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Economic History Theme Study

THE WINNIPEG GARMENT INDUSTRY

1900 – 1955

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Introduction

Garment manufacturing traditionally has been overlooked in the interpretation of Manitoba's industrial heritage. Perhaps this is because the production of such soft items as socks and shirts not often are thought of as "industrial" in the same way as the trades of the metal, transportation, or construction industries, which usually have been cited as the most fundamental components of Winnipeg's transportation and distribution infrastructure. Another exploration may be the past tendency to avoid the study of industries predominantly associated with women's history – the garment industry in Winnipeg, as elsewhere, has been one in which women overwhelmingly have been involved, but supervised by the male establishment and organized and led by male union leaders. The objectives of this project, therefore, were to identify themes and people of the garment industry of potential provincial historic significance and as possible candidates for commemoration in the plaque and pamphlet programs administered by the Historic Resources Branch. Research on buildings is usually the responsibility of the Architecture Section, but preliminary investigations into this field were undertaken by History (with the assistance of Architecture) to identify buildings that might be important in commemorating important individuals and themes.

From an interpretive standpoint, the industry possesses an efficient method of uncovering many thematic gaps identified by the Manitoba Heritage Council through only one vehicle, namely the subject of making clothing. An aspect of our daily lives frequently is often taken for granted, nevertheless, it has a wide range of publications in interpretive programming. The manufacture of clothing is related to the history of female labour, union organization, business history, ethnicity, entrepreneurship and industrial architecture. Through these subjects the history of the garment industry in Winnipeg exemplifies modern social and economic themes, not only in an urban economic and architectural context, but in regional and social history contexts as well.

The study of the garment industry is complicated by the variegated nature of the trades. The word "garment" refers to a wide range of products such as furs, leathers, gloves, boots and shoes, inner and outer clothing, hats, tailored suits and dresses and clothing novelties. As Henry Trachtenberg has noted in a previous report on this topic, a definitive study on the entire industry easily could involve the research for many dissertations. In an effort to avoid the pitfalls of such an unmanageable task and bearing in mind History Section objectives (the identification of people, sites, events and themes of provincial historic significance), this report studies the emergence of factory production in the trades and concerns itself primarily with gloves, hats and inner and outer garments (such as shirts, overalls and parkas). "Garment manufacture" and "clothing manufacture" are defined synonymously as being the factory production of clothing other than those products originating from fur, leather and textile factories, or from the shops of tailors, milliners and dressmakers. This working definition is intended to guide research and should not be considered absolute. By the 1950s, for example, companies traditionally involved in cloak production were producing other lines, from sportswear to lingerie.

The report is an economic, material and social history of the garment industry in Winnipeg. The garment industry's rise, the subject of chapter one, is an overview of the economic influences which contributed to the emergence of large-scale factory production in Winnipeg from 1900 to 1920 and to the changes in manufacturing from 1920 to 1955. From 1900-1955 the garment industry grew beyond the confines of cottage, or custom tailoring production, to a full fledged manufacturing industry of international proportions and reputation. Major themes in this discussion are technological change, changing images of women and new trends in fashion, ethnicity and gender of the labour market, capital investment and retail and wholesale distribution of products. The chapter is not so much an architectural history of the industry, but an attempt to shed the myth of the warehouse district as the exchange, or financial heartland of the city. To be sure, as Artibise argues, the exchange district was a central core in which financial decisions were made and carried out, but it was, even before 1902, an important

centre of light manufacturing which was integrated into the wholesaling and retailing networks of the city and its environs. The area still is used extensively by clothing manufacturers, a fact which gives credence to its identity as the garment, as well as the exchange, or warehouse district.

Another chapter is devoted to the material history component of the study – the buildings that were built or converted for the purpose of garment production. Many originally were constructed as warehouses, but used as factories after wholesalers left the district during World War I. The appropriation of these vacant warehouses by garment manufacturers was part of a wider North American phenomenon. The design and location of warehouses made them ideally suited to production and distribution: the interior warehouses and loft space facilitated the installation of office and factory equipment and the buildings were close to transportation facilities and cheap sources of power. Some of the most important buildings are Northern Shirt and Monarch Overall (later Stobarts Overall Factory) on Cumberland, the Whitla and Faultless plant and the Bedford Block on McDermot, the Keywayden Building on Portage, the Peck Building on Notre Dame and the Commercial on Pioneer. A comprehensive list which integrates extant structures with major themes is located in the appendix.

At this point the report shifts its focus to the companies and entrepreneurs of the garment industry. The third chapter on entrepreneurship describes changes in corporate structure and ownership, domination of the industry by large producers and the ethnicity of owners. It also examines the diversity of work experiences of the factory manager and owner, from the early craftspeople in European village homes and shops who worked in local factories before becoming self-made manufacturers, to the promoters and entrepreneurs whose inherited wealth and merchant fortunes provided the means for investing in garment manufacture. The notable entrepreneurs identified in this chapter are J.I. Glesby, Benjamin Jacob, John Crowley, the Stalls, the Freeds, Morris Haid, the Kennedy's, the Stobart's and R.J. Whitla.

An analysis of the management strategies and marketing tactics of these entrepreneurs gives insight into how the Winnipeg garment industry was able to gain a foothold in a domestic market that was dominated by Central Canadian capital until the 1940s. This chapter, however, also points to the need for further primary and secondary research in the areas of neighbourhoods and entrepreneurial activities in the community and in the paucity of business records available to students of Manitoba history. The historian must rely on oral history interviews, published reports and newspaper reports to piece together a profile of entrepreneurship in Winnipeg in this time period. One valuable resource, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, which would provide ample information on business trends and retailing and wholesaling, is simply too large a collection to access within the scope of this study.

Chapter four describes the working environment of the factory workers. It identifies the various stages involved in the production of garments (for example, design, cutting, pressing, sewing), the relationships between different personnel involved at each stage of the production process, the skills required of each task and the role of men and women in different phases of production. In this area, too, we need further research about what the workers did after leaving the factory, including their activities in the communities in which they lived. A great deal of study also needs to be done on the division of labour between men and women at work and in the home.

The report concludes with an attempt to synthesize the material, economic and social history with a brief account of relations between workers and entrepreneurs, set against the material setting of extant factories of the warehouse district. A major theme is the response of workers and employers to the impact of changing technology, fashion and market conditions, as these changed during the growth of the industry between 1900 and 1955. This chapter also identifies union leaders who might be commemorated, among them Sam Herbst, Bertha Dolgoy, Louis Guberman and Helen Sabinski.

The appendix contains an inventory which attempts to place the themes, people and buildings together to facilitate identification/preservation/commemoration. Other sections in the appendix, particularly the photographs, might aid in planning for further commemoration or the use of interpretive vehicles other than pamphlets and plaques.

Chapter 1

The Rise of the Winnipeg Garment Industry

The origins of the Winnipeg garment industry can be traced back to the 1890s when the city led Western Canada in transportation and distribution activities. The garment industry, however, does not fit into this familiar pattern of interpretation. At the turn of the century, Eastern manufacturers dominated the supply of clothing products for Western markets. Even Vancouver surpassed Winnipeg in clothing production. The Winnipeg garment industry grew steadily until the demands for war time products in the 1940s and technology and technocratic thinking were applied to garment production, thus enabling the local industry to thrive and to compete successfully with Eastern manufacturers, traditionally the dominant producers in Canada. By the 1970s, as Henry Trachtenberg has pointed out, the industry was the third largest in Canada, "superceded only by Toronto and Montreal."[1] Throughout the period, Winnipeg's garment production represented more than 90% of Manitoba's total.

The mass production of clothing on an industrial scale was non-existent in the Manitoba capital before 1900. In the pioneer town of Winnipeg in the 1870s and earlier in the Red River Settlement, garments were made in the cottages and homes of settlers, with the bulk of goods being imported from the United States or from Great Britain.[2] In the 1880s and 1890s, the growth of light and medium industry associated with transportation and agriculture created a demand for work clothes to supply railway and farm workers, as well as the people employed in the construction, commercial and service infrastructures of the Western Canadian economy. Consequently, the volume of imports increased to supply the growing markets in Winnipeg, Manitoba and Western Canada.

In the late nineteenth century in Toronto and Montreal, the centres of the Canadian clothing industry, garments "were cut on the premises of the wholesale clothing houses", then "tied into bundles with the lining and trimming", before being sent "into the country to be made."[3] Farmers "for miles around would drive into the towns, carrying home the bundles of cut

garments and these would be put together at home, being brought back a week later when the payment would be made on the basis of so much a garment."[4] The products of this so-called cottage sweatshop industry were then shipped to Western towns and cities such as Winnipeg and sold by manufacturers' agents located in those places.

For the most part, production in Winnipeg was undertaken in homes where people made clothes for their family, neighbours, or friends to supply a subsistence need, or in specialized small shops of tailors, dressmakers, milliners and shoemakers who produced expensive handmade custom tailored clothing. According to the 1891 Census, 31 dress and millinery shops and 25 tailors and clothiers were located in the city. Only one factory, that of Emerson and Hague, appears to have been involved in mass production in Winnipeg before the late 1890s, but a much more limited production originally was undertaken by Emerson and Haque and continued by firms such as tent and awning manufacturers and by merchants who engaged in garment production as a sideline.[5]

After the boom of 1910, however, larger scale manufacturing sprang up in Winnipeg in the heart of the warehouse district. Indeed, a Winnipeg garment industry was in the making in the years preceding World War I. There were four patent applications taken out between 1900 and 1910 and 25 between 1910 and 1925, which suggests, if not dramatic, at least progressive growth in the first decade of the century. More importantly, it shows that local business concerns actively attempted to break into the Eastern-controlled domestic, wholesale and retail markets. Many of the applicants for letters patent were merchants and wholesalers (Whitla for example) who intended to open their own manufacturing outlets in Winnipeg.[6] The decline in wholesaling, therefore, was a fortunate coincidence for a number of companies that began to forge the foundations of the Western Canadian industry.

There were other reasons for the growth of garment manufacturing in Winnipeg. Chief among them was the costs of production. In 1905 a "new source of power became available" when "the Winnipeg General Power Company completed a million dollar hydro electric plant on

the Winnipeg River, together with a 35 mile transmission line to the city."[7] The construction of this and other power stations made electric power available at affordable rates for entrepreneurs starting out with small amounts of capital and although the recession of 1913 impeded many wholesalers from going into business, it had the positive effect for business concerns of reducing the wages that previously had been standardized by the garment unions. As well, the war brought with it contracts for clothing, some of which may have found their way to Winnipeg, since Lord Stobart, of Stobart's Overall Factory and of Faultless Garment Company, was appointed by the British Government "as its representative in Canada" for the purchase of supplies such as clothing and boots and shoes.[8]

Growing moderately between 1900 and 1920[9], the garment industry evolved from the experience of wholesaling and jobbing in a relatively new booming market which was bereft of its own manufacturing sector. Recognizing the possibilities of the new market, therefore, wholesalers and jobbers began investing in specialized factory production that could withstand the pressures of Eastern competition. Most of the industry at this time consisted of companies that manufactured work clothing, such as shirts and overalls.[10]

The Winnipeg garment industry in the 1900s and 1910s grew within the context of the development of modern industrial capitalism. This was a period when advanced technology and scientific management were being used to segment and compartmentalize the production processes of most industries in North America, albeit at a highly uneven rate. Industrialization is "regarded as an economic shift that altered social and economic relations while it transformed the urban landscape."[11] The history of Central Canadian cities in this period has been described as "in large part the story of the arrival and accommodation of factories" and "also the story of fierce competition among cities and towns to attract factories so that the great promise of industrialization might not go unrealized locally."[12] Neither Winnipeg nor the garment industry were exempt from this transformation. The city was forced to compete for its local and regional

markets with a powerful force: the manufacturing interests of Central and Eastern Canada. As Tom Traves has written:

> Shortly after the extension of the national transportation system, central Canadian manufacturers had expanded quickly to dominate both western and maritime markets. Greater local opportunities, superior financial resources, better access to established capital markets and favourable freight rates produced a decisive advantage for Montreal and Toronto manufacturers over their competition in the Canadian hinterland. By the 1920s the impact of this onslaught was clear. Interregional trade absorbed about 29 per cent of central Canadian production.[13]

Few Winnipeg manufacturers produced anything other than work clothing by the 1920s because of the demand for articles including overalls, work shirts and in the consumer market that was enriched by immigration to the West. Even this market, however, was shrinking somewhat because mechanization (especially in agriculture) reduced the demand for labour and heavy clothes such as overalls and gloves. Eastern and Central Canada maintained the lion's share of the Western market in ready-to-wear clothing – pants, suits, cloaks, dresses and children's wear.

Shifting trends among North American consumers and the consequent need to seek markets outside the limits of work clothing presented Winnipeg manufacturers with opportunities to diversify their product lines and to break out of the exclusiveness of work clothing. Local entrepreneurship combined with the growth of consumerism to make this possible, thereby increasing demand and enabling entrepreneurs to foresee the possibilities of successful challenges to Eastern trade. In general, clothing was more in demand in the 1920s than the earlier years of the century, though, as Jensen argues, disposable income often was spent by the middle class on luxury items such as automobiles and domestic "labour-saving" devices. Indeed, one important development was the gains that the minority of women in North American society had made during the years of the women's suffrage movement and in particular, in the popular acceptance of women in certain sectors of the workforce. This trend created demands for inexpensive clothing that could be worn by women in the clerical workforce.[14]

The shift to leisure wear is apparent in the rise of fashion as a mass productive industry after World War I. It reached full maturity in the 1950s, but in the 1920s momentum already was underway. A new emphasis on ready-made clothing that was fashionable, stylish and affordable for the middle and lower classes took shape in North America. This was apparent in Winnipeg in the 1920s from the names of companies which began to focus their attention on the consumer who would be attracted to such establishments as "Bon-Ton Styles", "Orpheum Economy Shop", "Trufit Clothing", "Art Dress Manufacturing", "Perfection Suspender" and "Dainty White Manufacturing" for products other than work shirts and overalls in a wider variety of styles than had previously been available.[15]

Diversification of the industry, a process that had taken root in the early 1900s with the establishment of several cloak-making firms and glove works in the midst of the predominant work shirt and overall producers, came to fruition in the 1920s. The most important feature of this period was the rise of Winnipeg firms, which, reflecting, contemporary tastes, manufactured women's clothing (not to be confused with women involved in the industry). As noted earlier, such clothing previously had been transported from the factories of Eastern manufacturers and distributed through agents stationed in Winnipeg.

Changes in the wholesaling and retailing sectors of the economy modified the customary (traditional) lines of distribution. Prior to 1920, most goods were circulated through a network of agents, wholesalers and mail order houses to retail outlets like general stores (in the country areas), or shops and department stores (in the cities and towns). By the 1920s, however, mail order houses and a new phenomenon, chain stores, began to compete more effectively with the wholesalers for business.[16] Chain stores in this period became "the fastest growing type of mass marketing" and "the standard instrument for mass retailing in the United States."[17] The same was true in Canada, where by 1935, several large department and chain stores handled 25 percent or more of men's clothing sold in Canada. This was particularly the case in Winnipeg, where, at the turn of the century, with an improvement in postal communications,

Toronto mail order houses had governed a large share of the Western Canadian consumer market, thereby reducing the custom of country retailers supplied by Winnipeg wholesalers.[18]

Changes within retailing, wholesaling and distribution networks, therefore, had positive effects on the local garment industry and its attempts to break the hold of Eastern manufacturers on the Western market.

Changes in the geography of consumer markets also provided the opportunity for local manufacturers to find purchasers for their goods. As Bellan explains, the "large scale construction activity proceeding in northern and central Manitoba", partly due to projects like the Hudson Bay Railway, "provided important new markets for local suppliers."[19] Clothing wholesalers, among others, "furnished the needs of construction crews employed at the mines, the power plants and the paper mills."[20] S.B. Nitikman, manager of the Western Glove Works Ltd. explained the situation as follows:

> Eastern manufacturers at present have the advantage over western industries as their spring demand is estimated at 40 percent and their fall demand 60 percent of their business. Owing to the heavy demand for western products being concentrated in fall the western business runs 25 percent in the spring and 75 percent in the fall. This causes a slack period in which the highly skilled industrial operatives are completely idle. Western industries, therefore, welcome the mineral development which is expected to bring with it a steady all-the-year demand for their products.[21]

By the late 1920s all Western industries were "looking forward to the mineral development in the north as a means of correcting the present seasonal demands for their products."[22]

Despite the new opportunities, the Winnipeg garment industry continued to grow at a moderate but steady rate in the 1920s. Growth occurred within the general context of a North American decline in clothing sales in the 1920s, a development attributed to a "shift in household spending patterns."[23] With the "appearance of new consumer durables – especially cars and appliances – families chose to spend more of their income on these items than on clothes" and while the "trend first affected upper middle-class families" in the 1920s, it would not reach the pockets of the working class until the 1950s.[24]

A total of 45 Letters Patent were filed between 1920 and 1930, almost double that of the 1910 to 1920 period. Capital investment increased substantially, as did the size of firms. The absence of figures for 1921 make comparisons difficult, but from 1925 to 1929, the most active years for the campaigns, capital investment rose from $470,979 to $902,693 in companies involved only in the manufacture of clothing other than leather gloves, hats, caps and furs.[25] Drawing on a seemingly unlimited labour market recruited from the large numbers of returned war veterans and later, recent immigrants to Canada, Winnipeg manufacturers employed 694 workers in 31 factories in 1929, a significant increase over the 498 workers employed in the 12 plants that existed in 1925.[26]

Prior to the 1920s Winnipeg had been regarded as the "dumping ground" for Eastern products, but by the end of the decade, a domestic industry had evolved to serve the local market.[27] Progress had been made in the newer sectors of the industry and in the older area of work clothing, local firms had made more notable headway. S.B. Nitikman stated in 1928 that "the western overall manufacturing concerns were successfully competing with eastern manufacturers," and that the western product was selling from "Fort William to Vancouver."[28] He added that "in some lines we are selling the product in eastern Canada."[29]

The Depression only slowed this process of growth. Searching for outlets for their products in difficult economic times, Eastern manufacturers flooded Western markets, forcing local manufacturers to cut costs. The local needle trades, however, diversified and expanded in this period. As Bellan notes, in "the six years following 1933, the local clothing industry virtually doubled, in terms of number of workers employed, wages paid and output produced."[30] Furthermore, the "rate of increase was substantially greater than that achieved by local industry as a whole and in excess of that attained by any other local industry of equivalent importance.[31] Table 3 illustrates the level of maturity the Winnipeg needle trades had attained by 1937.

Capital Investment in the Winnipeg Garment Industry
1900-1937

Date	Capital	Factories	Employees
1901	$ 67,123	18	289
1921	Unknown	Unknown	411
1925	$ 470,979	12	498
1929	$ 902,693	31	694
1935	$ 946,886	31	918
1937	$1,326,889	38	1,223

Source: Canada, *Census*

Growth of the manufacturing sector of the garment industry in the 1930s was not a dramatic event, but a continuation of the momentum that had been built up in the 1920s and perhaps even earlier. According to Bellan, growth during this decade can be attributed to the same factors that had created incentives in the previous decade. The "large hydro electric power plants completed around 1930 furnished ample electric power at low rates"[32] and the "huge contraction of the wholesale trade released an abundance of space in warehouse and wholesale buildings, suitable for light industry."[33]

In 1933 the severity of the Depression took its toll when the Industrial Development Board, which promoted Manitoba industry, disbanded. It "resumed in 1935, when adequate financial assistance, contributed by local business firms and the City Council,[34] allowed it to continue its advertising campaigns, aimed largely at "propounding the advantages of decentralization of Canadian industries and the establishment of branch plants in the West."[35]

Despite steady growth since the 1920s, the Board forecast a somewhat uncertain outlook for the garment industry:

> Continued effort has been maintained to induce manufacturers in the needle trades to give serious consideration to the opportunities existing in fields not covered or now insufficiently serving Western needs. Such lines as men's factory clothing, men's factory overcoats, low and medium priced women's dresses, ladies hosiery and lingerie, have been systematically suggested and discussed. There is no doubt that these lines are receiving serious consideration from a number of manufacturers. There is, however, a feeling of uncertainty in the manufacturer's mind with regard to the labour situation. In addition….there is no doubt that rising living costs are influencing it to some degree.[36]

The outbreak of World War II, though, created an economic climate in which the garment industry came of age as a regional manufacturing entity capable of competing on an equal footing with Eastern producers of clothing. Changes in the reporting procedures and definitions of sectors of the clothing industry make it difficult to express in statistical terms the dramatic growth during this period, but some insight into the impact of war production on the garment trades can be obtained from comparative figures of Letters Patent applications between 1930 and 1950. The number of incorporations increased from 29 during the 1930s to 52 in the 1950s. The total number of patent applications increased from 58 to 104, respectively.[37]

By 1948, Winnipeg led Canada in overall and work shirt production and was making gains in other areas of the industry as well. In that year, there were eleven factories, employing 1,050 workers, engaged in the manufacture of work shirts and overalls, while 18 factories employing 1,278 workers produced women's coats and suits.[38] The war years were the heyday of the garment industry. A union leader commented that growth "seemed only to be limited by the availability of workers" and that "many plants expanded to more than twice their pre-war size."[39]

During the 1940s and 1950s Winnipeg was able to make significant claims to the local and regional markets that had been dominated by the Eastern manufacturers. The advances made during World War II established the foundation for a highly diversified industry. By the end of the war enough garments were produced in Winnipeg "to clothe the citizens of the West and to send about 50 percent of production to the east,"[40] and even mail order firms "(bought) Winnipeg goods to ship to the east."[41] The Jewish Post summarized the situation in 1945:

> In Winnipeg, there is a garment industry which compares in modernity, in complexity and in variety with anything which the Eastern centres possess. Merchants who require suits and cloaks, sportswear, leather goods, caps, dresses, work clothing, fur garments, shirts, overalls, underwear, socks and stockings, accessories, children's things,…everything in apparel for men, women and children, can obtain plentiful supplies in Winnipeg. If they are not manufactured here, then they are stored in numerous wholesale and jobbers establishments which throng the business sections of the city. It is no longer

necessary for the retailer from the west to make an annual or semi-annual trip of 2,500 miles to the Eastern centres.[42]

By the 1950s, local garment manufacturers enjoyed advantages that had not been available in the days of the small number of work shirt and overall factories. Retailers now could save freight and express charges because goods were manufactured at Winnipeg. Products were adapted to Western needs and requirements with respect to climatic conditions and tastes in style.[43]

In the 1950s, the garment industry began to stretch further into North American markets than ever before. Manufacturers and employees alike learned from the lessons of technological and organizational innovations that had been used during the war and continued in their efforts to rationalize the industry with the objectives of increased productivity and prosperity. In the wake of technological advancement and reorganization of production processes and with the support of the provincial department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the availability of capital during the post-war boom and the expansion of consumer markets during "the baby boom", companies were able to expand their operations considerably by the mid-1950s, as the following table suggests:

The Winnipeg Clothing Industry, 1957

	Firms	Employees	Male	Female
Work Clothing	14	217	113	704
Gloves	7	216	84	122
Junior Wear	5	223	43	175
Knit Wear	3	51	10	41
Dresses, etc.	4	246	70	176
Womens Suits, Cloaks	6	556	216	331
Sportswear, Leather	5	245	70	175
Sportswear, Cloth	29	1,533	237	1,296
Uniforms	3	42	3	39

Source: Swan, various pages

Monarch Wear, for example, employed 1,000 workers in the 1950s and was large enough to distribute clothing throughout Canada and the United States.[44] As Jimmy James, a union organizer observed, the sportswear shops overshadowed all other clothing shops in terms

of scale and production, a situation unknown before the war, since very few, if any, sportswear shops existed in Winnipeg during the 1930s.[45]

By the 1950s, the Winnipeg garment trades had become a thriving industry, a product of and supplier to the consumer society and a mass producer of ready made clothing. Later the industry would become more sophisticated as it was compelled to adapt to new trends in world markets and to search for new methods of rationalization. Indeed, almost as soon as it reached its zenith, from 1945 to 1955, the needle trades encountered problems from other international markets, far beyond the borders of Central and Eastern Canada.

Chapter 2

Factories

At the turn of the century the West was in the midst of an industrial revolution. Fuelled by the expansion of railways into the hinterlands of Western Canada and by the waves of immigration that increased in intensity in the 1900s, industrialization moved westward from Central Canada, quickly penetrating all sectors of the regional economy. Money, in the form of investment and finance capital, real estate sales and numerous financial bids and takeovers, poured into the Western Canadian economy and found its way into urban and rural development. Money flowed into the factory in the 1900s, as the urban economy, with foreign capital and energy, began to forge its own domestic markets on the base of the wholesale and financial infrastructure that had grown out of the emerging wheat economy of the 1880s and 1890s. Winnipeg had reason to call itself the "Chicago of the North" because it saw its future as being the economic hub of the nation.

The geographic center of Winnipeg evolved into a so-called "commercial core", the location of the warehouses, banks, retail outlets and grain exchanges that were the essence of its economic existence and its role in the West. This district, though, continually evolved, so that with industrialization, the core was invaded by light and medium factories engaged in carriage, cigar and biscuit making, confectionary and garment production. Winnipeg's phase of rapid industrial development did not originate from heavy industry, as in the "workshops of the nation" – Toronto, Hamilton, Montreal and Halifax. The growth of industry was linked more closely to the prairie city's function as a manufacturer and distributor in the national wheat economy.

Winnipeg's role in bringing the product to market dictated the presence of extensive transportation facilities. In the 1880s and 1890s the supplies (food, clothing, industrial and manufacturing equipment) were brought in from outside the province. The major industrial concerns in the Manitoba capital were lumber and brick yards, breweries and metal working

plants associated with the railways. The city's population explosion and the expansion of agricultural production, combined with the opening of the North to increase the demand for production of goods and services in Winnipeg through branch plants, Eastern based manufacturers' representatives and local manufacturing concerns.

Many factories were built in Winnipeg in its era of industrialization: some like the Victorian red brick factory of industrializing New England, others like the huge industrial complex with large smokestacks, time clocks and masses of tailing people, such as the Vulcan Iron Works. The garment factory, however, was atypical of the type of building that flourished as a consequence of the ongoing social and economic transformation. It was a collection of small shops and rented spaces in which the major resource was not technology, or heavy equipment, but the fluid motion of human labour.

Most of the factories, numbering 150 or more, were located in or around the commercial core throughout the entire period of investigation. Of these, 100 were determined as being of significance based on usage for garment manufacturing during the entire period, or in certain decades. Selection was based also on the significance of companies, the size of the workforce and the presence of extant structures (see appendix). Of the 100 buildings, the majority (35) were located in a sector bordered by Notre Dame, Main, William and Hargrave, S1 Central. Fourteen were located in S2 South, bordered by Notre Dame, Edmonton and Portage. S3 West, bordered by Notre Dame, Dagmar, William, Ellen, Logan and Lydia, contained 11. Twenty were found in S4 North, the sector within Ellen, Logan, Main and William. In S5 Northeast, Main, Higgins, Red River and Market, there were 12 and finally in S6 East, Market, Red River, Pioneer and Main there were 12 and finally in S6 East, Market, Red River, Pioneer and Main there are 13. The following table shows the geographic location by area and time of garment factories in Winnipeg:

Number of Buildings Used as Factories 1900-1960

Sector	1900-1920	1921-1940	1941-1960
S1 Central	25	120	112
S2 South	18	25	20
S3 West	12	11	9
S4 North	10	22	16
S5 Northeast	4	9	3
S6 East	3	11	18

Source: *Hendersons Directories*

This feature of spatial organization was by no means a unique phenomenon to Winnipeg. In the central districts of many Canadian and American cities, manufacturers benefited from low rents, inexpensive hydro electric power and more reasonable transportation rates. Between 1900 and 1920, the "garment districts were areas in the middle of cities devoted almost exclusively to the manufacture of clothing,"[46] while, in most instances, "heavy industry and other types of manufacturing … moved to the periphery" of the city.[47] Manhattan, Chicago, Baltimore, Rochester, Cleveland, Boston, Toronto and Philadelphia had central areas similar to Winnipeg's where most garment manufacturing is located. In all cases, the "districts were composed of multi-storey manufacturing establishments and nearby subcontracting shops."[48] As Beeby notes of the Toronto industry, location "was less affected by land acquisition difficulties associated with industrial expansion."[49] The table on page 23, which represents the number of factories located in buildings, based on a five-year interval search of Hendersons Directories, suggests that this conclusion can be applied to Winnipeg as well. The availability of space in the 1920s resulted in the centralization of factory production in the lofts of warehouses within the "core area." It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that expansion necessitated the migration to the suburbs.

Winnipeg's experience – followed much the same pattern of spatial organization and development was not much different, from Eastern North American cities, except in the realm of periodization. In the prairie city, the process took place in the twentieth, not the nineteenth century. Entrepreneurs struggled to find space in the heavily utilized warehouse and financial

district, in the lofts of small buildings and as renters of vacant space in warehouses. The lack of space in the heyday of the wholesaler before 1920 accounts for the frequent movement of companies within the district. Companies like Hover and Town and Union Overall were forced on several occasions to move within the heavily utilized wholesaling district when their businesses expanded or when their landlords required the lofts for their own use.

Space shortage also accounts for the construction of buildings for use only as garment factories outside the warehouse district or on its periphery in the pre-1905 years (see map of locations outside the district) including the Northern Shirt building, two Whitla factories, Union Overall/Faultless and Monarch. They were constructed west and southwest of the warehouse district, where, before 1905, land could be acquired at relatively lower cost in the residential housing area that would soon submit to the expansion of the commercial and retail sector, a process initiated by the construction of Eaton's department store.

