unionist. On this occasion, the conservative faction succeeded in having the first resolution expunged

from the minutes. In the letter to the city central, Local 700 stated the case of the A.F. of L.-oriented unionists against the C.I.O. faction on the council:

> The members of Local 700 object strongly to representation (given) to a body which supports dual organization, mass organization and other activities contradictory in principle to the constitution of the American Federation of Labour to which all delegates pledge themselves to adhere. Having a concise knowledge of the fundamental principles set forth by the A.F. of L., we conclude that the action of the council in this matter proves that the communist strategy of boring from within has been applied to this end, and thereby violating the oath taken by delegates on their admission to council.[11]

Lawrence argued that since the Friends of Soviet Russia was not an organization hostile to the A.F. of L., the request from the society was acceptable. The delegates from the engineers' local admitted that Communist tactics had undergone a change; but the Communists had always branded the A.F. of L. as "fakers" and "now their aim is to get control of labour councils." The question posed by the conservative faction was whether the Hamilton central was "prepared to aid by sending a delegate to visit Russia under such auspices," making the labour council "the tail of a kite to soviet activities."

Though the resolution selecting Lawrence as a delegate to the May Day celebrations was erased from the council minutes, the Hamilton East M.L.A. did in fact visit the U.S.S.R. The other Canadian delegate, Graham Spry, the editor of the C.C.F. New Commonwealth, was unable to accept his

invitation and Lawrence became the only Canadian delegate at Moscow on May 1, 1936.

After spending one month in the U.S.S.R. and two months in England, he returned to Hamilton feeling "prouder than ever" that he had "always been a loyal supporter of the Soviet Union since the revolution."[12] The Moscow May Day parade had lasted for more than eight hours and the Canadian delegate had been impressed by the "splendid mechanization of the Red army . . . (whose) military displays (were) not put on by the government as a show of force, for everywhere . . . there (was) a desire for peace," Lawrence told a public meeting on July 24:

> If the country was not surrounded by capitalistic enemies, filled with the spirit of aggression, think of how much better off the people of Russia would be.[13]

Almost as soon as Lawrence returned to Hamilton, he was embroiled in controversy instigated by the A.F. of L. faction on the labour council. The split in organized American labour was one year old and the T.L.C., in annual convention, beat down attempts by both sides to bring the issue of industrial unionism to a vote. The matter was raised for the first time by industrial unionists at the Montreal convention in 1936.

The Hamilton Trades and Labour Council met in August and selected three delegates, including Sam Lawrence, M.L.A. and Humphrey Mitchell, former M.P. When Lawrence arrived in

Montreal, he discovered that his name did not appear as a Hamilton central delegate. Lawrence charged that Mitchell had been to the convention's credentials committee to have his name removed and he credited the T.L.C. president, P. M. Draper, with referring the matter of Hamilton's delegation back to the committee which subsequently discovered that the labour council was entitled to only one delegate and confirmed Lawrence's credentials and his position as the sole delegate.

At the August meeting of the city central, it had been charged that Lawrence took all the council correspondence to the Communist party before the council received it. The international president of the Operating Engineers' Union, John Possehel, wrote the Hamilton central of a complaint from Local 700 that Sam Lawrence was an avowed Communist and recognized as a leader in the Communist group.[14]

The whole question was suddenly raised again before the T.L.C. convention at a labour council meeting on September 4 when a letter from the A.F. of L. president, William Green, was introduced demanding Lawrence's expulsion from the council of organized Labour. Green told the council that he had been informed by Possehel of Lawrence's Communist affiliations and that there was "no other course open" to him than to order the council to expel him. Green has been described by a "neutral trade unionist" as being "anti-anti-anti-Communist" and this attitude, intensified since the C.I.O. break, extended throughout the A.F. of L. Consequently,

some A.F. of L. delegates to the Hamilton city central were "extreme right-wingers."[15]

Lawrence said he was "astounded" by Green's allegation and asked for permission "to repeat what (he had) frequently said from (the) floor."

> I have, (he affirmed), never been a member of the Communist party, and I have never acted as chairman of a Communist gathering. I have been on platforms from which Communists have spoken.[16]

He referred to the demand for his expulsion as "the most dastardly thing ever done against (him)."

Not surprisingly, perhaps, all concerned in this affair expressed surprise and dismay at Green's edict. Joseph McLaughlin, president of Local 700 declared no knowledge of Lawrence's status being discussed on the floor of his organization and Jack Cauley, the union local's recording secretary, denied knowledge of the letter supposedly sent to Possehel and enthusiastically seconded a resolution expressing confidence in Lawrence. Finally, the resolution was unanimously passed with a rider clearing the Local 700 delegates of any responsibility.

Three registered letters were sent to Possehel demanding photostatic copies of the original letter on which he had acted. When the council received no acknowledgment, Green became the recipient of a registered letter. He promised the Hamilton central an investigation and "after

careful consideration of the complaint against Lawrence," concluded:

> that the complaint should be withdrawn and the allegation that he is an avowed Communist be erased from the records. So far as the A.F. of L. is concerned, we sincerely regret the matter and hope to guard against it in the future.[17]

The Hamilton and Toronto city centrals were the most active T.L.C.-chartered organizations in Canada. The divisions in the two labour councils and the relative strength possessed by the two factions at any time was of great importance for the national labour congress. The C.I.O. had begun organizing in Hamilton's steel industry and was experiencing success by May, 1937, when the general organizer in Ontario for the A.F. of L. came to Hamilton and precipitated the split in the city's central, a clear sign of future developments in the T.L.C. itself.

A few days before a regularly scheduled meeting of the city central, a committee meeting of a group called the "Loyal Steelworkers' Organization," sent a telegram to the A.F. of L. president, asking him to take "drastic" measures to halt C.I.O. activities among the steelworkers. Steel organization had been active for some time under W.U.L. sponsorship and C.I.O. locals had now been established.

As soon as he arrived at the council meeting on May 7, John Noble informed the delegates that he had been instructed by President Green to give the council the opportunity

of declaring its allegiance to the A.F. of L. or losing its charter. Delegates urged that no hurried action be taken, but Noble pressed for an immediate vote on allegiance to the A.F. of L. constitution which provided for the expulsion of delegates who were members of the Communist party, fascist movements, or the C.I.O.

When the vote was taken, only 22 of 73 delegates supported Noble who immediately strode to the platform and removed the A.F. of L. charter from the wall. The 22 followed Noble and the A.F. of L. charter out of the room at the Catharine Street North Labour Temple and down the hall to another room where they assembled as the Hamilton District Trades and Labour Council, suspending the delegates who failed to support the A.F. of L. and electing a provisional directorate. The 51 remained in the council room and continued deliberations also as the Hamilton District Trades and Labour Council under the original Trades and Labour Congress charter which established the city central in the nineteenth century.

In a letter of protest to other city centrals in Canada, the T.L.C.-chartered council blamed Noble and the A.F. of L. for the split which would "put labour at the mercy of the employer . . . ." Three days after the split, the A.F. of L.-chartered council met at the Royal Connaught Hotel and reaffirmed their decision to operate under the name "Hamilton and District Trades and Labour Council" and decided to wait

until the T.L.C. executive "clarified" the situation.

The following day, the T.L.C. president, "Paddy" Draper, said he had "nothing to do with the quarrel between Mr. Green and John L. Lewis." Recognizing his duty to act under the T.L.C. constitution which allowed for both craft and industrial unions, he asserted that the old council was free to operate under the T.L.C. charter as long as it held it. Draper was aware that the Hamilton central had been experiencing "considerable difficulties . . . for some months" and it seemed to him the situation had been "brought to a climax on complaints . . . conveyed through 'road men' of the A.F. of L. to William Green."[18]

The Toronto Daily Star published Draper's remarks along with protests issued against the A.F. of L. from city centrals in Kingston, Peterborough, Guelph, St. Catharines, Port Arthur and Brantford. In order to prevent similar action by the A.F. of L. in the oldest and one of the most important centrals in Canada, the Toronto council took its A.F. of L. charter from the wall and hid it. Hamilton's central was the only council in Canada which broke along pro and anti-C.I.O. lines.

The A.F. of L. council stated its position following a meeting on May 13, declaring that the old council had been "packed" by C.I.O. organizations -- four steelworkers' locals -- which had not been chartered and which did not properly belong there. It charged that the stonecutters' union, through

which Lawrence had maintained a seat on the council since he arrived in the city in 1912, no longer really existed. Reference was made to the C.I.O. delegates attempting to "bid for substantial representation" at the approaching T.L.C. convention and the new council insisted again that they had "very good reasons" to believe that all important communications to the council had been seen and discussed first "by the executive of the Hamilton Communist Party or a group of Communists." The statement continued:

> When one considers that the C.I.O. locals paid no per capita into the Council and contributed nothing except a lot of noise, the situation becomes unbearable. . . .[19]

The council said the labour movement in Hamilton was not being "burst asunder; just being cleaned up."[20]

Peace was temporarily restored by Draper on May 24 when the presidency was handed to an A.F. of L. delegate. Hamilton's labour movement was united under the two charters until the first regular meeting of the council was held on June 4. The executive, appointed at the session attended by Draper, proceeded to pass upon credentials of delegates before they were eligible to be seated. When some of the unions were refused recognition, they immediately protested. Finally, the forces divided and met in separate rooms. The two labour organizations existed under separate charter until 1940 when the T.L.C. charter was restored to the A.F. of L. group at the Labour Temple. "This is not a case of burying

the hatchet," said the council's secretary-treasurer, John Cauley:

> The drastic order which resulted in the purge three years ago will not be lifted. . . . This is no happy family settlement; that gang will never be back in here.[21]

Cauley, who publicly acknowledged his support for the Conservative party, noted that, since the Hamilton council now had both charters, only it had the right to sponsor Labour Day demonstrations or any other labour or trade union functions.

The victory for the A.F. of L. was, however, a phyrric one. In December, 1938, one month after the first constitutional convention of the C.I.O., the T.L.C. executive met with its A.F. of L. counterpart in Washington. The Canadian unionists, who had in recent years refused to expel the Canadian C.I.O. unions, deplored the American break and offered to mediate, now reported that they were made "fully aware that further delay in taking action respecting the C.I.O. would lead to almost complete disorganization of the Congress as it had been constituted since 1902."[22] In 1939, the T.L.C. voted, 31-98, for the expulsion of the mine workers, mine, mill, and smelter workers, clothing, fur, quarry, and automobile workers' unions and the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. The majority of the T.L.C. had stood on proper constitutional grounds -- the Gompers' doctrine of solidarity ensuring jurisdiction to the established union.

But above all that were two immutable facts: the organizing of the mass industries now represented "a job to be done" and the labour movement in North America was as continental as the interests of capital. In 1940, the C.I.O. unions expelled from the T.L.C. joined with the unions of the All-Canadian Congress who themselves had been expelled by the Congress in 1902 and 1927 for similar reasons, to form the Canadian Congress of Labour, a rival to the T.L.C. The split in the continental labour movement was thorough. A Canadian trade union historian has subsequently observed that:

> Contrary to most expectations, the new Congress not only survived but grew and waxed strong, organizing mass production industries and pioneering in labour research, workers' education and labour public relations.[23]

The Hamilton Labour Council was formed in 1940 under a charter from the new Canadian Congress of Labour. The labour split was not only manifested in terms of craft versus industrial unionism but the latter type of unionism was more broadly "socially-oriented" and "political" than the former. While the craft oriented A.F. of L. and T.L.C. followed the traditional Gompers' political pragmatism, which involved only "rewarding friends and defeating enemies," the C.I.O. and the C.C.L. unions were less reserved. In 1943, the C.C.L. endorsed the socialist C.C.F. party as the political arm of industrial labour and henceforth the Hamilton Labour Council nominated and supported C.C.F. candidates in elections

at all three levels.

The split in organized Labour had been expected in Canada after the American movement broke into two organizations in 1935.[24] Regardless of the T.L.C. executives' efforts to maintain unity, the abortive attempt to unseat Lawrence gave observers an indication of what to expect in the future. Finally, the dramatic and insoluble break in the Hamilton city central, engineered by the A.F. of L., heralded and precipitated a break in the national labour movement.

A few months after the labour split appeared in Hamilton, a provincial election was called by Hepburn. Sam Lawrence was nominated for re-election as the C.C.F. candidate in Hamilton East in the October election whose main issue was Hepburn's repudiation of "the entry of the C.I.O. into Ontario industrial life."[25] On this occasion, however, Lawrence faced a Liberal opponent.

Lawrence had said harsh things about Hepburn and his Government. Although he had had "little faith" in the Liberal party, he had hoped that co-operation with the Liberals during the life of the parliament would have brought some improvement in the condition of the working class. Lawrence equated such improvement now with the organization of industrial unions which, it became painfully obvious to him, was going to be impeded if not destroyed by Hepburn and the Liberal party. By the fourth year of the Government, he declared that there was little chance of getting any measure

through the House amplifying Labour's right of organization such as the American Wagner Act of 1935 which outlawed company unions and required employers to bargain collectively with whatever union his employees wished to join. In August, 1937, he said he had:

> . . . told Premier Hepburn that his government had done nothing to recommend itself to the people for re-election. Premier Hepburn reneged on every promise he made previous to being elected, so why should he get another chance? He became the pawn of big business and the mining moguls of this province. . . .[26]

Lawrence based his opposition to Hepburn not on the question of the C.I.O., but on the "realization that industrial unionism (was) the best way to organize the workingman". Hepburn's opposition to industrial unionism was manifested in his attempts to impede the C.I.O., which happened to be the most likely agent to bring about the organization of Ontario's industrial workers.

In an election speech near the end of the campaign, Lawrence delivered a verbal blast against Hepburn which was typical of Lawrence's 1937 campaign style:

> Hepburn is still paying out $40,000 a year of taxpayers' money for a reserve army to whip the workers into submission if they dare to protest against unjust conditions and unfair wages. . . .
>
> Food costs have risen forty percent, cost of living is twenty percent higher and corporation dividends are the highest in the history of the province while wages of the great masses of the people remain pitifully low. . . . The Liberal party, like the Conservatives, continue to place property rights

above human values.[27]

In an election manifesto, the C.C.F. said it sought power

> to shift the crushing burden of taxation, municipal and provincial, from the backs of the farmers and workers; power to place it where it belongs -- on the millionaires and rich corporations; power to enforce fair prices and debt relief for farmers; power to protect the legal right of all workers as free citizens to combine in unions of their own choice.[28]

The Liberal candidate in Hamilton East, John MacKay, argued during the campaign that prosperity had returned to the constituency, "now a bee-hive of industrial activity." The workingman had "advanced their conditions of living step by step" and he sincerely wished that they would continue "advancing and improving their lot in life." However, he added ambiguously, "a man must be privileged without intimidation to join any trade union that he desires."[29]

The Conservative candidate in the riding, Orville Walsh, chided Hepburn for his duplicity in labour matters:

> He made the brazen statement that he was 100 percent behind the company (General Motors). He had the effrontery to say that he would raise an army for the company's protection. Although he claimed that he would have nothing to do with the C.I.O., he ultimately made the final formal negotiations knowingly with the representatives and solicitors of the union at Oshawa, which he knew was a C.I.O. organization.[30]

A Socialist-Labour party candidate, Douglas Brunton, described C.I.O. unionism as "a certain step toward fascism,

. . . organizing workers in a formation that could be dominated and disciplined" and called for worker management of factors, the workers "claiming their right to the full product of their labour."[31]

One day prior to the election, the Spectator applauded Hepburn's "fearless and determined manner" of dealing with the C.I.O. intrusion at Oshawa. The Conservative leader, Earl Rowe, espoused the "right of free association among workers" and the Hamilton newspaper found his attitude "to say the least, unsatisfactory."

The Spectator appears to have made no editorial mention of the old House's only C.C.F. member seeking re-election locally until after the event, when it reported that "(In) Hamilton East Mr. J. P. MacKay, Liberal, has displaced Mr. Sam Lawrence . . . . Not a single representative (of the C.C.F.) will have a seat in the new House." Lawrence gained considerable support in the north end of the constituency while the Conservative, Walsh, picked up large majorities in southern polls to stand second. The strength of the Liberal candidate "apart from the many polls that returned generous margins" was in its "consistency" in contrast to the "erratic results for both his opponents throughout the riding."[32]

The Conservatives gained on the Liberals as a result of the elections, acquiring six additional seats, to boost their House membership to 23. Since the Liberals lost only

two seats, the other Conservative gains were made at the expense of the C.C.F. and other single-member groups.

In St. Thomas, the premier declared the election result an endorsement of his opposition to the C.I.O:

> Ontario has given endorsement to the first jurisdiction that had enough courage openly to defy and resist the threatened C.I.O. invasion . . . . There will be industrial peace in Ontario and there will be a better deal for labour.[33]

Late in November, Sam Lawrence was nominated as a C.C.F. candidate for Hamilton's board of control. Most of his nomination speech was a repetition of what he had been saying a few months earlier. He said he was not ashamed and felt no need to apologize for the unanimous nomination of the C.C.F. and he did not want to see depression conditions return. It was therefore "necessary to have representatives in city council and the legislature who would put up a militant fight to place the responsibility for employment where it belonged, with the Dominion government." In case the municipal electors had forgotten, Lawrence recalled that he had always been concerned about the unfair municipal tax burden and would work to keep down capital expenditures.

The political pundits in Hamilton had expected the return of the 1937 board which now included Nora-Frances Henderson, who, in the local election of 1934, replaced Lawrence, who had then left local politics when elected to Queen's Park, as the first controller. Only one labour

candidate was elected to the 1935 council -- former trustee, now Ward Eight alderman, Agnes Sharpe.[34] Both the C.C.F. and the I.L.P. had endorsed separate candidates and observers then declared that "the cause of Labour had been set back a decade by the debacle." Lawrence blamed Mitchell's opposition to a C.C.F.-Labour alliance for the cleavage. An attempt at reconciliation between Lawrence and Mitchell by John Peebles, one of the original Canadian Knights of Labour who had been the city's mayor from 1930 to 1933, met with a "very belligerent response" from Mitchell. It was some satisfaction then for Lawrence that the Liberal member of parliament for Hamilton East was defeated in the federal election the following year.

In the local election of 1937, three members of the old board were returned. Henderson came fourth and the first position was claimed again by Lawrence, who had left it in 1934. He headed the polls in Wards Five to Eight once again and gained "a substantial vote even in the west end, which (had) not been his stronghold . . . ." In Ward Eight that was his stronghold, Lawrence was more than 1,000 votes ahead of his nearest opponent leading some to believe "that there was a great deal of 'plumping' for (him) in this ward, the voter exercising only a single vote on a ballot on which he (was) entitled to pick out four persons."[35]

Lawrence repeated the 1937 results the two following years. In 1938, his "convincing victory" was "an unlooked-for

element." Besides the four wards from Bay Street east to the city limits and north from King and Main Streets to the Bayfront, he came second in 1938 and third in 1939 in the northwesterly Ward Four, and was a "consistent vote-getter in the three (southerly) wards that (had) never succumbed to a C.C.F. or Labour appeal." From the lack of success encountered by other C.C.F. candidates for board of control "no one would presume to credit a C.C.F. . . . or Labour success" after Lawrence's victories.[36]

Though he had returned to the municipal level of government, the socialist controller's politics still took him beyond the legislative chambers at city hall. He chaired and spoke at May Day rallies and, as president of the T.L.C.-chartered Labour council in 1938, condemned the British prime minister's attitude at Munich, charging him with attempting to isolate Soviet Russia.[37] On May Day, 1939, the controller reminded his audience that there were "some Hitlers in this country"[38] that had to be stopped.