The early factory establishments were in an ideal location. They operated half-way between the congregation of small and large wholesalers, who purchased clothing for distribution to retailers on McDermot and Bannatyne and the growing retail outlets, like the giant Eaton's store. The factories were also close enough to take advantage of the trade going on in Market Square. Wagons were loaded at the rear door of the factory and teamsters deposited their cargos at Eaton's quickly and easily. At a time when factories supplied the home market and when few manufacturers had distribution outlets outside the place of production, there was little need to be close to the spur lines of the Midland Railway that served the warehouse district beginning in 1904. As the industry grew, however, the railway became an important requirement for companies wishing to take advantage of regional consumer markets. The same considerations were involved as for the wholesaler. Speaking of the wholesale companies, Alan Artibise argues:

> In choosing a location for their premises the wholesale companies tended to avoid main thoroughfares such as Main Street and Portage Avenue. The loading and unloading of goods required space which was unavailable in suitable

> amounts and at a reasonable cost on these streets. Yet a central location was still required, preferably close to the local concentration of retail stores and not too far from the railroad. Consequently the streets branching off Main Street were allotted to the wholesale trade.[50]

Manufacturers who could not afford to build their own factories established themselves in the lofty warehouses of the central core, or on the streets west of the district and in outlying neighbourhoods such as the North End, though the bulk of production was undertaken in the centre. Many manufacturers moved into the warehouse district to take up space in the warehouses when wholesalers vacated the area in the 1920s. In 1926, for example, the local press reported the sale of the building on the southeast corner of McDermot Avenue and Princess Street "and the block adjoining, which has been altered and improved in its interior and is now known as the "Daylight Block." For "some time" previously, "it had remained vacant."[51] Indeed, as the *Free Press* reported, there was "a greater demand for vacant warehouse space and suites in blocks where small manufacturers can locate or where manufacturers' agents with considerable stock can find accommodation.[52] As well, the "large hydro electric power plants, completed around 1930, furnished ample electric power at low rates", allowing the survival of factories and in some cases the conversion of warehouse space to factory space during the Depression.[53]

The migration of manufacturers into the area, combined with the steady growth of the industry, amounted to a takeover of the area by garment factory production, either in the form of many different companies located in one former warehouse, as was most common, or in the form of one company expanding to take over an entire building, as in the case of the larger manufacturer. The takeover of the warehouse district by the garment factory is evident in the increase in number of establishments from 1900 to 1955. In the 1890s, only one factory, that of Emerson and Hague, appears to have been involved in relatively large-scale garment production, but, by 1901, there were 18 such factories in Winnipeg.[54] Between 1901 and 1910 there was one factory established a year. Most were located southwest of the warehouse

district, on or near Cumberland, Adelaide and Dagmar. The number of factories increased from 18 in 1901 to more than 100 in 1955, as noted in Table 1, below.

Table 1: Garment Factories in Winnipeg, 1900-192

Year	Men's Clothing	Women's Clothing	Hats/Caps	Overalls/Work Shirts	Total
1901	11	7			18
1925	3	9	4		16
1929	6	16	6		28
1935	9	22	12		43
1938	26	24		11	61
1962	45	27	9		81

Source: Canada. *Dominion Bureau of Statistics*, *Census*

A visitor to one of these factories, regardless of size or time period, first would be introduced to the sample room, a miniature factory which cut, measured and assembled garments that would be produced on a larger scale on the factory floor. Next was the cutting room, where the cutter worked with a heavy cutting knife and, with good hand-eye coordination, cut "quite a number of thicknesses of cloth … through with one stroke of the knife." After cutting, the pieces were taken to a basting room for preparation for sewing, then to the sewing room, to the pressers and finally, for storage, display and shipping.[55]

The modern establishment that was based on the innovations of advanced technology and scientific management and highly compartmentalized production processes, had only just begun to influence the Winnipeg industry in the early years of the twentieth century. Many factories were small, some occupying an entire small building, others a room in a warehouse, or an entire floor. From the Census in 1901, it can be determined that of the 18 factories and 289 workers there would have been an average of 20 workers in each factory, and that many of these "factories" would have consisted of a small room, with one or two machines and several workers.[56] The larger factories like Stobart's and Northern Shirt employed as many as 60 workers and used 30 to 40 machines.[57]

Of the 66 buildings on the select inventory (see appendix), 36 were used as warehouse and commercial space and 49 were built in the period before 1920. Warehouses were ideal structures for garment factories, because the needs of the wholesaler paralleled those of the garment manufacturer. Usually multi-storey buildings, with basements and high ceilings or lofts designed for storage of dry and wholesale goods, warehouses had spaces particularly good for storing long rolls of cloth.

Many warehouses had office space, usually on the second floor, because the main floor often was reserved for heavier goods that could not be transported to the upper floors. As in the case of the George D. Wood warehouse (Merchants Block), designed by J.H.Cadham, the "ground was treated as a single space and used for storage of heavy merchandise."[58] There was a "large receiving dock" on one side, "and two additional arched openings which ran straight through the building to make shipping possible in all weather conditions.[59] The offices were on the second floor where "particular attention was paid to the problem of visibility for management so that customers could be greeted as they entered."[60] The "third and fourth levels were for the storage of lighter goods."[61] As were many other buildings, this warehouse was equipped with electric elevators.

Elevators and lofts were ideal for shipping and receiving the heavy rolls of cloth and materials used in garment production and for adapting the space simply with the installation of electrical outlets, sewing machines and tables. The warehouse, however, was not perfectly suited to the garment trade, which was dependent on the labour of many skilled hands working on materials under good light. Many warehouses in "the warehouse district" were built before the age of electric light and, indeed, were designed to prevent light from damaging sensitive products.[62] As Eaton argues, the elevations of the buildings did not "have to be opened up with continuous fenestration, as in the skyscraper where light and ventilation were primary requirements."[63] The "warehouse was almost the obverse of that of the office building because

"prolonged exposure to light could cause deterioration in certain kinds of goods, particularly fabrics and drugs."[64]

Different types of factories occupied these buildings between 1900 and 1920. Among the earliest type was the "manufactory", essentially a merchant tailor's establishment in the process of change from tailoring to mass production of ready-to-wear clothing. M. Appel occupied the "large and roomy quarters" at 52 Adelaide. His and other merchant tailors', premises were "manufactories in the highest sense."[65] A "glance into one of them", wrote a reporter for the *Free Press* in 1907, "does not give one an adequate impression of the industry represented by that single little place" in which a total of three or four people worked, while much of the production was farmed out to other skilled people under subcontract.[66]

The merchant's, or wholesaler's factory comprises a second category of factories which used space in the warehouse for production, or in some cases used the wholesaling business as a springboard to garment production. Stobart's warehouse (the Bedford Block) and overall factory (adjacent to an east of the Bedford Block on King) were a case in point. Inside the warehouse, on the fourth floor, was storage space for non-fancy goods, "underwear, overalls, smocks,"[67] which were made in Stobart's factory. Similarly, Whitla's gigantic warehouses are well documented and studied, but his overall factories have not been investigated. In 1901 Whitla began production "in a small way in rooms above the Imperial Dry Goods Block."[68]

A third type was the building constructed exclusively for use as a garment factory. The earliest was built by a wholesaler. In 1903, Whitla commissioned the construction of a two-storey brick building for the production of overalls at or near the corner of Hargrave and Ellice Streets. It was designed for 150 sewing machines and over 100 employees. In 1906, he unveiled a new factory at McDermot Avenue and Kate Street, the largest area manufacturing shirts and overalls in Winnipeg at the time.[69] The factory, three stories high, was a "large, well lighted basement,"[70] manufactured women's ready-to-wear garments.

It was described in a contemporary report as a "solid white brick building, of mill construction and fully modern in every sense of the term and cost $75,000."[71] The factory, it was observed, was located "in a district that has heretofore been largely residential in character, but is within easy reach of the business portion of the city, the street cars being obtainable within a block or two in three different directions," and was close to "an abundant supply of female labour."[72] It was expected that the "top floor will be the operating department", where, "140 machines will be at work and this number will very shortly be increased to 200,"[73] whereas the "second floor will include the cutting department, necessary cloak rooms, lavatories etc. and what is an important innovation in the construction of such premises, a large well-lighted portion set apart for the use of the employees as a lunch room" which was to be "equipped with gas ranges and other necessities for the use of the employed in the factory, who are prevented by various reasons from going home."[74]

The ground floor of the Whitla factory contained the "necessary office accommodation, the balance, with the basement, being devoted to the raw material and other stock."[75] The stairs and elevators were "enclosed in a solid brick shaft from the basement to the top floor, making both of those a safe means of exit in case of emergency."[76] The machinery was "up-to-date in every respect, electricity being the motive power." In the operating room, the sewing machines were "arranged in five rows – twenty-eight in each – one motor being devoted to each row." The motors were "so connected as to do away with the necessity of belting of any character, making the operation of the machines safer as well as easier" than those in use previously.[77] The buttonholers were "of the famous "fleece type" and contained the "improvement of being able to make "eyelet" buttonholes, a feature which heretofore could only be obtained by hand workmanship." The riveting machines were "attached to an electric motor in place of the foot pedal."[78]

The other factories in Winnipeg which produced shirts and overalls before 1910 were Stobart's factory on Cumberland Avenue, the Union Overall Co., Winnipeg Shirt and Overall, the

Harris Manufacturing Co., Bromley and Hague, the Winnipeg Clothing Co. and James Love Manufacturing. The factory of Union Overall, later at the Whitla's plant, operated with 26 machines and 40 hands and produced over 2,000 garments a week, most of which were shirts and overalls and work aprons. The plant was "an electric one and thoroughly up-to-date; and the facility at McDermot and Lydia, one block away from Whitla's factory, "covered 5,500 feet of space."[79]

The Northern Shirt factory on Cumberland and Edmonton was built in 1912 of brick and stone construction, had a frontage of 20 feet on Cumberland and extended 100 feet to a lane at the rear north end of the building. The factory was "divided up among compartments, the first floor being taken up by the offices and the second…being occupied by shirt making machinery."[80] Early photographs of the factory in 1912 show rows of women seated at long tables, with elaborate machinery operated by electric motors. It was here that fire broke out in 1926 "from defective wiring."[81] On the next floor, the third storey, "were stored bales of material and the top was the overall department."[82] The shipping department and a heating plant were located in the basement.[83]

Noticeable changes in the quantity and type of factories began to take place after World War I. The modern factory was emerging from these early establishments, already mechanized by electricity and/or belt driven machinery and organized for production, distribution and sales. The number of factories increased at a rate of 3.75 per year after 1927, with a peak period of growth between 1944 and 1956, at a rate of 7.62 per year.[84] The output in dollars of these factories is expressed in Table 2, below:

Value of Output in Winnipeg's Garment Factories, 1901-1948				
Year	**Men's Clothing**	**Women's Clothing**	**Hats/Caps**	**Overalls/Work shirts**
1901	139,511	120,890		
1911	816,048	unknown		
1925	165,289	1,501,251	123,422	
1931	363,459	unknown		
1935	574,747	2,266,615	494,560	
1938	3,400,000	2,311,905		2,245,980
1952	22,125,836	14,700,834		
Source: Canada, *Dominion Bureau of Statistics*. *Census*				

Not only did the output of the factory increase, but more importantly for the longevity and permanence of the industry's role in serving other export markets, it diversified as well. In 1900, as noted, factory output was restricted, with only one or two exceptions, to shirts and overalls and mass production though large firms also had several other lines of clothing. Mass production was restricted to work clothing. By 1925 the industry had emerged with several categories of product: hats and caps, gloves and mitts, men's clothing and women's factory clothing, and in 1928 the categories were broken down to ladies' cloaks and suits, men's overcoats, pants, hats and caps. By 1957, sportswear had become a leader in the industry.

There were noticeable changes in spatial organization as well. The large factories like Northern Shirt and Stobart's were reused, but new factory space was in demand and the vacant warehouse of the Market Square district in the 1920s was equally ideal for the purposes of both large and small scale factory production. When the industry expanded after World War I into Western and Eastern markets, the railway spur at the foot of the freight elevator and loading dock was a definite advantage. Moreover, the warehouse building, with its offices, show rooms and sample rooms, could be (and often was) subdivided by the owner and leased to many different firms. The designs of J.H.G. Russell, who divided the warehouse into three defined sections in the fashion of the Chicago school, were a boon to the garment industry.[85] The

intrusion of garment factories into the warehouse district took place on such a large scale that the area became known as the garment district and is still used extensively for the manufacture and sale of clothing.

An important consideration in motivating entrepreneurs to choose the warehouse district was the cost of real estate and construction of new buildings, especially in the 1920s, when the Eastern factories were still the dominant producers and competitors and also in the 1930s when the Depression forced factory owners to hold their own. There were remodelled buildings – the Daylite Block, a warehouse built in 1899 for the Bole Drug Co., -- and the block adjoining,[86] … in 1926 described as "filling up with representatives of new agencies opening up in Winnipeg.[87] Among its tenants were Buffalo Cap, Victoria Leather Jacket, Silpit Apparel and Crown Cap. As Beeby argues of the Toronto clothing trades, tall buildings like the Daylite Block (eight storeys) enabled the factory owner to survive and prosper without incurring high real estate expenses. The "ability to expand piece-meal and into taller factory structures, in part explains the persistence and prominence of the clothing industry."[88]

From an entrepreneurial point of view the warehouse was a relatively inexpensive structure in which to expand and was centrally located even at mid century. By the 1930s and 1940s, some of the larger old warehouses became the homes of as many as a dozen garment factories at a time. The first location of the Freed and Freed factory in the 1920s was in the Peck Building, then on the "fourth floor of the Kay building. From there they moved to a floor in … the Coca-Cola Building and had space there for a year or two."[89] Buildings used extensively by garment factories in the post 1920 period included the Glengarry Block, the Daylite Building and the Peck Building although it should be mentioned that 90 percent of all buildings in the warehouse district at some point served the garment industry (Table 5).

In these buildings, once the symbols of growth and prosperity for the successful wholesaler, the modern industrial garment factory, characterized by advanced technology, subdivision of the production process and compartmentalized departments, came of age in the

mid 20th century. During World War II many of the older factories were refitted with new machinery.[90] At one such plant "eight miles of material could be laid out on the cutting tables at once" and, depending on the "size of the electric circular blade" which is used to cut the material, "up to twenty-five dozen shirts" could be cut at once.[91] There were narrow bands used for "trimming and belts of all kinds, cut from huge rolls, so that by a few movements, hundreds of yards (could) be cut to the required measurements.[92] There were "as many different types of sewing machines as there are different operations to be done, varying from the simple type of those which (could) stitch up to six seams at once, or perform such operations as sewing on buttons or stitching and cutting button-holes."[93] The Eaton's shop used "the most up to date equipment, such as electric cutting machines capable of cutting as many as 250 thicknesses at a time" and "button hole machines that maintained a steady clip of 40 button holes a minute!"[94]

Mechanization and technology sped up production and dramatically increased output. One of the best examples of the modern factories of the post-1939 period was the Jacob-Crowley plant, the multi-storey Keewayden building on Portage Avenue East. During the war the plant produced 75,000 garments for the air force and navy. More than one million yards of cloth passed through the factory every year, which produced suits and cloaks for women. Jacob Crowley had 50,000 square feet of space for its operations, far more than the 5,500 of the old Whitla factory.[95]

Most of the improvements took place within the walls of warehouses and office buildings 30 years old or more, but still useful as garment factories. In the design and cutting room, tables perhaps 50 or 60 feet long were used between the posts of old mill construction warehouses. On other floors, similar arrangements were made for sewing operations. Fluorescent lighting was installed to compensate for the lack of natural light from the windows.[96] Some buildings, constructed as garment factories, had no lunch rooms or washroom facilities. Buildings originally constructed for garment manufacture, such as the Monarch Overall Factory, become increasingly obsolete as the twentieth century wore on. Heating was poor and despite

renovations lighting and ventilation were inadequate, especially in the older warehouses. In some places, elevators still had to be operated manually. In 1957 a provincial commission investigating these conditions found that "a number of the buildings now being used for needle trades manufacturing were originally wholesale houses, with accommodation of a lesser number of employees" than when converted into garment factories and noted that the "fire hazard could be very serious in some places."[97]

Commenting on Winnipeg's thriving garment industry at the end of World War II, a writer for the *Jewish Post* noted that it was not like other industries.[98] The garment industry, according to the journalist, did not need to be near the source of large supplies of natural resources of coal, water, or wood and could be "located almost anywhere."[99] This assessment, however, was true only in theory. The cost of real estate, the distance from distribution points and the design of buildings favoured the rise of garment factories in the centre of the city. Access to large urban labour pools and urban and regional markets and, therefore, to inter-regional transportation networks, was essential. These were the environmental, material and economic limits within which factories emerged in Winnipeg between 1900 and the 1950s.

Chapter 3

Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurs owned and supervised the factories that transformed rough pieces of material into standardized ready to wear clothing. Their invested capital and their experience as producers were important factors in making their businesses successful, in the eyes of their peers. These men (there were female manufacturers) no doubt viewed the factory setting with the pride and enthusiasm that befitted the modern-day capitalist of the twentieth century. As Alan Dawley has written of the shoemakers of Lynn, Massachusetts, the entrepreneur "heard the busy hum of machinery, saw the swift, smooth flow of production and felt a satisfaction akin to a magistrate in a well-regulated commonwealth.[100] This was the idyllic existence to which many aspired but only privileged few belonged. One obtains a glimpse of the more common experience of being a member of the business community, however, from John Crowley of Jacob-Crowley cloakmakers. In 1931 Jacob Crowley, one of the leading garment manufacturers in the city, was shut down by a lengthy strike, but was able to weather the storm. When it was over, Crowley remarked that production once again resumed "as if the strike was just a bad dream of the night before."[101]

Strikes were one of many obstacles to the march of industry and the road to success. Many entrepreneurs lost as much sleep over meetings with anxious investors and creditors as they did over the incessant demands of their employees. Rising costs, strikes, unfavourable market conditions and many other unforeseen circumstances brought forth the ominous prospect of losing ground to the competition and the frightening nightmare of bankruptcy.

The entrepreneurs of the Winnipeg needle trades were a diverse group of individuals. The complexity of this group and their activities challenges the neat pattern of historical stages of production that Hastie and others used to describe the broad periods of industrial development in the trades from the 1870s to the 1950s. Hastie, for example, described how the industry began as home and cottage crafts in the 1870s and 1880s, expanded to artisan labour

from the 1870s to the 1900s and matured into large scale manufacturing in the twentieth century. There was, though, more to this picture of progressive growth and development. In each period there were proprietors of small shops, entrepreneurs engaged in wholesaling and production and factory owners. Different types of owners in each activity operated in different worlds. A factory owner may have used business and production methods borrowed from artisan or craft experiences, just as an artisan diligently adopted the most modern techniques of the day to win customers.

As a group, Winnipeg's garment manufacturers were predominantly male. Though statistics are unavailable for the 1900 to 1920 period, it is clear from the Letters Patent and from the 1921 Census that women were involved in subordinate roles in the daily operations of the business. Many women probably entered the field either from their experiences as custom producers of clothing (e.g., seamstresses), or as partners to with their husbands in establishing small businesses. In this latter case they not only made the clothing, but also took care of some of the business duties, such as supervision of employees and inventories.

In 1921, the Census reported 282 males and 46 females who classified themselves as owners and manufacturers in the Winnipeg garment industry, while there were one male and six females employed as supervisors. Most operations were small and most entrepreneurs had not yet adopted the prerogatives of scientific management, which extensively utilized middle managers and shop supervisors in the factory.[102]

Entrepreneurs came from many different backgrounds, usually respectable professions and businesses. When they applied for Letters Patent they registered as salesmen, merchants, ranchers, travellers, manufacturers' agents, druggists, traders, contractors and gentlemen. This diverse list was a reflection of the intermingling of large personal wealth and the intention of men of little means to set up their own businesses.[103] The most common occupation though, was that of merchant. In Winnipeg and other North American distribution points, he was a

public figure and leader of the community and an expert on the distribution of wholesale dry goods.[104]

In outlook, entrepreneurs adhered to the customary values and beliefs that hard work, diligence and capital, intelligently applied, could bring rewards. The men and women involved – immigrants, professionals and small businessmen – strove to build their small shops into successful businesses, armed with the flame of hope ignited by such examples of self made wealth as the "merchant prince" of Winnipeg, James H. Ashdown, who had built an empire from a single hardware store.

Ethnically, the vast majority of entrepreneurs until the 1920s were of Anglo-Saxon descent, with names such as Bromley, Hague, Elliott, Stobart, Lee, Campbell, Driscoll and Whitla. Many of these manufacturers came to Winnipeg from Central Canada and were Ontarian Orangemen who brought Ontarian and British values into Winnipeg's frontier society. In conjunction with Western booster mentality, the Protestant work ethic and Ontarian outlook was the breeding ground for an assault on the domination of Eastern manufacturing interests in Western Canada. From these early beginnings, an entrepreneurial elite, of predominantly Anglo-Saxon producers of garments, tents and awnings and with investments in many other areas had emerged by the early 1900s.[105]

There were important exceptions to this rule of ethnicity. Immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was responsible for bringing a new corps of entrepreneurs to the industry, particularly Eastern European Jews. Many Jewish immigrants had practised the trade of tailoring since coming to Winnipeg in the first Jewish migrations of the 1880s. A few were able to set up their own factories by the turn of the century. In 1898, for example, "Moses Haid and Harry Steinberg established the Winnipeg Shirt and Overall Company with six operators and Mrs. Haid acting as the forelady.[106] "The firm began "modestly in one room with a staff consisting of himself, his wife and a Mr. Geller" but grew into a substantial business in less than a decade."[107]

Large and small, wealthy and poor, these entrepreneurs existed in a business environment which was extremely volatile in the 1900s and 1910s. Their involvement in garment manufacture took place within the context of traditional exporting practices of Eastern producers, in a period that was punctuated by booms, recessions and world war. Important changes also occurred in the organization and structure of business practices and industrial production, transforming entrepreneurs' lives. The lot of the entrepreneur can be described by looking at different types of manufacturers between 1900 and 1920: the small proprietor leaving the realm of tailoring, the merchant engaged in garment production, the immigrant and the large-scale factory owner.

In the decade of the 1900s, many small shops changed into larger manufacturing operations. These firms were well established in the craft of custom tailoring and operated with considerable capital outlay. In Manitoba, investment in custom men's and women's clothing, not including ready made, increased from roughly $70,000 to nearly $190,000 between 1900 and 1906.[108] Some of the more prominent firms were like those of the W.R. Donough Company, an example of a prominent firm in the mid-1870s, which, in 1908, was located at 216 Bannatyne Avenue. The establishment was a partnership which catered to the "highest class trade in Winnipeg" and "stocked at all times a complete representation of piece goods containing samples of imported lines in all the latest colours and weaves.[109]

The nucleus of W.R. Donough Co. was the partnership of two cutters, W.R. Donough and W. Barrand, who "acquired their skill in the school of experience" and had "diligently" studied the "fashions of the great centres."[110] They did business according to the rules of Victorian taste and discretion, building a respectable clientele on trust and dependability. They were "most popular on account of their recognized skilfulness and the courtesy that they accorded to everybody having business dealings with them."[111]Similar companies appealed to their exclusive clientele with promises of their expert and experienced staffs and their well stocked shelves of high quality, coloured materials.

This partnership, operating under the norms of respectability and touting the craftsmanship of its products, actually made its clothing within the factory setting.[112] The mixing of Victorian business ethics with the equally Victorian practice of sweating and outwork occurred at Donough and Barrand. For example, not all their garments were finished in the shop; unfinished pieces regularly were sent out to other custom tailors who were sweated. The partners employed "a number of thoroughly qualified custom tailors to complete the work that they so excellently began."[113]

The onward march of industry was just as intense further down the street, at the premises of M. Appel, who occupied "large and roomy quarters" at 52 Adelaide. After Appel established his business in 1902, he became famous for his personalized line of "artistic tailored garments" which set standards "among dealers as well as among the most fastidious dressers who demanded style and fit in all their tailored garments."[114] Like Donough and Barrand, Appel personally supervised the "cutting and fitting of all the garments which left his shop."[115] The local press in 1907 commented on merchant tailors' shops, which were described as "manufactories in the highest sense."[116]

> A glance into one of them…does not give one an adequate impression of the industry represented by that single little place, for by the time-honoured custom of the trade much of the work of each shop is done away from it, either in some humbler shop, in an out of the way rear room, or in the homes of the women who by the hundreds add to their slender incomes by the wages of the tailors during their busy season. A fashionable down town shop, rarely includes at its show-room more than a staff of three or four, perhaps the master tailor and his invaluable second, the cutter, upon whose knowledge and skill rests the repute and the prestige of the establishment and one or two workmen, skilled in all branches of the trade, to do the ready work that may be required. These are the headmen of any such business and their wages grade high in the same ratio.[117]

The entrepreneurs of the small shops applied their skills as industriously as their employees; indeed, the sharp division of labour between workers and management was as apparent on the premises of the shopkeeper as it would be in later decades. It was from shops such as these, however, that the "modern" owners and manufacturers of the future learned the

trade of garment making and gained the experience necessary for producing and distributing the factory products on a large scale.

Some of the neophyte garment "industrialists" already were operating small scale factories by the 1900s. Though they were Victorians, they were different from the traditional craftsmen involved in tailoring. George Emerson was one of the early laissez-faire capitalists. He employed from 50 to 60 workers to make overalls in his factory and used the most up to date methods of organizing the production, utilizing pay cuts, piece rates, women operators and outwork to reduce costs so as to compete on a par with the large buyers of Eastern made goods. His company was small and he employed his wife as the shop supervisor.[118] Also, like many other establishments, Emerson was engaged in tent and awning production. Soon after Emerson and Hague began manufacturing garments in 1899, they were joined by several other firms. One of them, the Hoover Manufacturing Co., symbolized the new scale of production and marketing. The Hoover Co. flung mass produced caps and mitts into the street to promote its products.[119]

Emerson and Hague was typical of the Winnipeg clothing firm of the time. It originated as Bromley and Hague, but manufacturing predominantly tents and awnings, also overalls and other work clothes for labourers on railroads and Manitoba farms. It manufactured mass produced "ready-made" clothing, something not new to the Winnipeg consumer and which, unlike custom-made tailored clothes, were manufactured from standardized patterns and stocked in city department and country general stores and were available from mail order catalogues.[120]

Entrepreneurs often operated on a smaller scale than their counterparts in the tailoring industry. The capital investment made by individual entrepreneurs can be determined from extrapolations of figures within the *Census*. In 1901, there were 18 factories in Winnipeg in which owners had invested a total of $67,123. Each manufacturer had invested on average $3,729 in his operation. More accurately, however, there was a collection of small factories with

investments ranging from several hundred dollars to $1,000.[121] This was characteristic of the turn of the century entrepreneur who operated a garment factory. Anyone with enough capital to buy a small stock of material and a sewing machine and to hire an operator, could set up a factory in a rented room and within a year or two, expand the business.

By 1900, several manufacturers had grown to the extent that they occupied many floors (as in the case of Stobart's) or had built their own factories (as in the case of Hoover, Western Shirt and Overall and James Love). A considerable amount of capital, furthermore had been invested by manufacturers, who did not own or operate factories and who inhabited that netherworld between the manufacturer of ready-made clothing and the traditional tailor of custom suits and clothing.

A typical modern company was that of Fit-All Manufacturing. From its headquarters in the Bon Accord Block, a Mr. Good, the proprietor, presided over his factory, supervising the production of shirts and overalls which were made by 18 to 20 workers, depending on the season. Good "began in this line" of work in 1892, but "founded Fit-All in 1903."[122] By selling to wholesale and retail outlets, he was able to build a clientele "all over Western Canada."[123] His success was owed to the fact that his products, known as the F.A. Brand, embraced "various styles of shirts and overalls," and was made in "different materials."[124] Unlike other types of work clothes, they were distinctive in that they were "especially adapted to different kinds of work."[125] Several factory owners were similarly innovative, because they employed not only new production strategies, but new equipment and marketing tactics. The Hoover Manufacturing Co., for example, signed a pact with its new seamstresses in 1899 after it had lured strikers away from Emerson and Hague which provided for profit sharing and marketed its overalls under the name "Union Brand."[126]

Another type of manufacturing company, apart from the ones evolving from the tailoring or tent and awning trades, was the merchant's operation. Perhaps the largest of these belonged to the well-known wholesaler R.J. Whitla, who branched out in the 1890s, from

several sewing machines in his McDermot Avenue warehouse (probably used for repairing and making bags) to the overall factories on Cumberland and McDermot. "All of the output" of the McDermot factory was "handled in the firm's wholesale trade," the *Free Press* observed in 1907.[127] Shirts and overalls and similar garments made in Winnipeg with the trademark of this firm "were worn by workmen from the lakes to the sea." At the business of another merchant, Stobart's overall factory on Cumberland Avenue, there were from 50-60 people at work. As in the case of Whitla's company, its products were "entirely used to meet the requirements of their (sic) own trade."[128]

Stobart's distributed dry goods textiles and "branched into manufacturing in 1903." Under the trademark of "No. 1 Hard", Stobart initially produced overalls and work shirts in a factory on King adjacent to its warehouse. In 1910, a second large warehouse on McDermot and Lydia was erected to accommodate further expansion of the dry goods business."[129] A contemporary company, the Western Shirt and Overall Co., began operation in 1900 as the Winnipeg Shirt and Overall Manufacturing Co., "with only eight sewing machines." In 1907, the number of machines was 30 and the work was done "strictly by union hands" and "every garment" had the "union label on it."[130]

The Union Overall Company, formerly the Hoover Manufacturing Co., which was destroyed by fire in January, 1905, was formed after the factory was taken over by F.E. Chalmer, "the Hoover Co.'s late accountant." The "New firm started business in a small way with ten machines," and by 1907 operated 26 machines and employed about 40 workers.[131] Factory output was more than 2,000 garments per week, including overalls, work shirts and aprons. The factory was electric and "thoroughly up to date" and it covered 5,500 square feet of space. The clothing was shipped "all over the west, (Union Overall's) customers extending from Port Arthur to the Pacific coast."[132] In addition to these companies, there were also the Northern Shirt Co., run by the Kennedy family, Bromley and Hague, the Winnipeg Clothing Co.

and James Love Manufacturing. Like the tailors and small scale factories mentioned earlier, companies such as these often sub-contracted to workers in homes during the busy season.[133]

Letters Patent testify to the fact that the owners of these firms intended to make inroads into the local market at a time when population growth and expansion of railways and agriculture, as well as building construction and commerce, caused a dramatic increase in the demand for work clothes and ready made suits for the middle class and respectable working class. They could ill afford the cost of expensively cut and well tailored waistcoats, trousers and shoes. By 1907, there were nine firms manufacturing shirts and overalls, the largest lines of production.[134] All the "garments were always cut and made to exact standard sizes without regard for the individual fit that finer garments required."[135] As the former statement implies, the early factory of the time manufactured other lines in clothing. The *Labour Gazette* in 1913 observed that garment production in Winnipeg consisted of "shirt and overall makers, pant makers, makers of mackintoshes and ladies' ready-made skirts, suits and whitewear."[136]

The early companies comprised the infrastructure of an extensive manufacturing sector long before the emergence of a diverse industry in the 1920s and 1930s. A new entrepreneurial elite grew from the breakdown of this infrastructure. Having been recruited from the shop floors of the pre-World War I factory and from the small tailoring shops of the backstreets of Winnipeg, the entrepreneur's lifestyle was not rooted in the Orange and Ontarian traditions of Victorian Canada, but from the farms and villages of Eastern Europe. This was the beginning of the rise of the "big four" and it rose from the ashes of Lord Stobart's Faultless Ladies' Wear and work clothing factories.

Some uncertainty exists as to the exact date that Faultless began production. It was probably established in 1912, by Lord Stobart, a British capitalist, "who, fearing war on British soil, transferred his capital to Canada."[137] For Stobart and other manufacturers, including those of shirts and overalls, the labour market was a critical factor in determining the success or failure of the business and many highly skilled individuals were recruited from places as far

away as New York. Stobart brought in "a number of experienced management personnel" from "Boston, New York and Montreal", to manage the factory.[138] Morris Stall, Shia Feldman, Morris Neaman and Ben Jacob (who would later rise to the top of the Winnipeg industry) at one time were employed by the company as managers, cutters and pressers. Many others came to Canada or the United States from Europe during the migrations of the 1880s and 1890s with old country traditions and skills. Often they had to be taught for the first time how to work under the discipline of the factory system.

The recession of 1913 and World War I prevented a growing garment industry from expanding and from becoming self-sufficiently diversified. Hastie discovered in his study of business failures what Traves wrote in general of the period: by 1913, "when the wheat economy faltered and railway expansion collapsed, the serious overextension of the manufacturing sector drove many firms to failure."[139] Lord Stobart's Faultless factory was one of the Winnipeg casualties of the slumping war years. In 1918-19 Ben Jacob and John Crowley teamed up and took over the bankrupt business. They "put up a thousand dollars each and hired an Eaton's presser, Mr. Geller, to form Jacob-Crowley Cloakmakers", using the equipment in the Faultless plant.[140] Others, like Morris Stall, left the company and set up small shops in the North End from where they were able to expand and later, to return to the warehouse district as owners of small factories.

The closure of Faultless and its takeover was a major event in the industry because it marked the beginning of a period in which the Anglo-Saxons were joined by East European Jews as the representative ethnic group in the garment industry (the Jacob-Crowley union was an exception to this rule). By the 1920s, more and more applicants for Letters Patent were of Jewish origin and by 1931, according to the Census, the numbers of Jews and Gentiles as owners and foremen in positions of management were about even.

The shift in ethnic identity of the entrepreneurial class was important for two reasons: the first was that Jewish owners were bound by ties of language and community to recruit workers

from their own group; the second was more subtle and is as difficult to quantify. However, it would appear that the Jewish owners, having come from agricultural and artisan working-class backgrounds, possessed a keen sense of craft pride, which, when mixed with business ambitions, amounted to something different than the laissez-faire approach to trade and commerce adopted by Anglo-Saxons. At the turn of the century and by some accounts until the 1950s, many "manufacturers saw their industry not as an investment but as a job."[141] The model capitalist of the twentieth century invested and reinvested to make money, but for the Jewish garment manufacturer the "single plant family concern where profits were ploughed back into the business was characteristic."[142]

The former employees of Faultless and other entrepreneurs establishing small businesses in the post-World War I period faced a general decline in demand for products and extreme competition from Eastern companies. Tailors used their profits "to buy machines and hire apprentices", while "former Faultless employees entered the business", went bankrupt and "within two years" were "working for someone else."[143] These pressures surfaced, in part, at the point of distribution, where changes in wholesaling and retailing made it difficult for the small company to compete. The rise of the mail order store was one of the main developments in the 1920s which impeded and enhanced the ability of small entrepreneurs to establish healthy businesses. In 1920, for example, the T. Eaton Co. built a mail order house behind its retail department store. The appearance of this and other mail order houses on the business scene transformed the relationship between the wholesale buyer and the manufacturer.[144] Large retailers, like Eaton's, small retail companies and the new chain stores like Marshall Wells, "prodded by their customers, demanded speedier service from wholesalers" and, consequently, often "turned to distributors in smaller, nearer centers as opposed to the more distant Winnipeg houses."[145]

In many cases the wholesaler was bypassed altogether and the effect was dramatic. "The decline of the wholesale trade was in substantial measure offset by the expanded volume

of the mail order trade."[146] Manufacturers tended increasingly to deal directly with retail stores, thereby reducing the need for wholesalers' services."[147] By the end of the 1920s one observer commented that:

> The basis of distribution has changed. The large mail-order houses in Winnipeg today and in some of the other centres, are the biggest shippers, rather than the old method of the wholesale house and the little merchant.[148]

The overlap between the factory owner and the wholesale merchant was disappearing. According to the manufacturers interviewed by Kosatsky, "by 1925 the wholesalers were of no importance" to many "cloakmakers and of little value to those producing men's garments."[149]

The structure of the garment company began to change. The increase in mail ordering resulted in a proliferation of retail store buyers in rural Manitoba. Large country towns had "buyers for Eaton's, or Robinsons, or the Bay," and firms hired sales people to deal with the buyers. In order to succeed, companies were compelled to employ "an aggressive sales staff."[150] For the manufacturer this meant that although the transformation favoured the inflow of products from the factory to local retailers, which in turn favoured the domestic producer, it also put the retailer in command of product lines and inventories at the factory level.

The change in distribution required mass production of large volumes of products at a moment's notice, thereby intensifying competition because the retailer was apt to deal with the company that could supply goods on request at any given season or could respond quickly to any change in fashion. Previously, companies could exist producing a few work clothes and ready-made lines. The manufacturer who could compete on this new intense level was the one with the ability to control inventories and overhead costs.

In the early 1920s the owners of small companies took advantage of this situation. Most had limited personal resources to invest in business and relied on credit to get started. A few swatches of cloth were purchased and samples were made in a small shop or even at home. It was not uncommon to begin production solely within the confines of the family unit. The head of the household then approached a mail order buyer and if successful, sold the sample, hired

staff and purchased additional textiles on credit. Personal contact with creditors was an advantage. It was "important that the small garment maker be personally compatible with the Jewish manufacturer's agent of the eastern textile company."[151] In some cases discounts were offered to the retailer to ensure further contracts.

This was the pattern of mobility of many small Jewish manufacturers in the 1920s. For Nathan Stall, the decade was a period of hard times, when manufacturers struggled to make their mark in the non-work clothes industry. Often their long hours of labour, which included cutting, designing garments and worrying about orders, was rewarded by a meagre salary more comparable to that earned by a working class labourer than to that of an entrepreneur. Indeed, owners believed theirs to be a difficult existence. The needle trade was a "hard-boiled industry" where there was "no place for a sentimentalist. Competition (was) severe. Price-cutting to meet the requirements of big buyers (was) common."[152] To survive in the business a man had "to drive a hard bargain and get a full dollar's worth of muscular effort for every dollar of wage expenditure. This (was) what the employers...sa(id) of their own industry. One of them called it the most demoralized business I know."[153]

One of the brothers involved in the firm of Stall and Sons, Nathan Stall, later became one of the largest and most respected of the manufacturers, but his business originated from poverty stricken of surroundings in Winnipeg's North End in the 1920s. The family business began in a livery stable on Selkirk Avenue, sometime before 1920. Sam Stall, a tailor, came from Poland at the turn of the century. With his life's savings of $500.00 he purchased a "couple of coat lengths" and started a business with his brother, Morris. After selling the cloaks made with these materials, they "bought another two or three coat lengths – raised capital savings working at Stobart's" and expanded the business.[154]

In the early days of the Stall business, "coats were shipped to Eaton's, the Hudson's Bay Co. and then after awhile the company hired a salesman who went out to the country to sell to the farmers and the small retailers." The company "started off by selling a coat here, a coat

there, then one day a retailer came in and (Stall's) sold him some coats and it started to grow from there."[155] The Stall family business was one of the small establishments frequented by farmers who came to Selkirk Avenue on Saturday night to buy clothes from the walk-in retailers.[156] It was not surprising, considering these modest beginnings, that such businesses as Stall and Sons benefited from the falling rents in the warehouse district in the 1920s (the Stalls moved into the Peck Building in the 1920s and later purchased the Fairchild Building).

Many of the manufacturing entrepreneurs came from backgrounds in the garment industry that prepared them to produce fine goods in a small enough way barely to avoid bankruptcy. David Freed, of Freed and Freed, was typical of many of the Jewish entrepreneurs who entered the garment business in the 1920s. Born in Kremnitz, Russia, in 1882, he immigrated to the United States, landing at New York, where his father found work as a sewing machine operator. The family later moved to Winnipeg where they established a family firm, utilizing skills that had been part of their experience in the villages of their homeland and those that had been learned in the factories of New York, Philadelphia, Montreal and other Eastern centres.[157]

David Freed found work in a pants factory, possibly Stobart's, when he came to Winnipeg, then opened a store "where he purchased and sold second hand merchandise."[158] In 1921 "he began the manufacturing of pants," while Mrs. Freed looked after the store. The retail business "kept the family going until the factory began to show results."[159] Craft pride and the European experience were important in paving the way towards self-sufficiency. They nurtured a desire to keep Jews in the trade and to promote various Jewish cultural institutions.

There were important bonds established by neighbourhood and ethnicity. "No matter what the size of their firms, owners would always find a job for relatives or others who immigrated (sic) from their own home town in Russia."[160] According to Joe Freed, relations among the manufacturers in the warehouse district "were very good although businesses were competing with one another. Eight or ten businessmen would meet regularly for lunch … The

relationships usually continued after working hours."[161] According to Steinberg, the concentration of Jewish business in the McDermot area meant that "wholesalers were grouped together … one knew what the other one was doing."[162] Personal contacts were important in maintaining bonds that united business associations against labour unions in the 1930s and 1940s.

The dependence on the family unit also helped these companies survive in the 1920s and prosper in later decades. The applications for Letters Patent belie a familiar pattern of family involvement in entrepreneurship, as manufacturers often listed their spouses and relatives as bookkeepers, managers, or secretaries. Also important in this regard and in maintaining a manageable overhead in the small and large business concern, was the financing of investments. For example, Morris Neaman started business in 1923, about the same time as the Stalls; Sam Stall worked for the Neaman family when Neaman started in business.[163] In 1928, Western Pants Manufacturing, managed by Sam Raber of 335 Magnus Avenue in the North End, also employed Adam, Annie and Mary Raber, all of different addresses. Other family firms included the Silver family of Western Glove Works, the Freeds, Stalls and many others. A manufacturer later observed that these family firms gained a competitive advantage in the trade because they did not adhere to minimum wage or trade union rules and regulations: "You may have partnerships of up to four people and these people naturally work outside of conditions of the (collective) agreement."[164]

Family ties were important in maintaining control at the level of the factory floor. There "seem to have been strongly paternalistic, almost feudal elements in the relations between worker and employer" during the 1920s.[165] The "old people were always being very paternalistic towards their workers", according to one contemporary and it "was particularly true of the country merchants who had to rely on their staff."[166] For example, one "cutter thought that his daughter was a great singer" and in the "middle of the Depression (the speaker's) father lent him six hundred dollars to get the piano he said she just had to have."[167] Furthermore, in

"some cases supplementary wages and extra sick benefits were paid out by concerned owners of small shops"[168] One manufacturer "used big loans to indenture his workers to low wages and heavy workloads."[169] According to one observer, he "knew how to run a factory. During the twenties he stood at the station waiting for Jewish immigrants. If the man was married he said, "I'll buy you a home and furniture."[170] Some manufacturers held Christmas parties for their workers.[171] On another occasion a manufacturer who had a reputation for being stingy made a coat for one of his workers who was getting married and sent a limousine to the wedding.[172]

These were not isolated occurrences and they point to the seemingly inexplicable bond that often existed between many, but not all, employers and workers. Nor is this evidence of the absence of class conflict, or the predominance of cultural values and ethnicity over class relationships. In the case of Helen Sabinski, a union organizer in the 1930s, "her boss would say hello and be friendly whenever they met on the street, but in the shop would never say anything to her because I was always asking for the raises for the girls."[173] Some bosses had experienced unionism first hand as pressers or machine operators before they were able to set out on their own. Jack Glesby who was involved in a strike at Standard Knitting, saw Tim buck speak at the Peretz School Hall and later introduced interest free loans, air conditioning, music and two coffee breaks into his factory, long before they were compulsory.[174]

The Jewish entrepreneur of the 1920s had one foot in the values and traditions and experiences of the working class and the other foot in the business practices of modern industrial capitalism. The same can be said of the Jewish entrepreneur as Alan Dawley concluded of the nineteenth century master shoemaker: he was "in the marketplace, but he was not of it."[175]

Early small businesses run by Jewish immigrants were important because they employed other Jewish immigrants in a business community which often discriminated against Jews. Ike Glesby, later of Glesby Garment, "worked for a Mr. Morton, but because he took time off work for the Jewish holidays he was let go. They did not know he was Jewish because on

the application he spelled his name "Gillespie" and answered the question "what church do you belong to?" with "I don't go to church." He was laid off the next day. It was very difficult for Jewish people to get jobs even in the needle trade unless the proprietor was Jewish."[176] Like many of the other entrepreneurs, Glesby moved up through the ranks. He began at Stall and Sons, in the small stable on Selkirk Avenue under Shia Waldman and in 1932 moved to KBB Manufacturing, working for Mr. Katz and gaining experience in the cutting room. Later he was employed with Jacob and Crowley, alternating from factory to factory with the seasons. At "Ontario Garment he was the assistant to John Crowley's brother", who "trained Glesby, who became an excellent cutter."[177]

Jewish entrepreneurs shared the customs, spoke the same language as their workers and observed the same religious holidays as their workers. Close ethnic associations kept many of the smaller operators afloat and enabled them to exist in the changing economic environment that was fast giving the large retail chains the upper hand in purchasing arrangements with manufacturers. Some entrepreneurs often adhered to old business practices for fear of plunging into debt and weakening their companies. For example, manufacturers still did business in the 1920s on the basis of buying and selling to small retailers. In this way, they could protect themselves from the risk of large losses on the huge orders of the department store chains. This was partly the result of the dependency on credit for overhead costs and on the methods of doing business according to arrangements based on connections in the community, the "old boys network" and the obligations one felt to his particular ethnic group.

Familial and ethnic customs persisted among various communities; recent immigrants but traditional business practices and arrangements were transformed in the 1920s by changes in the retail sector. The Industrial Development Board of Manitoba elaborated on these changes in its annual report of 1932-33. Retailers increasingly favoured "small-lot buying, "hand-to-mouth" buying, as some merchants have termed it. This policy on the part of retailers, has been "perhaps, the greatest factor in driving business into the hands of Western

manufacturers."[178] The producer "on the ground", so to speak, who (could) cater to this type of business and who can cultivate the field from week to week" and "almost, in some cases, from day to day", that is one who had an "intimate knowledge of the needs of his customers and who (was) in closer personal contact with them, undoubtedly had a great advantage over one who (was) attempting to cultivate Western business from a factory a thousand or fifteen hundred miles away."[179]

Small lot buying was both a benefit and a hindrance to the manufacturer. Some perceived it as an unwelcome development and resisted the practice by continuing to deal with small retailers. For example, some manufacturers, like David Rosenberg of Victoria Leather, preferred to deal with small buyers to reduce the risk of bankruptcy by keeping very limited inventories. On one occasion, Rosenberg was approached by a "large department store buyer" to "make a purchase and was quoted the same price per unit as a number of small buyers, despite the fact that he was purchasing thousands of units and the other buyers' purchases consisted of only a few.[180] Rosenberg explained to the buyer that "he would rather reduce the price for a small buyer and sustain a smaller loss than do so for a large buyer and have to counter a much greater loss."[181] This was the thinking to the time when "manufacturers were…in a position not to sell at reduced prices" demanded of them by the large retailer.[182]

Many large manufacturers began to branch out into product lines other than that of work clothing. Companies like Bon-Ton Styles, led by ladies' tailors and dressmakers and Berkeley Dress Manufacturing, began to appear more frequently among the lists of producers of shirts, overalls and cloaks. The major manufacturers, however, still were producing work clothes and cloaks in factories.[183] Among them were the Kennedys, owners of Northern Shirt, J.L. Morton of Montreal Cloak and a Mr. Emery, an overall manufacturer. Jacob and Crowley had just been established and the Steinbergs operated Monarch Overall. These companies were considered "prosperous for those times", while the other firms "were fighting to make a go of it."[184]

Entrepreneurial survival and expansion were aided by cheap and available electric power and cheap space in the warehouses of central Winnipeg, where, the "owners of blocks…were greatly depressed…at the continued absence of tenants of a good class."[185] The most important gains, however, in competing for the Eastern dominated Western markets were made with the assistance of a local business sponsored drive to boost manufacturing in Manitoba. This "Made in Manitoba" campaign, as it was called, was launched in 1925-1926 by representatives of all industries. With respect to the garment industry, products which reportedly had not "developed to any extent in Manitoba" included bath robes, blouses, coats, corsets, gaiters, hosiery, waterproofs and sporting and athletic goods.[186] As parts of the campaign, a canvass of 400 retailers was conducted, mailings were completed, 224,000 folders were sent to 37 manufacturers (these were sent out with manufactured goods to promote Manitoba products), an industrial supplement was published once a month in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 65,000 blotters were distributed to school children and illuminated billboards were used for advertising and a movie was made in 1927-28.[187] An important feature of the campaign was the encouragement of branch plant investment in manufacturing located in Manitoba.[188]

The "Made in Manitoba" campaign was a local attempt to create a stronger industrial base through the combined efforts of various industries. However, the efforts of the provincial campaign and of manufacturing associations were limited in effectiveness by similar national organizations centered in Ontario and Quebec. The struggle of Winnipeg entrepreneurs to make a living took place in the 1920s within a larger national context of manufacturers' concerns over the regulation of industry. According to Traves, many industries were "dominated by oligopolies such as sugar, textiles, fertilizers and railway supplies" and among these "informal agreements were common."[189]

> In some cases, however, informal agreements could not be maintained and more formal arrangements were adopted. In 1924, for example, the manufacturers of rubber footwear agreed to establish prices informally, but by 1931 they felt the need to enact strong sanctions against those tempted to break ranks. Under a formal agreement adopted by the eight firms in the industry, they passed

> regulations establishing uniform list prices, discounts and terms of sale, provisions were agreed on for product standardization in order to curtail rivalry in quality and each firm agreed to the allotment of a fixed share of the market based on previous production levels."[190]

According to Traves, "in the hosiery industry, an elaborate cartel arrangement established between 1928 and 1932 ultimately broke down because producers of unbranded goods refused to accede to the demands of brand-name producers to establish a common price for branded and unbranded hosiery alike."[191] This undoubtedly had an impact on Winnipeg producers.

Winnipeg had its own share of organizations which sought stability for the garment industry. The Crash of 1929 impelled local entrepreneurs into new arrangements, associations and methods of survival because Eastern producers, overstocked with inventories that could not be sold in the slumping Central Canadian markets, began more aggressive campaigns to unload their products in Western Canada. Local manufacturers formed a Garment Manufacturers' Association (GMA) which, with 16-18 members, bargained on behalf of its members with unions and also sought purchasing agreements with suppliers.

The Winnipeg garment industry was in its early stages of development when the Depression began to eat away at the business infrastructures of industrial capitalism that had matured in the early twentieth century. Work clothing was the predominant form of product, but, as noted, some companies successfully developed new lines to compete with their eastern counterparts. As Bellan observed, the "needle trades industry grew rapidly as local entrepreneurs gained increased experience and skill; a local manufacturer became the largest producer of ladies' cloaks in Canada, while several of the local firms in this field were considered to be the best equipped in the country. Local men furnished the entrepreneurship of the expanding sectors; Eastern participation in and control over local industry actually declined."[192] This, however, may have been more due to the fact that it was very expensive and risky for Eastern based manufacturers to ship goods to the West during the Depression. As

well, natural resource projects in Northern and Eastern Manitoba revived the regional demand for work clothing that had traditionally been the bread and butter for the Winnipeg garment manufacturer in the first two decades of the twentieth century. With hydro-electric plants, the Hudson Bay Railway and gold mining in Northern Manitoba to fall back on, local manufacturers were able to sell their goods in the provincial market. In order to make these gains, during a period of economic crisis, the Winnipeg companies were forced either to streamline their operations or to reorganize.

The process or reorganization is evident in an analysis of Letters Patent. The number of incorporations, partnerships and single owners who applied for Letters Patent decreased from 65 to 58, a statistic which, when compared to the figures on capital and the labour market, leads to the conclusion that larger, established and more resilient companies were able to expand, while many smaller firms went out of business. The impression that stability and growth occurred (according to statistical comparisons of production) was due to the fact that large entrepreneurs were reorganizing capital to defend their investments from the scourge of the Depression. The situation was different for small family firms, which were protected by limited amounts of initial capital outlay and dependency on free family labour. An increase in the number of single owners belies the "influx of many jobbers…peddlars" and the addition of tiny factories owned by unemployed workers or bankrupt owners who could only attempt to make a living by exercising their skills in tailoring.[193] Overcrowding of small firms, the power of the retail buyer, seasonal irregularity and high rates of competition, situations which were characteristic, merely added to the problems of entrepreneurs during the 1930s.[194] Competition among local entrepreneurs intensified during the Depression as small and large businesses did whatever they could to sell their products to suppliers. As well, local companies had "a hard time meeting competition from the (E)ast."[195] In Ontario and Quebec, they said, "the minimum wage laws (were) not enforced with anything like the strictness shown in Manitoba."[196] Products "made by

sweated labour in (E)astern factories" were "said to be landed in Manitoba at less than the cost of production locally."[197]

For the company that had committed itself to new lines of clothing other than work clothes, the impact of the Depression was magnified by the seasonal nature of the industry. In the 1900s and 1920s, this was not a major concern, since most manufacturers produced articles such as overalls and work shirts that were in demand all year round. The emphasis on fashion intensified the demand for seasonal wear. By the 1930s, the industry was seasonal; according to the *Free Press*; from "July to November the shops (were) busy and again from February to April."[198] The "rest of the year they (were) slack and la(id) off a majority of their workers."[199] When companies developed new lines and increasingly sold to retail chains, the accompanying problems were serious for the garment manufacturer, as Scott and Cassidy concluded in 1935:

> It has long been customary for retailers to bunch their orders for ready-made goods, at the beginning of a season. The big buyers are accused by some manufacturers of having an undue share of responsibility for seasonal irregularity. Mr. W.K. Cook, President of the Canadian Association of Garment Manufacturers argues that the large buyers hold their orders until late in the season in the hope of getting better prices. He believes that the situation would be very much improved if all buyers followed the policy of placing their orders earlier.[200]

In 1936, for example, the Industrial Board noted that orders had been placed for "this Fall's business on a hand-to-mouth basis, as in recent years and as a result much of the business offering could not be accepted." Consequently, Eastern manufacturers "benefited through having stocks of raw material and thus being in a position to give more prompt delivery."[201] It was claimed that spring orders of "raw material, in a great many instances, ha(d) been placed two months earlier than last year."[202] Small manufacturers who operated on lines of credit were at a competitive disadvantage. "A manufacturer might come to make a deal and would have to be paid immediately so that he in turn could pay his employees on Friday."[203]

An additional problem in the turbulent economic climate was, as mentioned above, the control of the retail buyer over the industry. By 1935, several large department and chain stores

handled 25% or more of men's clothing sold in Canada, a factor which resulted in the need for garment manufacturers to make a profit by selling to powerful buyers who could control prices. Smaller retailers also were forced to adjust their prices to keep up with the department stores. The situation perpetuated the existence of small shops which could not afford their own merchandising or sales organization and would have been "unable to handle the marketing of their products were it not for the travelling buyers who looked them up in search of bargains."[204] Reduced retail inventories meant reduced demand for producers. By the mid 1930s, large buyers forced prices below the cost of production; for example, a coat that cost $47.00 to make was $25.00 on sale in a retail store.[205] As prices fell, the cost of merchandise dropped 50% or more. "Many people were wiped out",[206] inventories were "not worth much" and it was "exceedingly difficult to collect debts."[207]

Added to the transformation of the market was the fact that entrepreneurs were compelled to fend off assaults from labour for control of the production process. The growing body of unemployed workers and the popularity of unions meant that factory owners had to reinstate their control of the only facet of production that they could use to reduce their overhead costs – labour. It was common, therefore, at some factory doorways like that of Montreal Cloak to see a line up of would-be workers waiting for the "boss to come and open the factory…sometimes hiring, looking over their heads, you come in, you come in, you come in."[208] Many owners felt compelled by economic conditions to make ends meet with layoffs, small inventories, wage reductions, limited factory improvements, piece rates, outwork and resistance to the "Bolsheviks" who attempted to unionize their plants.[209] According to Mochoruk and Webber, some employers also falsified records and cheated on the piece rate system.[210]

By the mid-1930s, however, fallout from these practices (in the form of strikes and increased militant labour organization) took its toll. The Manitoba Industrial Board reported in its annual report for 1936 that the outlook for the garment industry was uncertain due to misgivings about the labour situation. The uncertainty attracted some of the larger companies, such as

Jacob and Crowley and National Cloak, to union leader Sam Herbst's demands for unionization in all the trades (a subsequent solution would be to import foreign labour). Herbst was explicit and effective in his reasoning. He recollected that in 1935, "(l)adies' suits and coats were being sold at prices from $3.75 to $8.00 a garment" and "competition between the employers was such that they could not carry on their business legitimately and I could see quite clearly that sooner or later the industry was going to collapse under the strain of these conditions."[211] Wage stabilization was the answer and in the mind of the manufacturer, Herbst's concept amounted to a plea for stabilization and harmony in an industry threatened with chaos. Further rationalization and control came from the Garment Manufacturers' Association, whose members originally had joined forces to take on Herbst's powerful locals. By 1942, however, the GMA was more concerned with purchasing cloth as a group and making joint submissions to military buyers.[212]

Rationalization of the labour market made a big difference for both small and large entrepreneurs in the late 1930s. Of the 15 largest garment plants in 1936, only three maintained an open shop and smaller manufacturers were compelled to establish union shops because the open shop was no longer profitable in the market place. Al Bricker of Buffalo Cap for example, said that "he'd like a union label on his caps to improve business" and consequently, "ok'd the union."[213]

Regardless of the problems encountered during the Depression, some firms managed to establish themselves and even to expand. By the late 1930s, the garment industry was making a recovery, despite the fact that controls on materials were making it difficult for manufacturers to produce traditional lines of products.[214] In 1932 at age 16, Jack I. Glesby began as a cutter at KBB. He and M.J. Bakal formed a partnership in 1937. Their company, Royal Garment Manufacturing, began with four workers and expanded to more than 100 in less than ten years. The reason for this was World War II, which not only stimulated expansion because of orders for the military, but also caused a complete transformation in nearly all areas of the garment

industry, from technological change at the point of production to new marketing techniques and forms of distribution.