In 1940, several municipal councillors took exception to the presence among their ranks of Alderman Harry Hunter of Ward Seven, one of the original steel organizers, a member of the C.I.O. Steel Workers' Organizing Committee and a member of the outlawed Communist Party. Lawrence was the chief spokesman for a trio of councillors who, with Hunter, opposed a demand for Hunter's resignation and a posting of a fifty dollar reward for information leading to

the arrest of people conducting subversive activities against the "established form of government." Lawrence argued that the council did not have the authority to unseat an alderman and regarded the whole affair "as the starting point of the campaign for next December."[39]

Hunter saw a parallel between the attack upon him and the methods Hitler employed to gain power in Germany. The world knew Hitler's attack on Communism was on a trumped-up charge, said the alderman who described the real "fifth column (in Canada as) the open shops of industry, big business, making heavy profits out of war work and placing the burden of carrying the war on the people." He continued:

> Hamilton is notorious as the city of the open shops, of low wages and long hours. Is it too much to say the resolution was designed by industry and aimed at Labour's representation in council?

Lawrence regarded the electors of Ward Seven as the authority to reject or re-elect Hunter in a few months and suggested that the "members of the working class (had) better reasons to indict the supporters of the resolution, the Trojan horse of the boss class."

Those few months later, in December, 1940, Harry Hunter was rejected for one year by the Ward Seven electors, but Sam Lawrence won his "record-breaking" fourth consecutive term.

* * *

This was the moment, then, at which the membership

of the Allan Studholme-C.C.F. Club gathered on December 15 to hear "The Truth About the Municipal Elections" from the man who had become the city's most highly-trained local politician. Prior to the election, an advertisement had appeared in the Spectator, sponsored by the "Hamilton Branch (Central)" of the Independent Labour party, claiming to give "the facts" about Labour candidates in the election.[40] It announced that the I.L.P. had not sponsored any candidates, thereby implying that none of the "Labour" candidates were genuine representatives of Labour. The C.C.F. replied after the election in a letter to the Spectator, published a few days before the Allan Studholme-C.C.F. Club meeting.[41] The letter noted that the I.L.P.'s last candidate for office stood unsuccessfully in 1935 and was currently the Liberal federal minister of labour and that its last president was now an active local Conservative. Besides the "I.L.P. Central Branch" advertising campaign, attacks were made on Lawrence in the form of full-page newspaper advertisements which called into doubt his support for the war effort. The sponsors of this campaign, the Hamilton Auxiliary Defence Corps, termed Lawrence a friend of Russia and exhorted the electorate to "Play Safe - Vote Against All Candidates Having a Record of Friendship With Those Who Are Helping Our Enemies."[42]

At the meeting, Lawrence linked the demand made earlier that year for Hunter's resignation, with the efforts

of the Hamilton Auxiliary Defence Corps and some A.F. of L. unionists -- the "stooges of bosses" -- as a concerted attempt to defeat him, discredit Labour representation in Hamilton and destroy the C.I.O. industrial drive. But the future was more important than the past, he told the meeting; the crisis would come, he said, when the soldiers returned from overseas and could not get their old jobs back or find new work.

Lawrence entered the board of control after the next election as senior controller after telling the electorate that "labour should have a voice and representation on all governmental bodies."[43] In the election of 1942, with the support of the United Steel Workers of America locals in Hamilton, declaring that it was "the determination of the C.C.F. that nothing would stand in the way of total social reconstruction," he headed the polls again.

Sam Lawrence was a professional politican who, as an informant put it, "always sounded like he was saying what was right," and, consequently, was elected handily. It could be said that he had only one speech or at least many set remarks which he varied from one audience to the next. But if, according to the same person, his manner of public speaking "had the sound of a stuck record," it must be granted that behind his speaking style and the other techniques of his profession was an intense belief in the rightness of his social and political views and a desire to be

completely honest.

The A.F. of L. charges in 1937 that his union did not exist were partially true. Stonecutting was an early victim of automation and that fact combined with the general lack of business at the time, caused union membership to drop and threatened the very existence of the union. Meanwhile, Lawrence had considerable time to cultivate his political career. It has been suggested that Lawrence's paying of some of his union brothers' dues during the harsh conditions of the thirties was motivated by other, or more than, altruistic considerations; for his presence in the Trades and Labour Council, maintained by the "permanency" of his position as a delegate from the stonecutters' union, presented him with a base of power and a public platform from which to operate.

Lawrence had expressed a desire to leave the municipal level of politics for a reason which contributed, no doubt, to the electorate's reluctance to grant him his wish. Lawrence recognized that it was at the higher levels of government that the I.L.P. or the C.C.F. would have any chance of "reconstructing" society and until the mid-thirties, he aspired to a political career beyond the local level in Hamilton. From electoral figures alone, however, it appears that those who were willing to support Lawrence at the local level were not inclined to send him to the provincial or federal legislatures. The electorate recognized the

sincerity with which Lawrence held his socialist-labour beliefs and the honesty and integrity with which he combined them with public office. The electorate, however, consistently voted for Lawrence only locally where they could tolerate his views and take advantage of his personal qualities; at a higher level, support for Lawrence would have meant more support for his views. The electorate did not want Lawrence to "do" more things and it realized that at higher levels of government, his party affiliation would count for more and his personal qualities would be subject to C.C.F. caucus decisions. It must have seemed ironic to Lawrence, whose class conscious views were so much a part of him that people would vote for "Lawrence" but not for the "C.C.F."

Lawrence realized that he lacked electoral support at the higher levels and he confided in friends, according to an informant, that he lacked the education necessary to carry on at higher levels. His "political" style was created in the twenties and thirties and he recognized regretfully that a successful career of a politician at levels higher than that of a municipal, ward politician required a way of acting less suited to him. It was an appreciation of these conditions that accompanied a resolve to direct his attention wholly to the socialist and trade union causes at the local level in Hamilton.

It was in the twenties and thirties that Lawrence firmly established his "old country trade unionist" manner

that was probably the reason for his success as "Lawrence." In the twenties, he championed the small homeowners in the industrial areas of Homeside against unjust improvement levies; his reputation as a supporter of the underdog was in the process of being built. During part of the depression, Lawrence handled welfare matters for the city and it was then that he built up a following of hangers-on "like Mahatma Ghandi." He claimed that in the years 1933 and 1934, he looked after 8,000 welfare cases and the great numbers of people arriving at his east end home from 7:00 in the morning until 11:00 at night attested to the validity of his assertion. One recurring story is of Lawrence giving people coal from his cellar during the winters. Many families were turned out of their homes during the depression and Lawrence was instrumental in having the limit raised from $400 to $600 on the accumulated taxes necessary before the city could act. He returned home one evening in 1934 to find a Communist demonstration in front of his home on Cameron Street North because he had not been able to find a house for an evicted family. "Why demonstrate before Sam Lawrence's home?" he asked his "Communist friends." "Why not demonstrate before J. M. Pigott's or St. Clair Balfour's home? . . ."[44]

Besides making a lot of friends through his association, public and private, with welfare, he had time to go to all meetings of every sort. One aspect of Lawrence's old country flavour was his attitude that all problems could

be solved in pubs. Much of his electioneering was carried on in Hamilton's public houses where he would often pick up the checks. Lawrence's folksy manner, on public platforms or in public houses, was another mark of the old country trade unionist. The socialism he advocated like a lay preacher was of the gradualist sort. There was no need for the encouragement of violence or revolution. Class conflict was inherent in a society dominated by capital and whose means of acquiring it were by property or the manipulation of labour. But class struggle and war were awkward terms for Lawrence who believed that socialism, through its inherent virtue, would come to Canada as a result simply of talking about it and convincing others of its superiority to capitalism.

During these years, Lawrence could become quite a zealot on occasion and lead parades and condemn "fascists," "bosses," and "stooges," from platforms at May Day rallies and anti-war and anti-fascist league meetings as well as the Hamilton labour council, city council and the Ontario legislature. But he was no fanatic; there was method in his occasional fiery utterances. He was a shrewd, pragmatic, professional politican who knew what he was doing at any time.

This, then, was the man who, in 1943, at the age of 64 and "in response to the appeals of many citizens and the unanimous endorsement of the C.C.F.-Labour convention. . . ," accepted his nomination as the C.C.F.-Labour candidate for

mayor of Hamilton.

> From the very day I entered the socialist and trade union movements, I have taken this stand: I consider the interests of the common people. If a thing is right, I will support it; if it is wrong, I will oppose it. Many temptations have fallen my way if I wanted to advance my own interests and pursue a course of self-aggrandizement. But I am intent to carry on as I have in the last forty years. If I ever throw my weight the other way, I hope you'll tie a weight around me and throw me in the bay. There are far too few champions of Labour. We will need more as time goes on.[45]

Forward with the C. C. F.

Carry On Sam!

LAWRENCE

for MAYOR

VI

HIS WORSHIP THE MAYOR

"Quell this Menace!" the Spectator urged its voting readers on November 13. Nomination day for the 1943 municipal elections was almost two weeks away, but it was no secret that the C.C.F. party was going to sponsor a slate which, if completely elected, would mean a majority for the socialists on Hamilton's board of control and in city council. The newspaper charged that the C.C.F:

> sponsors political doctrine that is Communist in concepts and would be Nazi in its application. . . . Bayonets and batons are the instruments that would be employed to crush all opposition, once power were attained . . . . The technique of Gestapo repression has evidently been studied well.

This was the first of at least twelve frantic editorials that appeared up to the last day of the campaign, December 4. Here are some other editorial comments:

> There are men in Canada who in their reach for power are betraying dangerous social tendencies which threaten both good order and good government in this country. Some of their utterances sound ominously familiar -- not unlike the wild men of Europe who bellowed from balconies and microphones, inflaming their dupes to mob violence and worse . . . .
>
> These malcontents are known as the C.C.F. Party. Locally, they are out to plant their totalitarian boot on the neck of Hamilton's civic administration.[1]

> The singleness of aim, it is plain enough, is to wreck Canadian Democracy and Canadian enterprise by forcing an alien and totalitarian ideology upon this country and clamping it down with a ruthless dictatorship.
>
> This is the party that seeks to dominate Hamilton's City Council and turn its civic administration into a small-scale laboratory for totalitarian experiments.[2]

> Enough has already been revealed to show what is afoot among the C.C.F. bloc. One big union is now urged for all civic employees, tying municipal machinery to the C.I.O. Domination of the City Council would provide the complete set-up. The Board of Education would find itself enmeshed, and the schools of Hamilton would become the seeding ground for C.C.F. propagandists.[3]

The editorials had been published in the middle of the local newspage in type larger and heavier than the news stories themselves. If anyone could possibly have missed any of them, the last editorial was spread across three columns. The Spectator explained that it was opposing the election of Lawrence "as a slate candidate of a political party . . . . The Spectator would not oppose him, running as an independent candidate." It then swung to the C.C.F. for its final attack:

> The "Big Business" bogey is the principal prop in the scenery of the political circus from which the C.C.F. and their comrades gain or hope to gain a living. They wheel the poor phoney out at every show and batter it about to show what good proletarians they are.[4]

The editorial concluded with a list of names, occupations and sponsors of candidates not included in the C.C.F. slate and, in a footnote in type smaller than that of the news stories, listed all the candidates including the C.C.F. nominees.

The effort by the "established" elements in Hamilton to defeat the C.C.F. drive in Hamilton was unmistakenly well-organized and financed, and certainly arose, as did the C.C.F. move itself, out of the provincial electoral success of the C.C.F. It had risen from no representation in the House, after Lawrence's defeat in 1937, to form the Opposition in the August election and come within five seats of forming the Government. The C.C.F. regained Hamilton East and won in the other two Hamilton district constituencies as well -- Hamilton Centre and Hamilton Wentworth. The Hamilton C.C.F. controller, now candidate for mayor, was also the president of the Ontario section of the party and had suggested in April that:

> before the year is out we may well find ourselves entrusted with the government of this province and are at least certain to form the opposition.[5]

As president of the Ontario C.C.F., he praised "the Russian people's heroic endurance" and credited it to their "social vision." He charged Ontario's socialists with reproducing:

> the same determination to plan the material and cultural well being of all our people . . . (for) a rapid application of the principles

> of social planning and social justice . . . is necessary if we are to avoid chaos at home as the bitter aftermath of victory abroad.[6]

In a calm manner, peculiar in view of the heat generated against his candidacy for mayor, Lawrence expressed dismay that the "municipal issues . . . of paramount interest . . . (had) been neglected by his opposition and substituted with "a campaign of vilification." He argued:

> Our answer to these charges is 'our program,' which guarantees responsible government, guards against irresponsible actions, and creates a civic mind which is essential to maintaining our democracy.[7]

He expressed the belief that annual civic elections were "the most sensitive expression of public opinion" and "In a sense they are the cornerstone of democracy."

> The civic field is an excellent place for the citizens to give expression to his or her determination that never again shall Canada be a country with unemployed, idle factories and wasting national resources.[8]

Lawrence's C.C.F. platform included public ownership of distribution and services wherever feasible in the public interest, a federal and provincial-financed municipal housing scheme, more equitable property assessment, lower fuel costs and better street lighting.

Lawrence's opponent in the mayoralty race was a Conservative merchant, Donald Clarke, who expressed himself as "an independent candidate answerable to and representative of the citizens at large." He said he was urged to stand

for election by representative citizens and taxpayers of Hamilton who:

> knew the inevitable consequences of party government in civic administration, an administration which would be clogged by party patronage, an administration whose costs would be increased by partyism, an administration in which the party or individual party candidates, if elected, would not be primarily responsible to the electors, but would have a first responsibility to the party executive, and not to the public who pay the costs. This they strongly opposed and so do I.[9]

The Spectator was pleased that after the dust had settled, it could report that "Partyism (Was) Repudiated" and congratulated the electorate on doing "a pretty good job . . . on behalf of democracy."[10] To a city council of 21 members, the C.C.F. elected only three candidates, a total fewer than the representation on the old council. The two candidates for board of control were defeated and only the two candidates in Ward Eight were elected aldermen. Labour representation came from other sources, however; Harry Hunter topped the poll in Ward Seven.

The third C.C.F. candidate elected was Sam Lawrence. His majority over Clarke was only 1,689 votes out of a total of 46,606 votes cast, 51 percent of the possible vote. Clarke was the victor in Wards One to Four and Lawrence, not unexpectedly, in Wards Five to Eight. ". . . it was in connection with the mayoralty," commented the Spectator, "that the electors appear to have clearly expressed their

distinction between a recognition of service and the menace of partyism."[11]

Lawrence left the senior position on board of control for the mayor's chair and his replacement was an incumbent controller. In a remarkable victory, Nora-Frances Henderson came first in Wards One to Seven and second to one of the C.C.F. losers in Ward Eight. She gathered more than 4,000 more votes than her nearest opponent to gain the top position for the first time since her initial and equally remarkable victory in 1934 when Lawrence left board of control for Queen's Park.

No opposition came forward in 1944 to challenge Lawrence's nomination for mayor. He took the opportunity of his nomination, nevertheless, to make a speech praising the local civil service.[12] "Labour and management co-operation in the civic services has welded a strong co-operative spirit between all our departments," he said and briefly spoke of some of the problems the city had to face: crowding in the schools, flood conditions, and pollution of the bay. There was no talk of the C.C.F. or of Labour from Lawrence, who had resigned the C.C.F. presidency in April, except for vague references to "a strong co-operative spirit." Henderson maintained her position on board of control in the 1944 election, though her victory was not as overwhelming as in the previous year.

In 1945, Ward Four alderman, Peter McCulloch, a

supply company executive and supporter of the Liberal party, stood against the C.C.F. candidate as a representative "For All the People." In his nomination speech, McCulloch recognized that the mayor of "a great industrial city like Hamilton," must represent "every person in (the) city:"

> Politics and the fomenting of class myths must not be the purpose of the man who presides over our city's destiny . . . .[13]

He insisted that the workers "must obtain the full benefit of their efforts," through collective bargaining. But:

> That result will not be accomplished by stirring group against group or by inciting one class to hate another.

Unfortunately, for McCulloch, the C.C.F. no longer posed such a threat as it had two years earlier. In a provincial election in June, the Conservative party re-asserted itself and its membership in the House of Assembly rose from thirty-eight to sixty-six. Liberal representation fell from fifteen to eleven, but it formed the Opposition when the C.C.F. membership of thirty-four was cut drastically to eight. The C.C.F. had apparently experienced its peak in popularity[14] and the relatively lukewarm attitude of the Spectator to the mayoralty contest reflected this judgment:

> The Spectator has no intention of suggesting to electors how and for whom they should vote . . . . We do, however, consider it a duty to stress the advisability of ignoring all appeals to political partisanship. The management of civic affairs should be re-

> garded as a strictly business proposition; it requires administrators of character and experience . . . .
>
> * * *
>
> (McCulloch) has had considerable experience in the City Council . . . . What has been said about avoidance of partisanship applies . . . to His Worship the present Mayor, who, in the opinion of many, has weakened his position by activities in the interests of the C.C.F.[15]

Later in the campaign, the newspaper discouraged "stirring up the 'left v. right' abstraction" and "playing the ancient and dangerous drums of class prejudice." McCulloch described his participation in the election "as a protest against the Mayor of our city taking a class partisan role . . ." and promised to "give to all citizens a sound business administration."[16]

Pre-election speculation had set Lawrence's margin of victory over McCulloch at between 2,000 and 2,500 votes. The final majority for Lawrence was 9,858 votes. He carried Wards Five to Eight as well as McCulloch's home Ward Four which he had served for ten years as alderman. The Spectator hoped that Lawrence's party affiliation or creed, which was "the Mayor's own fight and very much his business," would "not intrude into the city's business" where, it warned, its self-imposed stricture would no longer apply.[17]

* * *

In the last few years, at May Day rallies, union

organizing meetings, in council meetings and on the hustings, Lawrence had spoken of the coming crisis; he expected an economic and social crisis following the return of soldiers from the war fought for "freedom and democracy" to jobs that no longer existed and could not be provided for them in a society wherein organized Labour had not been recognized as a legitimate force, as the rightful bargaining agents of workers in the great mass producing industries.[18] The war was now over and the word "reconstruction" was no longer used solely by the socialists. In his campaign for mayor, McCulloch raised the problem of rehabilitating "our gallant soldiers returning from war in a city torn asunder by class strife." He predicted "industrial civil war" in Hamilton, if the city continued "to be incited by professional well-paid agitators, who (had) the impudence to claim that they alone represent(ed) our workers . . . ."[19]

The C.I.O. organization in the steel, electrical, rubber and other industries had proceeded apace during the war. However, negotiations between the industries and the new industry-wide C.I.O. unions were already faltering. The first post-war strike was in the automobile industry. In 1946, the elctrical, rubber and steel industries were struck. In Hamilton, the typographers were on strike as well as the rubber, electrical and steel workers; but the most notorious strike was that of the steelworkers at the Steel Company of Canada, which became one of the biggest and most violent

industrial strikes in Canada. Of the three primary steel companies in Canada, only Stelco at Hamilton, the largest and least unionized, chose to ignore the union and its strike and continue production. In the industrial city of 178,686 people, 8,000 men were on strike and 2,000 were laid off in 1946. The decision of Stelco to try to break the strike and the C.I.O. union made "industrial civil war" a much less worrisome problem than the potentially more revolutionary situation that developed through the summer months in Hamilton. Of course, the man charged with the maintenance of law and order in Hamilton, the Chief Magistrate of the city, was Sam Lawrence.