The key to this transformation was the availability of wartime contracts, which allowed many companies to dispose of stockpiled inventories that had built up as a result of the fall in demand for civilian clothing during the Depression. As one factory worker noted, the "war brought to the shops restrictions on style and material."[215] For the large companies which competed more effectively for contracts, the impact of the war was felt almost immediately. According to the Industrial Development Board, "the larger concerns had bought stock previous to the war yet these (we)re being rapidly used up due to the demand."[216] Business in the "whole field" was good and "wherever these manufacturers ha(d) goods they (were) extremely busy."[217] Firms which had stocks of old cloth "made a killing" on them; even moth-eaten material…was made up and sold" on the domestic market, while new materials were used, as per government restrictions, on uniforms and battle dress.[218] The experience was different for smaller companies, which, in tendering, "could not quote to advantage" and preferred to cater to the civilian trade.[219] In 1939, they were "feeling the effect of the war control of raw materials" and deliveries were "extremely slow."[220] By the end of the war, however, as a result of "military garments' contracts and increased demand for civilian goods", business was brisk enough that the traditional "slack time seasons completely disappeared."[221]

Not all companies could take advantage of government contracts. According to Tom Kostsky, "Most … were on a cost-plus basis. Able to pad their cost accounts, the larger manufacturers re-equipped the Winnipeg industry at government expense", but "many small firms run by former labourers engaged in jobbing for the bigger houses or filled direct civilian demand."[222] In many cases "these new managers" were "recruited from family and friends."[223] They "cut or sewed, many for … "gut-money", earned by working sixteen hours a day to save the dollar or so per hour that an operator would charge for the same task."[224]

The abundance of wartime contracts forced large companies (some of which had been producers of ready made suits and cloaks, finer clothing that had penetrated the domain of the custom tailor) to introduce rationalized forms of producing garments. Using capital accumulated from increased sales, the larger firms invested in newer, more powerful sewing machines, or took advantage of technological innovations like the needle cooler. Both sped up production.[225] By the end of the war, therefore, many larger companies were equipped with the "newest types of machinery" for the purpose of increasing production.[226]

At one "improved" plant "eight miles of material could be laid out on the cutting tables at once" and depending on the "size of the electric circular blade" used to cut the material, "up to twenty-five dozen shirts" could be cut at once."[227] There were narrow bands, "used for trimming" and "belts of all kinds", were cut from "huge rolls, so that by a few movements, hundreds of yards (could) be cut to the required measurements."[228] There were "as many different types of sewing machines as … different operations to be done, varying from the simple type to those which (could) stitch up to six seams at once, or perform such operations as sewing on buttons or stitching and cutting button-holes."[229]

The Eaton's shop used "the most up-to-date equipment, such as electric cutting machines capable of cutting as many as 250 thicknesses at a time" and "button hole machines that maintain(ed) a steady clip of 40 button-holes a minute!"[230] As well, training schools for workers were set up in local factories.[231] The program opened at Northern Shirt in 1942 was a pioneer effort in the emergency program to train garment workers to mass produce war contract garments.[232]

Scientific management, which had been introduced to industry at the turn of the century to rationalize production and was employed to an increasing degree in the 1920s in such sectors as the auto industry, made its way into garment manufacture because of the war effort. Prior to the war, a firm might be involved in making shirts or cloaks. Because of the demands of the season or trends in fashion, these lines would have to be redesigned periodically. Many of

the wartime contracts involved making a single garment, such as a tunic or battle dress trouser, that was unaffected by these factors. As a result, an employee could be assigned to the task of sewing on one pocket, or pressing one sleeve, before the entire garment was assembled by someone else. A contemporary account described this process of modernization:

> The factories are run on the most modern up-to-date principles, so that each operation can be performed with the utmost efficiency. By using to some degree the plan of the assembly line and dividing the work into a number of small operations, large quantities of garments can be made in a short time. By this means, the workers can reach and maintain a peak of efficiency, because they are able to concentrate on one job and therefore to become expert in it.[233]

Assembly line production and technological innovation also favoured the application of piece rates (as opposed to hourly rates) to the wage structure, in order that employers could procure the highest degree of efficiency from workers and thereby cut costs. A brief, prepared for a provincial commission into a wage dispute, reported in 1957 that entrepreneurs had "in the past number of years, made considerable investment in new equipment", such as "modern high speed machines" which, combined with "new engineering methods", resulted in higher levels of production and earnings.[234]

A representative of the labour movement confirmed the fact that the garment industry was going through a new stage. Plants were being "engineered" for efficiency and scientific methods were used to adjust piece rates. A quota system, a combination of piece and hourly rates (the wartime and pre-war systems combined) used to calculate a minimum rate of production, was introduced by mid-decade.[235]

These techniques, at first employed only on an experimental basis in factories, were used in conjunction with skilled and unskilled labour brought from German concentration camps in the late 1940s (and from Czechoslovakia and Hungary in the mid-1950s) and later would be applied to the manufacture of civilian garments.[236] The techniques revolutionizing the production process – now less skill intensive – in order that clothing could be produced faster and more cheaply, could be marketed very quickly from the perspective of aiding the

manufacturer in responding to rapid changes (caused by style, or seasonal trends) in the mass market.

Indeed, during the war and immediately after, mass marketing and distribution became more important than ever before when the ground was being laid for what now is described as the consumer society. As early as 1940, the *Jewish Post* observed, "when leisure garments first became popular, Winnipeg manufacturers" imported "new machinery, hired special designers and began to specialize."[237] By 1945, entrepreneurs had tapped North American consumer markets, travelling twice a year to Hollywood and other fashion centres to keep up with current trends.[238] Materials that were developed as a direct result of wartime research opened up for the producer entirely new lines and markets. When it began making parkas in 1937, the Royal Garment Manufacturing Co. could not have foreseen the innovations that would enable it to pioneer the development of a "warm and light" wool-fibre lining.[239] By 1946, Royal was producing nylon parkas. Similarly, Supercraft Co., a manufacturer of children's and women's clothing, used the newly-developed "popular nylons and nylon mixed yarns."[240]

The large companies, notably the big four of Feldman, Jacob-Crowley and Stall, were the major beneficiaries of the war and in this regard Jacob-Crowley as a perfect example of how the war years provided ample opportunities for expansion within the local industry and across the national market place in the post-war period. Jacob-Crowley was the example for the business community of Winnipeg of how Western Canadian initiative and determination could make local business self-sufficient. Jacob-Crowley began in business in 1919, on Princess Street with four employees. J.H. Crowley was described in 1946 by Manitoba Industrial Topics "as a congenial and practical Irishman who is the creator and master designer of factory operations." Ben Jacob, on the other hand, was "more at home as the financial genius, front office manager and contact official."[241] "In 1921 they purchased their "impressive building, since occupied and became assured of ample room for expansion."[242] The company had "grown to two hundred men and women" and its line of ladies' suits and coats found "a ready market from

one coast to the other."[243] Between 1940 and 1945 Jacob-Crowley "made 75,000 "great" coats for Canada's air force and navy."[244]

Shortly after World War II, *Manitoba Industrial Topics* claimed that since 1940 Manitoba products had attracted national markets, that this was "remarkable because it had no direct bearing on intensified wartime development,"[245] and that success "was due to that creative genius which had made the Greater Winnipeg needlecraft industry outstanding throughout Canada as a style centre."[246] By the 1940s, Jacob-Crowley and other firms were branching out into a variety of lines of stylistic clothing. A contemporary account noted:

> The idea of founding a manufacturing business based on two branded lines of blouses and sportswear was conceived by Jacob-Kilroy Ltd. The firm name has … been changed to Jacob-Fashions Ltd., with Nathan Jacob as president and Benjamin Jacob, president of the Jacob Crowley Manufacturing Co., as treasurer." "Tan Jay" blouses and "Style Strutter" sportswear will continue as the main lines, with the same variety of quality garments at prices which have won general approval among Canadian women from coast to coast. Between 125 and 150 are employed in the firm and there are sales offices in Ontario, Quebec and in each of the western Provinces. "This company is now one of the largest, if not the largest, sportswear manufacturer in Canada. The new material, mostly rayon, is imported from the eastern provinces. Some of it comes from Great Britain. So far (plans for expansion) have been restricted to this country, because of wartime conditions. But so many inquiries have been received from abroad that the possibility of export markets may soon have to be considered in any expansion plans. Export trade also has its complications and must receive careful considerations. For instance, prior to the war Jacob-Crowley exported large quantities of goods to New Zealand. When it is wintertime in Canada, the summer season is on over there. That means costumes have to be designed and manufactured to harmonize with the varying seasons in each country.[247]

Indeed, business acumen, the use of family and cheap wage labour, the advent of assembly line production, the old boys' network which developed out of the family firm, incentives to workers and stabilization of the industry with the help of Herbst – all had a part to play in making Winnipeg well-known for its clothing.

The growing power of retail and chain buyers became of increasing concern to manufacturers in the 1950s and tainted what otherwise might have been an optimistic outlook for the future of the industry. By the 1950s, the garment shop located in Eaton's mail order building had become one of many fierce competitors vying for a piece of the wholesale market.

The shop, which employed more than 100 men and girls, produced, among other things, men's work garments and like the Hudson's Bay department store on Portage Avenue, the garments were sold at cut rate prices in the store's bargain basement department. The Hudson's Bay Company had its own "Railroad Men's Shop, Bay Basement" store where the customer was promised "Quality, Value and Satisfaction" and an "excellent stock of overalls, caps, firemen's scarves, handkerchiefs, mitts, gloves, hose, shirts" and other items. "Budget Terms" were available on large purchases of $15 or more and a "railway man" who would "be glad to assist you at any time" was in charge of the shop.[248]

The small garment manufacturer levelled his anger and frustration against shops like those of the Hudson's Bay Company, where competition for the retail market focussed so sharply in the late 1940s and 1950s. In the 1920s, these stores stimulated growth of the industry; 35 years later they were so large that they seemed to control the market to such an extent that they dictated to the manufacturer not only the prices of garments, but the various lines, styles and seasonal undulations of the market. The Garment Manufacturers' Association of Western Canada described a situation in which the producer, in an effort to compete successfully, responded to market conditions by lowering prices and production costs.

> [E]mployers have gone through great lengths to give full employment throughout the whole year. This has been done a) by stockpiling, b) by development of lines which hit a peak at different times of the year and c) through selling to mail order houses, department stores, wholesalers and retailers, whose peak demands come at different seasons."[249]

The department store choked out the wholesale buyer. One of the largest garment manufacturers of Winnipeg, Joseph Freed, knew of "two wholesale firms selling to shops around the country and doing business with the department stores that went out of business in the 1940s." This, he believed "was the result of difficulties of trading with the advent of the chain stores and the price cutting that took place."[250] In addition to this, manufacturers were feeling increasing pressure in the 1950s from the competition of Japanese producers.

Since the most "liquid" of overhead costs were those associated with labour, employers cut wages when possible (a difficult thing to do given the existence of garment workers' unions), or removed operations to a cheaper and, therefore, more desirable labour market. This latter method was done in Winnipeg by contracting out to household workers who made garments on the piece rate (a system that was a common practice since the origins of the industry and which had been used to cope with the flood of orders in busy seasons). According to one union leader in 1957, "trucks and cars [we]re placing machines in the homes."[251] In some cases, there were more than one machine in the home and "innumerable ads appearing in the classified ads."[252] Work was often "taken to the country districts because women there worked for lower wages than in the city."[253]

In the case of larger firms, companies set up branch plants in places of known low wage rates. Monarch Wear, for example, established plants in small towns like Steinbach and even in larger Eastern centres like Thunder Bay, while Dressler opened in Teulon and Morden.[254] Buffalo Cap closed out altogether, affected by a phenomenon similar to that "in New York State, where cutting, designing [was] done in the city, other work in the country."[255] Both contracting out and the "runaway" shops furthered the process of segmenting the production of a single garment into a series of uncomplicated tasks that could be accomplished anywhere on the face of the globe.

Local entrepreneurs also faced problems in the changing labour market. Many workers were able to find employment in other sectors of the economy. Employers complained that "not enough young people" came into the garment industry and that "if it was not for the fact that a number of middle-aged people were working steadily with them, production would practically cease."[256] Potential recruits to the industry, it was claimed, "were being educated away from the dignity of labour and the value of personal independence."[257] By the 1950s, some owners indicated that there was a "lack of co-operation amongst the employers' and suggested that a united effort should be made to bring at least 500 experienced operators from Germany or

Japan to relieve the shortage."[258] A manufacturer noted that there was "a definite shortage of help and learners or trainees d[id] not seem to stay long enough to become qualified operators."[259]

Significant changes also occurred in the ranks of upper and middle management. The return of the entrepreneurs' sons from military service and/or university, marked a turnover in ownership and management of family businesses in the industry in the 1950s. In the early years of the decade, the original old men of the Faultless factory still had control and were tutoring their offspring. Meanwhile, markets were changing rapidly and amid expansion in the industry, the leading garment manufacturers were being eclipsed by those of other centres. While they blamed the retail chains, over zealous competition and high union wages for their problems, other observers were critical of outmoded business techniques employed by the entrepreneurs of Ben Jacob's generation. Herbst argued that conditions "in the ladies' suit and coat industry have changed in the last few years. Competition has become keener and some of our manufacturers feel that if they could cut down on their labour expenses they could produce a cheaper garment and, therefore, sell more rapidly."[260]

William Lazer's findings in his study on entrepreneurship in the trades suggested that few manufacturers were making profits – "only two of twenty-six manufacturers told Lazer that they increased their profits in 1956" and a "number of leading manufacturers told Lazer they would liquidate if they could do so without loss."[261] According to Lazer, Winnipeg manufactures had no conception of the value of merchandising techniques. Potential management personnel, he argued, often were unwilling to enter the clothing business for fear of being displaced. Only the production supervisors were well paid. One owner told him: "The key to success is constant vigilance by the owners – you can't trust others."[262] Furthermore, the larger "manufacturers weren't doing too well" because "sons of owners went into dentistry, architecture and law"; as a result, the family-controlled firm "was fast disintegrating."[263]

By the 1950s, people inside the Winnipeg garment industry referred to its leaders, Jacob and Crowley, Feldman and Stall as the "big four", an elite group of manufacturers who were at the apex of the garment trades. The rise to prominence of the "big four" and other well-to-do entrepreneurs symbolized the emergence of a local industry that was able to compete on a par with Eastern manufacturers. As discussed above, many different factors made the rise of the "big four" to prominence possible: economic conditions, the labour market, the growth of new consumer markets and the availability of capital. They also influenced the ability of the Winnipeg needle trades to become a modern twentieth century industry.

Chapter 4

Factory Workers

Contemporary labour historians interpret the transformation of the economy under industrial capitalism as one in which modern industry crowded out the craft production which dominated economic life in the nineteenth century. Methods of doing business and the production of goods were changed by technological innovations and new ways of managing factories. Social values, conventions and traditions were remodelled or invented as city inhabitants tried to adapt to their changing environment. In the process of change, workers became socially and politically conscious and formed radical political parties and workers' struggles had an impact on others' consciousness and organization.

This analytical model encounters some problems when it is applied to the garment industry. Labour historians often have focussed on sectors of industry in which men exclusively are involved. One learns nothing about women from a history of carpenters or railway workers that examines the labour process or union organization. If women are mentioned they are given credit for their supportive roles in the home, as managers of finances, or as unpaid domestic labour.[264] The researcher must be willing to investigate the lives of spouses, but this kind of research is usually beyond the scope of a thesis research at the M.A. or PhD. level. Only recently have historians begun to probe into the home life of women in an effort to shift the balance of interpretation of labour history away from male oriented activity.

Another strategy for research is to choose industries in which women were involved to discover something about their experiences as unpaid and wage labourers. The garment industry was predominantly the domain of women at work in factories and in this respect their history is also the history of work and social life beyond the confines of the home and immediate neighbourhood. Women workers' relations with male owners and male union leaders and their organizing activities inside and outside the workplace were important factors in shaping the contours of work rules and industrial relations. That women were such a prominent component

of the labour market in this sector of the economy begs new questions about the nature of the transformation of craft production and the role of male-led organizations in formulating the policies and asserting the prerogatives of the labour movement.

The labour process often is viewed as an activity which takes place within the confines of the eight hour day at the factory. This chapter, however, attempts to view work as a continuous labour process that for women and men continued far beyond the boundaries that kept workers inside the factory. The rhythms of the clock and the monotony of production pervaded all aspects of one's existence outside the factory walls, just as domestic and cultural experiences could not be shut out of one's consciousness while at work. As Charlene Gannagé observed of women in the Toronto garment industry and as James Schmiechen pointed out in his work on the London garment industry, people worked a double day. Their work in the factory was additional to their work as domestic labour at home and their thoughts were in both places at once. "While working, their minds [we]re constantly in touch with the needs of their family – planning the next meal or amending the family budget if they [we]re laid off earlier in the year, or discussing family concerns with other women workers." Thus, "their working day [was] never-ending."[265] Gannagé referred solely to women, but as David Harvey suggested in speaking of labour in the urban environment, this analysis is not foreign to the realm of male experience. It is a function of life governed by the mores and practices of modern day industrial society and the work process of the garment industry can be a window through which the different lives of men and women in this society can be seen.

In order to have a clear view, the breakdown of the distinction between the domestic and non-domestic workday is important because it explains differences in the experiences of males and females on the factory floor. The labour market in trades, such as building construction, railway construction and maintenance, was almost exclusively male. As a result, comparisons between men and women in the workplace are very difficult to do. Researchers, therefore, are forced into the traditional type of study which attempts to describe the division of domestic and

industrial labour. The garment industry, on the other hand, was one in which a gender division of labour between men and women was endemic. Women comprised the largest part of the labour market in the garment industry from its inception in the early 1900s. In 1901 in Winnipeg's 18 garment factories, there were 157 women working in comparison to 122 men; the gap widened as the industry grew between the 1920s and 1930s. The place of women in the labour market is revealed in Table 1 below.

The Labour Market, 1921-1936

	1921		**1931**		**1936**	
	M	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**
Foremen/Overseers	1	6	5	12	12	16
Cutters	unknown		63	13	126	14
Machine Operators	152	259	56	587	132	821
Totals	**153**	**265**	**124**	**612**	**270**	**851**

Source: Canada. *Census.*

Women outnumbered men in the industry two or three to one, but in the most highly paid and most highly regarded occupations, those of foreman and cutters, they were under-represented significantly. In the 1920s, as in the early 1900s, women often were hired from the entrepreneur's family as overseers. By the 1930s, however, this trend appeared to be receding, as owners increasingly recruited supervisory personnel from senior positions on the shop floor, or from the male ranks of the family's offspring. The gender division of labour was compounded by the fact that as the trades diversified, the production of new commodities influenced the ratios of men and women in the factories. In the 1930s, for example, more men were involved in the production of cloaks, products that were more closely dependent on the skills of the custom tailor than on those of the sewer of work shirts and overalls.[266]

The reasons for the gender division of labour are historical. The foundations for what now are known as occupational "job ghettoes" for women were laid by sex roles in the home and at work and in values and expectations lodged firmly within the spheres of neighbourhood and family which frequently were inherited from the prevailing customs and traditions of the "old

country." Usually teenage boys or young men began apprenticeship as tailors and learned the skills (trimming, basting, pressing and cutting). These would be brought into the factory as segmented tasks performed by numerous skilled workers. Women were trained in the home where their skills were cultivated for unskilled factory jobs. Women "have always been dressmakers in the home and with a short training period in the operation of power sewing machines", they could "acquire enough skill to work in a factory."[267] Indeed, women's "knowledge of hand sewing", "deftness and speed with the needle" and "acceptance of wages" which many men would not tolerate, "created a domain left exclusively to women."[268]

The traditional paths of occupational mobility played a part in training women to become operators and men to become cutters, enabling men to hold onto the prestigious and powerful positions on the work floor. Ethnicity was also a powerful force in maintaining the *status quo*. The influence of the *landsmen* communities of central and Eastern Europe was powerful and unmistakable in the Winnipeg garment industry during the twentieth century. Statistics from the *Census* which, unfortunately, does not contain "ethno-religious" breakdowns for previous and subsequent decades, are available only for 1931, as in Table 5 below.

People of Jewish Origin in the Manitoba Garment Industry, 1931

Occupation	Hebrew	Total Manitoba
Owners and Manufacturers	63	136
Foremen and Overseers	4	23
Cutters	26	99
Sewing Machine Operators	294	697
Tailors/Tailoresses	202	735

Source: Canada. Census.

As discussed earlier, many of the old world customs held by Jewish immigrants from Europe and other non-Jewish European immigrants also prevailed among the owners who had come from similar backgrounds; for them payment for equal work of equal value was incomprehensible.

The general division of the labour force predisposed men to rise to positions of seniority and responsibility on the factory floor with some promise of further advancement. For women the possibilities were limited. Available statistics for four garment factories in the early 1900s reveal a pattern of mobility that, according to other studies, became the norm for women in the industry.[269]

Age Distribution of Workers in Four Factories

	Male		Female	
	+21	**-21**	**+21**	**-21**
Scotland Woolen Mills 1907	18	1	3	15
Whitla 1909	5	4	50	60
Manitoba Clothing 1910	15	0	3	5
Echlin Cap 1916	8	0	0	6
Totals	**46**	**5**	**56**	**86**

Source: *Labour Gazette*

Many women regarded the garment industry as an opportunity to make extra money, as a necessity to supplement the family income (especially in the Depression), or as a last resort if they could not start with the more desirable retail companies such as Eaton's.[270] In any event, most women intended to make their stay in the needle trades temporary.

The gender division of labour would have been apparent to any visitor who chose to tour one of the early manufacturing establishments. A visitor to one of the larger factories in 1907, for example, first would be introduced to the job of the cutter. Of all the tasks performed by a tailor or factory worker, cutting was by far the most important. Unlike sewing, it required many years to become proficient. Consequently, the cutter was usually an older man in his forties or fifties working in a small room with a heavy cutting knife. With dexterity of hand and eye he cut "quite a number of thicknesses of cloth…with one stroke of the knife."[271] In the making of shirts and overalls, the garments were "always cut and made to exact standard sizes without regard for the individual fit that finer garments require[d]."[272] The cloth was "die cut" and this was facilitated by machine work that had "largely displaced the quantity that the same force could do working entirely by hand."[273]

Cutting was also a craft that required physical dexterity and strength. It was "a hard job – the table [was] big, the cutting machine difficult to handle – mark[ed] the sleeves and collars – you ha[d] to press down and move the machine at the same time."[274] The pieces of cloth which lay on the tables in various precise shapes and sizes were the product of a tremendous feat of skill because the task demanded from the cutter expert use of patterns and chalk, combined with the knowledge of the elastic properties of many layers of cloth.

The "art of cutting and fashioning garments" was a highly paid craft, "guarded jealously and passed down within a family group almost as a legacy."[275] A "tailor's head cutter" made "a wage that many customers env[ied] and they c[ould] be truly said to belong to the aristocracy of workmen."[276] Cutters had tremendous responsibility because they "designed the garment, made the pattern, selected the fabrics and trimming, cut the cloth."[277] One error with the knife or the patterns and the materials would be ruined. Because the cutter occupied the "most skilled and expert branch of the trade," the occupation offered an avenue of mobility out of the factory floor and into the domain of the small business man or manager, or into the field of design, since designers were always in demand.[278]

It was not uncommon for an experienced cutter to set out into the field armed with the experience of a designer and manufacturer. His work with materials usually taught him something about inventories and suppliers, as well as styles and design. Women who had the skill and opportunity to become cutters, however, were reluctant to do so because they would be paid less than male cutters of equal skill and experience.

After being cut, the bundles of cloth were taken into the larger rooms of the factory. Here women basted, that is, they sewed garments together with temporary stitches in preparation for the final stages of assembly. Inside a typical factory, such as Whitla's, were "rows of power machines, where young girls and even gray haired women made dozens of blouses or skirts or suits with a rapidity that c[ame] of long practice."[279] Until the widespread use of motorized sewing machines in the 1930s, these women worked "on the shaft", a number

of machines connected to a central shaft at their feet which provided power from a central source located on the ceiling above their heads and hooked up by one or more belts which were attached to a foot treadle.[280] This arrangement meant that operators sat across from each other at long tables, in the middle of which was a V-shaped bin for scraps and space to hold the unused portion of the garment. Light bulbs often were located above, but most commonly, natural light from windows was exploited to illuminate the work areas. It was common also for work to be subcontracted, especially in the busy season, when factory labour could not handle the heavy loads of production. If "the busy season [was] on, or, in many of the shops at all times, all of the simpler work, sewing the straight seams, etc., [was] entrusted to the women, who do the work in their homes, each taking much or little according to her ability and the time she can spare for the employment."[281]

In hat factories the sewing process was split in two. An operator sewed the hat together, then passed it on to a blocker, who "put the blocks in, put the cap in the 'oven', took the cap out, shaped the cap, then let it dry while working on another one."[282] A "finisher would then sew in a sweatband in the cap."[283] For other products, "successions of specialized machine operators…did the sewing, helped by basters, who basted the unsewn pieces and removed the bastings from the sewn ones."[284] Women usually performed the hand sewing, sewed buttonholes and sewed on buttons.

After the clothes were sewn together and the bastings were removed, the garments "went to the buttonholer", before being taken to the pressers, who, in terms of prestige and wage scales, usually were in between the occupational hierarchy of cutting and operating. As a result, the occupation of a presser was more accessible to women seeking mobility.[285] Here, men with heavy "gas or electric irons soon complete[d] the process and ha[d] the garment ready for the shipping department", where the products were graded, labelled and packed before being sent in boxes "into the stores of a thousand towns."[286]

Like cutting, sewing required concentration and good vision to examine the detailed handiwork being done by machines or hand. With "deft fingers", the operators sitting across from each other "guide[d] the needle with its ceaseless chain of thread" at "rows of power machines" operated by "young girls and women."[287] The operator, paid on piece-work, already in use in the early years of the twentieth century, found as many as 24 garments in one bundle. Everything was separate, but "you had to complete the garment" and to know how to do everything "sometimes you had to make different parts of the garment" and especially under the piece-work system "to work fast."[288] The reader of the 1907 industrial section of the *Free Press* did not know of the conditions inside early factories because they were described as models of efficiency and cleanliness.[289] "The young women who form the majority of operators in this trade find the work therein congenial, light and of sure and good remuneration."[290] The shops were "invariably clean, airy and well kept and nowhere [we]re there any traces of the conditions that [we]re apt to creep into the large factories and shops of this character in the overcrowded cities of the east."[291] Subsequent articles in the 1930s and 1940s in local business journals would reiterate this theme.

In 1907, there were essentially two occupations on the shop floor around which all other tasks revolved: preparation of the uncut material [cutting] and assembly of the cut garment [sewing and pressing]. Other tasks such as basting and pressing were variations of one or the other of these functions. The emergence of the mass manufacture of garments during and after the 1920s brought important changes to these functions. Growth of the industry in these years, through expansion of production including the advent of the assembly line, meant for the needle trades worker new divisions of labour in which the segmentation of sewing and cutting into minute detailed tasks was the norm. Through the changes, however, the gender division of labour remained the same.

The major change which occurred in the inter-war years, one which depended more on extended use of machinery and the reorganization of the old factory on the basis of the

assembly line, was piece-work. Piece-work was used as early as 1900, but had not become widespread, probably because of the power of trade unions inside and outside the garment industry. It gained in popularity, however, in the 1930s and during World War II. Philip Chmielewiec's experiences illustrate the impact of this system on male and female workers in the factory in the 1920s and 1930s.

Chmielewiec's parents were born in Poland and came to Canada in 1897. His father was a stonemason who chose to settle in Winnipeg to take advantage of the abundance of building construction in the city at the turn of the century. Born in 1916, Chmielewiec grew up in Winnipeg's North End. He began his lifelong career in garment production in 1933, when, at age sixteen, his mother took him to a tailor on Selkirk Avenue and asked him to employ her son as an apprentice.[292] Many other immigrants were introduced to the needle trades in the same way; it was an avenue in which the ties of neighbourhood and European village life were strong and important. Jack Chorney, for example, was born in the Ukraine and educated in the tailoring trade there. His parents settled in Dauphin during World War I. Chorney rented a room in a house on Flora Avenue when he came to Winnipeg in 1934. He shared the room with some "landsmen", "people from the old country, they knew me – who I am [sic] and I knew them."[293]

Chmielewiec, Chorney and many others practised the craft of tailoring in little shops that were like "a little family group…not a production house", where people laughed and talked in Polish or Ukrainian around the cutting table and sewing machine.[294] Here they learned the skills required to do precision work by hand and the jobs involved in machine sewing. Chorney was employed in the small second hand tailor shops on Dufferin Avenue and Main Street before working at Montreal Cloak and Sterling Cloak. His mentor, Tailor, "subsequently used his contacts" to find him employment "with Gunn Garment" where he stayed for a year before going to another job [again with the help of the tailor] at Sterling Cloak as an operator's helper.[295] While not followed by Chmielewiec or Chorney, it is interesting to note that another common route into the trade was for a woman operator to get her husband a job in the factory.[296]

In the 1920s and 1930s, the move from the tailor's shop to the factory was a smooth and logical one for the apprentice tailor because he could find work in the cloak and suit making trades, which paid by the hour, employed more men than the other less specialized trades and, notwithstanding the severity of the Depression, usually had better wages and opportunities for mobility for men than for women who did the same work. Inside the shops of Montreal Cloak and Sterling Cloak, the jobs were related closely to the work of the tailor. The worker "had to alternate, …to sew the buttons", to know "how to put the linings in, how to make the cuffs."[297] These jobs were all "part of tailoring."[298] For Chmielewiec, the "move to Sterling" from Gunn Garment "was an improvement over working at Gunn because Sterling was a fashion house involved in the more interesting tasks of "styling."[299]

Yet despite the dependence of these shops on the skills of the tailor, they were a far cry from the closely knit family outfits of the small shop on Selkirk Avenue where Chmielewiec first began in the trade. The majority of workers in the 1920s and 1930s operated under a system of time work. In some factories, piece-work was used for some unskilled jobs, while time work was used for the more essential skilled jobs. Gender was also a factor here. Women who became skilled cutters were paid under the piece-work system while their male counterparts made more money from time work. The system was complex and made ample use of various workers and helpers who were all paid at different rates according to the demands of their tasks.

Section work, the forerunner of assembly line production, was used in factories in the 1920s and piece rates were applied to it as early as 1929.[300] In the 1920s, however, the time system was probably the most prevalent. In the 1930s, the tasks in some trades were divided into sectional production. Under this system one worker would perform one task – for example, sewing seams all day - then pass the seams along to someone else for further sewing or assembly. Chmielewiec said sectional production reminded him of a "parts department."[301] The section department "broke up the garment" and one person made the front, one made the back, one made the sleeves, one made the collar, one assembled the garment.[302]

Working in the factory under the time and section systems, highly skilled men found their work unrewarding and boring and the conditions unsatisfactory. For people like Chmielewiec, the actual work involved in making garments hardly was as exacting as that in tailoring. Making pants was "quite simple, four pockets."[303] Consequently, there was "no variety" and this made it "monotonous working in [the] factory", despite the fact that Sterling Cloak put a great deal of fancy work into its garments.[304] Jack Chorney's first job at Montreal Cloak was "on a section", where he was a helper making collars for a contractor.[305] In addition, the section's performance continually was monitored, something that would never have happened to a tailor in a small shop. Asked whether he preferred to work in the shops before the piece-work system was introduced, Chorney said "no", because there were people standing out of view, watching "and marking your actions", allotting points according to the amount of attention paid to the job and the production at your work station.[306] Some workers could talk, laugh and tell jokes while they worked but when they requested higher wages they would be refused.[307] Although one could move around and talk freely in the factory, most workers "didn't have time for that."[308]

These conditions intensified with the more widespread use of piece-work during World War II. "The less skilled operators were put on the recently established section department and workers in overall and cloak factories were employed in the production of standard army clothing.[309] Military garments were easy to put on piece-work because "once you learned one job like a collar or sleeve, you could do the rest fast."[310] After the war was over, manufacturers began using the piece-work system for civilian clothing and for improving the sectional system of production. This created many problems for workers because of styles and the seasonal rhythms of the industry. Each "bundle was different – it was hard to make money on piece-work style because as soon as you learned a style, the bundle was finished and you had to learn another style."[311] No individual made a single garment as had been the case in the 1920s. Although "at one time samples were the ultimate in skilled work", by the 1950s everything was split into a number of minute tasks.[312] When "spring and fall lines were chosen, shop

committees priced clothing" and established a schedule so that under the piece work system, "you could know how much you were making."[313] Tickets were given to the workers to count up the number of pieces.

Herein lay the dilemma for the worker whose standard of living was determined by his speed and whose limits of productivity were determined by externally produced schedules and rates of pay per piece. In the 1920s, the average workday for male workers varied according to the seasons. When the industry was very active, as in the fall in the cloak industry, a 70 hour work week was possible. Chmielewiec earned 25 cents an hour as a beginner at Gunn Garments and as his proficiency increased, he was able to make $11 for a 44 hour week. Such wages were adequate for someone like Chorney who paid $3 a month for rent and laundry services in the 1920s, but in the Depression wages were cut by from 10-50 per cent.[314] As Max Dolgoy of the Industrial Union of Needle Trade Workers discovered and pointed out in 1929, the piece-work system had a devastating effect on wages. Weekly earnings were reduced from $30 or $35 to a mere $20.[315]

Some workers attempted to take second jobs making samples. The scene outside Montreal Cloak in the darkest days of the Depression were common. People came "in the morning…standing in the downstairs waiting for the boss to come and open the factory."[316] Sometimes he looked over their heads, selecting workers at random. "You come in, you come in, you come in."[317]

Compared to these low wages and unemployment-ridden conditions, many workers could and did make high wages during and after the war. When the system was instituted throughout the industry during World War II, some garment workers made more money on piece-work than workers on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Jack Chorney, who stitched and tacked pickets, made $50 for 18 pockets, an accomplishment that compelled his manager to grab "my pay and shows [sic] them [sic] to my operator and say would you ever make this much money. [sic]."[318] Chorney could make $12 in three hours sewing pockets, "and the girls

"look[ed] after you, suppl[ied] you with more bundles, one pressing on a machine, we [sewers] rac[ed] with each other, then the owners cut the pay in half."[319] The employers "got smarter, began watching the prices, cutting the rates."[320] Despite the introduction of these new managerial tactics, the system had a proven track record that high wages were attainable if only the workers applied themselves diligently to their jobs. All they had to do was work faster.

In the rush to compete with their neighbours for materials and production, social activity in the factory and all other distractions that made assembly line production bearable [for example, talking, joking, listening to the radio] disappeared. Arguments and bickering over jobs and bundles became more and more common and workers had less time to be sociable with one another. Many of the men involved in the needle trades believed that this was symptomatic of the demise of the craft of garment making. Reflecting on his life's work in the 1950s, Phil Chmielewiec said that at one time an operator required skill and this provided a goal to strive for. In the 1950s, operators were replaced by piece-workers. "Even samples", wrote Hample, "once produced by the most highly skilled workers in a given shop and the acme of a shop's ability to produce a quality garment", were "now produced by section work."[321]

For the majority of workers employed in the garment industry, the female sewing machine operators, the decline of the industry as a craft was never the issue. This was because many were very young and had built their dreams on leaving, a situation that increasingly became a reality after World War II when women were somewhat better prepared to enter other areas of the workforce through education or marriage. As well, for women workers, sewing had never been considered a craft, but as part of their inherited lot in life.

Though changes in the organization and technology of work made a universal transformation in the garment industry, the gender divisions of labour in both home and factory made women perceive their experiences in very different ways from men involved in the production of clothing. It is not surprising, then, that women workers were less concerned about

changes to the craft, than about working conditions and ways and means of improving their ability to provide a living for themselves and their families.

The story of X, a woman who wished to remain anonymous in her interview with the MLEC oral history project, and that of many of her sisters in the needle trades, provides a vivid picture of the lot of female workers in a typical Winnipeg garment factory. X was born in Winnipeg in 1921, her father a carpenter and her mother a housewife. As a young girl during the Depression, she was forced to take her first job during the Depression because her father was only working ten days a month and her brothers and sisters were unsuccessful at finding work. Unable to obtain a job at Eaton's as a sales clerk, she settled for employment at a glove factory. She walked daily to work and back home to Elmwood, a round trip of ten miles. Many other women who lived in the North End walked similar distances to and from work; other who lived in the area west of Isabel, closer to the factories, were more fortunate.

The owner of the glove factory "was a tall good-looking Scottish man who owned and wore all of fifty suits. He would bring them into the factory to be pressed by the pressers."[322] There were no coffee breaks at work. Someone came into the factory to sell cold drinks, although her fellow workers consumed them at their machines, the workers ate their lunch outside by the riverbank in the summer and at their machines in winter.[323] X hated the factory. She recalled that in the winter "it was so cold working at our sewing machines that we girls had to wear our boots and sometimes coats to work in, as there was little or no heat." On the other hand, Monarch Overall "was like a boiler room" in the summer, even with fans on the long tables." As a result, on some occasions young girls fainted, the factory would be closed and all the workers would be sent home.

There were about 30 people on X's floor. From her comment that "there were married women too", it would appear that most of the women were young and single. If she made mistakes, X had to rip apart the garments she had worked on, often losing time and money as a result. She came to work every day, but if there was no work available she "waited round until

[there was] something to do."[324] X worked piece-work. Unlike men who earned from $11-$12 a day under this arrangement, she was able to earn only five. The foreman would "give her tickets so she could earn as much as five dollars."[325] Sometimes "women working in the factories, similar to the one employing X, would go to Eaton's on their lunch hours with friends and in evenings, looking at the dresses they made but could not afford to buy."[326]

The introduction in plants of new sewing machines in the 1940s was a source of friction. According to one woman operator, it took almost a year to become proficient on the machines before a decent wage could be made. In addition, the speed-up, due to the piece-work, time systems and a time clock, insured competition among women for the easiest jobs and for faster money. Jackets, for example, "were stiff and small and hard to complete", but, "you had to finish jackets before pants."[327] On one occasion, female employees complained because a worker finished her bundle first and sewed pants while others were still working on jackets. The woman in question threatened to quit and because she was one of the fastest workers, the instigator was reprimanded.[328]

Many women felt compelled, by intimidation, to put up with unsatisfactory conditions. Often the only means toward betterment was finding a job in the retail industry. One woman remembered:

> …Freezing day after day, as a [group] we would go to the boss for heat. He would call us a bunch of Bolcheviks [sic] and tell us if we didn't return to our machines we would all be fired. Jobs were hard to find, so we had no alternatives [but] to go back and stick it out … In the summer we suffered with the heat."[329]

After trying another factory, the above-mentioned female worker finally found work at Eaton's in 1939 making "fatigue clothes for the air force."[330] For other women striving to make the same escape the process was much harder because of barriers of ethnicity and religion. One woman recollected that department stores like Eaton's and banks, which usually held employment opportunities for female labour, "all discriminated against Jews."[331] Another said

that a man in one of her jobs told her "one good thing about Mr. Hitler is what he's doing to the Jews."[332]

Throughout the period 1900-1955, women found themselves trapped in the lowest levels in the hierarchy of production. Sexual divisions of labour in the home, with the male as head of the nuclear family, were recreated within the walls of the factory. The male ownership presided over a hierarchy that placed women in subordinate positions in the factory. In some circumstances, this was reinforced by the fact that many women worked in the same factory as their husbands. What made this situation worse for women was that they would leave the factory for another activity at the end of the day – working experience in the home.

While changes within the factory led to further subordination and exploitation of the female condition, the transformation was universal and indiscriminate in that it involved a qualitative change in the labour process in general. At one time, garment factory life resembled the atmosphere of a home or household, but by the 1950s, factories were large, impersonal assembly lines encased in the old warehouses of the city's core. For the worker, this meant the deterioration of social activity in the work place, an increase in competition and a general speed-up of the pace of work. In the economic context, it meant a significant drop in wages and in the standard of living. Together, these conditions had the potential for widespread resistance by workers to the control of production by entrepreneurs. Many workers succumbed to the changes in their work and social lives, but others, both men and women, fought for better conditions on the shop floor and in the home.

Chapter 5

Discontent in the Needle Trades

Working conditions, the deterioration of skills and fluctuations in wage rates created discontent among needle trade workers. Their answers and responses to their changing world of work were formulated in cafes and meeting halls in Winnipeg, where they talked about the organized unions. The story of their efforts is well told in local works by James Mochoruk and Sharon Webber, whose oral history project for the MLEC provided the basis for the most up-to-date analysis of union activity from the 1920s to the post-World War period. Bruce Donaldson's work on Sam Herbst also has been important in this regard, as has David Hall's thesis. These studies have put together an excellent reconstructed record of conflict and trade union organization in the needle trades and there is no need for this paper to go into great detail in order to cover old territory. Instead, this chapter attempts to synthesize what we know already, to fill in a few gaps (particularly in the 1900-1925 period) and to examine the relationships between men and women in the organized trades.

The issues in strikes and matters discussed around the bargaining table or in employers' offices testify to the degree of discontent with wages and working conditions. Grievances and demands varied depending on conditions in the individual factory or particular line of work. Unsolved problems between employees and management often led to sympathy strikes on behalf of other unions and to strikes for the protection of the union label, for better wages, against discrimination (for example, because of ethnicity, indiscriminate firings for union activity or in seasonal slumps and favouring workers by giving them better jobs and production quotas), protests against sectional piece-work, to elicit reinstatement of foremen and cutters, for the abolition of piece-work, to amend price schedules, for union recognition and the defense of the closed shop and to protect the labour market from child labour.

If workers were successful in obtaining these kinds of objectives which employers usually considered an affront to their control over production, the goals were attained either at

the bargaining table or on the picket line. Table 3, which depicts graphically the number of workers involved in strikes in the garment industry in Winnipeg by decade from 1900 to 1955, demonstrates how important strike militancy was in Winnipeg demands from the 1900s to 1955.

Table 3

Strike Activity, 1900-1955

Date	Strikes	Workers	Male	Female
1900-10	3	158	24	119
1911-20	4	252	55	207
1921-30	7	169	96	73
1931-40	24	1,429	515	617
1941-55	3	159	--	--
Total	**42**	**2,167**	**690**	**1,016**

Source: *Labour Gazette*, Strike files, PAC

These statistics are indicative also of the critical role that women played in improving working conditions in the factory by their activities on the picket line. Few women held positions of authority in unions and one can only speculate as to how their opinions and policies were received from the floor at union meetings.

For both men and women, strikes often were the only methods available for achieving demands or even getting a hearing from management. Low levels of union membership plagued union leaders throughout the decades and especially in the years of unemployment and unrest in the 1920s and 1930s, as indicated in Table 4, below:.

Table 4

Garment Trade Union Membership in Manitoba, 1919-1948

Year	Unions	Workers
1919	1	300
1922	1	475
1925	1	503
1936	2	700
1948	5	3,650

Source: *Labour Gazette*, 1920-26, Johnson Thesis, p. 63.

While the number of unions and union membership grew in the 1940s, even in the 1950s, when the trades were thought by contemporaries to be fairly well organized, unions were signing up unorganized workers. Helen Sabinski, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, said that many unorganized workers, particularly those not fluent in English, were afraid of unions. The language barrier prevented them from getting in contact with shop stewards or from expressing themselves at union meetings if they were being recruited into the union's rank and file.[333] Language was especially problematic for people such as Mickey Mitchell and Jimmy James, Anglophone organizers of international unions who were parachuted into Winnipeg from head offices in the East. James testified to the Provincial Commissioner in 1957 that high numbers of Yiddish and German speaking workers in the trades posed problems for signing up members.[334]

On the other hand, effective communication was undoubtedly one of Sam Herbst's strengths, since he could speak Polish and Ukrainian (in the 1930s there were many in the factories who signed the agreements with Herbst's ILGWU). Herbst's knowledge also helped him recruit displaced persons after the war.[335] Consequently, a good Anglophone organizer signed up an assistant or appointed an organizer who knew the shops well and spoke the language or languages used in the shops.

Although the language barrier was an important factor in limiting the membership of women workers, it did not discriminate between men and women and, therefore, cannot be advanced as an explanation for the low percentages of organized female labour in the garment industry. In 1927, four of five women were on the list of the UGW, but in 1928 there was only one. In 1936, when Herbst made his famous debut, most of the representatives of the ILGWU, the UGW and the Glove Workers were men.[336]

The most important factor in keeping many women out of the needle trades union was that they were led by ignorant or insensitive males. Issues which concerned women often were not discussed at union meetings or put onto lists of demands brought forward to employers. For

example, Helen Sabinski recalled that there were no pregnancy benefits for women and that after she witnessed one woman who "worked all day, every day until the day she had a baby", she asked the union manager to "do something for the women who were pregnant."[337] Bill Haiko, the manager, "wrote to New York" and eventually the woman received six months leave. According to Sabinski, "Haiko was a little mad about this," although she did not specify whether or not the object of his anger was New York's response or the actions of the complainant.[338] To Sabinski, however, it made no difference. She believed that men in general did not understand fully why women needed the time off.[339]

Another woman revealed that men kept union business to themselves. For example, X remembered that there was no union in the glove factory where she worked, but she believed that when the workers went together to complain about the cold in Monarch Wear the men actually had a union in mind. She was not aware, though, of any organizing attempts or whether or not anyone was a member of the union.[340] Many women were kept deliberately in the dark about union activities until it was time for men to sign them up. It was not surprising that when some women were asked about male garment union leaders such as Sam Herbst they answered indifferently, as Sabinski did: "sometimes good, sometimes boring."[341]

Organization in the trades began in Winnipeg in the 1890s, when workers at the Armington and Hague tent and awning factory struck and formed a local of the United Garment Workers of America.[342] The UGW, at least until 1916, remained the principal garment trade union in the city, though maintaining the closed shop was not an easy task. The fledgling UGW encountered the same problems as other local unions in defending its status from open shop campaigns. Reports from the local labour press and the *Labour Gazette* strike files indicate that early conflicts were fought against the expansion of outwork that was symptomatic of the sweating system.[343]

Using the union label, shops were canvassed and signed up one by one. This type of campaign had proven successful in other industries such as the building trades at the turn of the

century. After 1906, however, the UGW and other local unions were the objects of closed shop campaigns. In the garment industry, local entrepreneurs pushed for open shops to cut labour costs on the grounds that they could especially compete with Eastern manufacturers. In 1909, for example, women who entered the King of the Road overall plant operated by Whitla were greeted by "a notice posted to the effect that on and after Monday next the factory would run as an open shop."[344] Without calling a meeting or without "any advice or urging", the 100 female employees, girls and women, struck the plant.[345]

In 1916, at a strike at the Faultless Ladies Wear factory on McDermot and Lydia, where Freed and Jacob and others were employed at the time, 40 women and 40 men formed the first local of the ILGWU in Winnipeg in a strike for higher wages and union recognition.[346] "Sixty women employees of the Faultless Ladies' Wear factory gathered in a large room in the Labor Temple" on the morning of July 21, a day after the strike began and "sang the Marseillaise vociferously." Having "brought their lunches with them", after the "songfest they devoured their eatables and then went on to picket duty."[347] The women complained of a familiar problem in the trades: their work is seasonable and "for the year they do not average more than ten to twelve dollars per week."[348]

The strikes were won by the workers, but resulted in limited material benefits, especially for the lower paid women. A strike at the Echlin Cap Co. in 1916 resulted in the following adjustments in wage rates, but did nothing to eliminate the discrepancies between female and male wage labour.

Wages of Men and Women at Echlin Cap Co., 1910

Wages Prior to Strike		Wages After Strike	
3 men	$18 / wk	4 men	$18 / wk
1 man	$17 / wk	1 man	$15 / wk
1 man	$14 / wk	2 men	$14 / wk
2 men	$13 / wk	1 man	$13 / wk
1 girl	$9 / wk	1 girl	$10 / wk
1 girl	$8 / wk	1 girl	$9 / wk
2 girls	$7 / wk	3 girls	$7.50 / wk

Source: *Labour Gazette* files

Nevertheless, all gains were important ones, especially in the context of the recession of 1913 and the lean and difficult years of World War I.

Garment workers often supported the efforts of other unions. This was the case during a strike of street railway employees in 1910. On a wintry day in December, the strikers held a parade to show their solidarity to the people of Winnipeg. Led "by a brass band and accompanied by the locked-out members of the local Garment Workers' Union, the railway strikers marched in procession through the principal streets of the city."[349] They were accompanied by a "bevy of the wives and lady friends of the strikers, who sold "We Walk" tags and badges to the public."[350] This was not just a sign of moral support on behalf of the garment workers. Northwestern Cap Company workers, most of them female, struck in sympathy with the street railway workers. The cap workers refused to make street railway caps.[351] This kind of solidarity extended beyond the confines of the needle trades probably because many of the women and girls had husbands, friends and relatives who experienced similar conditions in their respective occupations.

Garment workers found themselves in another supportive role when building trades and metal trades workers struck in May, 1919, but ironically this conflict split apart organizations that already were reeling after the recession of 1913 and labour problems caused by the war years (by 1919 there were two international unions in the city – the ILGWU and the UGW). International garment unions found it difficult to maintain their organizations in distant centres

like Winnipeg[352] where factionalism and competition intensified the problem during 1918-1919 when the OBU set up its own locals in several factories. A dispute between the UGW and the OBU occurred in December, 1919, when 150 women workers at several factories were locked out over a dispute with the UGW, who had been raided by the OBU. The workers who signed up with the OBU were locked out of the UGW factories.[353] According to the *Globe* the crux of the issue was the "right of the OBU to dictate terms in the controversy. The Garment Workers' Union has seceded from the International Union, with which the employers had agreed to place a union label upon all the goods made. Now the employees are in a quandary; the International label they will not change and the OBU members cannot handle the goods bearing it."[354]

Despite press reports that the demands of the OBU for union recognition in these factories indicated a victory for the internationals, the reverse proved to be true. The OBU instructed its members to return to work under the UGW agreements and informed the membership that employers promised to sign new contract with the OBU workers the following May. The OBU claimed that its membership was sympathetic to the new union.[355] The OBU was successful in signing up workers because of "strong rank and file support" among garment workers in Winnipeg, "weak internationals, divided employers and the absence of government intervention."[356]

Union organizers were unsuccessful in recruiting workers throughout the 1920s. Both the OBU and the ILGWU had little success in organizing garment workers by 1925, with the result that by the late 1920s, garment workers were largely unorganized between 1925 and 1930.[357] By the mid 1920s approximately 700 men and women were members of the UGW, there were locals of the OBU, and in the ILGWU, "only a small number of the more union-conscious were members and the union held no contracts with any of the employers."[358] It also was reported by the Deputy Minister of Labour that as early as 1923 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America were engaged in organizing activity in Winnipeg.[359]

In the early 1920s, between 1926 and 1929 and subsequently, internecine warfare between the unions was characteristic. According to the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council's, *Labor Day Annual of 1937*, the "internal conflict between Right and Left wing caused the tearing of the ILGWU to shreds."[360] In 1925, "continued low wages and poor conditions united with a radical, largely Eastern European membership" and Communist factions produced "continued turbulence."[361] The "interests of the workers were relegated to the background in a mad scramble for power."[362]

By 1929, the UGW declined "to the point where their membership and contract were confined to only one of the work-garment factories.[363] Union meetings "were turned into an arena for most vicious squabbles, mud slinging character assassination and utter destruction of the morale of the membership, who in turn, out of sheer disgust, deserted the union in wholesale numbers."[364] In addition, by 1930 in the ILGWU there "remained only shambles with a handful of members"; "old loyalists [were] determined to carry on and to begin the job over again."[365]

Under the banner of the Workers' Unity League, the Communist Party of Canada capitalized on the fighting among the unions. A conference of needle trades workers held in Toronto in August, 1928 gave birth to the Industrial Union of Needle Trades Workers [IUNTW]; officers to national and provincial committees were elected and a nation-wide campaign was begun to "organize the Unorganized."[366] The IUNTW made its presence felt shortly thereafter, when Max Dolgoy of the Cloakmakers' Union formed the first Winnipeg local of the national body.

Dolgoy, a provincial executive member of the Workers' Unity League and his sister, Bertha Dolgoy led the IUNTW in some bitter strikes against the introduction of piece-work in 1929.[367] In March, claiming that "adoption of the piece-work system ha[d] cut their weekly earnings from $35 and $30 to $20, fifteen workers at the Montreal Cloak Company" went on strike and were victorious.[368] In April, the IUNTW claimed their second victory in unionizing the

shops of the Madewell Garment factory.[369] In May, a strike over piece-work and other issues occurred at the Western Glove Works over piece work and other issues where some workers were members of the UGW. Declaring war on the rival UGW by calling it a "company union", the IUNTW struck in sympathy.[370] And in July, workers were organized at the Freed and Freed factory on Pioneer Avenue after a 14 day strike.[371] By the middle of 1929, the IUNTWU certainly had made its mark on the Winnipeg labour scene.

About this time, the national executive of the IUNTW stepped up its efforts to organize Canadian garment workers. Louis Guberman (also known as "Vassil") was appointed as the IUNTW organizer for Winnipeg.[372] In 1929, he met with considerable success in organizing Winnipeg workers. According to Webber and Mochoruk, the "views of the IUNTW were in marked contrast to the views of the other needle trades unions at the time."[373] The IUNTW perceived ILGWU, as other unions, to be a collaborationist union, opposed to organizing the unorganized workers.[374] As well, the IUNTW took pride in its attempts to organize women; the ILGWU was regarded as a union that did not believe women could be organized.

The IUNTW also had a proven track record in strikes that attracted workers who might have been afraid to support weaker organizations. One incident during an organizing campaign illustrates the source of the IUNTW's popularity. Vassil and other organizers "came to the shop" of Jack Chorney "to see if they were signed up."[375] The IUNTW, at this time, "had a lot of power."[376] There were "work stoppages whenever workers did not agree with the employers."[377] Chorney's shop chairman said "join (the) union and you'll be better off." Chorney recalled that joining "was common sense, because [he] saw what happen[ed]" with the other workers who lost their jobs or suffered wage cuts when they were involved in non-IUNTW strikes that were lost."[378] Consequently, the IUNTW, which only had three locals in Winnipeg by 1935, was the "front line" in union organization before the years of Sam Herbst. One worker recollected how they would "parade in front of the shops," with a "union band, marching up to the Hudson [sic]

Bay store.[379] He noted there were "meetings in the halls and little by little we became stronger and stronger….You [had] to be active, spread knowledge around, not keep it to yourself."[380]

In the early years of the Depression, amid employers' attempts to keep down inventories and overhead costs, the IUNTW attempted to broaden its base by organizing big factories like Jacob-Crowley. Workers at the plant walked out on February 4, 1931 and remained off their jobs for three weeks before voting to end the strike and to accept management's terms. Blaming the conflict on Communist agitators, Jacob-Crowley refused to grant an increase in wages or to allow unionized labour in its shop. The Depression, threats of starvation and declining standards of living for workers and the anticipated doom that many small and large employers envisioned, came to a head in frequent strikes led by the IUNTW for the purpose of organizing open shops. Often these conflicts resembled pitched battles in the streets, with women at the forefront of the picket lines. Ann Dutkevitch, a member of the IUNTW and later of the ILGWU was "arrested for a scuffle with a scab and also for "assaulting a police officer."[381] She jumped up and down on a policeman's foot and hit him. The charges were dropped.

In a 1934 strike at Feldman's, the company hired "toughs" as strike breakers and Pat Kevitch's husband was involved in the fight with them. "She stated that for "two weeks he had to hide from the police because he "got all bashed up" and had bruises."[382] At the Jacob and Crowley plant, in 1933, Leo Rabinovitch and Israel Troute were arrested for trying to prevent George Mackie from working as a strike breaker, as crowds of strikers, non-strikers and Communists caused disturbances outside the plant. In addition, Fannie Windberg, Minnie Green and Morly Rose were arrested.[383]

The climax of labour strife in the Winnipeg garment industry occurred in 1934 when the IUNTW organized a general strike, aimed at the city's large cloak-making establishments. The strike culminated in a decisive victory by the employers, over the unions by the employers, which coincided with the re-entry of ILGWU organization in Winnipeg. In the United States, where the ILGWU "had difficulty in avoiding strikes and still attracting women workers, for whom

strikes seemed to remain the speediest form of education to the benefits of unionization and politicization," the union made a significant nationwide drive to sign up workers.[384] Perhaps this was why Sam Herbst was sent to Winnipeg in 1935. Another explanation is that Herbst, a garment worker in New York, "was considered a troublemaker by the organizers there," and "was given money and sent [by the president of the ILGWU, David Dubinsky] to Winnipeg."[385]

In the summer of 1935, Herbst was seen in the shops at lunchtime and in the cafes in the evening, trying to sign up workers. He was unsuccessful. After the IUNTW "lost its strike, … people were afraid of losing money" and were reluctant to join the ILGWU.[386] Herbst encountered hostility from workers who tried to "break up meetings."[387] At one of the meetings at the Talmud Torah (Hebrew Free School) Hall on Flora Avenue, people "threw eggs and stones at Herbst when he tried to organize the workers."[388] Chorney claimed that Herbst "worked day and night" and "you could see him in the restaurants talking to people, discussing what we should do tomorrow."[389]

Finally, Herbst made his much maligned and celebrated approach to the employers – maligned because many thought it was the creation of a company union, celebrated because it resulted in the city wide organization of the needle trades workers and because it laid the basis for industrial peace in the trades until after World War II. On October 1, 1935 workers who came to work at Jacob-Crowley and the other big plants were met with closed doors, and signs which, and employers who, told them to go to the Labor Temple on James Avenue to sign up with the ILGWU.[390] The new organization meant the end of the old IUNTW. Vassil, the organizer of the IUNTW, joined the UGW and amalgamated with Herbst, a policy that was in keeping with the Comintern policy "in favour of unified union movements."[391]

Organization in the next few years culminated in the formation of the Winnipeg Needle Trades Council, composed of Local 35 of the UGW, Local 216 of the ILGWU, Local 91 of the Winnipeg Fur Workers' Union. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers joined after

establishing a local in 1943. Writing on behalf of the WNTC, Vassil described its purposes, tasks and accomplishments in 1938.

> For the first time in the history of the Winnipeg Labor movement, the great majority of needle trades workers are organized into unions and enjoy the fruits of organized labor. The Needle Trades council is working in close cooperation with the Winnipeg and District TLC and helps it to carry its decisions, among the needle trades workers of Winnipeg. As a result of this, the Needle Trades unions take an active part in every committee of the Trades Council.[392]

Accordingly to Vassil, the "affiliates of our … Council take an active part in supporting every progressive movement in Canada, such as the fight for progressive labor legislation, the fight for Peace and Democracy, the boycotting of goods from aggressor nations, as well as co-operating with the movement to aid China and Spain."[393] In addition, observed Vassil, the WNTC "does not neglect the social side of our unions, such as the Monster Dance held in the Civic Auditorium, the Annual Needle Trades Picnic at Winnipeg Beach, besides ball teams, a swimming class and other sport activities, conducted by the individual unions."[394] On May Day, 1939, the WNTC band provided music for the parade."[395] During World War II the WNTC "recorded solid achievements in the field of union education, cultural activity and … set a fine pace in Red Cross and War Bond Drives."[396]

After the war, the illusory cohesive models organization established in the Herbst years began to collapse amid charges of corruption and company unions. Herbst, who had absolute power over the Winnipeg local, ILGWU, fell out of favour with member organizations of the WNTC. Accusations were made that needle trades workers were being paid below acceptable wage standards; Herbst defended the ILGWU record in obtaining high rates for skilled workers, but increasingly, workers lost their ability to turn for support to garment trade unions, including the ILGWU. At Monarch Overall, for example, the workers had a union, but it lacked strength because if workers complained about conditions, they "got hell" in the shop afterwards. Union officials advised the company if anyone complained.[397]

Helen Sabinski remembered that she complained to Silverberg, in the presence of a union official of the UGW, a Mrs. Ross, that another woman was offered more money. Silverberg offered Ross a bribe to keep quiet. Sabinski then went to Leo Fredell, local organizer, who was accused later of mishandling union funds, and they began organizing the Amalgamated Garment and Textile Workers' Union.[398] Ross threatened to have Sabinski and Fredell arrested for organizing the rival union. It could not meet in public and had to have secret meetings, over coffee at restaurants, and its members were called Communists by the other union members. In an environment of legal action, an election was held and a man was sent from the United States to organize the new union, which later won a holiday with pay. Local organizer, Fredell, was replaced by Jimmy James, who, in the mid-1950s, fought a bitter war with Herbst, who was accused of running a company union.[399] In 1955, Herbst again defended the industry's pristine image of a sweatshop free environment against accusations of the existence of out-work and open shop policies being enforced on closed shops.[400]

The disputes were symptomatic of the pervading influence of business unionism not only in all the locals of the needle trades but in the labour movement in general. At the shop floor level, women were subjected to the worst aspects of business unionism because they were the first to be affected by decreasing wage rates and layoffs if their locals would not defend union contracts. Troubles in the Winnipeg garment industry continued throughout the 1940s and 1950s, eventually resulting in the appointment of a provincial industrial inquiry commission in 1957.