VII

1946: BETWEEN PATERNALISM AND INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Last night I dreamt I saw Joe Hill
As plain as you or me.
I said, "Why Joe you're ten years dead!"
"I never died," said he.
"I never died," said he.

Joel Emmanuel Hagglund was a Swedish emigrant to the United States who became the poet laureate of revolutionary unionism. Joe Hill did die -- executed by a Utah firing squad in 1914 -- and his funeral procession in Chicago attracted 30,000 sympathizers. His final words are alleged to have been: "Don't waste time mourning. Organize!"

The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee had been organizing in the Canadian industry since 1936. Though it was recognized as the bargaining agent of the steel workers in the early forties, the leadership felt in 1946 that, as yet, the union was not secure. Early Monday morning, July 15, union members struck the industry for higher wages and union security.

Local 1005 at Hamilton held an enthusiastic meeting that evening in a crowded hall and before its conclusion, the striking steel workers broke into song and "solemnly succumbed" to the appeal of the lament for Joe Hill. Confident of the rightness of their cause and the support of

public opinion, they passed the first night quietly on the picket line.

* * *

The Steel Company of Canada Limited (Stelco) originated from an amalgamation of the Hamilton Iron and Steel Company, the Montreal Rolling Mills and other firms in 1910. The Hamilton company had existed since 1899 and with the Dominion Steel and Coal Company (Dosco) in Sydney, Nova Scotia, and the Algoma Steel Company at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, constituted the basic steel industry in Canada.[1]

The first organization in steel was late in the nineteenth century under the auspices of the Knights of Labour. Following the Knights, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers established locals at all three steel production centres. However, the Amalgamated was not an organization of all workers, but of separate skilled crafts. All the locals eventually disappeared, one lodge in Hamilton outlasting the others until 1931.

With the rise of the C.I.O. in the United States a few years later, the spread of industrial unionism in Canada was expected at the end of the decade. In 1936, the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee sent an organizer to Stelco. Little was accomplished until 1940 when three conditions prevailed: an increased demand for steel workers, the interest of the federal government in maintaining production and the

appointment of C. H. Millard as director of S.W.O.C. activities.

Millard's appointment apparently was not popular with the local membership; he had been the leader of the automobile union during the General Motors strike at Oshawa in 1937 and subsequently lost an election for Canadian director of the international.[2] He is still described today by members of the political opposition as "an outside agitator" and they proudly proclaim the opposition raised to him by local workers; that considerable opposition came from Communists is usually ignored. Unauthorized strikes took place in 1940 and Ontario locals largely withdrew and gave their support to a new group, "the Ontario Executive," whose president was Hamilton's alderman, Harry Hunter. Soon, however, the Communists were seeking a reconciliation. The Soviet Union had entered the war with the Allies and a policy of all-out production replaced a policy of disruption. However, the result of the Communists' disruptive tactics was the appointment of Millard, "a courageous fighter and strategist with definite and consistent policies,"[3] as director with full powers and responsibilities.

The first important gains were made by the steel workers during the war. Several strikes, a royal commission, and meetings with top government officials including the prime minister, finally compelled the federal government to force employers through orders-in-council to deal with

Labour's representatives. Both federal and provincial labour relations boards were established to act on the new wartime labour code.

In 1944, the Ontario Labour Court ordered a vote on Local 1005's application for certification at Stelco. The company's labour policy until a decade earlier has been described by the Stelco historian as "a firm but benevolent paternalism."[4] It is undisputed that "during the depression, the company helped many (of its employees) preserve some shreds of dignity and keep body and soul together during the bleakest crisis of their lives." But the question is raised "(w)hether such complete dependence on the company's paternal good will and favour could or should survive in a fully democratic society . . . ."[5] In 1934, Stelco experienced a strike by members of a self-made, unaffiliated union following the company's refusal to sign a contract with them. The Hamilton plant subsequently followed the practice of the American industry and, with the majority of the workers' approval, set up an Employee Representation Plan which included a works council through which workers would discuss matters of common concern with management. Two years later, Local 1005 of the S.W.O.C. was established at Stelco, and in 1942, a union slate of candidates was handily elected as employee representatives on the works council. The council was effectively destroyed when the workers resigned after the company refused to recognize the union and deal with it.

It appears to have been on the strength of the 1942 vote that the court ordered a certification vote at Stelco. A two-thirds majority of the employees chose the union as their bargaining agent and Stelco was obliged by law to recognize Local 1005 of the United Steelworkers of America. The first contract was signed early in 1945; however, no wage increase was gained by the union and union security -- compulsory union membership being a condition of employment and a company check-off to collect union dues -- the chief aim of the unionists, was only a remote possibility. The company wanted to maintain its control over the wage structure and it expressed an obligation to protect a minority of workers who did not want the union to bargain for them. The company's record, too, especially during the depression, rendered a lukewarm attitude on the part of many employees toward the union.

Later in 1945 and during early 1946, a union program was made public asking for a union shop, the automatic check-off of dues, a forty-hour work week and a pay raise of 19-1/2 cents an hour. The wage increase would bring weekly earnings to a figure named by the Toronto Welfare Council in 1944 as the amount necessary for a family of five in Toronto. These demands were approximately similar to the demands made in 1946 by the rubber and electrical workers in a concerted C.C.L. drive. Steel offered a 10 cent wage increase which was in line with the Government's position as

expressed by the minister of labour, Humphrey Mitchell, that "increases beyond 10 cents an hour . . . would force a break in the price ceiling."[6]

Labour's stand was of doubtful legality; the union had made no attempt to take the case for a wage increase to War Labour Boards and, after meeting a few hours before the strike deadline, the federal cabinet assumed control of the three steel companies and placed them under the authority of a government controller. If any person refused to work for the controller, he was subject to a fine of $20.00 a day and anyone found guilty of obstructing him could receive a fine of $5,000.00 and a five-year prison sentence. When the strike itself had been declared illegal a few hours before the deadline, the union charged the federal government with approving price increases and being "jockeyed into the position of being an enforcement agent of a wage formula . . . (created by) the manufacturers."[7] The strike threat would be carried out. "The steel workers (were) not going to turn back," Millard told 1,500 workers at a Woodlands park rally.[8] Labour Minister Mitchell, who had now left Hamilton labour circles and whose records in 1937 after more than a decade of being secretary of the city central "could have been put in a small paper bag," delivered an unctuous criticism of the industrial union strike situation to the House of Commons. He observed that:

> . . . some of the young men who are in charge of the (trade union) organizations today have not the experience possessed by some of the older men, like my honourable friend and myself.[9]

Reflecting the attitude of his prime minister, W.L. MacKenzie King, Mitchell appeared seemingly unalarmed that in three days a total of 50,000 industrial workers would be on strike throughout the country. The minister of labour glibly theorized before the House:

> I believe that the sanctity of contract is the very basis of democratic life and I do not think that anybody, employer or employee, who deliberately breaks a contract is rendering any service to the organization he is supposed to represent, to himself or to the country.[10]

Stelco was the "leader" among primary steel producers and the plant in Hamilton's north-end became the focal point of public attention when Stelco asserted its position. The union had given the July 15 strike deadline as early as June 29. Between those dates it became apparent that Stelco would fight it out: an air strip was built on the property, extra help, composed mostly of students, was hired, raw materials were heavily stock-piled and sleeping quarters were constructed.

When the pickets arrived at the 340-acre plant site on Burlington Street East, tents were set up on the south and east sides of the plant. The north side was bounded by the bay and the west side, by the International Harvester

plant. Canteens and strikers' headquarters were established. Strikers from Firestone and Westinghouse plants came to Stelco to reinforce the picket lines and demonstrate industrial union solidarity. The Stelco plant would be sealed off from road and railway connection with the city for 80 more days. Physical contact with the outside world could only be made by water and air.

* * *

Lawrence had been "spiritually" active in the organizing of the steelworkers' union. His address to the first S.W.O.C. meeting in 1936 had been followed by many more speeches at meetings and public rallies and his presence in the front ranks of demonstrating marchers was always expected. The first mention in the press of Lawrence's activity during the strike came less than a week after it had begun. He had been marching again, at the front of "a mass parade of thousands of Hamilton union members . . . through Hamilton in support of industrial strikers . . . ,"[11] and had delivered a speech out of which rose demands for his resignation from the mayoralty.

Had he addressed the demonstrators as ". . . a labour man first and chief magistrate second," or had he said:

> I am going to speak to you first as a union man, and secondly as your mayor and chief magistrate.

It is possible now to say simply that he could easily have

been misunderstood on that occasion. But in the meantime, Lawrence was content to say that he had not incited workers to violence, had not violated his oath of office and would accept the dictate of the electorate in December.

The strike was 20 days old when Controller Nora-Frances Henderson charged the strikers at Stelco with "mob rule" and described it "a shocking condition" when "to obtain better working conditions . . . (workers began) hitting at the very roots of their democratic life." She would support peaceful picketing, "but not intimidation and threats of violence."

The situation at Stelco was far from pleasant. The first pitched battle had come when the strike was just four days old. During the night, non-strikers had attempted to run a train out of the plant, driving the picketers back with a shower of bricks. The strikers' offensive came when the non-strikers halted the train and moved in front to throw a switch. Reinforcements had arrived from the other gates and violence reigned for half an hour. In the city, non-strikers' houses received unprofessional paint jobs and their families, discomforting telephone calls. Consequently, there was no rush of volunteers for work at Stelco even though the wage had been boosted by 10 cents an hour and the non-strikers were paid on a twenty-four hour basis for eight hours' work. On July 29, a weaponless dogfight took place in the air over Stelco when a union plane dropping

leaflets was challenged by a company plane. The bay was patrolled by a union launch which intimidated the passage of Stelco tugs bringing supplies to the company and taking men in and out of the plant. As the strike continued, friendships were broken and families split between strike supporters and opponents.

An event took place on July 25 which may have chastened some potentially mettlesome opponents of the strikers. Two hundred armed city police appeared at the Stelco gates on the order of the crown attorney acting for the provincial attorney-general. The union charged that the "armed force (was) arranged solely and wholly upon the side of the company . . . ."

> In no sense did it serve to protect either persons or property, but rather created the possibility that violence might occur.[12]

None of the members of the police commission -- Mayor Lawrence, a judge and a magistrate -- knew of the decision to send the police to the plant. The acting chief of police offered newsmen "no comment." The appearance of police recalled for many people in Hamilton, the city's first major labour crisis -- the bloody 1905 strike of the Hamilton Street Railway workers when strikers and their sympathizers engaged militia units from Toronto in ten days of riots.[13]

By mid-July, the union had made its "final and best offer," lowering its wage demands from 19-1/2 to 15-1/2 cents

an hour. But Donald Gordon, chairman of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, was adamant in his appearance before the parliamentary committee on industrial relations, that any increase above ten cents would be "a threat to the whole stabilization program." Hugh Hilton was one of half a dozen people who had run the Hamilton works during the depression and was responsible for the building program in the late thirties. "For years," the Stelco historian reports, "Hilton practically lived at the plant, taking most of the necessary day-to-day responsibility, but working . . . with a complete and self-effacing loyalty."[14] In 1945, Hilton became president of Stelco and in July of 1946, he was before the parliamentary committee damning "the coercion and violation of the laws which have prevailed since the C.I.O. started operations, fostered by one-sided labour legislation in the United States." He corroborated the Government's position in the strike but warned against "allowing the infiltration of U.S. methods and control to destroy the autonomy of the Canadian government in labour matters." The Stelco president opposed a closed shop and company check-off of dues and expressed a desire to protect "the large number of employees who are not union members."[15]

At a board of control meeting on August 7, Controller Henderson demanded police protection for non-strikers to leave and re-enter the plant. The privy council's order-in-council under the War Measures Act made the strike illegal

and the strikers were, strictly speaking, being fined $20.00 a day. By now each striker owed the federal government almost $500.00 and as long as they continued to form a picket line, they were liable to a fine of $5,000.00 and a prison term of five years. No attempt had been made by the federal government to enforce the orders which had obviously failed in their purpose of deterring the workers from striking in the first place. By now, the only purpose they served was as a source of ridicule of the federal government.

As well as laying complaints against the presence of the picket line intimidating non-strikers, Henderson charged at the board of control meeting that Hamilton had experienced a breakdown of "law and order" and was in a "state of lawlessness." Mayor Lawrence, chairman of the board, took advantage of the obvious confusion in the federal government's position and opined that the establishment of the parliamentary committee signified that the order-in-council was now in abeyance. However, Henderson was successful in getting the board to call an emergency meeting of city council the following night to seek police protection from the provincial and federal governments. Her final words before the meeting were expressed in her strident and forceful manner of public speaking:

> I want the answer clear for there is a mounting sense of injustice and the temper of the people is mounting with the feeling that we should not sit idly by and see the law flouted.[16]

To demonstrate her position, Henderson often walked down Wilcox Street, the long road from Burlington Street north to the plant entrance and demanded to be let through the picket line. A picture of the tiny controller walking the lonely roadway won a local photographer a Canadian Press prize and was reproduced in many newspapers across the country. Though symbolizing her opposition to the illegal strike and the right of all citizens to act free and unmolested, the drama was anti-climactic. For as well as the mail truck and ambulances, the picketers offered no resistance to Controller Henderson's passage and even offered her a ride on one occasion.

On the afternoon of August 8, before the emergency council meeting that evening, the police commission held a meeting. The commission absolved itself of all responsibility saying:

> We have no power to instruct a police officer on what he shall or shall not do and the duty of enforcing the laws rests upon the shoulders of the chief constable.[17]

To Henderson's query about the possibility of a riot, the chairman replied:

> It is up to the mayor, as head of the city, to read the riot act.[18]

To attest to his shrewdness as a politician, Lawrence prepared ground for his council stand to be taken later that day by asking the chief of police a question, of whose

answer he must have been assured. The police chief said:

> I visited the . . . plant today . . . and everything was in order. I cannot see where we need any additional help. It is true that some trouble has been caused, but court records show that arrests were made. Altogether, thirty-three have been prosecuted. Regarding the men in the plant, they went there voluntarily and none have been denied the privilege to go home. The company prepared for their accommodation . . . long before the strike was called.
> . . . In the light of past experience in Canada, Hamilton stands well in regard to the conduct of its strikers.[19]

If you were in Hamilton that night you might have been among the scores of management sympathizers who came over an hour before the 7:30 meeting time to the city council chambers to "pack" the hall; or among the several hundred union supporters who filled the corridors in the building; or among the several thousand strike sympathizers who crowded together on James Street in front of the city hall between Eaton's and the Lister Block building which contained the headquarters for Local 1005, U.S.W.A. (C.I.O.-C.C.L.); or you might have been elsewhere listening to the council proceedings as they were broadcast by a local radio station on an edited two-hour delay basis. It was hardly possible that you could not know of the city council meeting that evening.

The senior controller rose that evening amid both applause and jeers and placed two resolutions before council. The first motion was to support the board of control decision

"That the minister of justice be immediately contacted and asked whether Order-in-Council No. 2901 is to be enforced." This was the order under which the strikers would be fined $20.00 a day for refusing to work and fined $5,000.00 and sentenced to a possible five years in prison for obstructing production. The second resolution asked "That the attorney-general be immediately consulted as to the possible need for assistance to uphold law and order in the City of Hamilton."

It was a hot evening on August 8 and the crowd in the council chamber and the lack of air conditioning necessitated the opening of the windows that looked onto James Street. During the debate the councillors' voices mingled with and were sometimes inaudible over the din of union songs and booing that rose from the crowd inside and outside the building which reacted according to signals received from their fellows following the debate in the chamber.

The first motion was dealt with and accepted 10-6. Lawrence saw no point in wasting his efforts on that resolution which could only have been an embarrassment to the Liberal Government. His energy was reserved for the second motion.

When the diminutive senior controller rose to speak for the second resolution, she could not be heard above the noise of the crowd. The mayor took the floor instead and spoke in well-measured phrases with a trace of his Norfolk

accent. The words of "Solidarity Forever" came through the walls and windows of the old building as he spoke against the intervention of outside police:

> . . . frankly I don't see the need of passing such a resolution -- that is, the second one that we have before us now. For . . . the chief assured us even when I asked him a question . . . (had he) known of any incident where a person had been refused to go through the picket line at the Steel Company of Canada (. . . solidarity forever . . .) and he said 'no'. (. . . for the union makes us strong . . .). So they've never approached the picket line . . . insofar as the knowledge of the chief and his department are concerned (cheers from the street) . . . . Now it may be said that it's (because of) the threat of that bulky picket line that's on there. That may be true. But it's still evidence, according to the chief, that no one has been refused to go through the picket line. That was the statement of our chief this afternoon so we should leave things just as well alone and not pass this second resolution.
> 20

Controller Henderson rose again and although the noise of the crowd outside increased again in intensity, she carried on and presented her case:

> . . . I can see that this is shortly coming to a vote . . . . Now a great deal has been said . . . about law and order, about the ability of the police to take care of the situation in Hamilton, and as always, there has been a tendency to veer away from the fundamental principle and issue that is before us . . . . Mr. Chairman . . . I am speaking and will continue to raise my voice for free passage of twenty-five hundred people in and out of Stelco. And if his Worship will assure me that our Hamilton police as of tomorrow will break that forcible picket line and invite out and the next day invite into the Steel Company of Canada, the twenty-five hundred men who are working there today, then I will believe that this council

> is sincere in its desire to enforce the law . . . . I stand unalterably by that question . . . .

The meeting was more than three hours old when Lawrence stood up again to "answer the question that the controller asked."

> We have no evidence at present that it (the law) has not been enforced. (Jeers from inside the chamber) Well, now, it's all right to laugh. But the chief, himself, in answer to my question to him . . . definitely said 'no'. Now it's all right for you to laugh about this kind of thing, but that was his answer in reply to my question -- just a minute, Miss Henderson. You were present and you know that I'm telling the truth.