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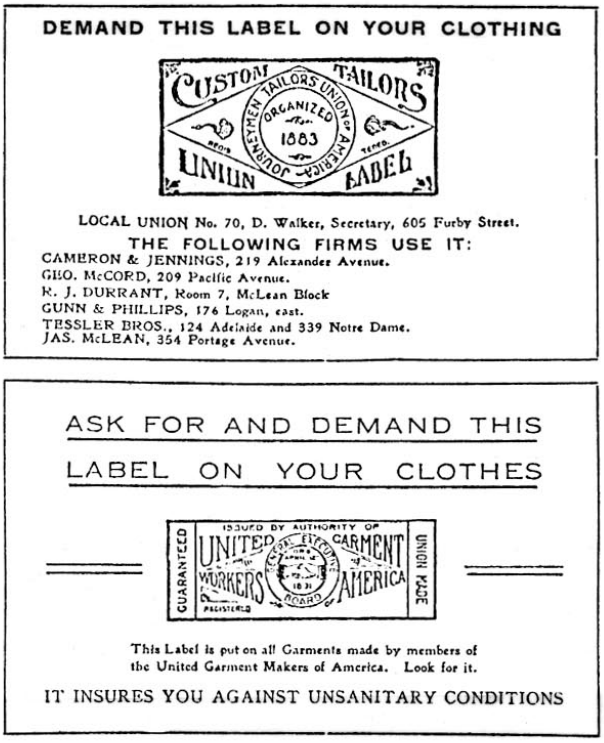
APPENDIX A

The Rise of the Winnipeg Garment Industry:

Products



Advertisements for union made tailored clothing, 1907.

Source: Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, Labor Day Souvenir, 1907.

Advertisement for "King of the Road" products manufactured in the R.J. Whitla factory at the corner of McDermot and Lydia Streets, 1907.

Source: Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, Labor Day Souvenir, 1907.

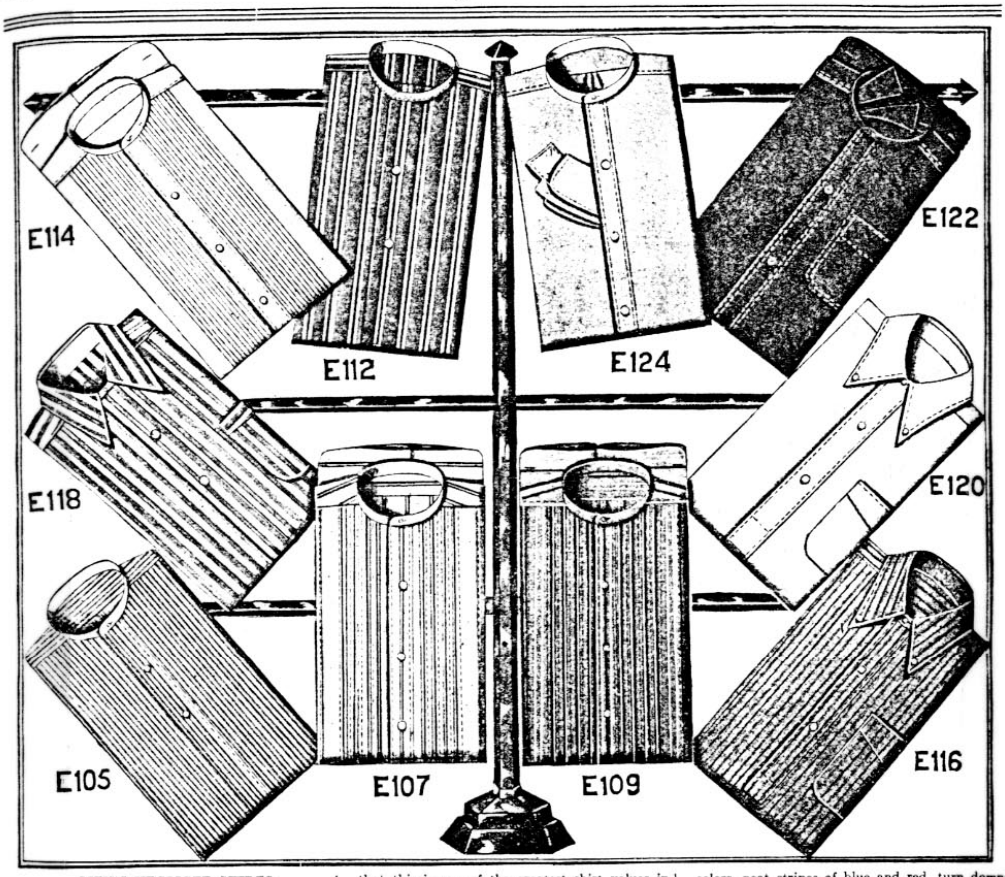
Advertisement for work clothing made by Western Shirt and Overall at 278 Rupert St; recently the Western Hide and Fur factory demolished in Chinatown redevelopment but

Source: Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, Labor Day Souvenir, 1907.

Advertisement for the Hoover Manufacturing Co., 1907.

Source: Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, Labor Day Souvenir, 1907.

The Latest Styles—A 1 Quality



MEN'S NEGLIGEE SHIRTS

E105—Negligee Shirts of Madras and Imported Oxfords made either coat styles, cuffs detachable, soft front, splendid range of colors. Sizes 14 to 17. Price..... 65c

E107—Negligee Shirts of Madras and imported Oxfords made coat styles, plaited soft front. Splendid range of colors. Sizes 14 to 17. Prices 75c and..... $1.00

E109—Men's Hair Cord Chambray Negligee Shirts of white ground, fancy colored designs and stripes, fast colors, cuffs attached, cushion neck bands, soft fronts. Sizes 14 to 17½. Price..... $1.00

E112—Men's Lamba Shirt, of good, warm material union flannel, of the best designs with cuffs attached. Tunic fronts, style as cut. The best value shirt in the Dominion. Sizes 14 to 17. Price..... $1.00

Boys' of the same make. Sizes 12½ to 13½. Price..... 90c

ALL WOOL FLANNEL SHIRTS

E113—Men's All Wool Flannel Shirts with silk neck bands, imported goods; tunic front negligee, pearl buttons. Sizes 14 to 17½. Price $2.00 and..... $2.50

E114—Men's Special Quality Plain White Plaited Bosom Shirt, fastens with finest quality of white pearl buttons down the front. We guarantee that this is one of the greatest shirt values in Canada. It is a quality that sells everywhere for $1.50 to $2.00. A shirt that will give the best of wear and satisfaction. Comes in sizes 14½ to 17. Our special price..... $1.25

E115—Men's Plaited Bosom Shirt as cut E114, but wider pleats. Sizes 14 to 17. Special price..... $1.50

E116—Men's Shirts as illustration. Fine imported flannelette shirts; neat, fancy stripes. Sizes 14 to 17. Price..... 75c

E117—Men's Grandrill Shirts, as per cut. The hardest and strongest garment made, fast colors, neat stripes of blue and red, turn down collar. Sizes 15 to 18. As per cut E116. Price 75c and..... $1.00

Neat and Serviceable Shirts

The choicest materials, the very finest qualities for wear, in the most approved patterns of the season are cut by designers whose sole aim is to excel in their product. These shirts are made in the best equipped factories in Britain and America. Satisfaction is assured.

FLANNEL SHIRTS

E118—Men's Ceylon Flannel Shirt as cut. Fine pale colors with reversible collar. Sizes 14 to 18. Prices $1.50 and..... $1.75

E119—Men's All Wool Flannel Shirts, heavy weight of soft imported wool shirting. Reversible collars. Sizes 14½ to 17. Price..... $2.00

E120—Our Special Men's Shirts, as cut. White or cream canvas cloth. Sizes 14 to 18. Price..... 75c

E121—White Flannel Shirts of imported goods. Thoroughly shrunk, as cut E120. Sizes 14 to 18. Price..... $1.75

THE RAILROAD SPECIAL

E122—The Railroad Shirt, made from navy blue percale, guaranteed fast indigo blue with two separate collars, turn down style, cuffs attached, pocket. Warranted to give satisfaction, double stitched, large roomy bodies, well made and finished. Sizes 15 to 17. Price each..... 85c

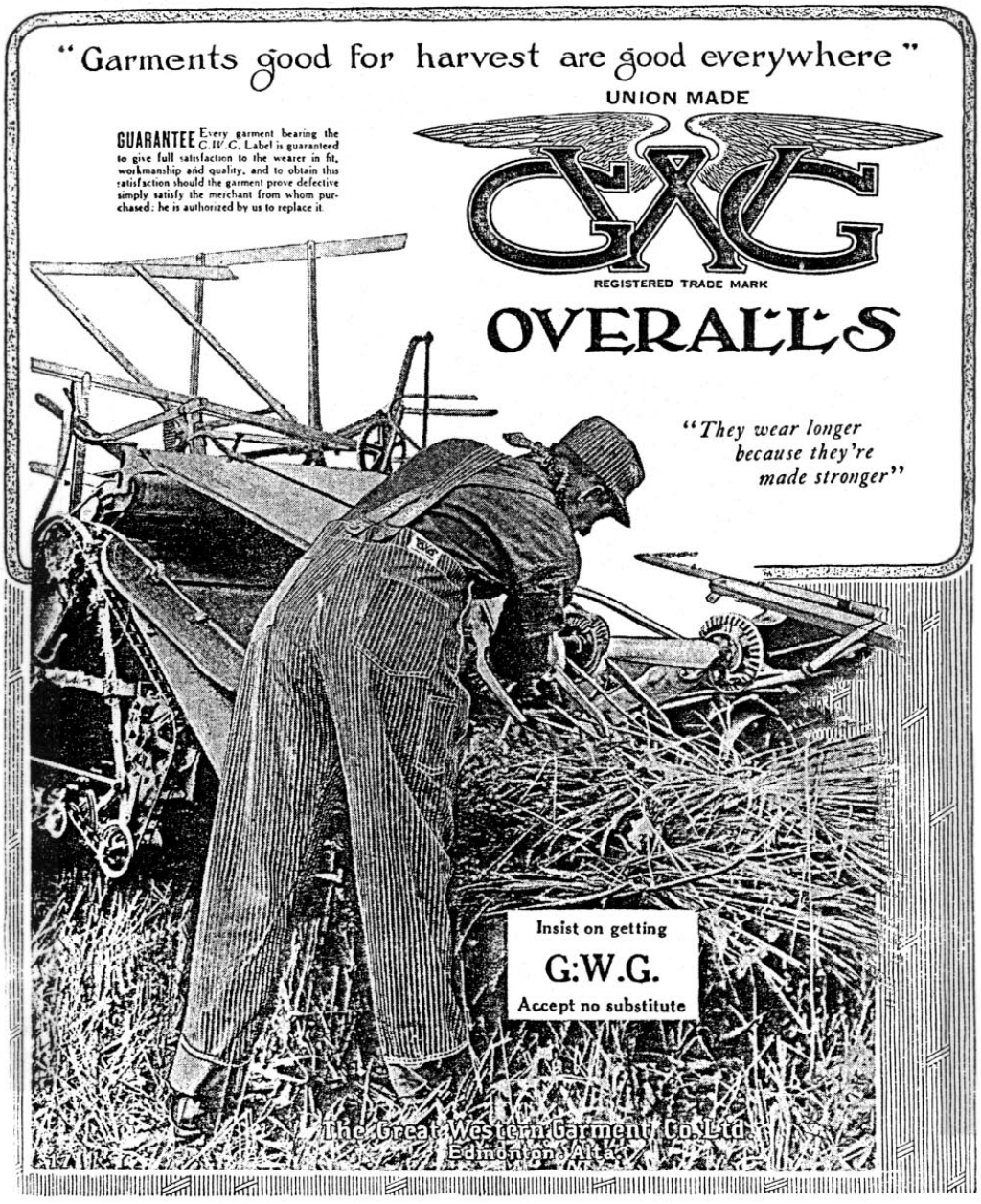
E124—Self Colored Embroidered Design and Stripes in colors contrasting and to match, white creams and fawns. Sizes 14 to 17. Collar detachable. Price..... $2.00

Excerpted page from the Hudson's Bay Catalogue, 1911. Note the description for "The Railroad Special," indicating the importance of work clothing to the local market in this period.

Source: Hudson's Bay Co., Fall and Winter Catalogue, 1910-1911.

We create the demand.

With an advertising campaign that completely covers Western Canada we are selling **G.W.G.** Garments to every class of user. Large space advertisements, similar to the one herewith, are appearing in all the big farm journals with a combined list of one million readers. Linking up with this publicity in your own store is the best way to increase your overall trade.

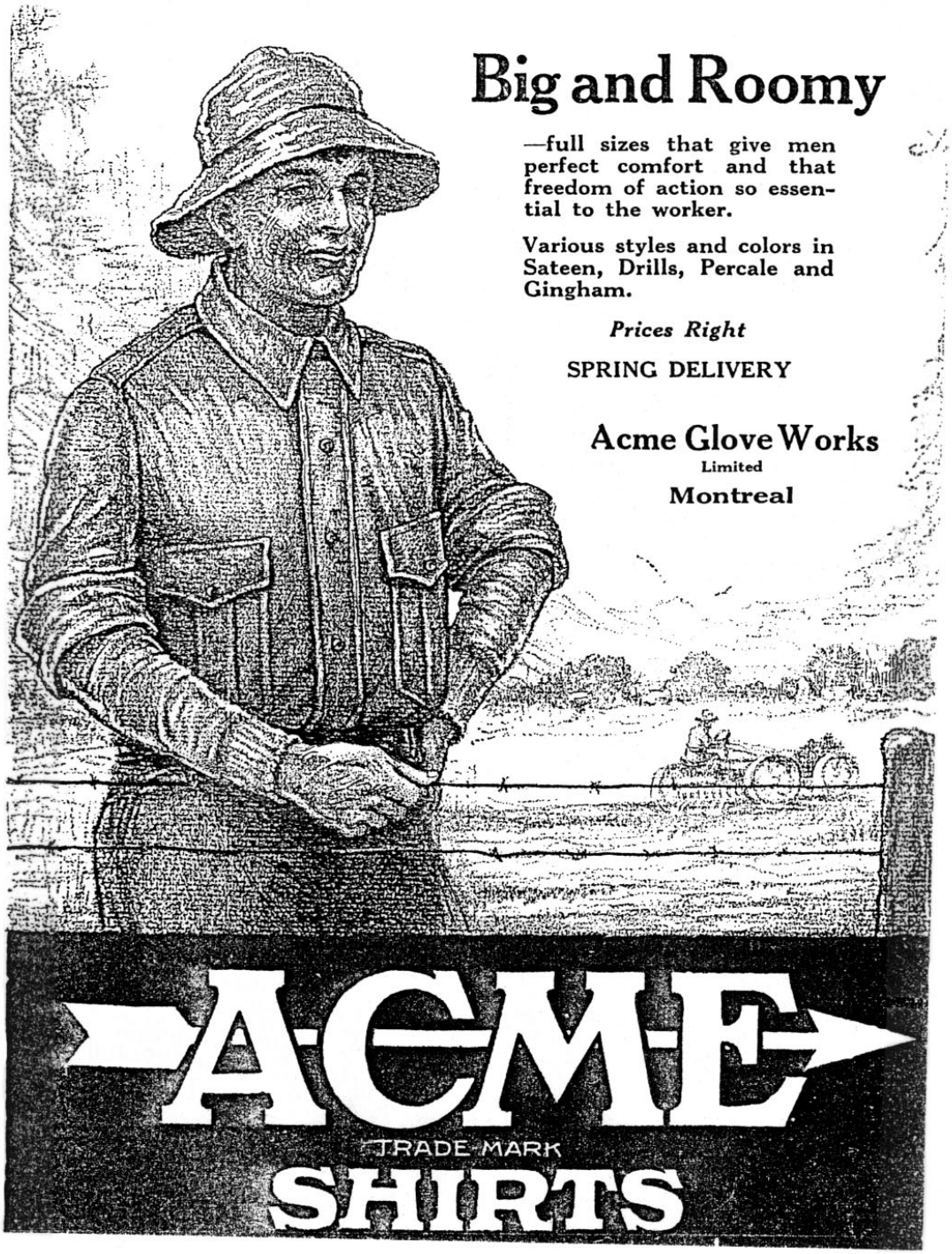


Advertisement for GWG work clothes imported from Edmonton.

Source: Commercial, 1 November 1919.

Advertisment for Dominion Textile with head offices in eastern Canada. By the 1920s, mechanization was decreasing the rural workforce and the demand for work clothing.

Source: Commercial, 15 April 1920.



Advertisement for Acme shirts and gloves imported from Montreal.

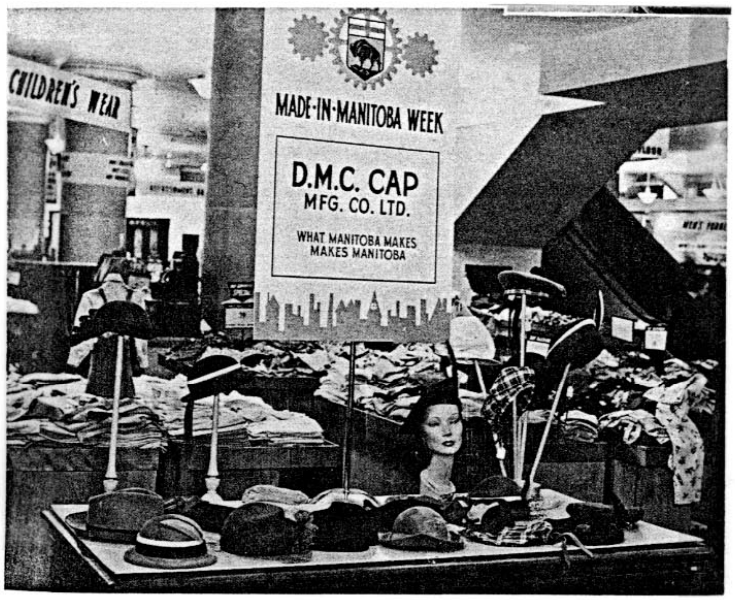
Source: Commercial, 15 November 1920.

An example[?]
Examples of sportswear produced in Winnipeg in[?] by the 1940s.

Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (May-June 1945).

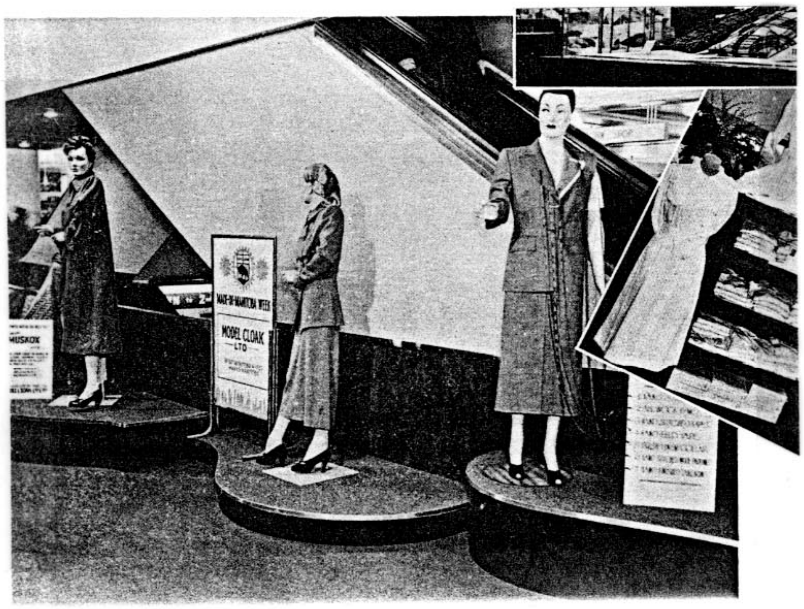
Label from Jacob-Crowley, and model displaying "one of the latest Jacob-Crowley made suits."

Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (July-August 1946).



Products of the DMC Cap Co. on display during ("Made in Manitoba") week, part of the publicity campaign of the Manitoba Industrial Development Board to stimulate local manufacturing.

Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (Sept.-Oct. 1949).



"Made in Manitoba" display of Model Cloak, 1949.

Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (Sept.-Oct. 1949).

APPENDIX B

Factories: Site Inventory*

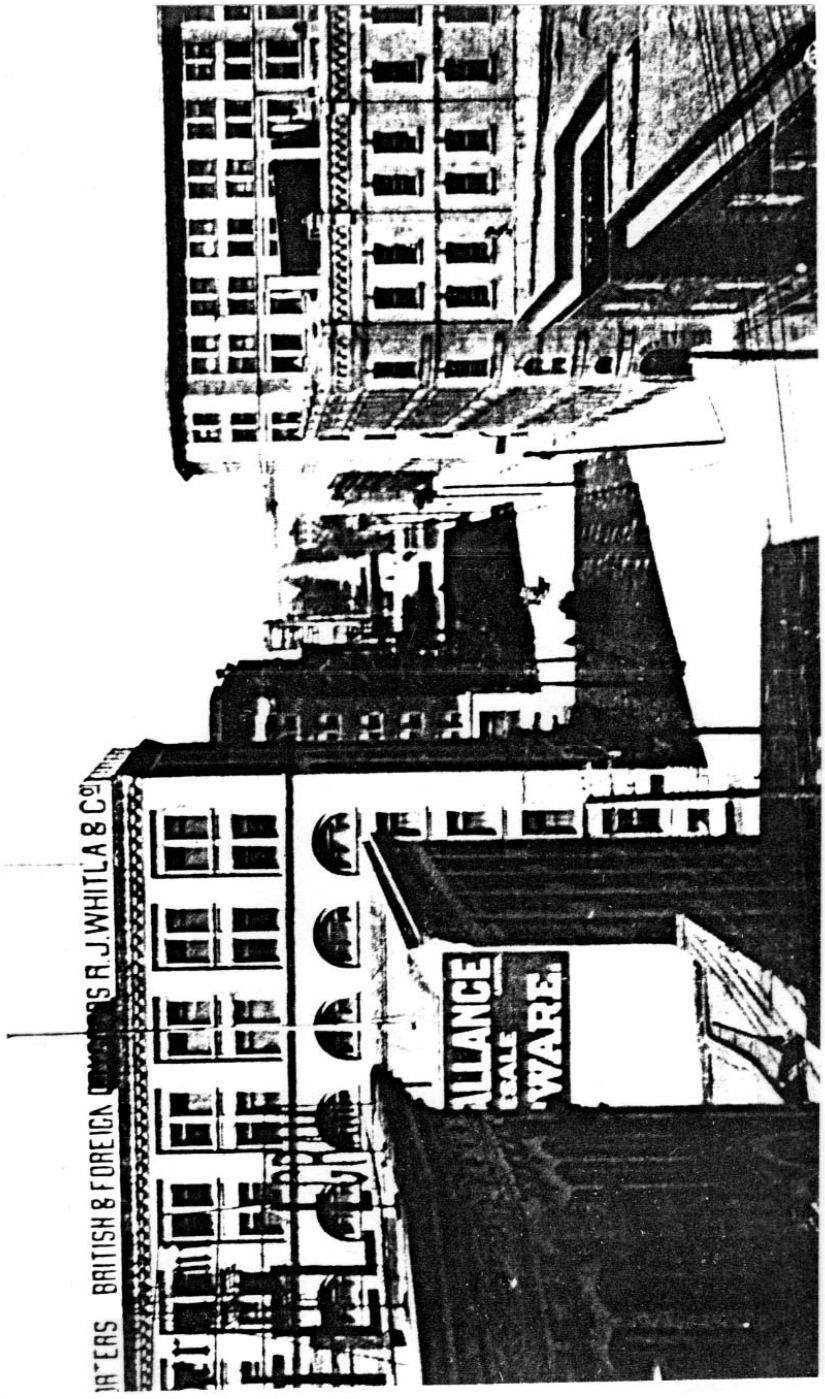
* Buildings in the inventory marked with an asterisk are selected as high priority sites based on frequency of use and thematic significance.

APPENDIX C

Factories: Photographs of Factory Exteriors and Streetscapes

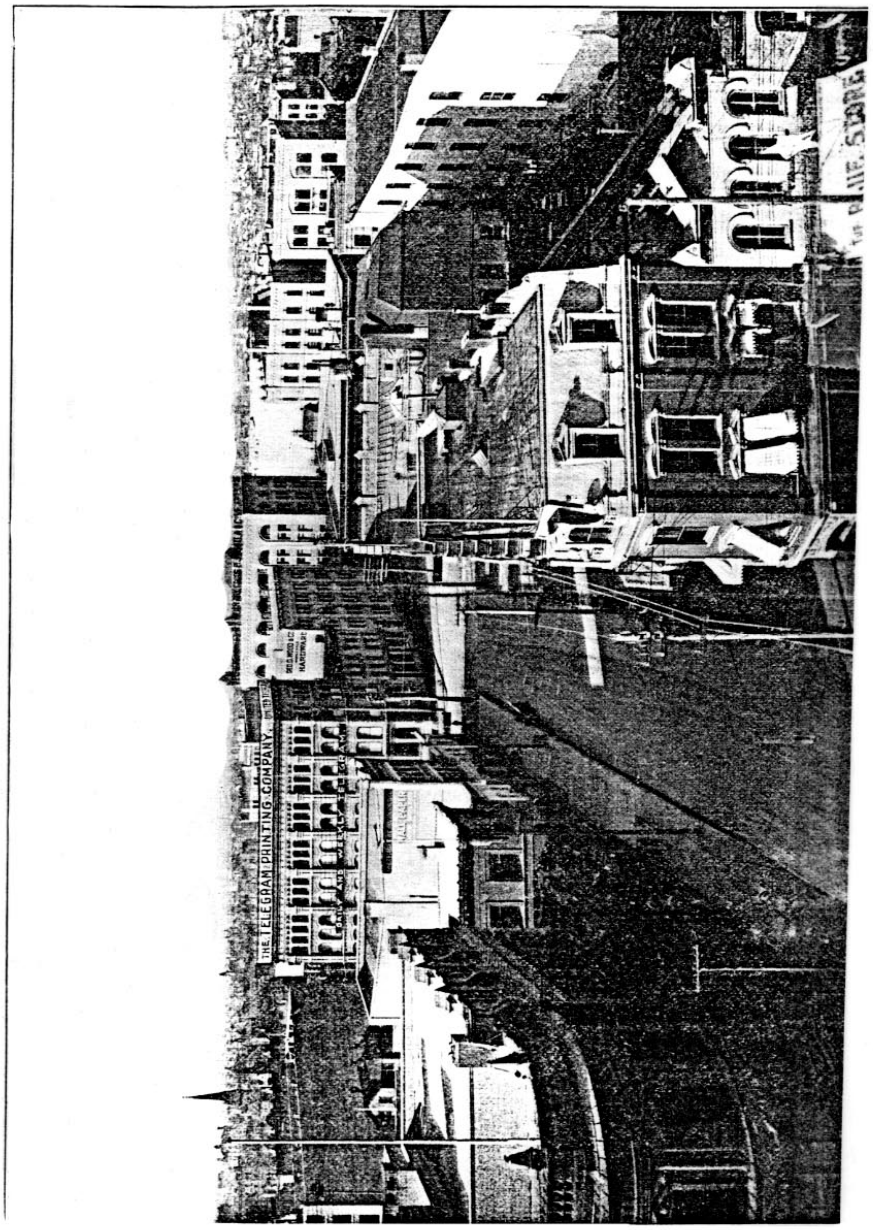
McDermott Avenue, showing the Telegram, Sures, Merchants, and Whitla Blocks, 1900.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Streets - McDermot - 2.