"I want to finish," said Controller Henderson, who now came to dominate the debate:

> . . . Let us be sensible . . . twenty-five hundred men in Stelco are not coming out (jeers from outside). We all know it -- the people who booed me know it and you know it and every member of this council knows it . . . not because they want to stay there, not because they want to be away from their wives and families, certainly not because they want to continue to earn extraordinary wages . . . . They are simply staying in, Mr. Chairman, because they know that when they have been welcomed out with cheers by the picketers, they will not be able to return to work the next day without bloodshed . . . and perhaps death . . . . I ask that question to the mayor -- is he prepared, as chief magistrate of the city, empowered with the duties of keeping law in this city, . . . to give . . . every member of council . . . assurance that . . . there will be a police force and, if necessary, assistance to a police force . . . that those twenty-five (hundred) besieged workers will come out and go in peacefully . . . ?

"Let me be brutally frank," the mayor replied:

> . . . Sam Lawrence, as chief magistrate of this city, feeling that the situation is well being taken care off, will not ask for a crowd of provincial police to come in.

Doggedly persistent, the controller attempted to carry on, but the eleven o'clock deadline for the council meeting came and her second resolution was defeated, 9 votes to 7.

Although the matter for Nora-Frances Henderson was a question of principle, even her political friends characterize her as "cocky" and "a show-off." She refused to leave the city hall by any other entrance than the front entrance on James Street, where the mob of strike supporters had been singing "We'll hang Nora-Frances from a sour apple tree." The crowd was noisy, but the walk to her car was uneventful for the controller until a woman pulled her hair. A scuffle broke out and a wedge of policemen was required to get her to her car which the crowd then began to rock.

The following day was the occasion for critical editorials, attacks on Lawrence and demands for law enforcement. "Last night Hamilton's name was dragged through the mud . . . (by) a small, but well organized minority," lamented the indignant Spectator. "Anarchy At Hamilton Must Be Ended," the Toronto Telegram demanded, recognizing the "thoroughly un-Canadian scene" outside the city hall as having "all the ear-marks of being inspired by Communist direction." It praised the "courage" of Controller Henderson

and damned the "do-nothing attitude" of Mayor Lawrence. As usual, the Toronto Globe and Mail pontificated:

> Hamilton this year celebrated its centenary as a city. Such a celebration implies a community not merely old in years, but mature and wise in the fundamentals of freedom; self-disciplined by the principles of justice, equity, tolerance and common decency. Yet Hamilton on its birthday has reverted to what a labour leader defined as "jungle law." It has been delivered into this lawless state by the weakness and partisanship of its own Chief Magistrate . . . clearly, votes or party strategy, mean more to him than those principles which sustain his office.
>
> It is impossible to indict the mob . . . without indicting Mayor Sam Lawrence. His has been a singularly degrading performance. . . .

Union officials had thought the reaction to the violence would be so adverse for their cause, that they immediately blamed it on Communists. This brought the wrath of the Globe down on them for trying to "have it both ways" being alternately "victimized by employers" (and) "when direction of strike activities go wrong, the Communists become the victimizers."

On August 19, Lawrence refused a request to call a special meeting of the police commission to deal with the question of law and order because he had not been notified by the chief of police that the law was not being enforced. In the next few days, the parliamentary committee made public its report and Mayor Lawrence made public a reply from the minister of justice, Louis St. Laurent, concerning the enforcement of the privy council orders, the subject of the first resolution passed at the emergency council session.

The Hamilton Spectator's description of the indecisive report as an "orgy of impotent hand-wringing" probably best characterizes both the report and the general public reaction to it. For anyone who thought only parliament could provide the solution for the strikes, the situation must have seemed desperate after the report was published. St. Laurent, like other cabinet ministers and backbenchers alike, had used the committee's deliberations as a convenient excuse to withhold public statements on the strikes. Now, even though the report was public, the minister of justice refused to comment on the question of enforcement of the orders-in-council. Lawrence accepted the minister's position as a vindication of his own stand.[21] But another event occurred, however, which was of more significance to the fortunes of the strikers. A skirmish which took place on the picket lines on August 21 between 60 policemen and 1,000 strikers was followed by a blunt admission by the chief of police at a police commission meeting August 23 that law could not be enforced without "extensive reinforcements."

Lawrence was the only dissenting voice at the police commission meeting where the decision was taken to ask for outside police aid. He called the attempts by Stelco to move material in and out of the plant "unreasonable" in view of the Sault and Sydney companies' "good sense not to stir up trouble." He suggested that action be delayed two weeks and the federal government be informed since they were the legal

operators of the plant and negotiations with the union might be jeopardized.

Roland Mitchener, Ontario's acting attorney-general, said the police commission's request would be "complied with immediately" and Millard asserted that efforts to take material in and out of Stelco would be resisted regardless of police efforts to halt the strikers. The federal cabinet met and annulled the order-in-council fining strikers $20.00 a day in a move to encourage their return to work. The Government's attitude was hardly consistent for the same meeting resulted in a matching of the 250 provincial police at Hamilton with 250 Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and in replying to a request for his deputy to be sent to negotiate in Hamilton, the labour minister said he would not have his men "running all over Canada."

The Hamilton Review delivered a blistering attack on Lawrence for creating the prevailing situation:

> The invitation to violence and riot had been seized upon two weeks ago at City Hall after the Mayor had renounced his high position in this community as the symbol of law and order to champion every or any action that a lawless element might choose to employ.
>
> * * *
>
> Sam Lawrence knows . . . that the Reds have been strategically placed on every picket line in the city . . . (and they) will count this strike conflict in Hamilton an inexcusable defeat if settlements are reached before heads are broken . . . .
>
> . . . Sam Lawrence cannot (be excused). He knows all the tricks and all the angles the Reds play . . . they have used him as a pawn in their class warfare campaign for

> years. . . . (He) becomes a great menace by his willingness to play ball with them . . . in order to sustain himself in office.
>
> * * *
>
> If it does not have catastrophic results no credit for a peaceful settlement of the crisis can go to Sam Lawrence.[22]

"The law must prevail," said the Telegram, likening the situation in Hamilton to the "1919 attempt to sovietize Winnipeg." Since that day:

> the same ideology has been raised up by the C.I.O. . . . . At the root of the troubles is an ideology which is foreign to Canada and which menaces peace, order and good government.[23]

"Before any further action is taken," Millard told the picketers:

> before one baton is used, or one tear gas bomb thrown, . . . I want to tell the police (that) they are being asked to fight their comrades, their fellow Canadians who have fought for them and who are now fighting for a new standard of living which they will enjoy.[24]

On August 26, 10,000 demonstrators appeared at the Burlington and Wilcox Streets entrance to Stelco to support the picket line. The decision to send the outside police to Hamilton only stiffened the spirits of the strikers and heightened the probability of rioting in the north-end. The number of rallies and marches in support of the union increased. Deputations arrived at strike headquarters from groups of union and non-union workers with promises of support on the picket line if the police should try to break it.

The newspapers daily announced decisions by city centrals and unions throughout Canada for strike action if the police should move against the striking steel workers. The arrival of the police failed to lessen the threats of violence against non-strikers' families and overnight damage inflicted on non-strikers' houses throughout the city.

Second thoughts about police action were now raised in Toronto and Ottawa as a result of the resolve demonstrated by the workers. Billeting arrangements for the police in Hamilton were disrupted when the kitchen staff refused to prepare meals for them and waitresses in north-end restaurants refused to serve men in uniform. After studying the situation, a federal investigator reported:

> And supposing the troops decline to act against the pickets, what have we then?[25]

Meanwhile, abuse was heaped on the Government by strike supporters. At a Queen's Park rally, David Lewis, the national secretary of the C.C.F., who had been a Hamilton West candidate in the recent federal election, charged:

> Humphrey Mitchell and the Government stand condemned as the shameless servants of the most reactionary section of big business. Their self-righteous protestations about inflation are sheer hypocrisy; their cries about law and order the most shameful distortion . . . . Every time Mitchell speaks, he waves the Union Jack in one hand and his union card in the other. Well, I make the bold statement that he has betrayed both in the present crisis.[26]

Stories began to appear in Toronto newspapers from

correspondents in Hamilton, describing the scene on Burlington Street and emphasizing the support being manifested on behalf of the strikers. Here is part of an August 28 Globe and Mail account:

> Out on Burlington St., on the patchy gray grass, sit sympathizers. They sit along curbs, smoking, chatting. Pickets join them in their spells off duty. Many of the watchers are women. Women come and go all day long, most of them accompanied by children, down to visit their dads on the lines. . . .
>
> Today a long line of war veterans, mostly servicemen in the Second Great War, came down the street, headed by a sound truck playing marching songs. They carried placards with statements like, "We vets are in the union army now." There were several hundred in their ranks . . . .
>
> Women cheered and some cried with excitement. Two girls from an adjoining plant . . . walked down the road and stepped into the picket line. A little boy broke away from his mother, rushed up and took his dad's hand and walked solemnly in the shuffling circle. A mother with three little girls held each up so they could wave at their dad . . . .
>
> At the time the dread expectation hung over the dusty scene that the police were coming. Nobody wanted the police to come, it seemed, yet everybody was ready . . . .
>
> At suppertime tonight a big crowd of spectators gathered, as it does every night, to watch the pickets and occasionally cheer for them. They anticipated possible police action, but, as none came, the crowd dwindled. The picket line kept up its monotonous chain-gang walk, waiting for something, word of peace made at Ottawa or the arrival of the police.
>
> 27

On August 31, the Globe published an interview with the deputy controller, Bart G. Sullivan, who had been put in charge of the Stelco plant under the controller, F. B. Kilbourn:

> Occasion of the visit (to Sullivan's home in Burlington) was the imminence of police action to move steel out of the plant, a decision which would have to come from the authorities operating the industry: the Government through its controllership.
>
> Would such orders come from Kilbourn via his deputy, Mr. Sullivan? Mr. Sullivan didn't know . . . . The result could be summed up, generally, in the impression that here was a Government official who had been placed in a peculiar and entirely absurd position. He had received his appointment, he said, plus a copy of the Order-in-Council establishing the position, and since then not another single order, advice, instruction, etc.
>
> What did he think of the lawlessness that existed, or had existed in Hamilton? What lawlessness, asked Mr. Sullivan. He had not noticed any. He hadn't been in the Stelco plant. So far as he knew, neither had Mr. Kilbourn.[28]

The police did not come to the picket line in August; and September passed without their presence to force it open. The strike, however, did not become any less violent. Paint bombs and ineffective molotov cocktails were thrown at non-strikers' homes and slag chunks were hurled at strikers as they patrolled the bay in their launch. A movement was afoot among the strikers in support of a city-wide general strike. A municipal union employee threatened the stoppage of garbage collection and in Toronto, the city central asked the C.C.L. to consider a general strike call throughout the nation. In Hamilton, Lawrence publicly berated the municipal union official and worked to restrain the general strike supporters. He told several meetings of workers that if there were a general strike, he would be compelled, as mayor, to act

against the strikers.

In Ottawa, union officials finally met with the prime minister who had recently returned from the Paris peace conference. Parliament did not sit in September and the ministers could now spend more time negotiating with union officials. The mood was beginning to change. On September 6, the Liberal Toronto Star, which, generally sympathetic towards the strikers, had been embarrassed by the Government's position, prepared the country for a change in the Government's stand. "The impression in government circles," the newspaper's Ottawa correspondent, John Bird, reported, "(was that) Donald Gordon's much-mooted ten-cent line is not a rigid entrenchment to be held at all costs, but a general position to be defended . . . ."

Hilton outlined his "final proposals" on September 20 in a letter to his employees which contained a ballot on which the employees were to signify acceptance or rejection and return by mail. He said the company had no way of knowing which ballot was sent to whom and explained that the numbers on the ballots were to ensure legitimacy. "If Mr. Hilton wants a Hitler election, we'll give him a Hitler election," a union official responded and ordered all recipients of the ballots to reply "Yes" to the company's offer and deposit them at the picket line. "By marking every ballot "Yes", we'll make his election a laughing stock."

The Government was now in a mood to press Stelco for

concessions and on October 2, the end of the strike was announced. Each worker was guaranteed a uniform industry-wide minimum wage increase of 13-1/2 cents an hour; others received more according to their previous wage. Other issues were to be decided later between the union and management. The provincial police left Hamilton on October 3 without having seen action at the picket line and in a short time all the industrial strikes in Hamilton were resolved.

The Financial Post, however, would allow no respite. Three days after the settlement, they warned of Millard's next assault on the steel industry: "The C.C.F. brand of revolution is what they want . . . ."[29] The "assault" began peacefully on November 11 and on March 1, 1947, a collective agreement was signed between Stelco and the U.S.W.A., providing for a voluntary irrevocable check-off of union dues if fifty-one percent of the employees approved within thirty days. At the end of the fourth day of the check-off authorization period, more than the required number of workers had given their approval in writing to the check-off procedure.

The essential accomplishment of the strike was the replacement of highly flexible sort of managerial paternalism with a formal arrangement between company and men. The workers now felt more secure on their jobs and the company might come to appreciate the presence of an organized labour force in the management of a steel industry. Ten years after

the strike, a Stelco vice-president spoke these words on "The militant expanding unionism of the forties:"

> Management's response was only too often coloured by emotionalism and hostility. Instead of concentrating on the development of policies and techniques to deal with fundamental problems and to modify some of the less desirable attributes of unions, we dissipated our energies in futile efforts to resist collective bargaining as such. In other words we in management were inclined to be more concerned with combating unions than with learning to negotiate successfully with them.[30]

No official of the Canadian Labour Congress or of the United Steelworkers today is likely to criticize that attitude.

Before its conclusion, the steel strike of 1946 had become the biggest and most violent industrial strike in Canada's history. H. A. Logan, a trade union historian, detects that like other strikes at the time, it indicated no agreement on the rights and limits of either the strikers or the companies. It certainly indicated no previous recognition of the propriety of the police action and the responsibilities of public bodies at all levels of government in the matter. The use of a parliamentary committee and radio broadcasting reinforced newspaper coverage in helping to form some public opinion on the matter which may have been extremely important regarding the use of police in Hamilton during the latter part of August and September. Although most provincial and federal legislators were inclined to remain silent on the strike, in Hamilton, certainly, the

positions of the councillors became widely known to the public who could form views about the issue and the quality of their elected representative. One test of public reaction would come soon in the annual municipal elections in Hamilton.

* * *

The candidates were nominated on November 22 for the election on December 10, two months after the conclusions of the strikes. Donald Clarke was nominated along with Lawrence for the mayoralty and his campaign against the C.C.F. candidate was the most expensive effort that Hamiltonians had seen in a municipal election. Clarke had lost to Lawrence by less than 2,000 votes in Lawrence's first mayoralty outing in 1943 and now, "presumably" out of intense dislike of Lawrence, Hamilton industry was ganging up on him. By contrast, Lawrence's campaign differed little from previous years and was, to say the least, relatively inexpensive. The C.C.F. candidate had no newspaper support. The Spectator recalled the days not long ago when Hamilton's "name began to smell -- and smell badly." Not because of strikes or violence but because:

> the way individuals at the helm of its government whose sworn duty it was to protect the rights of the people, condoned and even encouraged those very forces which work forever to destroy those rights . . . . Law . . . was abandoned . . . . Rarely in

> the history of civic government were there such concessions to anarchy for the cheap coin of current popularity.[31]

Lawrence had defeated McCulloch in 1945 by 9,858 votes. One year later, the year of the great industrial strikes, Lawrence's majority over Clarke was 11,559. The vote distribution was similar to the 1945 result. Lawrence won Wards Four to Eight. His majority in Ward Eight was 4,868 and in Ward Seven, 3,391. He polled almost 3,000 more votes than Clarke in Ward Six and just over 3,000 more in Ward Five. In his best showing in Ward One, Clarke polled a majority of only 1,834 votes.

More than 26,000 people voted against Lawrence and at that time opposed what they saw as either weakness, extreme left prejudice, or a combination of the two. Today one can still hear these views expressed about the man in tones of grave disapproval. But others, including his political opponents at that time, will recognize in his performance, "a masterly job of doing nothing which might have provoked a confrontation." The situation in the summer of 1946 saw all levels of government trying desperately not to take decisions which might result in bloodshed. Both the federal cabinet and the mayor of Hamilton calmly sought political solutions while constantly encountering demands, usually from the same sources, for clear-cut decisions. Lawrence's problem was to remain consistent to his socialist and labour principles while upholding the public trust.

By every standard, Lawrence's words and actions can be judged successful: no death in Hamilton during the summer of 1946 could be directly attributed to the strike situation; the police, when they finally arrived in the city, were never used to open the picket line; the strike itself was eventually successful and Lawrence's candidacy for mayor in December was sponsored by both the C.C.L. and the T.L.C. labour councils.

Sam Lawrence's nomination for mayor in 1947 and 1948 met with no opposition. Nora-Frances Henderson withdrew from public life in 1947 and it must have been consolation of a sort when the "pre-election favourite to head the polls" in her place, her Communist protagonist, Helen Anderson, who to the surprise of many observers had come second to Henderson in 1946, ran fifth and lost her seat on the board of control. In his 1948 nomination speech, Lawrence spoke of the need to continue finding solutions according to "our democratic way of life . . . ."

> But democracy can only remain a living dynamic force in any government, if the people have an opportunity of supporting a group of men and women who have a vision and who believe in and will work for constructive change. People without ideals, people who blindly cling to old customs and traditions, will create stagnation in any government.[32]

During 1948, Lawrence served as president of the Ontario Association of Mayors and Reeves and was a fraternal

delegate in September to the annual British Trades Union Congress at Margate. When nomination day came in 1949, Lawrence did not appear at the city hall. Hamilton's oldest politician was seventy and he had been a public figure for twenty-seven years. After his retirement was announced, he received the usual plaudits from other politicians, trade unionists and editorial writers, recognizing their differences and wishing him well. Sam Lawrence retired to his small cottage home in Hamilton's east end and, a month later, Lloyd D. Jackson was elected mayor of Hamilton. The C.C.F. and the two labour councils nominated, as usual, their slate of candidates. All but one of the Left nominees, however, was defeated; the electors of one ward chose one socialist candidate.

It is not insignificant that Lawrence should have retired to his Cameron Street North home. The year was 1949, but the place was still Homeside. Lawrence had arrived there in 1912 and had lived there in that area all of his life. He had represented that area as alderman, controller, M.L.A., or mayor, since 1922; he had his social and political roots there during the depression of the thirties and the labour strife of the forties. Now he left the stage and retired to Homeside. In view of the almost total rejection of the C.C.F. in 1949, Lloyd Jackson's residence is not of little significance either. The mayor before Lawrence was William Morrison and that good Liberal lived on Chedoke

Avenue, just south of Aberdeen Avenue, in an exclusive part of the city. The mayor after Lawrence was a Liberal also; and after living on Aberdeen Avenue, Lloyd Jackson moved and came to reside on Chedoke Avenue.