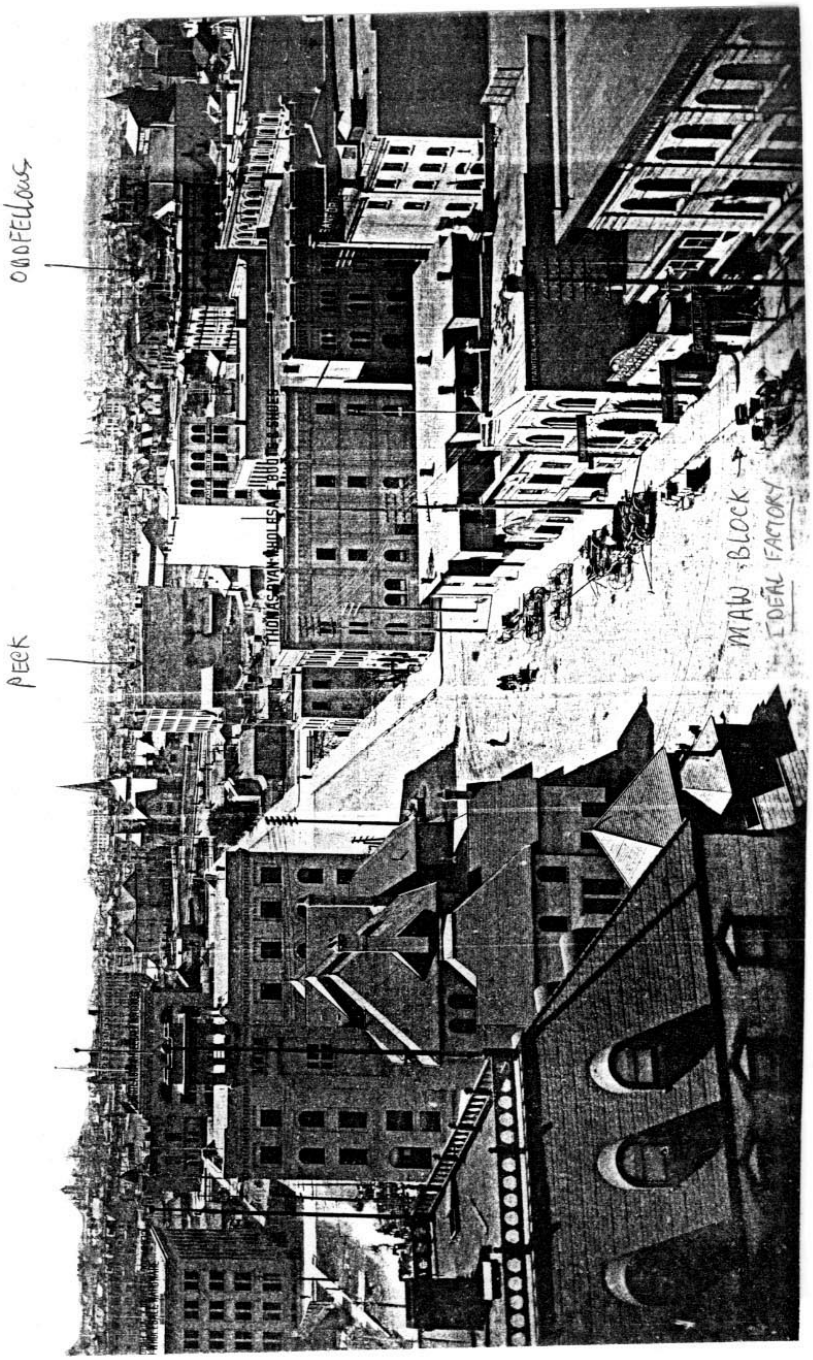
McDermot Avenue, west, c. 1911.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Streets - McDermot - 7.



McDermot, west from Main St., n.d.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Streets - McDermot.

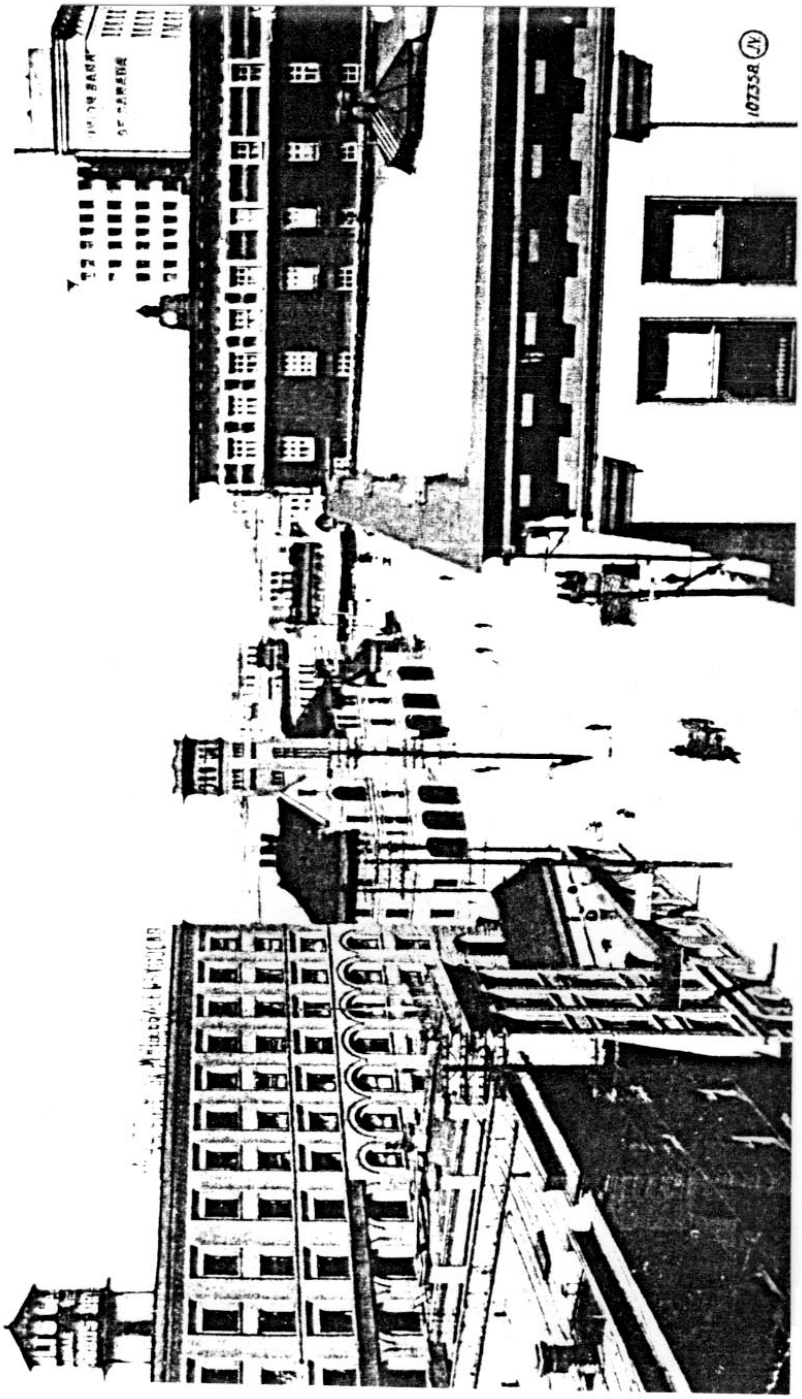


The garment district, south from City Hall, c. 1900. The sign of the Hoover Manufacturing Co. is just visible in the bottom right hand corner.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Views - 3.

Bannatyne, west from King, c. 1910.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Streets - Bannatyne - 1.

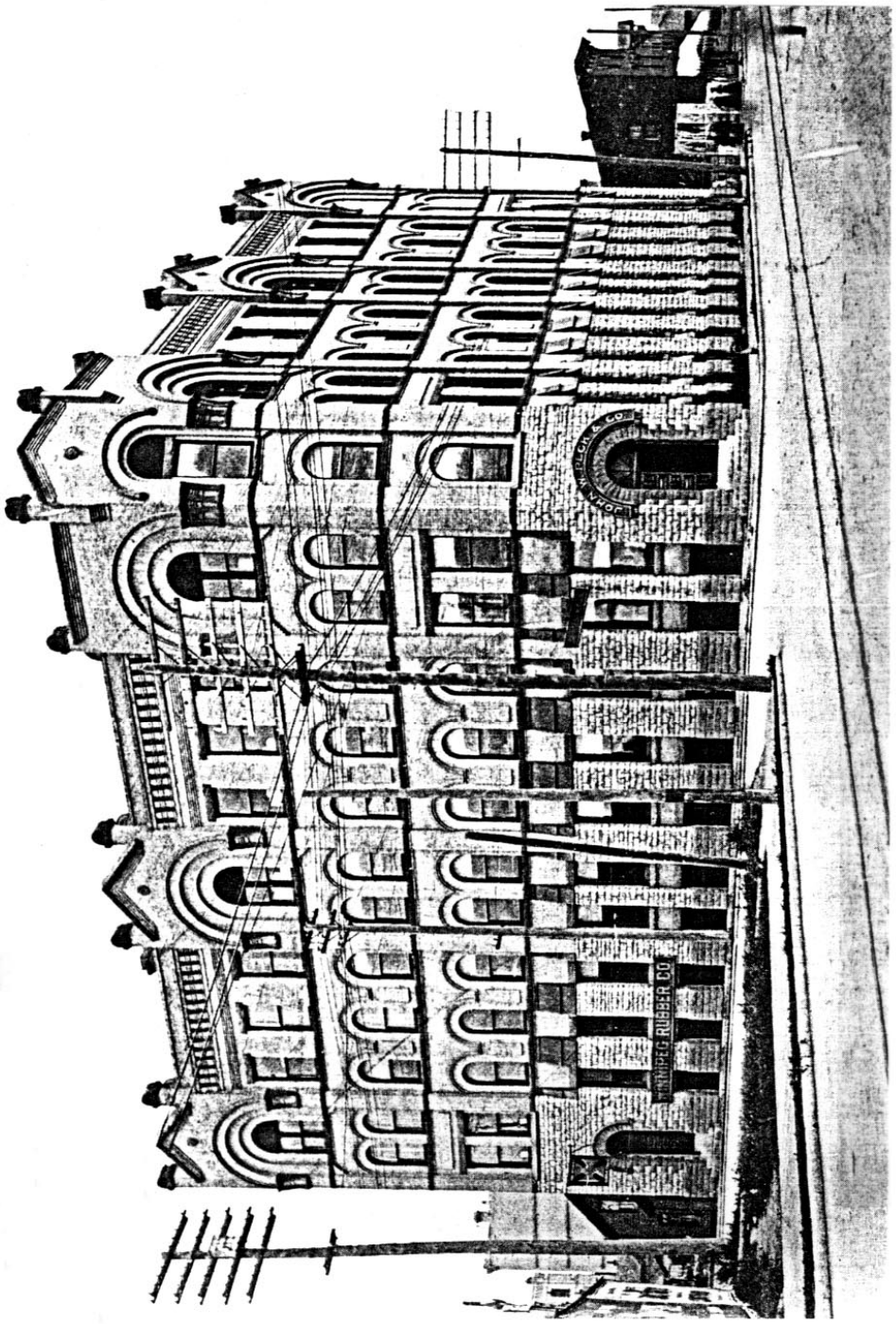


West side of Albert Street from McDermot to the Central Fire Hall, c. 1910.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Streets - Albert - 1.

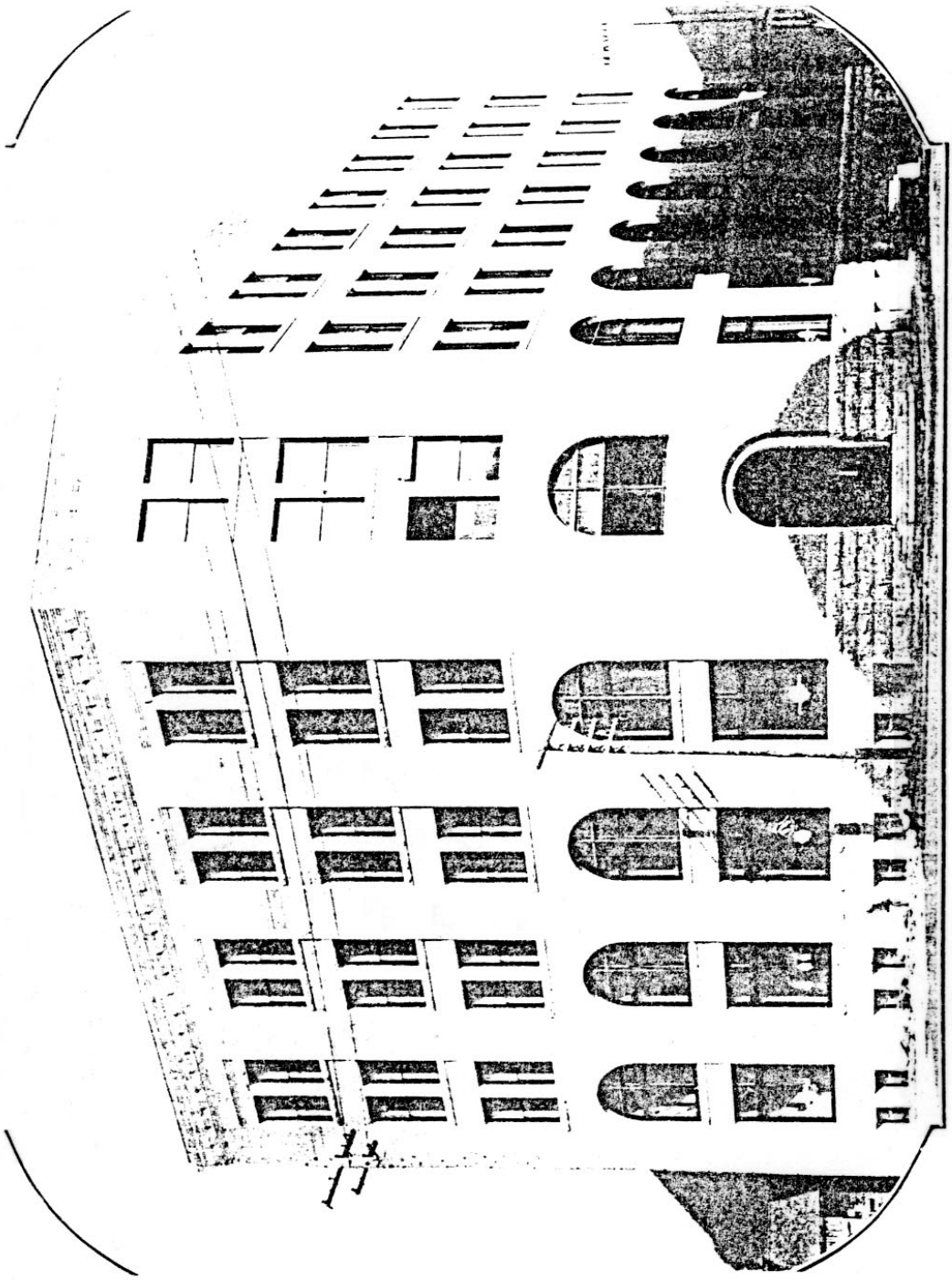
"Bromley and Co., Manufacturers of Tents, Mattresses, Woven Wire Springs," Princess St., 1892. Firms such as these often branched out into garment manufacture.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Buildings - Business - 1.



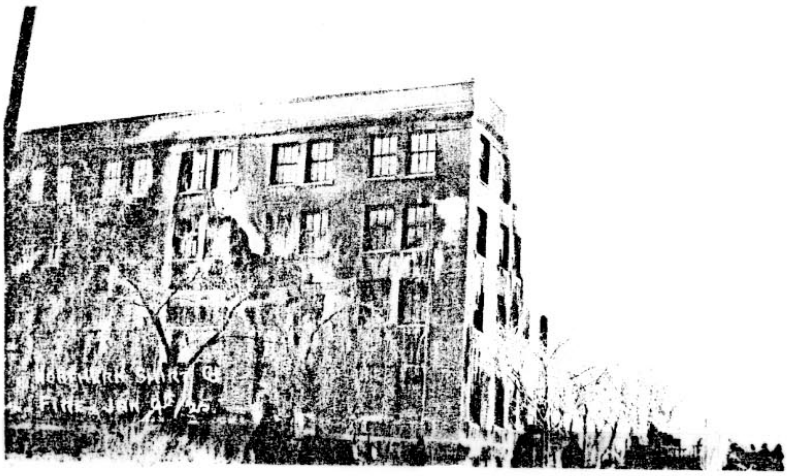
Peck Building, c. 1903.

Source: PAM, Outsize 133/48.



Stobart and Sons. One of the Stobart overall factories was located behind this building, facing King.

Source: PAM.

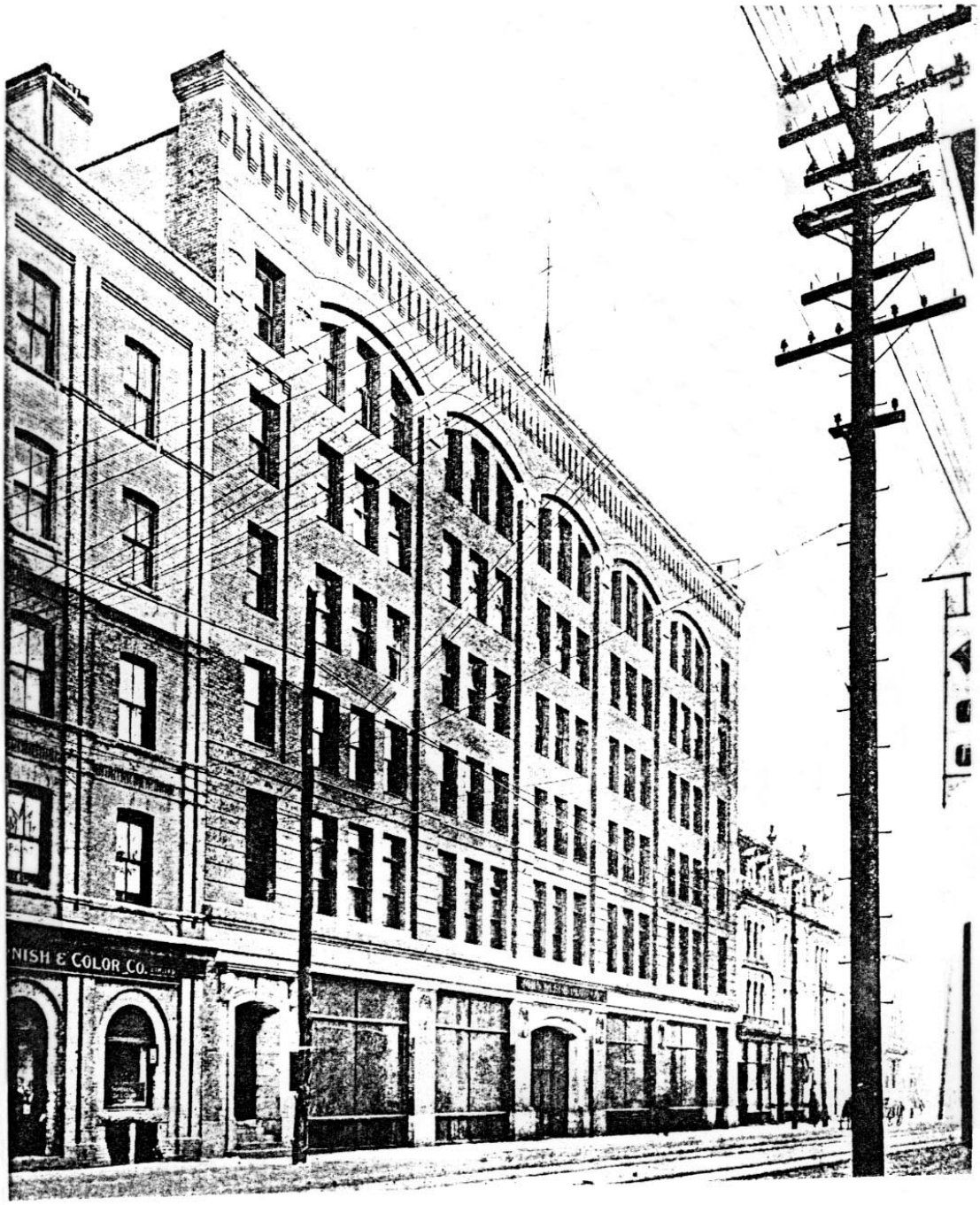


Northern Shirt, 435 Cumberland, owned by the Kennedy family, after the fire in January, 1925.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Buildings - Business - Northern Shirt - 1.

Bon Accord Block, Logan and Main St., 1906.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Buildings - Business - Bon Accord Block - 1.



John Deere Co. Warehouse, home of Sterling Cloak.

Source: Winnipeg Saturday Post, 8 June 1912, p. 76.

Marshall Wells Warehouse, later the Modern Woman Block.

Source: PAM.

APPENDIX D

Entrepreneurship: Letters Patent, 1900-55*

* R. Hastie's list of companies that applied for incorporations or partnerships was used to expedite a search of the Manitoba Gazette in order to determine the names of applicants and their occupations. Capital stock listed in the applications is an unreliable measure of investment and is therefore not included.

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Acme Garment	Pesochin, Samuel	accountant	1945	PARTNER
	Sisman, Benjamin	cutter	1945	PARTNER
	Sisman, Ben	mftr	1954	INC
	Schofield, Bertha F.	secretary	1954	INC
	Pesochin, Samuel	mftr	1954	INC
	Micay, Archie R.	barrister	1954	INC
Acme Junior Wear	Iseman, Jack	mftr	1946	PARTNER
	Kass, Samuel	mftr	1946	PARTNER
	Kass, Hymie	mftr	1946	PARTNER
Admiral Headwear	Shrutwa, Frank	unknown	1954	PARTNER
	Shrutwa, Constance	unknown	1954	PARTNER
Alaska Fur	Fred, Rose	merchant	1917	INC
	Fred, Leah	spouse	1917	INC
	Fred, M.	merchant	1917	INC
	Maloney, J.T.	law student	1917	INC
	McCheyne, Jean T.	steno	1917	INC
Alcone Fur	Aaron, Max	unknown	1947	PARTNER
	Pearl, Samuel	unknown	1947	PARTNER
	Smoke, Michael	unknown	1947	PARTNER
	Sokolov, Hyman	barrister	1952	INC
	Wolinsky, Max	barrister	1952	INC
	Sokolov, David	law student	1952	INC
American Custom Garment Makers	Knelman, Bessie	merchant	1932	PARTNER
	Felbein, Benjamin	merchant	1932	PARTNER
American Sportswear	Rohatyn, Gladys	steno	1953	INC
	Schulman, Hyman	barrister	1953	INC
	Grubert, Oscar	law student	1953	INC
Armour Clothing Manufacturing	Gunn, Hyman I.	mftr	1940	INC
	Gunn, Sidney C.	salesman	1940	INC
	Gunn, Anna L.	housewife	1940	INC
Art Dress Manufacturing	Freidman, Ethel	housewife	1926	INC
	Portigal, Samuel L.	barrister	1926	INC
	Freidman, Solomon	merchant	1926	INC
	Tobias, Herbert N.	barrister	1926	INC
	Portigal, Clara	married woman	1926	INC
Art Leather Goods	McCormick, D.A.	barrister	1915	INC
	Lichtenstein, Max	mftr	1915	INC
	Holmes, A.W.	merchant	1915	INC
	Bryan, O.E.	law student	1915	INC
	Swinford, C.	law student	1915	INC

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Astoria Garments	Gall, George	cutter, garment	1947	PARTNER
	Kopel, Morris	wholesaler	1947	PARTNER
B. Mayman Fur Manufacturing	Mayman, Chaim	mftr	1953	INC
	Mayman, Ben	mftr	1953	INC
	Mayman, Malke	mftr	1953	INC
B.D. Headwear Manufacturing	Dichter, Ben	mftr	1950	PARTNER
	Shuster, Samuel	mftr	1950	PARTNER
BMC Sportswear	Simkin, Abraham L.	barrister	1953	INC
	Sisskind, Louis	mftr	1953	SINGLE
	Matas, Roy J.	barrister	1953	INC
	Cantor, Allan P.	law student	1953	INC
Ballerina Lingerie	Lipkin, David	mftr	1949	SINGLE
Beacon Sportswear	Sederer, Lawrence	cutter	1941	SINGLE
Beaver Cap Manufacturing	Korman, Morris	cap maker	1940	SINGLE
Beaver Headwear	Korman, David	mftr	1953	INC
	Korman, Morris	mftr	1953	INC
	Korman, Jack	mftr	1953	INC
	Korman, Saul	mftr	1953	INC
Belmore Children's Wear	Halprin, Sarah E.	teacher	1945	INC
	Silverman, Joseph	operator	1945	INC
	Wolovitz, Samuel	cutter	1945	INC
	Bricker, Aaron	mftr	1945	INC
Ben Dembinsky	Hutt, Aubrey	accountant	1947	INC
	Dembinsky, Ben	merchant	1947	INC
	Billinkoff, Frank	barrister	1947	INC
Berkeley Dress Manufacturing	Couttie, Effie	steno	1924	INC
	Binet, Phyllis	steno	1924	INC
	Baillie, Robert B.	law student	1924	INC
	Whidden, Charles G.	secretary	1924	INC
	Done, Elizabeth	steno	1924	INC
Biltwell Tailored Clothes	Tessler, Israel	merchant	1927	INC
	Tessler, Max	merchant	1927	INC
	Tessler, Morris	merchant	1927	INC
	Tessler, Nathan	merchant	1927	INC
	Weiner, Samuel	merchant	1927	INC
Blie and Sons Leather Goods	Blie, Joseph	mftr	1951	INC
	Rosen, Max	mftr	1951	INC
	Blie, Morrie	mftr	1951	INC

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Bon-Ton Styles	Schafer, Sarah	dressmaker	1921	INC
	Farmer, Ida Louise	dressmaker	1921	INC
	Sloan, M.W.	agent	1921	INC
	Smith, G.E.F.	tailor, ladies	1921	INC
	Valdemarson, L.	dressmaker	1921	INC
Brill Cap and Neckwear	Farber, Harold A.	mftr	1936	PARTNER
	Brill, Jacob	mftr	1936	PARTNER
	Naiman, Samuel H.	cutter	1936	PARTNER
Broadway Blouse	Webb, J.A.	barrister	1916	INC
	Marshall, Anna L.	steno	1916	INC
	McVicar, J.A.	barrister	1916	INC
	Baird, Alex	merchant	1916	INC
	Taft, T.W.	merchant	1916	INC
Broadway Dress Manufacturing	Freidman, Mary	widow	1926	SINGLE
Bromley and Hague	Bromley, E.	mftr	1904	INC
	MacArthur, J.A.	contractor	1904	INC
	Pike, R.W.	mftr	1904	INC
	Hague, C.C.	mftr	1904	INC
	Strevel, H.	contractor	1904	INC
Brownstone's	Brownstone, Charles	mftr	1950	INC
	Brownstone, Lorraine	spouse	1950	INC
	Brownstone, Jacob	mftr	1950	INC
	Brownstone, Margaret	spouse	1950	INC
Buffalo Cap Manufacturing	Dobrushin, Sophie	married woman	1927	INC
	Horn, Arpad	clerk	1927	INC
	Dobrushin, Charles	operator	1927	INC
	Horn, Zella	married woman	1927	INC
	Dobrushin, Abraham	mftr	1927	INC
Buffalo Glove	Bodner, William	mftr	1950	SINGLE
C. and G. Garments	Molloy, William Austin	barrister	1953	INC
	Hentleff, Maurice Yude	barrister	1953	INC
	Tapper, Murray H.	student	1953	INC
	Bowman, David E.	student	1953	INC
California Sportswear	Felbein, Ben	mftr	1953	INC
	Ackerman, Anne	spouse	1953	INC
	Ackerman, Sydney	mftr	1953	INC
	Rosenberg, David	mftr	1953	INC
	Dorfman, Irwin	barrister	1955	INC
	Nisbet, Margaret	secretary	1955	INC
	Smith, Alma	secretary	1955	INC

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Cambridge Knitwear Mills	Zaretsky, Ben	mftr	1935	PARTNER
	Rosen, Isidor M.	mftr	1935	PARTNER
	Zaretsky, Ben	mftr	1936	INC
	Green, S. Hart	barrister	1936	INC
	Rosen, Isador M.	mftr	1936	INC
Canada Fur	Popeski, Harvey	fur dealer	1947	SINGLE
Canadian Cloak	Corran, Percy	mftr	1948	INC
	Nitikman, Israel	barrister	1948	INC
	Shaw, Irwin J.	designer	1948	INC
Canadian Cloak Manufacturing	Winter, David	mftr	1925	PARTNER
	Bonder, Afansy	mftr	1925	PARTNER
	Marcus, Marcel	barrister	1926	INC
	Brotman, Ernest A.	barrister	1926	INC
	Winer, Abraham	merchant	1926	INC
	Baker, Pearce	merchant	1926	INC
	Diamond, Harry	merchant	1926	INC
Canadian Fur Manufacturing	Alein, Max	merchant	1922	PARTNER
Canadian Garment Manufacturing	Brotman, Israel	cutter	1935	SINGLE
Canadian Garments	Swift, Herbert E.	barrister	1929	INC
	Burns, Teresa	steno	1929	INC
	MacLeod, Clive J.	barrister	1929	INC
	Ormond, Daniel S.	barrister	1929	INC
	Deacon, Ivan J.R.	barrister	1929	INC
Canadian Glove	Hugg, J.B.	barrister	1912	INC
	Felber, J.V.	merchant	1912	INC
	Hugg, F.B.	agent, insurance	1912	INC
Canadian Glove	Gordon, C.S.	solicitor	1912	INC
Canadian Gloves	Plumm, William	merchant	1923	INC
	Finesilver, Hyman	law student	1923	INC
	Finesilver, Henry	merchant	1923	INC
	Shinbane, A. Mark	barrister	1923	INC
	Mattson, Willard	mftr	1923	INC
Canadian Shirt and Overall	Sures, Nathan	merchant	1915	INC
	Hechtor, H.	merchant	1915	INC
	Wilder, H.E.	accountant	1915	INC
	Sures, Sarah	spouse	1915	INC