VIII

SAM LAWRENCE DURING THE "STATUS QUO ANTE"

With the retirement of Sam Lawrence, the defeat of the C.C.F. slate and the election of Lloyd Jackson, the city of Hamilton returned to the safe and sober businessman politics that board of control candidate Sam Manson had lauded early in the thirties and mayoralty candidate Donald Clarke had desired to return in the mid-forties. Both men had been defeated by Lawrence and it was an expression of contemporary circumstances that after his retirement their political theories of leadership and the concomitant type of political activity were reasserted in local politics.

Part of the businesslike deliberations of local politicians in 1950 involved contract negotiations with Local Five of the National Organization of Civic, Utility and Electrical Workers. The dispute between the union and the Corporation of the City of Hamilton was over wages and hours of work. Both sides remained firm after conciliation as the strike deadline came and went. The strike, which had no antecedent during Lawrence's mayoralty, lasted from August 10 to September 18. The strike was concluded when the city workers gained essentially their demands, a 40-hour work week and automatic wage increases in line with rises in the cost-of-living index.

During the strike, an estimated 2,500 tons of garbage went uncollected and the mayor threatened the use of police to protect private trucks hauling garbage in and out of the dumps. Mayor Jackson soon admitted defeat in efforts to collect garbage and urged householders to bury it or take it to the dumps personally. A newspaper advertisement for groundsmen and truck drivers drew seven responses which must have been unexpected for the mayor could only tell them to "report to the foremen."[1] The foremen, of course, were on the other side of picket lines of 200 members which had the support of all A.F. of L. and C.C.L. unions.

The Hamilton elite may have been anticipating a political move from the retired socialist pensioner on Cameron Street North for, one day after the strike's conclusion, Mayor Jackson spoke out against party politics in the civic service. "Why?" he asked rhetorically:

> Because there is no such thing as a Communist plugged sewer, or a Liberal or Conservative fire. Council was put here to serve the taxpayers, and there is no time for politics in the civic service, C.C.F. or any group.[2]

Sam Lawrence had been in retirement for less than one year. He was now seventy-one years old, but he could not appreciate his leisurely, less hectic private life. Lawrence was as constant now in his socialist-labour beliefs as he was when he stood in the Battersea election at the age of twenty-seven. He felt an obligation to serve those interests as long as he could, and, having been a successful

politician for the last twenty-seven years of his life, he must have also felt a craving for the public platform, rhetoric, and the power to act on behalf of his principles.

During the civic workers' strike, it became known that Lawrence thought the city had been unfair to its workers and that the strike could have been avoided. His retirement ended on November 4, when he received the endorsement of the A.F. of L. and C.C.L. unionists as a C.C.F. candidate for board of control. In his nomination speech, he decried the "hostile (and) unreasonable" reception given the civic workers' demands by board of control and council:

> . . . not a cent of increase in salaries or wages, not the slightest reduction in the hours of work, nor any consideration of a cost-of-living bonus; and at that time the cost of living was, and for that matter is, spiralling.[3]

The Spectator reflected the slightly bored chagrin with which the elite elements in the city accepted the appearance of Lawrence once again in public life:

> A good many citizens (it assumed) think Mr. Lawrence would have made the happier decision had he remained outside civic politics and not again entered the fray.[4]

The recent strike was both an excuse and a spark which moved Lawrence to leave retirement. It was a spark for the socialist trade unionist who honestly opposed the attitude of the local politicians toward the municipal workers and an excuse for the professional politican who could not

tolerate the calm of a life of leisure. Combining the two, Lawrence could return to the activity he loved and, in public life, articulate the beliefs he fervently held. That he should stand for election to the board of control is an indication of his desire to return to public life, his astuteness as a politician, and his wish to perform, even in his seventies, some real service to the socialist and trade union movements. He could have stood for alderman and won; he could have stood for the mayoralty against Jackson and lost. The probability of his election to board of control was neither very high nor very low; but if he were a controller, he would be more influential than if he were an alderman and more able to serve his life-long interests.

The "good many citizens" whose concern for Lawrence's feelings was expressed by the Spectator prior to the election need not have bothered themselves. On December 6, the veteran socialist trade unionist was returned to public life by the municipal electors. The city was larger now; it still had eight wards, but Ward Eight was now a Mountain ward. Wards One, Two and Three stretched from east to west below the Mountain and Wards Four to Seven, north from a Main-King-Main-Queenston Road west to east line, to the bay. Of the eight candidates, Lawrence won Wards Five, Six and Seven, from James Street to the eastern limits of the city and joined three sitting members of the board of control as the fourth controller. Although his vote totals in the other

wards were smaller, they were, nevertheless, of respectable size and indicated "the high esteem in which he (was) held by a wide cross-section of Hamilton citizens."[5]

Lawrence's nomination speech in 1951 concerned his experienced qualities of leadership and stressed the labour associations. But his "remarkable" second-place showing "was indeed a tribute to the man rather than to his party."[6] His C.C.F. running-mate for board of control, Hugh Sedgwick, lost the battle for fourth position by 118 votes and the incumbent Lloyd Jackson defeated the C.C.F. candidate for mayor by more than 15,000 votes. Lawrence came second in Wards Four and Eight and first on the old home ground of Labour, Wards Five, Six, and Seven.

The ascent to the top of the board of control polls was accomplished the following year when Lawrence entered the electoral lists against eight candidates. In his nomination speech he evinced a concern about the tax rate on homeowners and the costly annexations that the city had been making. Before the election, the Spectator referred to several candidates specifically, describing them as "able", "courageous", "rugged", "independent", and "realistic." None of these adjectives, however, referred to Sam Lawrence, whose candidacy the newspaper passed over and ignored. The seventy-three year old politician was still the bête noire of the ruling elite and perhaps they felt that if they closed their eyes the old man would just go back to Cameron Street

CONTROLLER SAM LAWRENCE IN THE FIFTIES

and leave them alone.

The Spectator conceded, however, that "it would be ill grace not to congratulate him . . ." on being elected senior controller. This was his most impressive win. He took Wards Four to Eight, stood second in Wards One and Four and, unexpectedly, came fourth and third in the wards where he had always encountered most electoral opposition and where lived his life-long ideological foes -- Ward Two from the city limits to James Street, from the Mountain north to a Main-Tope-King Street line, and Ward Three from James to Gage Avenue, from the Mountain north to King Street.

On June 24, 1953, 290 employees of Wallace Barnes Company struck "not only to make improvements, but to protect working conditions. . . ."[7] The Sherman Avenue North company manufactured precision springs for the electrical and automotive industries and the employees were members of the Communist-led Local 520 of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers.

The strike came after six months of negotiations and seven days after the conciliation board led by Judge J. C. Anderson handed down its report. The company accepted the majority report which called for a wage increase of five cents an hour, the achievement of a 40-hour week by cutting down rest and wash-up time, and asserted the company's right to put one operator on two machines, though he would be assigned a premium of fifteen cents an hour. The union protested that:

> increased work loads . . . would mean that workers would be producing much more for less money, while the system of one man operating two machines would inevitably cause lay-offs among the workers.[8]

The strike was continued through the summer and into the autumn. On October 7, the Ontario supreme court granted a temporary injunction against "unlawful" picketing, making violators liable to contempt of court charges. The court adjourned the company's motion for a permanent injunction against picketing until October 21. With this date no doubt in mind, the president of the Wallace Barnes Company sent letters to the employees calling for production to begin Wednesday morning, October 14. If men were not on the job within a specified number of days, it would be assumed that they had quit their jobs voluntarily.

On the Tuesday evening before the 14th, the following advertisement appeared in the Spectator:

> The people of Hamilton have benefitted immensely from the efforts of all the great unions of this city.
>
> There is nothing more disgusting than company unionism, and nobody lower than a strike-breaker.
>
> If at all possible, I shall participate in the peaceful picket line outside Wallace Barnes next Wednesday morning.[9]

The notice was signed "Controller Sam Lawrence."

It has been said[10] that Lawrence had an "obsessive conviction" about consistency. He used to lecture his fellow councillors on it and it influenced much of his

political thinking. His support for the U.E.W. in the 1953 Hamilton strike though consistent with his belief in industrial unionism could precipitate a split in the Hamilton Labour Council (C.C.L.) and adversely influence his own electoral fortunes. Having helped to organize the unorganized, he now told his listeners that Communist-led unions would "clean their own houses when necessary. In the meantime, let us not disorganize the organized . . . ."[11] The Steelworkers had been trying to get workers from the U.E.W. which had been expelled from the C.C.L. and now, regardless of public statements backing Local 520 in the strike, the Steelworkers no doubt thought they might benefit indirectly from the strike.

Lawrence appeared on the picket line early Wednesday morning with 200 other strike sympathizers. Across the street was his son, Leonard, who had only recently become Hamilton's chief of police. Shortly after Lawrence left the scene, the picketers slammed the plant gates shut and "sent the 50-man police guard reeling back into the centre of the road."[12] Reinforcements arrived and the police chief became involved in the struggle which resulted in twelve arrests -- six were later released and the others arrested were charged with obstructing police. More violence occurred the following day when the police moved to allow strike-breakers to enter the plant. Twelve strikers and one non-striker were charged with intimidation and common assault. Lawrence

revealed that following his Wednesday appearance on the picket line, he received "abusive" telephone calls, criticizing his decision to walk with the pickets. On October 17, five union officers were restricted from the area and the pickets were limited to four at a gate.

The split within the C.C.L. council became public knowledge as a result of an executive decision not to support a mass meeting of strikers called for the 20th by the U.E.W. C.I.O.-C.C.L. union members were advised not to attend the meeting. Lawrence's second cousin, Alderman David Lawrence, supported the controller's stand and argued against the executive at an emergency meeting of the labour council:

> We should not be opposed to the Communists but rather the injunction issued to stop a legal strike.[13]

The Spectator became the target of many letters from people outraged at the controller's stand. One woman asked:

> What kind of civilization is this which allows a Communist-dominated union's supporter to run for office while at the same time we grieve for husbands, sons, brothers and friends who were killed or wounded in Korea while fighting everything the Labour-Progressive (Communist) Party stands for?[14]

In an interview with a Toronto paper, Lawrence defended his protest against a firm's resurrection of a "company union" to replace a certified, although politically unreliable union. "I am utterly opposed to totalitarianism whether it be Communist or Fascist," Lawrence said:

> Some are endeavouring to portray me as encouraging lawlessness, but no one has ever heard me advocate lawlessness or condone it.[15]

Lawrence's nomination address was made that year while the strike continued. His speech, however, concerned rent control and costly and inefficient annexation programs. The senior controller advocated the city's assumption of rent controls on all premises rented as living accommodations, "for the mutual protection of tenant and landlord" and expressed his disapproval of "further annexation that is not balanced by our ability to provide needed services without long delays and at a cost that the tax structure will bear."

For political commentators, it was "possibly the greatest surprise"[16] of the election that Lawrence would serve his twenty-ninth year on council as the fourth-ranked controller. The senior position relinquished by the seventy-four year old politician and trade unionist was won by twenty-six year old J. A. MacDonald. Only one ward went to Lawrence -- the "Red" Ward Seven, east from Ottawa to the limits and north from Main Street and Queenston Road. He came second, third and fourth in the other northern wards, Six, Five, and Four. He stood fourth in the Mountain Ward Eight and sixth, fifth, and sixth in the eight-man contest in the south-end Wards One, Two, and Three. This man was still with honour in his own home but it was evident, though Lawrence rejected this interpretation, that his stand on the Wallace

Barnes strike lost him votes among industrial workers as well as among his traditional opposition, which had recently given him some support. The defeat was more complete for the U.E.W.'s Local 520. A new contract was signed on December 31 but labour's approval came from the Canadian Springmakers' Association and four lonely U.E.W. pickets remained at each of the plant gates.[17]

In 1954, Lawrence told the press that he was proud "to have received again the nomination of the C.C.F. for board of control and the endorsement of the Hamilton Labour Council."[18] A two-year term for councillors had been established in Hamilton and the December, 1954 vote would elect a council for 1955-56. On November 22, the Hamilton Daily News published an article by Lawrence's wife, Isabella, in which she praised his honesty, integrity and decisiveness: "If he's got an opinion on something, he lets the voters know it."[19] The Spectator reviewed the candidates for the board the same day. It supported Ada Pritchard's candidacy because of her three years of aldermanic experience and the apparent need for a woman on the board. It approved of the incumbent candidates, MacDonald and Leslie Parker, and of the remaining four candidates, saw the position of fourth controller an electoral choice between Sam Baggs and Sam Lawrence. Baggs, it noted, had five years of experience on council and was alert and energetic. Unaccountably, Lawrence's twenty-nine years of council membership were not

specifically mentioned, though he was described as a "Hamilton institution as deep-rooted as the Mountain." Ironically, the unanswered question that did not allow the Spectator to give him their unqualified endorsement was "whether his highly individual qualifications (were) as well suited to a two-year term as they were to a twelve-month one."[20]

In what can be interpreted only as a mood of maliciousness, the Spectator made no comment after Lawrence's re-election to the fourth position on board of control. In Wards One to Four and Ward Eight, he stood fifth. It was his strength in the labour wards, Five to Seven, which he won handily, that gave him his final victory in his last election, on December 1, 1954.

* * *

Sam Lawrence announced his retirement in October, 1956. He was seventy-seven years old and was completing his thirty-fourth year in public office: seven years as alderman in Hamilton, eighteen as controller, six as mayor, and three as a member of the provincial legislative assembly. He had also been a delegate to the Hamilton Trades and Labour Council from 1912 until 1937 and president of the Ontario C.C.F. party from 1941 to 1944. The Spectator recalled his "outstanding and controversial role" in Hamilton:

> There were the depression days of unemployment, parades and meetings on the market; the post-World War II days of placards and picket lines and strikes.[21]

It admitted that many times it could not endorse Lawrence's convictions, but on October 16, it granted him conservative praise when it conceded "his forthrightness, his honesty in advocating his principles."

> And many who disagreed violently with his politics will agree that he was a reasonable man.

Lawrence was encouraged to retire by his friends who felt that he would have lost the next election. It was felt that the C.C.F. was no longer strong enough to elect candidates and that Lawrence's latter wins at the polls were only demonstrations of affection for "a pretty square old man." The results of the election a few months later certainly proved the C.C.F.'s impotency as a political force and today it is conceded by Labour officers that the C.C.F. was an irrelevant factor in Lawrence's municipal victories.

Of the nine C.C.F.-Labour candidates for municipal office in 1956, only one was elected. David Lawrence, who had already served on council for five years, was re-elected alderman. James Stowe, who had been president of the A.F. of L. Trades and Labour Council since 1952 and was now president of the united city central, stood eighth in the field of nine candidates for board of control. In his acceptance speech in November, Stowe had left no doubt that he was

Labour's choice to succeed Sam Lawrence. But in the Labour wards -- Five, Six, and Seven -- where he made his best showing, he stood sixth, seventh and eighth. In Ward Eight he stood eighth and in Wards One to Four, he trailed all the candidates; only in Ward One did he receive more than 1,000 votes and there, his total was an unimpressive 1,098. At a post-election meeting of the Hamilton and District Labour Council, its defeated president gave three reasons for the electoral drubbing: C.C.F. affiliation, Labour's lack of political consciousness, and the general apathy of the eligible public toward the responsibility of the voter.

Lawrence had never been abandoned by those he had helped personally and whose views he articulated in the thirties and forties. As the city grew, however, the electorate came to be made up of more and more people whose voting behaviour had little or nothing to do with personal experiences in Hamilton at that time. It has been said that Lawrence was a shrewd, professional politician; but he was a "labour man" first. For thirty-four years, he was able to combine successfully his socialist and trade union views with his desire to follow a political career. But if he was to continue his already protracted political career, Lawrence would have had to alter his commitment to his fundamental allegiances and perhaps dissolve it altogether.

Lawrence's socialist-labour appeal had usually stood him in good stead with the electorate. His greatest victories

were in 1946 and 1952 when, it could be said, his position was fully vindicated by the electorate. But Lawrence's most "telling" victory came in 1953. His stand during the Wallace Barnes strike was consistent with older experiences in past years but now it engendered considerable enmity even in labour circles. He was consistently a "Labour man" first though the sentiment of organized labour was not fully behind him. In the minds of many Hamiltonians in the mid-fifties, Lawrence was represented at worst as an institution in local politics and at best as the topic of other people's memories which mingled with such quaint subjects as the old covered market place, the streetcars, labour agitation and the strikes of '46. Under these new circumstances, Lawrence failed to alter his principles of life-time duration; it is doubtful whether the city's oldest politician then approaching eighty could have done anything else or that people should have expected it of him.

During his last year on council, Lawrence experienced chest pains and a heart ailment was diagnosed. In the following year, the first year of his retirement, Isabella died after a long illness. Lawrence weakened after his wife's death and he never fully recovered. They had had four children: Sidney died in 1938 when he was twenty-two years old and Arthur was killed in the war on New Year's Day, 1943. Marion and Leonard still live in the Hamilton area. Sam Lawrence died in his second year of retirement on

October 25 in the Nora-Frances Henderson hospital. He was to have participated in a short while in the cornerstone laying ceremony for Hamilton's new city hall.

* * *

While standing today on that grassy patch next to Eaton's, only a keen imagination can re-create the old market place of May Day fame and the sound of the James Street Beltline that could be heard in the council chambers and committee rooms where Lawrence's voice articulated the cause of Labour and socialism for more than a quarter of a century. Wilcox Street is no longer "a dusty lane." A flower garden is well-kept each summer at the Burlington Street junction of the paved roadway and a large illuminated sign tells passers-by that they are looking at the Hilton Works of Stelco. Sam Lawrence Park overlooks Hamilton from the top of the Mountain at the Jolley Cut and a plaque commemorating his work is on a wall of the new steelworkers' hall on Barton Street East. In the pub downstairs, steelworkers and other union men recall Lawrence's activity on behalf of the Labour movement; a few doors down the street their Labour party, the New Democratic Party, 1961 offspring of the C.C.F. and the C.L.C., plan the electoral strategy for one local member of parliament and two local provincial members. One of them is the M.L.A. from Hamilton East.

IX

CONCLUSIONS

Sam Lawrence was "born" into trade unionism in England in 1879. Not only did he inherit his father's trade, but his radical political attitudes as well. However, it was not until his experience in the Boer War when he read the American utopian, Edward Bellamy's novel, Looking Backward, that he became a socialist. After his return to England, he was active first in the Independent Labour party for which he stood unsuccessfuly as a borough councillor candidate in 1906 and then the Social-Democratic Federation. When he emigrated to Canada with his wife in 1912, he brought his trade union and socialist principles with him.

Lawrence was typical of many British craftsmen who arrived in Canada early in the twentieth century. Characteristically, Lawrence came from a home of the artisan class and was inculcated with loyalty to the trade union at an early age. Gradually he took over all the rationale of the trade union movement -- the essential features of collective bargaining, maintenance of union wage rate, the closed shop, striking and picketing as well as the bias against non-union men, strike-breakers and wage-cutters. Lawrence, then, was not unlike other British artisan immigrants for whom

membership in a trade union was as important as the tools of his trade. That Lawrence should, however, finally concentrate on his ability as a politician, was a development wholly within his "new world" surroundings.

His abortive electoral debut in Battersea in 1906 was an indication of a desire for public life which Lawrence never lost. Besides joining the stonecutters' union in Hamilton and establishing himself on the city central as a stonecutters' delegate, Lawrence joined a Hamilton branch of the short-lived Social Democratic party and later joined a branch of the Independent Labour party. Essential to his socialist-labour principles was the strong conviction favouring Labour's direct participation in politics. When Lawrence arrived in Canada, he found that political action by Labour was not a foreign idea -- it having had a place in almost every meeting of the national labour organization since 1883 -- and the city of Hamilton itself had a prominent place in Labour history. During most of his first ten years in Hamilton, Lawrence fortified his position in the city's labour circles through his position on the city central, held from 1913 until 1937. During the twenties, his desire and capacity for public life became well known. He won successive municipal elections after one loss and an unsuccessful federal effort in 1925 and served during most of the decade as an alderman from Ward Eight. Ward Eight was one of several north-eastern wards in the industrial area

along the bay front in Hamilton that were traditional Labour strongholds and were assiduously cultivated by Lawrence during his career.

It was in the 'twenties when, Lawrence later told friends, he felt he was "getting older." There was little stone to cut at that time and the almost fifty year old trade unionist then decided to concentrate on a career as an elected public official. From 1922 Lawrence held public office until his voluntary retirement in 1956, with the exception of one year of self-imposed retirement in 1950. When he died in 1959, he had served seven years as an I.L.P. alderman, eighteen years as an I.L.P.-C.C.F. controller, three years as C.C.F. member of the Ontario legislature, and six years as the C.C.F. mayor of Hamilton.

Essential to his career as a politician were Lawrence's trade union and socialist principles. These three things -- his political career, trade union association and socialist belief -- were inseparable; but his principles were always prior to his political career. Lawrence's political life was continually being jeopardized by his allegiance to the socialist-labour movement.

The labour movement in Canada has never been a wholly socialist affair. In fact, the radical social movement unionism which Lawrence associated himself with was never "at home" in the central trade union organization which was committed to market unionism. The C.C.F. was formed in 1932

by elements in the divided socialist movement who would not "rest until (they had) eradicated capitalism and put into operation (a) full programme of socialized planning . . . ."[1] A few years later, the C.I.O. was established in the United States and Canada "to enter upon an aggressive organization campaign in those industries in which the great mass of the workers (were) not (then) organized."[2] Lawrence involved himself in the activities of both organizations which advocated ideas he had supported before he had come to Canada.

Lawrence's involvement with the C.C.F. and the C.I.O. was constant and close. His public offices were held after 1932 as a C.C.F. supporter and it was Lawrence's socialist-labour activity that drew the ire of the A.F. of L. unionists and indicated the inability of Canadian Labour to avoid a labour split in Canada paralleling that of the United States. The C.C.F. was the closest Canada got to having a British-styled socialist Labour party during Lawrence's lifetime and he felt as particular about it as a tool of Labour as he did the trade union movement. Even as a controller in his seventies, he objected to being mated with a "neutral" unionist candidate for board of control. If the man was not a member of the C.C.F., he was not a supporter of Labour, but a "stooge of the boss class."

While Lawrence was serving as the C.C.F. mayor of Hamilton, the C.I.O. unions pressed their demands for recognition as collective industry-wide bargaining agents for

workers in the automobile, rubber, electrical and steel industries. The associated strikes of 1946 were a particularly fiery test for Lawrence, the trade union-socialist and politician. Pressured to "maintain law and order" and open the picket line, he successfully combined his obligations in discharging the public trust to maintain order and in abetting the strike toward a successful conclusion.

One of Lawrence's public offices as a C.C.F. supporter was Ontario M.L.A. from 1934 until his defeat in 1937. He was the first C.C.F. candidate elected to Queen's Park and only C.C.F. member in the thirties. A few months after his provincial defeat, he was elected to Hamilton's board of control. Lawrence had wanted to go beyond the local level where, having gained power, socialists could begin to "reconstruct" society. Although his defeat in the general election of 1925 could be rationalized as defeat by a popular incumbent, his provincial experience convinced him that he could not be as successful elsewhere as at the local level and, more important perhaps, that he really did not want to be.

Lawrence's party affiliation and his lack of education militated against electoral success and his desire for it beyond the municipal level. The electorate had elected "Lawrence" more than the "C.C.F." during his career; when an election became more a question of supporting a party rather than a particular man, Lawrence lost his appeal. Later in

his life he told a friend that he would "always be willing to turn the page" on his years in provincial politics. His familiar and personal "old country" style was not suited to political activity at levels higher than ward politics and after 1937, he spent the remainder of his efforts in the cause of labour and socialism at the local level in Hamilton.

Though Lawrence was not proud of his role on behalf of Labour in the Ontario legislature, he was active outside the House and Hamilton's city council chamber in the cause of "organizing the unorganized" in the great mass production industries. This support for industrial unionism, however, alienated many craft unionists and thus affected his Labour support, the power base of his political operations. Lawrence had also associated himself too closely with Communists and the C.C.F. party to suit the A.F. of L. unionists. In 1937, the Hamilton city central was the scene of the only labour council split in Canada. It could not be completely healed and was writ large in 1939 when the T.L.C. expelled the C.I.O. supporters from its ranks who, subsequently with others similarly dealt with, formed the C.C.L. in 1940. The C.C.L. accepted the C.C.F. as its political arm in 1943, and set toward fully organizing the great mass production industries in Canada.

A serious challenge to Hamiltonians believed menaced by Left wing militants came in 1943. Lawrence's candidacy for mayor topped a slate of C.C.F. nominees who, if elected,

would have dominated the council. With Lawrence serving as president, the Ontario C.C.F. had won all three Hamilton constituencies and come within five seats of forming the Government a few months earlier. The opposition outcry in the municipal election campaign, reminiscent of the election campaign of 1933,[3] was led by the Hamilton Spectator which described C.C.F.er's as "Communists" and "National Socialists" and foretold of dark, totalitarian days in Hamilton if they were elected.

The major complaint levied by the Spectator, however, was against the introduction of "partyism" into municipal politics. The newspaper's revulsion to "partyism" in 1943, though, was a far cry from the coyness with which it described the political allegiances of local councillors forty years earlier. Then, the Spectator had recognized that some city wards were "Grit strongholds" and some were Conservative[4] and in 1907 had remarked without objection that the new council could be said "to contain twelve Tories and nine Grits. Of the twelve, eight were on the official Conservative slate . . . three . . . were on the Labor slate."[5] Ten years later, the Spectator had observed that it had looked "as though the balance of power might be held by the aldermen who were put in the field by the Independent Labor party. (There were) nine Conservatives, eight Liberals and three Labour men in the full council . . . (and the newspaper was content to comment only that) if the council were to divide

on party lines, the Labor men would be able to dictate their terms."[6]

The C.C.F. was not a party like the others, including the old Independent Labour party. The established elements found themselves close to losing political control in Ontario and the city of Hamilton and the "Whigs", "Tories" and even old I.L.P. members whose "old-line" sentiments were now well known, harboured behind their objections to partysim in municipal affairs, a great fear which combined the C.C.F., the C.I.O. and the Communists into a great revolutionary force.

A well argued reply to the objections to partyism came from "Hamiltonian" in a Spectator "letter to the editor" several days after the election in which Lawrence was elected mayor but which saw the general defeat of the C.C.F. slate. "Hamiltonian" wrote that the C.C.F. was also opposed to partyism in civic affairs "as it (was) generally understood:"

> In the old days when the Liberals and Conservatives had the field all to themselves such partyism was unquestionably an evil. Seeing that they had no differences of social outlook or principles, they had nothing legitimate to divide on. The division was merely on party allegiance, and whatever the spoils of office might be . . . . With the advent of the C.C.F., the circumstances became entirely different. For instance, the C.C.F. has a municipal program, and to put this program into effect it is necessary to have men elected who are pledged to support it. That is all there is to a C.C.F. "slate."[7]

But partyism was only a convenient device with which to attack

the C.C.F. slate. "Hamiltonian" touched on the real reason for the furor when he observed that in municipal affairs:

> . . . questions come up on which the C.C.F. philosophy and outlook on social matters causes the C.C.F. representatives to take a different view to those favouring the private interests. This is plainly illustrated in cases where public ownership and operation can be shown to be in the public interest.

The Whig-Tory-I.L.P. partyism of old never appeared as a threat to the established elite. The C.C.F., however, appeared to pose that threat in 1943. Receiving the support of the C.C.L. and the C.I.O. unions, and forming the Opposition at Queen's Park, the C.C.F. in Hamilton found itself met with a "lavishly financed opposition"[8] during the municipal campaign.

As mentioned above, Lawrence was elected mayor despite his prominence in the C.C.F. slate. His share of popular vote with his opponent was almost 52 percent[9] and his candidacy the following year was unopposed. In the mayoralty election of 1945, Lawrence obtained more than 60 percent of the votes cast and in the election following the industrial strikes in 1946, his share of the popular vote was almost 60 percent and he received the mayoralty by acclamation the following two years. In every year, he had been nominated as a C.C.F.-Labour candidate and led the socialist party's slate of candidates; in every election, he became the mayor, while the rest of the C.C.F. list was generally defeated. Lawrence could win elections during the

late forties as a prominent C.C.F. member though the C.C.F. itself could not.[10]

Lawrence was mayor of Hamilton until 1950. His administration has been criticized by some because "he let the city deteriorate" and it is praised by others who thought Lawrence was "properly concerned about finance and the tax burden." Lawrence was certainly not a dazzling mayor, like the "hurrah men" of today, as one admirer puts it. But he was a professional politician, then in his late sixties who had decided long ago on his career as a municipal politician and who was, by 1950, the dean of Hamilton's elected officials. If he never felt it necessary, politically or administratively, to "cut a public figure," but thought it wise to concentrate on maintaining the financial solvency of the city and its taxpayers and annually receive acclamations or elections by large majorities, it is difficult to sustain much critical argument against him. The construction of high rise buildings and urban renewal programs would come in more propitious times.

The discharge of public trust should be a noble endeavour in a democracy. However, all elected officials will bring with them into office their accumulated interests from outside. In theory, the degree to which interests articulated by the officials reflect those of society will be the measure of their success and the success of the state. Lawrence's socialist views and his connection with the C.C.F.

and the C.I.O. were well known when he was re-elected mayor in 1945 and no one doubted where his loyalty rested during the industrial strikes in Hamilton the following year. Whether his Labour interests would affect his discharge of the public trust was a question which Hamiltonians pondered when the steelworkers at Stelco commenced the most violent industrial strike in Canadian history.

Almost twenty years after the strike which saw the recognition of the great industrial unions in Canada, the power of the labour and corporate elites still remains unequal. John Porter explains:

> . . . the corporate elite has that consolidated power which comes from the traditions of property institutions, whereas the labour elite has emerged after struggle aimed at reducing such power.[11]

Lacking property rights and wishing to reduce the power of the corporations, industrial Labour in 1946 employed its ultimate weapon, the strike, to gain recognition which had already been received by the American unions through the Wagner Act in 1935. The companies in Canada had been forced to recognize the unions as bargaining agents for their employees as the result of wartime orders-in-council. Both labour and business expected that upon the conclusion of the war, the privy council order would be rescinded and labour-management relations would resume their pre-war character. The strikes of the industrial unions in 1945 and 1946 were

carried out to gain recognition and if the steel industry, through Stelco, had broken the strike of the United Steelworkers, it is thought the organization of industrial workers would have been set back in Canada for at least twenty years.

Lawrence was successful in combining his public duty and his labour interests; and his success involved rebuffs to both sides in the steel dispute of 1946. He not only opposed attempts to bring in outside police to open the picket line for the entry and exit of men and materials, but also objected to plans favoured by some unionists for a general strike, emphasizing in both cases the necessity to avoid violence and bloodshed. The success of a professional politician is measured by his electoral support and Lawrence's victory in December, 1946, and his election to the mayoralty by acclamation in the next two years can be taken as indicative of his political and administrative success.

Lawrence's temporary retirement at the end of 1949 was accompanied by a resounding defeat of the C.C.F. slate of candidates and the election of an "old line" party supporter to the mayoralty. Though he found retirement disagreeable and was able to get himself elected to board of control in the elections of 1950, Lawrence's career for the next and last five years was completely anti-climactic, following as it did his experiences in the mayor's office. The temper of the times had changed and Lawrence had not. Labour had become less class conscious in the fifties and

a political vacuum was created as a result of C.C.F. defeats. The older ruling elements reasserted themselves and a status quo ante situation prevailed in Hamilton. The agitation of the thirties and the industrial strife of the forties were erased from the immediate consciousness of Hamiltonians who were primarily impressed by contemporary prosperity. The appearance of Sam Lawrence on the stage of municipal affairs was ghost-like. The political Left has never again fully asserted itself in Hamilton; yet there is something of permanence for the left-labour movement to stand on. The social movement tradition of the C.C.L. has survived the 1956 merger with the T.L.C. and the 1961 heir to the socialist tradition held by the C.C.F., the New Democratic party, still looks to Hamilton as an area it can win.

Lawrence's position on board of control did improve, nevertheless, during the decade; but the unreality of his political career in the fifties came to the seventy-four year old socialist trade unionist in December of 1953. After working his way from the last position on board of control to the position of senior controller in 1952, he fell back to the fourth position. His election to the position of first controller had come as a result of considerable support drawn from all parts of the city besides the labour wards. His election to the fourth position in 1954 was based only on qualified support from the labour areas of Hamilton.

Lawrence, the politician, had faltered; it is

debatable, however, whether the same could be said of Lawrence, the "Labour man." His electoral fortunes had turned on the question of his support for and participation in the strike of the United Electrical Workers' local at the Wallace Barnes Company during 1953. During his mayoralty, it had been charged that Lawrence considered himself a "Labour man first and a mayor second." For many, this had been disproved; but to alter the phrase slightly, in 1953 he proved himself a Labour man first and a politician second. Not only did he lose his unusual support from the wealthier areas of the city, but he lost much support from the labour element which opposed his support of a strike by a Communist-led industrial union which had been expelled from the C.C.L.

The seventy-five year old socialist-labour politician won his last election for a two-year term on board of control in 1954, but he stood no better than fourth. The Spectator which had haughtily sustained its enmity towards him and refused to fully endorse his candidacy, maintained a stoic silence after his win. Lawrence won his last election, but it was his last because he had been convinced by his friends that he would have been defeated if he had stood in the campaign of 1956.

In 1950 Lawrence had been presented with a fifty-year emblem by the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers of Great Britain and Ireland; and on May Day, three years later, the C.C.F. honoured his fiftieth year in the socialist move-

ment. Lawrence retired from public life in 1956 and died three years later, then only a "Labour man."

NOTES

PREFACE

1 "Holiday Earned." Hamilton Review. December 23, 1949.

2 John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp. 472 f.

CHAPTER I

1 Allan Studholme, elected to the Ontario legislature in 1906 and 1908 from Hamilton East, was the first Labour M.L.A. from the Hamilton area. A majority of 679 votes returned him to Queen's Park in 1911 and he was re-elected three years later with an increased majority of 1,029 votes. The Catharine Street North Labour Temple was dedicated in his memory in 1923, four years after his death and when the C.C.F. was organized later he was accepted by the socialists as their precursor and his name was associated with the C.C.F. party. That Studholme, himself, would have appreciated the C.C.F. bestowal of honour is doubtful and supporters of the "old-line" parties who knew and admired Studholme regret the C.C.F. move even today.

2 "Memo of an address made by Controller Sam Lawrence at an open forum conducted by Allan Studholme club, C.C.F. in Ward Six clubroom, Barton and Wentworth Streets." From the file of the Hamilton Spectator dated December 15, 1940. Hereafter referred to as "Memo." See: "Lawrence Cites History of Shift in Labour Ranks." Hamilton Spectator, December 16, 1940.

3 This quote is from an informant who was close to Lawrence and who had experienced a similar upbringing in England at approximately the same time.

4 Robert L. Shurter. "The Literary Work of Edward Bellamy." American Literature. v. 5, 1933-34, pp.232-33.

5 Ibid. See The Bibliography of American Utopianism. Appended to "The Literary Quest for Utopia, 1880-1900." Allyn B. Forbes, Social Forces. v. 6, 1927-28, pp. 179-189.

6 Elizabeth Sadler. "One Book's Influence, Edward Bellamy's 'Looking Backward.'" The New England Quarterly. v. 17, 1944, p. 543.

7 Robert L. Shurter. "The Writing of 'Looking Backward.'" South Atlantic Quarterly. v. 28, 1939, p. 255.

8 New York, 1920, pp. 104-5. Quoted in Elizabeth Sadler. Op. cit., p. 551.

9 The kite simile was employed in a letter sent to the Hamilton labour council and dealt with on March 20, 1936. Infra., ch. v, pp. 53f.

10 "Memo."

CHAPTER II

1 This is suggested in "Hamilton Early Stronghold in Organized Labour Cause." The Hon. Humphrey Mitchell. Hamilton Spectator, July 15, 1946. Nova Scotia can lay claim to the first union in Canada or perhaps it was only foresight which prompted the enactment there of Canada's first anti-union law in 1816.

2 "Slow Murder." An editorial published in the Palladium of Labour, a labour paper published in the 1880's. Quoted in The Hon. Humphrey Mitchell. Op. cit.

3 Doris French. Faith, Sweat and Politics. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962, p. 9.

4 Ibid., p. 8.

5 Quoted in Doris French. Ibid., p. 28.

6 From the constitution of the C.L.U. published in Labour Gazette. Ottawa: Dept. of Labour, June 1901 - June, 1902, v. II, p. 94.

7 Gerald L. Caplan notes this general phenonemon of the Canadian Left in "The Failure of Canadian Socialism: The Ontario Experience, 1932-1945." Canadian Historical Review, v. 44, no. 2, June, 1963, pp. 93-121.

8 "Preamble and Declaration of Principles." Quoted from The Hon. Humphrey Mitchell. Op. Cit. The preamble and declaration was often published in the Labour Union, Hamilton's labour newspaper later renamed Palladium of Labour, which was the Knight's official organ in Canada.

CHAPTER III

1 "Memo."

2 The charter of the East Hamilton branch of the Ontario I.L.P. signed by Rollo is still in existence and in the possession of a branch member.

3 Quoted in Eugene Forsey. "History of the Labour Movement in Canada." Canada Year Book, 1957-58. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1958, p. 800.

4 Ibid., p. 801.

5 Ibid., Loc. cit.

6 Paul Fox. "Early Socialism in Canada." The Political Process in Canada. J. H. Aitchison (ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto press, 1963, p. 88.

7 Ibid., p. 92.

8 For a discussion of the relationship which brought the Ontario I.L.P. to power and subsequent internal disputes, see David Hoffman, "Intra-party Democracy: A Case Study." Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, v. 27, no. 2, 1961, pp. 223-235.

CHAPTER IV

1 "South-East Districts Stood By Mayor-Elect." Hamilton Spectator, January 3, 1921.

2 For a discussion of the U.F.O.-I.L.P. Government's stand on hydro radials, see: David Hoffman. Op. cit.

3 "His Last Word." Hamilton Spectator, December 30, 1922.

4 "A National Figure." Ibid. Loc. cit. More specifically, these interests, according to Beck, were the National Electric Light Association of New York, "supported by Montreal power and railway interests (which had) demonstrated that the desire to wreck the municipal undertaking (was) still uppermost in the mind of those who (were) wholly opposed to successful public ownership." Ibid.

5 "Taxpayers Frowned on Railway By-law." Hamilton Spectator, January 2, 1923. In Hamilton, companies may still nominate a person to exercise a franchise on by-laws involving the expenditure of money by the municipality.

For an approximate account of the class structure of Hamilton's "Labour wards" according to propertied and non-propertied voters, see "Appendix B."

6 Ibid., loc. cit.

7 See George Grant. Lament For A Nation. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965. "Nor did his (John Diefenbaker's) talk of free enterprise belong to an older Canadian conservatism which had used public power to achieve national purposes. The Conservative party had, after all, created Ontario Hydro, the CNR, the Bank of Canada and the CBC." p. 14.

8 "Memo."

9 "George Halcrow and Tom O'Heir in the Council." Hamilton Spectator, December 20.

10 "Hamilton Voters Made it Emphatic." Hamilton Spectator, October 30, 1925.

11 "Some New Faces in Council Circle." Hamilton Spectator, December 6.

12 "Five Candidates in Field for Board of Control." From Lawrence's nomination speech, Hamilton Spectator, Nov. 26, 1928.

13 "Acclamation For the Mayor's Chair." Ibid., Nov. 25, 1929.

14 "Nominations Held For Major Offices." Ibid., Nov. 25, 1932.

15 "Newcomer Polled Tremendous Vote." Ibid., Dec. 2, 1930.

16 Nomination speech, "Sam Manson Is the Dark Horse." Ibid., November 21, 1930.

17 Nomination speech, "Three Are Entered for Race for Mayor." Ibid., Nov. 27, 1931.

18 "Monday is Your Big Day." Ibid., Dec. 2, 1933.

19 Ibid., loc. cit.

20 "Asserts C.C.F. Party Lacking In Experience." Ibid., June 13, 1934.

21 "Vote To-morrow." Ibid., June 18, 1934.

CHAPTER V

1 "Sam Lawrence Follows Kier Hardie's Pathway." Hamilton Herald, Feb. 16, 1935.

2 H.A. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada. Tor: Macmillan, 1948, p.340.

3 Hamilton trades and labour council speech. Hamilton Spectator, March 20, 1936.

4 Logan. Op. cit., p. 341.

5 "Sam Lawrence claims Hepburn Herr Hitler." An address delivered before a meeting of the Canadian League Against War and Fascism. Hamilton Herald, Aug. 2, 1935.

6 Report of Proceedings. Washington: 1935, pp. 523-524. Quoted in Leon Litwack, The American Labor Movement, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962, pp.49f.

7 Ibid. Loc. cit. For contemporary coverage of labour events following the split see "The Industrial War." Fortune, v. 16, no. 5, November, 1937, pp. 104-11, 180, 183-6. For a biography of John L. Lewis, see: "John Llewellyn Lewis." Ibid., v. 14, no. 4, October, 1936, pp. 95-7, 152, 154, 156, 159. "The Great Labor Upheaval." Ibid., pp. 89-94, 142, 146, 148, 150, 152.

8 "Believes Taxes Will Be Slashed In Three Years." An address to the young men's section of the Hamilton Chamber of Commerce, Hamilton Spectator, May 18, 1937.

9 From a telegram to the Hamilton Spectator, April 30, 1937. The meeting was held in a church hall after the use of public halls had been denied the steelworkers' committee. The telegram is in the Hamilton Spectator library.

10 From resolutions of the Third International. "World-Wide Attack Is Communist Plan." Hamilton Spectator, Aug. 20, 1935.

11 "Visit To Russia By Lawrence Has Been Forbidden." Ibid., March 21, 1936.

12 "Memo."

13 "Declares Reds Forging Ahead; Is Fascinated." Hamilton Spectator, July 5, 1936.

14 "Trades, Labour Council Solidly Behind Member." Ibid., Sept. 5, 1936.

15 A current joke at that time was that the A.F. of L. was so emphatically opposed to any association with Communists that it even opposed anti-Communists.

16 Hamilton Spectator, Sept. 5, 1936.

17 Quoted from "Memo."

18 "Many Labor Men Protest A.F. of L. Hamilton Action." Toronto Daily Star, May 12, 1937.

19 "Split in Labour Brings Recall of Civic Group." Toronto Globe and Mail, May 14, 1937.

20 Ibid. Loc. cit.

21 "Hamilton Labor Split, Three Years Old, Ended; Group Regains Charter." Ibid., Aug. 3, 1940.

22 Quoted in Logan, H.A. Op. cit., p. 364.

23 Eugene Forsey, op. cit., p. 798.

24 This was not the first internal crisis in the Canadian labour movement involving eventually the departure of unions from the central organization, the T.L.C. Western unions, experienced in direct political action, became dissatisfied with the cautious positions of the eastern unions which controlled the Congress and withdrew in 1919 and established the One Big Union. Before it was fully organized, however, affiliated unions became involved in the bloody Winnipeg strike of that year and the OBU's opponents used the abortive strike to break the organization. A distinguishing feature of the North American labour movements has been the inability of the central organizations, committed to market unionism, to maintain unity in the whole movement, part of which is inclined toward social movement unionism.

25 Toronto Globe and Mail, Oct. 6, 1937.

26 "C.C.F. Group Names Lawrence As Candidate." Hamilton Spectator, Aug. 13, 1937.

27 "Hotly Protests No Wage Clause." Hamilton Spectator, Sept. 28, 1937. It appears that the comparisons of figures are for 1937 and the previous one or two years. See the report of another speech: "Four Nominees In East Riding Present Views." Ibid., Sept. 30.

28 From a C.C.F. election campaign pamphlet.

29 "Four Nominees in East Riding Present Views." Hamilton Spectator, Sept. 30, 1937.

30 Ibid. Loc. cit.

31 Ibid. Loc. cit.

32 "Hepburn Carries On." Hamilton Spectator, Oct. 7, 1937. Hamilton East results were: MacKay, 9,841; Walsh, 6,181; Lawrence, 4,811; Brunton, 115. The constituency boundaries were Wellington Street east to Ottawa Street and south from the bayfront to the Mountain.

33 Report from the Canadian Press news agency. "Liberals Triumph With Huge Majority." Hamilton Spectator, Oct. 7, 1937.

34 The mayor-elect at the time expressed his pleasure at the "clear-thinking and intelligent . . . citizens of Hamilton (who were) not prepared to tolerate an irresponsible civic control by a minority element which (received) its instructions from Moscow." He hoped that before the next election, the property qualification could be restored so that "we would not be faced with the humiliating situation which (permitted) the candidature of irresponsible people." "Record Plurality Gained By Wilton." Hamilton Spectator, Dec. 4, 1934.

35 "Heads Board of Control By Heavy Majority." Hamilton Spectator, Dec. 7, 1937.

36 "B. W. Hopkins, K.C., Replaces Controller Frame on Board; Inch, Chadwick, Hunter Win." Ibid., Dec. 6, 1938.

37 "Munich Parley Result Scored by Labour Men." Ibid., Oct. 1, 1938.

38 "Says Workers Don't Want War." Ibid., May 2, 1939.

39 This debate took place at city council on May 14, 1940 and the quotations are from the Hamilton Spectator report. "Alderman Harry Hunter's Resignation From Council Is Asked in Evans' Motion." May 15, 1940. See also: "Council Requests Hunter Resign As Alderman; Evans Leads Denunciation." Ibid., May 29, 1940.

40 November 30, 1940.

41 "I.L.P. and Election." R. T. Kingdom, secretary of the Hamilton Municipal Council, C.C.F. December 11, 1940.

42 The advertisements appeared on several occasions without alteration. See The Hamilton Review, Nov. 29, 1940. Hamilton Spectator, Nov. 27, 1940.

43 Nomination Speech. "Control Board Candidate Attacks Administration." Hamilton Spectator, Nov. 22, 1940.

44 From "Memo." The "Pigotts" and the "Balfours" are prominent Hamilton families. The former associated with the construction industry and the latter with the Southam Company. During the depression, the individuals specifically mentioned by Lawrence, both prominent members of the two families, fulfilled their obligation to society by sitting on the city's welfare board. Lawrence was a council representative on the board.

45 Lawrence's final remarks at the Allan Studholme-C.C.F. club meeting. "Memo." December 15, 1940.

CHAPTER VI

1 "It's As Old As The Hills." Hamilton Spectator, Nov. 19, 1943.

2 "Threat To Democracy." Ibid., Nov. 16, 1943.

3 "Boring In." Ibid., Nov. 20, 1943.

4 "Monday Is The Big Day." Ibid., Dec. 4, 1943.

5 "Lawrence Asserts Socialism Only Answer To New Problems." Ibid., April 24, 1943.

6 Ibid. Loc. cit.

7 "Greater Public Interest Is Seen At Nominations." Ibid., Nov. 26, 1943.

8 Ibid. Loc. cit.

9 Ibid. Loc. cit.

10 "Partyism Is Repudiated." Ibid., Dec. 7, 1943.

11 Ibid. Loc. cit.

12 See: "Six Candidates Contest Board of Control Seats." Ibid., Nov. 24, 1944.

13 "Tussle For Mayor's Seat Will Be Two-Way Affair." Ibid., Nov. 23, 1945.

14 For an explanation of this period in the Ontario experience of the C.C.F., see: Gerald L. Caplan, op. cit.

15 "The Men Who Count." Hamilton Spectator, Dec. 1, 1945.

16 "Candidates For Mayor Issue Final Statements." Ibid., loc. cit.

17 "The Mayor." Ibid., Dec. 4, 1945.

18 This theme was reiterated, for example, at the Allan Studholme-C.C.F. club meeting of December 15, 1940. See: "Memo." This view would be prominent in Ontario C.C.F. thinking about electoral strategy a few years later. See: Gerald L. Caplan, op. cit.

19 Nomination speech. Hamilton Spectator, op. cit.

CHAPTER VII

1 For a history of the Steel Company of Canada, see: William Kilbourn, The Elements Combined. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company Limited, 1960.

2 For an account of Millard's captaincy in the organization of the automobile and steel industries in Canada, see: H. A. Logan. Op. cit., pp. 236, 248, 254-57.

3 Ibid., p. 256.

4 William Kilbourn, op. cit., p. 153.

5 Ibid., p. 154.

6 A Canadian Press news agency despatch. "Hilton Regrets Ottawa Action." Hamilton Spectator, July 11, 1946.

7 Pat Conroy, secretary of the national committee of the C.C.L. and chairman of its wage committee. Ibid., loc. cit.

8 "Strike In Steel Still Possible, Millard Asserts." Ibid., loc. cit.

9 Canadian Press news agency despatch. "Mitchell Says Walkouts Show Poor Judgment." Ibid., loc. cit.

10 Ibid., loc. cit. Mitchell's uniqueness as the only man in the Canadian political elite associated with the trade union movement is reported by John Porter. The Vertical Mosaic. Op. cit., p. 395. "Mitchell had no leaning for political life and had been more or less forced into accepting the Liberal nomination in Hamilton that time he did. MacKenzie King was anxious to get someone in his cabinet who would'represent' Labour." Mitchell was King's second choice. Porter's doubts about such "representation" are well founded. An A.F. of L. unionist in Hamilton comments today: "It was well known that Mitchell wasn't doing much as secretary of the labour central. He had become essentially an 'old-line' politician." Though Porter could not describe Mitchell as a political man (pp.410-11), as Mitchell's proximity to the Liberal party increased, any value as a "representative" of Labour decreased even for the A.F. of L. faction. The purpose of Mitchell's selection "was to prevent the increasingly strong labour movement from making too great demands during the war." But could the C.I.O. faction consider Mitchell any more representative of them than management?

11 From a photograph cutline, Hamilton Spectator, July 19, 1946. See also: "Vicious, Not Law, Lawrence Calls Steel Control Order." Toronto Daily Star, July 19, 1946.

12 "Union Officials Score Presence of Armed Police." Hamilton Spectator, July 26, 1946.

13 For a brief account of the strike, see: C. M. Johnston. Head of The Lake. Hamilton: Robert Duncan and Company, Limited, p. 269.

14 Kilbourn, op. cit., p. 15.

15 Hamilton Spectator, July 3, 1946.

16 "Emergency Council Meeting Called By Board of Control." Ibid., August 7, 1946.

17 "Not Law Enforcement Body, Police Commission Rules." Ibid., August 9, 1946.

18 Ibid. Loc. cit.

19 Ibid. Loc. cit.

20 These and other remarks from the debate were taken from a recording of the debate which is in the possession of Alderman David Lawrence of Hamilton.

21 The Government's position was dragged into further disrepute during an exchange in the House, August 24, between St. Laurent and C.C.F. member, Stanley Knowles, over the legality of Stelco's triple wage policy for non-strikers. This exchange was reported by the Canadian Press news Agency: "No opinion has been sought and none has been given," Mr. St. Laurent said. "Well, does the Government regard it as illegal?" Mr. Knowles asked. "It doesn't regard it at all," the minister replied. "It has not been brought to the attention of the Government." "Then it's being brought to the Government's attention now. The plant is under government control," Mr. Knowles said. The general counsel for the steel workers later made public a telegram to St. Laurent about the triple wages "which must have been received before the minister's statement in the House." "Provincial Authorities Will Rush Assistance to Hamilton At Once." Hamilton Spectator, August 24, 1946.

22 "With His Eyes Wide Open." Hamilton Review, Aug. 23, 1946.

23 "Present Industrial Disturbance Continuation of Old Plan." Toronto Telegram, Aug. 24, 1946.

24 Globe and Mail, Aug. 28, 1946.

25 An informant alleges the existence of the report and this quotation.

26 "Sees Mitchell Union Card In One Hand, Flag In Other." Toronto Daily Star, Aug. 27, 1946.

27 "Pickets Plod Wearily While News Awaited on Strike Negotiations."

28 "Deputy Steel Controller Not Yet Inside Stelco As He's Had No Orders." See also: "Deputy Steel Boss Twiddles Thumbs." Toronto Daily Star, Aug. 30, 1946.

29 "No Cause For Jubilation Here." October 5, 1946.

30 Harold Clawson, 1959. Quoted in Kilbourn. Op. cit. p. 329.

31 "It's Your Choice." Hamilton Spectator, Dec. 2, 1946.

32 "Surprise Entry May Cause Vote." Ibid., Nov. 19, 1948.

CHAPTER VIII

1 Hamilton Spectator, Aug. 21, 1950.

2 "Over-Time Pay Must Be Earned." Ibid., Sept. 18, 1950.

3 "Control Board Candidates Make Plea to Electorate." Ibid., Nov. 24, 1950.

4 "The Civic Election." Ibid., Dec. 2, 1950.

5 "Voters Elevate W. K. Warrender to Top Position." Ibid., Dec. 7, 1950.

6 "Parker Heads Controllers, Baggs Takes Fourth Seat." Ibid., Dec. 13, 1951.

7 Union official quoted in the Hamilton Spectator. "Union Erects Tent For Pickets Near Strike Plant." June 26, 1953.

8 Union official. Ibid., loc. cit.

9 October 13, 1953.

10 By an informant in an interview.

11 A quote received from an informant.

12 "Gate Slammed By Protestors At Reopening." Ibid., Oct. 14, 1953.

13 "Wallace Barnes Strike Labour Council Issue." Ibid., Oct. 23, 1953.

14 Quoted in the Toronto Daily Star. "Won 30 Times in 34 Sam Lawrence Throws Hat Into Ring Again." Oct.31, 1953.

15 Ibid., loc. cit.

16 "Lawrence Tumbles to Fourth Place." Hamilton Spectator, Dec. 3, 1953.

17 In January, 1954, the U.E.W. applied to the Ontario Labour Relations Board for permission to prosecute the Wallace Barnes Company for signing an agreement with another union while the certified union was on strike. Three months later permission was refused. No reason was given, but on April 22, the Spectator reported: "Since the application was made, there has been a change -- one

of many -- in the Ontario Labour Relations Act which renders an application on such a basis impossible in the future." On April 23, the U.E.W. pickets were withdrawn from the plant gates.

18 Nomination remarks. "Board of Control Candidates Give Views." Ibid., Nov. 19, 1954.

19 "Sam No Starling Shooter, Just A Man of Experience." As told to Fred Hollett.

20 "Same Mayor, New Controller." Ibid., Nov. 22, 1954.

21 "Honourable Retirement." Ibid., Oct. 16, 1956.

CHAPTER IX

1 From the "Regina Manifesto." See David Lewis and F. R. Scott. Make This Your Canada. Toronto: Central Canada Publishing Company, 1943, Appendix A, pp. 199 f.

2 From "Minority Report . . . ." A.F. of L. Committee on Organization Policies, 1935 Convention. See Leon Litwack. Op. cit., pp. 49 f.

3 Supra, pp. 44, 45.

4 "Comparison of the Vote." Hamilton Spectator, Jan. 1, 1906.

5 "The 1907 Council." Ibid., Jan. 8, 1907.

6 "The New City Council." Ibid., Jan. 2, 1917.

7 "C.C.F. and Partyism." Ibid., Dec. 10, 1943.

8 This description by one informant is matched by others from persons of different social background and political allegiances.

9 For a detailed account of Lawrence's electoral popularity, see Appendix "A".

10 For an account of the C.C.F.'s electoral impotence at this time at the provincial level, see: Gerald L. Caplan, op. cit.

11 The Vertical Mosaic. Op. cit., p. 309.

A Spectator Editorial

It's as Old as the Hills

Edmund Burke, who lived through days of upheaval and crisis, said that men of intemperate minds cannot be free, for by their passions they forge their own fetters. He also observed that the people never give up their liberty save under some delusion.

His sage words fit these times. A world in flames is the witness to misplaced confidence and unbridled power. Demagoguery, the deliverer, becomes tyranny the monster. Dictatorship feeds on strong meat. Its record from Nero to Nazi (short for National Socialism) is black and bloody. Its evil fruits are graft, hunger, despair and spiritual darkness. For liberty lives only in good order and good government.

There are men in Canada who in their reach for power are betraying dangerous social tendencies which threaten both good order and good government in this country. Some of their utterances sound ominously familiar—not unlike the wild men of Europe who bellowed from balconies and microphones, inflaming their dupes to mob violence and worse. The Canadian agitators call their objective "socialistic reform," but it's the same old stuff, revolutionary in design and calling for armed force, if need be, for its fulfilment.

These malcontents are known as the C.C.F. Party. Locally, they are out to plant their totalitarian boot on the neck of Hamilton's civic administration. Once let this group get their knee in the door of the City Hall, and the citizens of Hamilton would know what it is to be shoved around.

If the citizens are alert to the perils in this move, they will make certain by their votes on December 6 that the C.C.F. bloc does not get the City Council or the Board of Education into its clutches.

A Spectator Editorial

BORING IN

Some decent, well-meaning people in Hamilton are saying: "What harm can the C.C.F. Party do in the City Council? Why not give them a chance?"

Such an attitude arises from unawareness of what is the aim behind the C.C.F. move to get control of the municipal administrations of Canadian cities.

Dictatorship, and the totalitarianism which accompanies it, seldom leap into the saddle at one jump. Their ultimate strokes are shrewdly planned to deceive and disarm the tolerant. Those behind them are content to make haste slowly; do much preparatory tilling of the soil, and then, when their movement has reached the point of vantage they seek, spring the coup that puts them in power. Such was the case in Germany.

Their growth is cellular, for, by adding cells, one here, another there, the organization is established. Soon, unless checked in its incipient stages by a wide-awake electorate, it fastens itself on the body politic and another democracy perishes.

Among those who advocate Socialism, this cellular process is known as "boring in."

Enough has already been revealed to show what is afoot among the C.C.F. bloc. One big union is now urged for all civic employees, tying municipal machinery to the C.I.O. Domination of the City Council would provide the complete set-up. The Board of Education would find itself enmeshed, and the schools of Hamilton would become the seeding ground for C.C.F. propagandists.

By such devious ways are the cells of totalitarianism implanted upon an unsuspecting public. This "boring in" process can be stopped and its capacity for harm removed in Hamilton if the electors so desire on December 6.

THE OPPOSITION IN HAMILTON, 1943

"It's As Old As The Hills." Hamilton Spectator. November 19, 1943

"Boring In." Hamilton Spectator. November 20, 1943

APPENDIX "A", Table I

Percentage of popular vote received in elections by Sam Lawrence and his chief opponents during his political career, 1921-1939

I	II	III	IV	V	REMARKS
1921	alderman	4-5 (lost)	18.2%	28.7%	Because of the large number of aldermanic candidates, little increase in the share of total popular support was required for Lawrence's first election victory.
1922	alderman	1-7	20.0%	16.4%	
1923	alderman	1-4	29.1%	28.4%	
1924	alderman	1-4	38.5%	33.4%	
1925	M.P.	2-3 (lost)	22.5%	55.7%	Lawrence's share of the total popular vote in the local election of 1925 was not affected by his recent unsuccessful effort to move beyond the local level of politics.
1925	alderman	1-5	33.5%	25.8%	
1926	alderman	1-4	38.7%	29.5%	
1927	alderman	1-5	35.6%	26.3%	
1928	controller	2-5	22.2%	22.7%	In his first city-wide election, Lawrence was not able to acquire as large a proportion of the vote as in his Ward Eight elections. Nevertheless, his showing as the first successful Labour candidate for board of control from Ward Eight is impressive.
1929	controller	2-5	21.3%	24.3%	
1930	controller	4-6	16.7%	24.2%	Lawrence regained political eminence after his poor outing in 1930 and thereby terminated the political career of Sam Manson. The athlete Manson's career was a short-term phenomenon sparked, probably, by his leading role in the British Empire games which were held in Hamilton in 1930.
1931	controller	1-8	20.1%	17.2%	
1932	controller	2-8	18.4%	20.1%	
1933	controller	1-7	19.8%	18.5%	
1934	M.L.A.	1-5	54.8%	38.8%	This popularity was achieved by Lawrence following the worst years of the depression.
1937	M.L.A.	3-4 (lost)	22.0%	46.9%	Lawrence's provincial defeat in 1937 was resounding and must have finally convinced him of his inability to carry his political career beyond the local level. He rebounded a few months later, in the local elections, in which he regained the office and popularity he left behind in 1934. Lawrence's 1937 local election results do not appear to have been affected adversely by the recent break-up of the labour movement in Hamilton.
1937	controller	1-7	17.4%	15.0%	
1938	controller	1-7	21.1%	17.0%	
1939	controller	1-7	17.9%	17.2%	

(I) indicates year of election; (II) indicates the position sought by Lawrence; (III) indicates standing attained; (IV) indicates the percentage of the popular vote received by Lawrence; (V) indicates the percentage share of the popular vote received by Lawrence's immediate runner-up (if Lawrence stood first) or the leader (if Lawrence did not stand first).

APPENDIX "A", Table II

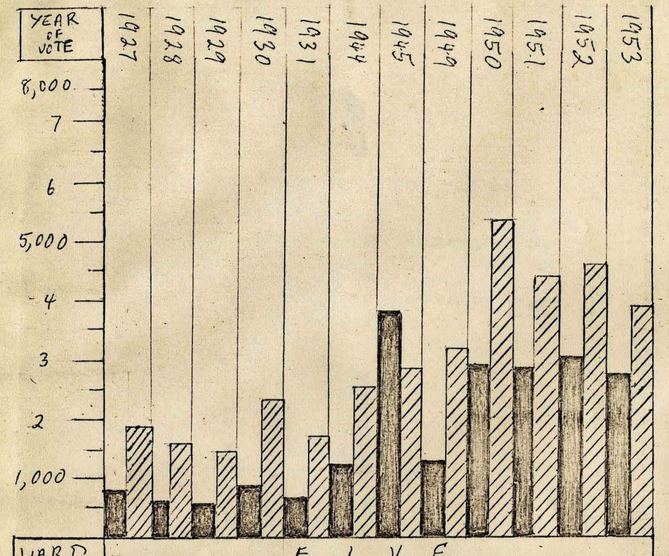
Percentage of popular vote received in elections by Sam Lawrence and his chief opponents during his political career, 1940-1956

I	II	III	IV	V	REMARKS
1940	controller	1-7	17.9%	17.9%	Neither the completion of the country's labour split which came with the establishment of the C.C.L., nor the campaign directed against him by the "Hamilton Auxiliary Defence Corps" and the "I.L.P. Central Branch," adversely affected Lawrence's electoral fortunes in 1940. The close runner-up with whom Lawrence almost equally shared the popular vote, defeating him by only 8 votes, would be his mayoralty opponent in 1943 and 1946.
1941	controller	1-5	26.9%	21.1%	
1942	controller	1-7	22.0%	18.6%	
1943	mayor	1-2	51.6%	48.4%	
1944	mayor	by acclamation			Lawrence won the mayoralty campaign and became the first C.C.F. mayor of Hamilton despite an intense campaign against the C.C.F. and "partyism" in municipal affairs. His opponent was Conservative Donald Clarke.
1945	mayor	1-2	61.0%	39.0%	
1946	mayor	1-2	58.9%	41.1%	Lawrence defeated Clarke again in this election which closely followed the conclusion of the steel strike of '46. The C.C.F. candidate's share of the popular vote fell somewhat from the 1945 level though Lawrence increased his vote total by several thousand.
1947	mayor	by acclamation			
1948	mayor	by acclamation			
1949	Lawrence retires from public life				
1950	controller	4-8	13.0%	17.1%	Though he won election to board of control following his return from private life, Lawrence barely scraped through, receiving the smallest share of the popular vote that he had ever received in an election.
1951	controller	2-8	18.5%	18.6%	
1952	controller	1-9	17.6%	16.7%	In 1951 and 1952, Lawrence built up an electoral following which matched his best results before his 1950 retirement.
1953	controller	4-8	13.5%	20.1%	Lawrence fell back to his poor 1950 rating in this election which came shortly after his participation in the Wallace Barnes strike and while the strike was still continuing.
1954	controller	4-7	15.5%	19.2%	
1955	no election due to two-year term introduced in 1954				In his last election, Lawrence improved only slightly in the popular vote ratings. He was advised by friends later that he would probably lose the next election if he should stand in 1956.
1956	Lawrence retires from public life				

See footnote, Appendix "A", Table I.

APPENDIX "B", Table I

Votes cast by municipal franchise holders, propertied and non-propertied, in several elections, from 1927-1953 (in absolute terms)

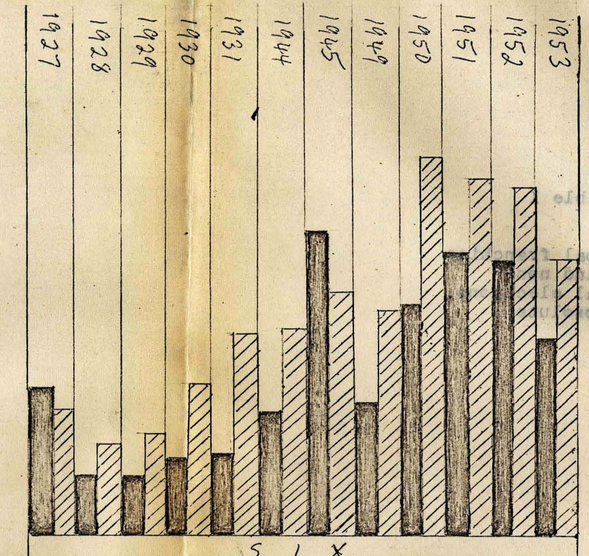


WARD	F I V E											
	887	695	677	849	774	1359	3964	1413	2984	2946	3008	2833
	1908	1625	1573	2379	1702	2517	2992	3245	5449	4422	4602	3901

WARD LIMITS: Bayfront, south to King Street; Bay Street, east to Mary Street (1927-30), east to Wellington Street (1931-1949); James Street, east to Wentworth Street (1950-1953).

indicates total votes cast on money by-law questions by municipal franchise holders, propertied residents and corporate company nominees.

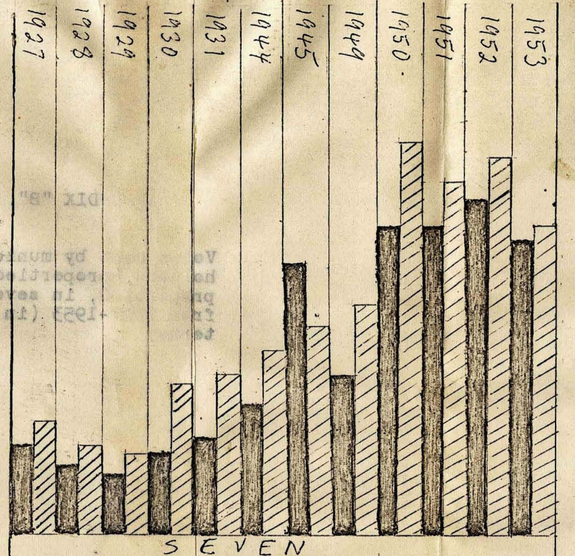
indicates the total votes cast in aldermanic elections by municipal franchise holders, propertied and non-propertied electors.



	S I X											
	2539	1003	1002	1312	1451	2159	5287	2311	3983	4816	4677	3302
	2131	1593	1744	2679	3499	3598	4207	3925	6410	6013	5918	4731

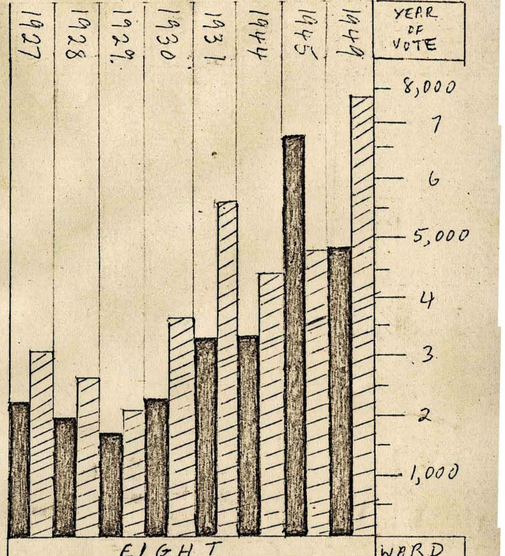
WARD LIMITS: Bayfront, south to King Street; Mary Street, east to Wentworth Street (1927-1930); Wellington Street, east to Sherman Avenue (1931-1949); Wentworth Street, east to Ottawa Street (1950-1953).

Note: [1] There was no aldermanic election in Ward Five in 1931, and the figures have been based on board of control results in that ward.



	S E V E N											
	1409	1129	961	1352	1660	2377	4612	2615	5369	5366	5734	5087
	1865	1457	1362	2510	2663	3173	3507	3962	6606	6084	6429	5276

WARD LIMITS: Bayfront, south to King-Main (east of the Delta) Streets line; Wellington Street, east to Gage Avenue (1927-1930); Sherman Avenue, east to Ottawa Street (1931-1949); Ottawa Street, east to Potruff Road (1950-1953).



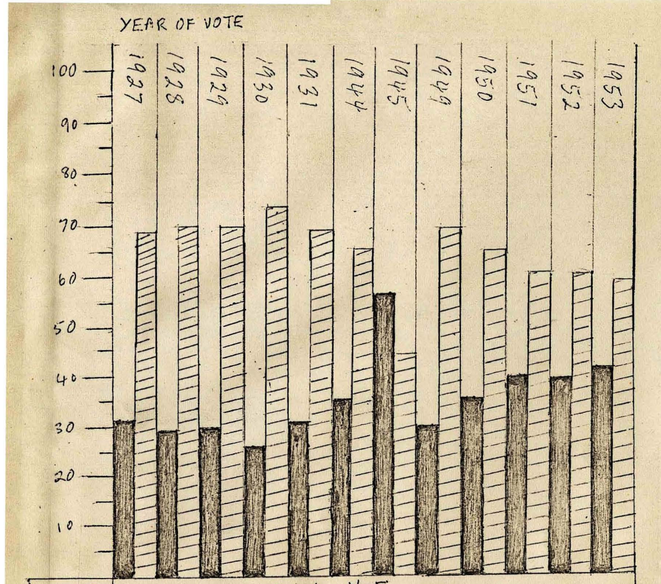
WARD	E I G H T							
	2349	2004	1727	2355	3300	3346	6702	4899
	3120	2613	2151	3727	5646	4442	4893	7409

WARD LIMITS: Bayfront, south to King-Main (east of the Delta) Streets line; Gage Ave., east to Strathearne Ave.(1927-1930); Ottawa St. east to Strathearne Ave.(1931), e.to Parkdale Ave.(1944,1945). Bayfront-Beach Strip-Lakefront line, s.to Main St.-Bartonville line, Ottawa St.e.to Potruff & Nash Rds.(1949). Ward Eight is a Mountain ward in the fifties.

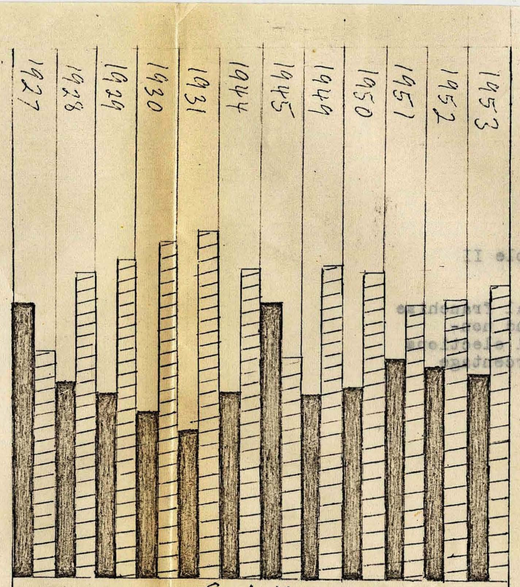
2 In Ward Six in 1927, more people voted on the by-law question than in the aldermanic election. In all the labour districts in 1945, the by-law question to decide on the construction of an arena as a war memorial drew more electoral responses than the elections for aldermen.

APPENDIX "B", Table II

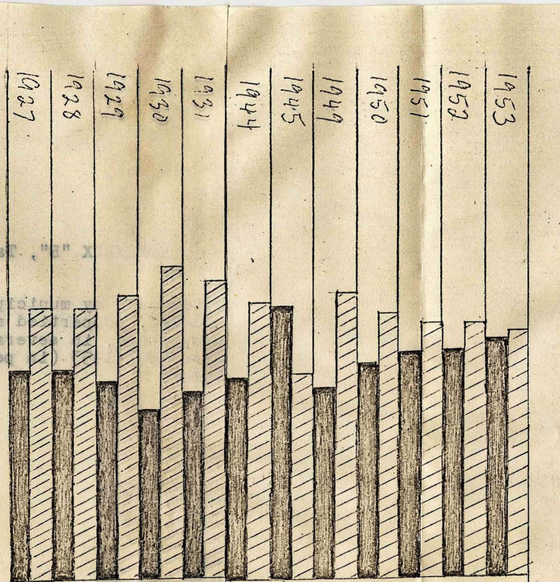
Votes cast by municipal franchise holders, propertied and non-propertied, in several elections from 1927-1953 (in percentage terms)



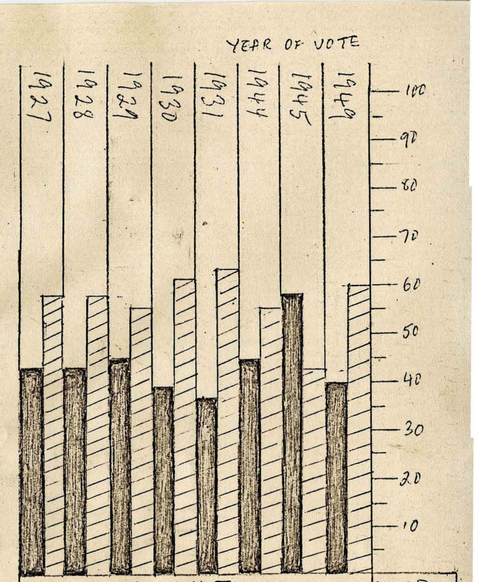
WARD	FIVE											
	31·7	29·8	30·0	26·2	31·2	35·0	56·0	30·3	35·3	39·9	39·5	42·0
	68·3	70·2	70·0	73·8	68·8	65·0	44·0	69·7	64·7	60·1	60·5	58·0
WARD LIMITS	See: "Ward Limits," Appendix "B", Table I.											



	SIX											
	54·3	38·6	36·4	32·8	29·3	37·5	55·6	37·0	38·3	44·0	43·2	41·1
	45·7	61·4	63·6	67·2	70·7	62·5	44·4	63·0	61·7	55·6	56·8	58·9
	See: "Ward Limits," Appendix "B", Table I.											



	SEVEN										
	43·4	43·6	41·3	35·0	38·3	42·8	56·8	39·7	44·8	46·8	47·1	49·0
	56·6	56·4	58·7	65·0	61·7	57·2	43·2	60·3	55·2	53·2	52·9	51·0
	See: "Ward Limits," Appendix "B", Table I.											



WARD	EIGHT											
	42·9	43·4	44·5	38·7	36·8	44·2	57·8	39·7				
	57·1	56·6	55·5	61·3	63·2	55·8	42·2	60·3				
WARD LIMITS	See: "Ward Limits," Appendix "B", Table I.											

indicates percentage of votes cast on money by-law questions and in aldermanic elections by municipal franchise holders, corporate company nominees (by-laws only) and propertied residents.

indicates percentage of votes cast on money by-law questions and in aldermanic elections by municipal franchise holders, propertied and non-propertied electors.

Note: See "Note", Appendix "B", Table I.

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