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Canadian Shirt and Overall Mfg.	Pitch, William S.	mftr	1952	INC
	Nussgart, Daniel M.	law student	1952	INC
	Nitikman, Israel	barrister	1952	INC
Canadian Sportswear	Nitikman, Israel	barrister	1941	INC
	Pascoe, Benjamin H.	barrister	1941	INC
	Silverberg, Solomon	mftr	1941	INC
Canadian Sportswear Manufacturing	Silverberg, Solomon	cutter, garment	1936	PARTNER
	Coop, Jack	designer	1936	PARTNER
Carnation Cloak	Goldberg, David	mftr	1946	SINGLE
Casey Jones Glove Manufacturing	Lawrence, Alexander G.	barrister	1946	INC
	Brown, Clifford W.	accountant	1946	INC
	Schroeder, Helene	steno	1946	INC
Casual Wear	Abrams, William	barrister	1955	INC
	Breen, Samuel	barrister	1955	INC
	Gordon, Harry E.	barrister	1955	INC
Charm Apparel	Toole, Clara	housewife	1952	INC
	Paul, Israel	mftr	1952	INC
	Paul, Leonard	cutter	1952	INC
Cinderella Manufacturing	Berman, Jack	mftr	1944	INC
	Book, David H.	mftr	1944	INC
	Kass, Samuel	mftr	1944	INC
Citation Sportswear Mfg.	Goldman, Louis	mftr	1952	PARTNER
	Kaiman, William	mftr	1952	PARTNER
Cloaks	Rusen, Isaac D.	barrister	1936	INC
	Tobias, William V.	steno	1936	INC
	Bingay, Margaret	steno	1936	INC
Colonial Leather	Brotman, Ernest A.	barrister	1955	INC
	Stenhouse, Geraldine	secretary	1955	INC
	Kesiloff, Edward	law student	1955	INC
Continental Cloak	Goldberg, Harry	unknown	1936	PARTNER
	Piotrkowsky, Zelig	unknown	1936	PARTNER
	Fogelman, Harry	unknown	1936	PARTNER
	Sych, Paul	unknown	1936	PARTNER
	Trute, Israel	unknown	1936	PARTNER
	Altman, Hyman	barrister	1943	INC
	Currie, Norma I.	steno	1943	INC
	Silvert, Samuel	mftr	1943	INC

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Continental Clothing	Maza, Nicholas I.	merchant	1931	INC
	Levin, David D.	barrister	1931	INC
	Weidman, Bert H.	manager	1931	INC
	Green, S. Hart	barrister	1931	INC
	Halter, Gerald S.	barrister	1931	INC
Crown Cap Manufacturing	Winograd, Abraham B.	mftr	1939	SINGLE
Crown Leather Jackets	Tabachuk, Joseph	mftr	1952	SINGLE
Crown Shirt Manufacturing	Campbell, A.M.	physician	1912	INC
	Watts, Frank W.	salesman	1912	INC
	Davidson, J.F.	barrister	1912	INC
	Black, H.O.	agent, financial	1912	INC
	Juniper, A.T.	designer	1912	INC
Curly Haas Sportswear	Brown, Clifford W.	accountant	1952	INC
	Lee, Dorothy G.	steno	1952	INC
	Shiels, Betty	steno	1952	INC
Dainty White Manufacturing	Morosnick, Louis D.	barrister	1930	INC
	Wiseman, Rose	married woman	1930	INC
	Wiseman, Morris	mftr	1930	INC
	Shinbane, A. Mark	barrister	1930	INC
	Wiseman, Mendel	merchant, retired	1930	INC
Dale Robbins	Sokolov, Hyman	barrister	1928	INC
	Rabinovitch, Irene	married woman	1928	INC
	Dale, Fanny	married woman	1928	INC
	Rabinovitch, Louis	meat dealer	1928	INC
	Dale, Adolphe	designer	1928	INC
Danzker Dress	Nitikman, Israel	barrister	1932	INC
	Shere, David	accountant	1932	INC
	Schulman, Hyman	barrister	1932	INC
Destin Neckwear	Byers, H.S.	agent, real estate	1914	INC
	Gillespie, J.B.	merchant, hardware	1914	INC
	Bryan, O.E.	law student	1914	INC
	Hoskins, R.	barrister	1914	INC
	Distin, W.L.	mftr	1914	INC
Devon Suspender	Klapman, Harry	mftr	1948	PARTNER
	Demsky, Irving	mftr	1948	PARTNER
Dobb's Cap Manufacturing	Dobrushin, Abraham	mftr	1928	INC
	Dobrushin, Sophie	married woman	1928	INC
	Dobrushin, Charles	mftr	1928	INC
	Krindle, Sophie	spinster	1928	INC
	Marantz, Frank	traveller	1928	INC

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Dominion Cloaks	Darragh, Samuel	clerk	1937	INC
	Kenzik, Elizabeth M.	steno	1937	INC
	Martin, Mary	steno	1937	INC
	Harrison, Dorothy	steno	1937	INC
Dominion Garment	Steiman, Hyman	mftr	1941	PARTNER
	Steiman, Louis	mftr	1941	PARTNER
	Matas, Joseph	barrister	1952	INC
	Altmayer, Cecilia	secretary	1952	INC
	Cantor, Alexander E.	barrister	1952	INC
Dominion Knitting and Manufacturing	Nys, A.	unknown	1920	PARTNER
	Paerli, Frances	unknown	1920	PARTNER
	Paerli, H.O.	unknown	1920	PARTNER
	Moskalyk, J.	unknown	1920	PARTNER
Dominion Leather Sportswear	Yaren, Harry	merchant	1941	SINGLE
Dressler Headwear	Wolinsky, Max	barrister	1950	INC
	Hoe, Mabel	steno	1950	INC
	Sokolov, Hyman	barrister	1950	INC
Durable Fur	Feldman, Max	furrier	1945	INC
	Feldman, Dorothy	housewife	1945	INC
	Altman, Hyman	barrister	1945	INC
Elias Reich and Company	Hecht, Hyman	merchant	1921	INC
	Hecht, Bessie	merchant	1921	INC
	Gray, William	merchant	1921	INC
	Reich, Elias	merchant	1921	INC
	Reich, Annie	merchant	1921	INC
Elite Manufacturing	Scott, J.M.	commission broker	1919	INC
	Scott, A.P.	barrister	1919	INC
	Robinson, E.R.	mftr	1919	INC
	Lewis, A.E.	manager	1919	INC
	Bright, A.	merchant	1919	INC
Eskar Leathercrafts	Mirus, John	manager	1947	INC
	Redshaw, Kenneth A.	manager	1947	INC
	Sones, Ernest V.	machinist	1947	CIN
	Redshaw, William	salesman	1947	INC
Eskimo Brand Fur Cap Manufacturing	Linder, Abraham	furrier	1929	PARTNER
	Coop, Jacob	furrier	1929	PARTNER
Esquire Slacks	Spence, Marjorie	steno	1948	INC
	Matlin, Louis S.	barrister	1948	INC
	Drache, Rose	steno	1948	INC
	Kamin, William	mftr	1949	SINGLE

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Exell Garments	Korn, David	chartered accountant	1953	INC
	Micay, Archie Robert	barrister	1953	INC
	Sullivan, Joseph F.	law student	1953	INC
Expert Clothing Manufacturers	Abrahamson, Somon	barrister	1926	INC
	Wiseman, Aaron	tailor	1926	INC
	Greenberg, Minnie	steno	1926	INC
	Greenberg, Solomon	barrister	1926	INC
	Corne, Hyman I.	law student	1926	INC
Fashion Cloak	Unrode, Sam	mftr	1946	INC
	Matas, Joseph	law student	1946	INC
	Altman, Hyman	barrister	1946	INC
	Goldberg, Harry	mftr	1946	SALE
Fashion Headwear	Yates, David	representative	1942	SINGLE
Fashion Industries	Rawson, Florence V.	secretary	1946	INC
	Burbridge, Frederick S.	law student	1946	INC
	Goodwin, Richard R.	barrister	1946	INC
Faultless Ladies Wear	Guthrie, R.	clerk	1915	INC
	Kane, Paul	law student	1915	INC
	Barnes, F.C.	clerk	1915	INC
	Arsenych, J.W.	law student	1915	INC
	Stewart, G.H.	director	1915	INC
Fort Garry Knitting Mills	Isaacs, Max	law student	1925	INC
	Isaacs, John M.	barrister	1925	INC
	Dafeer, Bernard D.	mftr	1925	INC
	Nitikman, Samuel B.	mftr	1925	INC
	Silver, Solomon	mftr	1925	INC
Freed and Freed	Freed, David	mftr	1923	INC
	Goldberg, Max	mftr	1923	INC
	Freed, Tilly	married woman	1923	INC
	Freed, Rose	married woman	1923	INC
	Freed, Norris	mftr	1923	INC
Gateway Garments	Stall, Samuel	mftr	1927	INC
	Mittleman, Sarah	housewife	1927	INC
	Stall, Morris Ralph	mftr	1927	INC
	Mittleman, Harry	designer	1927	INC
	Stall, Ethel	housewife	1927	INC
General Apparel	Smith, Alma	secretary	1944	INC
	Dorfman, Irwin	barrister	1944	INC
	Shinbane, Abraham M.	barrister	1944	INC

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Gerry Hat	Gerry, Max	mftr	1941	PARTNER
	Zweig, Harry	mftr	1941	PARTNER
	Zweig, Morris	mftr	1941	PARTNER
	Bonk, Ben	mftr	1941	PARTNER
Glesby Garment	Henteleff, Yude M.	law student	1950	INC
	Gallagher, Roy A.	law student	1950	INC
	Micay, Archie R.	barrister	1950	INC
Globe Knitting	Rincover, Louise	mftr	1922	PARTNER
	Finkelstein, Israel	mftr	1922	PARTNER
Goldpak Garments Manufacturing	Goldman, Louis	mftr	1946	PARTNER
	Packer, Irving	mftr	1946	PARTNER
Golf Shirt Manufacturing	Packer, Aaron	unknown	1936	PARTNER
	Packer, Percy	unknown	1936	PARTNER
Goodwear Glove	Guberman, Wallace	salesman	1945	PARTNER
	Madick, Molly	mftr	1945	PARTNER
	Guberman, Wallace	mftr	1954	SINGLE
	Schofield, Bertha E.	bookkeeper	1955	INC
	Krowec, Kathleen	steno	1955	INC
	Guberman, Lily	housewife	1955	INC
Great West Manufacturing	Brown, Leonard W.	unknown	1927	PARTNER
	Diamond, Max	unknown	1927	PARTNER
Green's Manufacturing House	Green, Risa	spouse	1934	INC
	Green, Bella	spouse	1934	INC
	Green, Samuel	mftr	1934	INC
	Green, Nathan	mftr	1934	INC
	Braverman, Isaac	mftr	1934	INC
Green, Haid and Robey	Haid, Philip	manager	1946	INC
	Haid, Earo	manager	1946	INC
	Green, S. Hart	barrister	1946	INC
Gunn Garment Manufacturing	Corman, Venta	widow	1928	INC
	Gunn, Hyman	mftr	1928	INC
	Gunn, John	gentleman	1928	INC
	Gunn, Rose	married woman	1928	INC
	Gunn, Beatrice	bookkeeper	1928	INC
	Nitikman, Michael A.	mftr	1939	INC
	Nitikman, Samuel	merchant	1939	INC
	Nitikman, Max	mftr	1939	INC
H. and A. Sportswear and Leather Mfg.	Telcher, Anne	spouse	1952	PARTNER
	Telcher, Hymie	mftr	1952	PARTNER

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
H. and H. Sportswear	Rosenberg, Harry	merchant	1946	SINGLE
H. and R. Pants Manufacturing	Golden, David A.	law student	1941	INC
	Cantor, Alexander E.	barrister	1941	INC
	Rosenberg, Bella	unknown	1941	TRANSFER
	Altmayer, Cecilia	steno	1941	INC
Hadden Manufacturing	Green, S.H.	barrister	1916	INC
	Hadden, Mabel	spouse	1916	INC
	Hadden, J.	tailor, merchant	1916	INC
	Genser, Lily	spouse	1916	INC
	Chapman, E.R.	barrister	1916	INC
Harpers' Ladies Ready to Wear	Differ, Myer	merchant	1931	INC
	Gutkin, Louis A.	merchant	1931	INC
	Gutkin, Harry	student	1931	INC
	Differ, Becka	housewife	1931	INC
	Averbach, Meyer	barrister	1931	INC
Harv-Al Sportswear	Rimer, Abraham	cutter, garment	1952	PARTNER
	Lipkin, Harvey	cutter, garment	1952	PARTNER
Harvey Pressman Fur	Pressman, Harvey	furrier	1953	INC
	Cantor, Alexander E.	barrister	1953	INC
	Altmayer, Cecilia	secretary	1953	INC
Hercules Manufacturing	Freed, David	mftr	1934	PARTNER
	Freed, Max	mftr	1934	PARTNER
	Schulman, Hyman	barrister	1935	INC
	Freed, David	mftr	1935	INC
	Freed, Max	mftr	1935	INC
Hy Fashion Apparels	Nurgitz, Barney	cutter	1952	PARTNER
	Nurgitz, Hymie	mftr	1952	PARTNER
	Nurgitz, Barney	mftr	1953	INC
	Michael, Henry E.	barrister	1953	INC
	Weber, Mary	steno	1953	INC
Hy Knazan Furs	Wachnuk, Doris	steno	1954	INC
	Wolinsky, Max	barrister	1954	INC
	Sokolov, Hyman	barrister	1954	INC
Imperial Importing and Fur	Boyaner, D.	furrier	1904	INC
	Rosenstein, I.P.	merchant	1904	INC
	Munroe, G.F.	barrister	1904	INC
	Rosenstein, Sarah	spouse	1904	INC

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Individual Garments	Wheeldon, H	barrister	1918	INC
	Levins, E.M.	agent	1918	INC
	Hanne, C.F.	clerk	1918	INC
	Portigal, S.	laws student	1918	INC
	McMurray, S.W.	barrister	1918	INC
Inglis Shirt	Sharpe, Frederick J.	barrister	1924	INC
	Severin, Frederick H.W.	law student	1924	INC
	Delmage, Thurza J.	secretary	1924	INC
	Marchant, Harold L.	barrister	1924	INC
	Patterson, Walter T.	law student	1924	INC
Invicta Manufacturing	Johnston, A.E.	barrister	1910	INC
	Arnott, Lillian M.	spouse	1910	INC
	Arnott, W.J.	manager	1910	INC
	Adam, G.	broker	1910	INC
	Juniper, A.T.	foreman	1910	INC
J.P. Cap	Carrow, Edward	mftr	1947	PARTNER
	Carrow, Edward	mftr	1947	PARTNER DIS
	Pallick, Johnny	mftr	1947	PARTNER
	Pollick, Johnny	mftr	1947	PARTNER DIS
Jackets	Grubert, Oscar	director	1952	INC
	MacHutchon, Marjorie	steno	1952	INC
	Whidden, Dorothy	steno	1952	INC
Jacob Crowley Manufacturing	Denenberg, D.S.	law student	1919	INC
	Jacob, Ben	merchant	1919	INC
	Robertson, J.E.	barrister	1919	INC
	Crowley, John H.	merchant	1919	INC
	Cantor, A.	law student	1919	INC
Jacob-Crowley Furs	Jacob, Benjamin	mftr	1944	INC
	Cohen, Joseph J.	barrister	1944	INC
	Crowley, John H.	mftr	1944	INC
Jacob-Kilroy	Kilroy, Frank A.	mftr	1941	INC
	Jacob, Nathan B.	mftr	1941	INC
	Jacob, Benjamin	mftr	1941	INC
Jacob-Rowman	Jacob, Aubie	cloakmaker	1946	INC
	Jacob, Irvin	cloakmaker	1946	INC
	Feinstein, Cecilia	housewife	1946	INC
	Jacob, H. Alexander	mftr	1946	INC
	Romanovsky, Joseph	bookkeeper	1946	INC
Jo-Anne Garment	Weselake, Edward	merchant	1947	PARTNER
	Weselake, Rose	spouse	1947	PARTNER

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COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Jolly-ette Apparels	Shore, Max	mftr	1946	INC
	Lepkin, Nathan	manager	1946	INC
	Paul, Israel	designer	1946	INC
Josef Freed Clothing	Schulman, Hyman	barrister	1951	INC
	Levi, David	law student	1951	INC
	Freed, Joseph	mftr	1951	INC
Juilliard	Brownsberger, Evelyn E.	bookkeepter	1947	CIN
	Cohen, Joseph J.	barrister	1947	INC
	Bemben, Anthony	mftr	1947	INC
Juliet Cloaks	Silver, Israel	unknown	1947	SINGLE
Junior Coat	Wall-Matloff Stone Ltd.	company	1934	TAKEOVER
	Wall, S.	President	1934	TAKEOVER
	Katz, S.F.	Sec Treasurer	1934	TAKEOVER
Junior Garment	Freidman, Solomon	merchant	1936	INC
	Freidman, Solomon	merchant	1936	SINGLE
	Galpern, Mavis	steno	1936	INC
	Spivak, Malick D.	barrister	1936	INC
Junior Wear	Waldman, Sidney	mftr	1940	SINGLE
K and K Knit	Diamond, Max Yale	barrister	1955	INC
	Diamond, Gertrude C.	bookkeeper	1955	INC
	Thorne, Anne	steno	1955	INC
KBB Manufacturing	Bay, R.	mftr	1920	INC
	Bay, Katie	spouse	1920	INC
	Katz, S.F.	merchant	1920	INC
	Katz, Rosie	spouse	1920	INC
	Bay, Eli	mftr	1920	INC
KWW Sportswear Manufacturing	Wincure, David	unknown	1945	PARTNER
	Kamin, William	unknown	1945	PARTNER
	King, Jack	unknown	1945	PARTNER
Kaiman Sportswear	Kaiman, William	mftr	1949	SINGLE
Kaplan's Manufacturing	Kaplan, Louis	unknown	1931	SINGLE
	Yablonsky, Helen	steno	1950	INC
	Kaplan, Louis A.	mftr	1950	INC
	Zimmerman, Maxwell N.	barrister	1950	INC
Karma Clothing	Kopstein, Maxwell E.	barrister	1949	INC
	Kerr, Joyce E.	bookkeeper	1949	INC
	Wilder, Oscar	barrister	1949	INC

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COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Kennedy and McKelvey	Guy, Robert D.	barrister	1928	INC
	Kennedy, Frank E.	salesman	1928	INC
	Kennedy, Mabel G.	housewife	1928	INC
Kentworth Clothing	Chisholm, William	mftr	1937	INC
	Rothwell, Robert	manager	1937	INC
	Rothwell, Mary F.	spouse	1937	INC
Kirschner Cap Manufacturing	Yackness, Louis	cap maker	1931	INC
	Nitikman, Israel	barrister	1931	INC
	Schulman, Hyman	barrister	1931	INC
	Beardsley, Cyrus B.	salesman	1931	INC
	Papernick, Leon	accountant	1931	INC
Klad-ezee Wear	Haid, Morris	mftr	1933	INC
	Haid, Bernard	mftr	1933	INC
	Haid, Earo	mftr	1933	INC
	Haid, Philip	mftr	1933	INC
Knazan Brothers	Phomin, Isaac	bookkeeper	1935	INC
	Knazan, Dora	married woman	1935	INC
	Nitikman, Israel	barrister	1935	INC
Knee-Pant Manufacturing	Rudin, L.	student	1916	INC
	Greig, Marie	steno	1916	INC
	Levites, Annie	spinster	1916	INC
	Colman, Nadie	spouse	1916	INC
	Colman, S.	mftr	1916	INC
Knitwear Products	Rosenthal, Sam	mftr	1949	INC
	Brownstone, Charles	wholesale jobber	1949	INC
	Brownstone, Jacob	wholesale jobber	1949	INC
	Brown, Fred	mftr	1949	INC
Koerbel Leather Goods Mfg.	Matas, Roy J.	barrister	1955	INC
	Gillespie, Shirley	steno	1955	INC
	Yarmarko, rose	steno	1955	INC
L. Seder Manufacturing	Sederer, Lawrence	cutter	1945	SINGLE
L. and N.	Levy, Isaac	merchant	1930	INC
	Farquarson, Florence	steno	1930	INC
	Parry, Ivor L.	auditor	1930	INC
	Nurgitz, Hymie	merchant	1930	INC
	Turnley, Edith	steno	1930	INC
L. and N. Cloak and Suit	Levy, Isaac	designer	1928	PARTNER
	Nurgits, Hymie	operator	1928	PARTNER

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COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Ladies Garments	Greenberg, S.	attorney	1919	INC
	Sutkin, L.A.	tailor	1919	INC
	Gorsey, W.	barrister	1919	INC
	Alexander, J.J.	salesman	1919	INC
	Differ, M.D.	tailor	1919	INC
Lamode Sportswear	Chula, Joseph	merchant	1953	INC
	Korn, Louis	operator	1953	INC
	Goldberg, Theodore	designer	1953	INC
Leadley Manufacturing	Sutherland, J.	student	1911	INC
	Carey, L.J.	student	1911	INC
	Coop, Elizabeth	accountant	1911	INC
	Leadley, H.L.	manager	1911	INC
	Steinberg, Max	manager	1911	INC
Leather Products	Feinstein, Louise G.	merchant	1924	INC
	Evans, Frank Robert	barrister	1924	INC
	Gorsey, Walter	barrister	1924	INC
	Feinstein, Jacob	merchant	1924	INC
	Suffield, Joseph D.	barrister	1924	INC
M. and G. Cap Manufacturing	Goodman, Morris	unknown	1954	PARTNER
	Morrice, Carolyn	unknown	1954	PARTNER
M. and G. Cloak	Granovsky, Abraham	merchant	1948	PARTNER
	Matlin, David	merchant	1948	PARTNER
M.B. Lee and Company	Lee, M.B.	merchant	1902	INC
	Birch, W.W.	traveller	1902	INC
	Law, F.W.	druggist	1902	INC
	Law, W.C.	rancher	1902	INC
	Campbell, J.A.	trader	1902	INC
Madewell Garments	Waldman, Kalman	merchant	1925	INC
	Waldman, Sam	merchant	1925	INC
	Waldman, Hyman	merchant	1925	INC
	Waldman, Charles	merchant	1925	INC
	Horgan, Mary	merchant	1925	INC
	Morosnick, Louis D.	barrister	1930	INC
	Shinbane, A. Mark	barrister	1930	INC
	Wilson, William H.	solicitor	1930	INC
	Stephenson, Kathleen	secretary	1930	INC
	Shinbane, Rose	barrister	1930	INC
Manhattan Fashions	Kurzer, Leible	mftr	1952	SINGLE
Manhattan Fur	Barnett, Harris V.	furrier	1949	INC
	Cherniak, Joseph A.	barrister	1949	INC
	Cherniak, Saul M.	barrister	1949	INC

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COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Manitoba Cap Manufacturing	Wolinsky, Max	barrister	1940	INC
	Sokolov, Hyman	barrister	1940	INC
	Goldin, Evelyn	steno	1940	INC
Manitoba Fur Manufacturing	Mohr, Samuel	mftr	1945	SINGLE
Manitoba Knitting Mills	Schachter, Harry	merchant	1929	SINGLE
Manitoba Pants Manufacturing	Siegal, Allan E.	mftr	1943	INC
	MacArthur, Clarence V.	barrister	1943	INC
	Greene, Samuel	mftr	1943	INC
Mar-Vel Garments	Fieldbloom, Morris J.	manager, sales	1950	INC
	Sterdan, Anthony	mftr	1950	INC
	Sterdan, Anne	married woman	1950	INC
Marlboro Cloak	Differ, Besci	married woman	1923	INC
	Purvis, Agnes Fleming	steno	1923	INC
	Alexander, James J.	mftr	1923	INC
	Differ, Mayer D.	mftr	1923	INC
	Alexander, Agnes Maud	married woman	1923	INC
Marvel Bilt Sportswear	Chisick, Charles	merchant	1936	PARTNER
	Filkow, Alex	accountant	1936	PARTNER
	Freedman, Annie	housewife	1936	PARTNER
	Chisick, Charles	merchant	1937	INC
	Filkow, Alex	accountant	1937	INC
	Levin, David	barrister	1937	INC
Marvel Dress	Yaren, Harry	wholesaler	1944	SINGLE
Master Leather Products	Ostrov, Louis	unknown	1945	SINGLE
Mayman Fur Manufacturing	Mayman, Berl	furrier	1950	SINGLE
Men's Kraft	Kerman, David Y.	mftr	1946	INC
	Schachter, Earo P.	manager	1946	INC
	Green, S. Hart	barrister	1946	INC
Merit Clothes	Finkelstein, Charles E.	barrister	1927	INC
	Horn, John	accountant	1927	INC
	White, Lloyd A.	barrister	1927	INC
	Anderson, Mary	steno	1927	INC
	Adams, Hohn Henry	law clerk	1927	INC
Metropolitan Pant Mfg.	Yakir, Abraham	tailor	1952	INC
	Levitt, Allan	manager	1952	INC
	Berger, Anne	married woman	1952	INC

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COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Mid-West Garments	Moses, Max	mftr	1933	PARTNER
	Gordon, Bessie	spouse of edward	1933	PARTNER
Midland Fur	Green, S. Hart	barrister	1951	INC
	Green, Hart Jr.	barrister	1951	INC
	MacMannis, Beryl	secretary	1951	INC
Mittleman Garments	Mittelman, Aaron	mftr	1940	INC
	Altman, Hyman	barrister	1940	INC
	Mittelman, Harry	mftr	1940	INC
Model Cloak	Feldman, Samuel	tailor	1927	PARTNER
	Billinkoff, Israel	tailor	1927	PARTNER
	Pauls, John S.	accountant	1931	INC
	Feldman, Sam	mftr	1931	INC
	Buchwald, Frank	merchant	1931	INC
	Portigal, Minnie	steno	1931	INC
	Billinkoff, Israel	mftr	1931	INC
Model Fur	Minuk, David	unknown	1955	SINGLE
Model Manufacturing	Vrooman, W.A.	gentleman	1908	INC
	Vrooman, C.H.	physician	1908	INC
	Dodds, W.J.	mftr	1908	INC
	Love, James	mftr	1908	INC
	Carper, H.D.	attourney	1908	INC
Modern Fur Manufacturing	Ostrovsky, Echiel	mftr	1930	PARTNER DIS
	Wachnow, Joseph	merchant	1930	PARTNER DIS
Mohr Fur Manufacturing	Mohr, Samuel	mftr	1942	SINGLE
Monarch Overall Manufacturing	Steinberg, Harry	manager	1911	INC
	Leadley, Charlotte S.	spouse	1911	INC
	Love, Grace E.	spouse	1911	INC
	Leadley, H.	merchant	1911	INC
	Steinberg, Bernice	spouse	1911	INC
	Love, James	cutter	1911	INC
Montreal Cloak	Boderman, L.	tailor	1916	INC
	Rosen, J.E.	merchant	1916	INC
	Herkal, M.	tailor	1916	INC
	Freed, David	merchant	1916	INC
	Waldman, M.	tailor	1916	INC
Morley Fashions	Shuckett, Sally	spouse	1946	INC
	Shuckett, Nathan	mftr	1946	INC
	Shuckett, Morley	student	1946	INC

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COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
National Cloaks	Zivot, Jacob S.	mftr	1939	INC
	Feldman, Sam	mftr	1939	INC
	Zivot, Lillian M.	spouse	1939	INC
National Sportswear	Rowman, J.M.	Sec Treasurer	1953	PARTNER
	Feldman, S.	President	1953	PARTNER
	National Cloaks	company	1953	PARTNER
Northern Clothing	Sures, Sarah	merchant	1919	INC
	Sures, Mary	merchant	1919	INC
	Cohen, Hyman	merchant	1919	INC
	Cohen, Moses	merchant	1919	INC
	Sures, Nathan	merchant	1919	INC
Northern Fur	Boyaner, David	merchant	1923	SINGLE
Northern Fur Manufacturing	Ingraham, Arthur W.E.	unknown	1931	PARTNER
	Sparks, Anne	unknown	1931	PARTNER
	Studnitz, Max	unknown	1931	PARTNER
Northern Shirt	Ewart, T.S.	barrister	1906	INC
	Billington, J.	clerk	1906	INC
	Manning, R.A.C.	barrister	1906	INC
	Lawson, F.G.	manager	1906	INC
	Bawlf, W.R.	treasurer	1906	INC
Northland Garments	Sweatman, Alan	law student	1948	INC
	Milligan, Alexander J.	solicitor	1948	INC
	Grundy, Henry P.	barrister	1948	INC
Northland Knitting	Nicol, G.O.	clerk	1909	INC
	McBeath, J.R.C.	broker	1909	INC
	Mathers, F.F.	reporter	1909	INC
	Earl, L.F.	law student	1909	INC
	Manning, R.A.C.	barrister	1909	INC
	Geddes, Jessie	typist	1932	INC
	More, John M.	clerk	1932	INC
	Webster, Jack R.	law clerk	1932	INC
	Stringer, Alexander J.	law student	1932	INC
	Bryan, Owen E.	barrister	1932	INC
Northwest Hide and Fur	Cohen, Moses	merchant	1915	INC
	Finkelstein, Moses	merchant	1915	INC
	Rosen, Isaac	merchant	1915	INC
	Finkelman, C.	merchant	1915	INC
	Coppleman, S.	merchant	1915	INC

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COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Northwestern Cap	Hurtley, T.	merchant	1908	INC
	Munroe, G.F.	barrister	1908	INC
	Smith, T.H.	capitalist	1908	INC
	Berlin, Jacob	mftr, caps	1908	INC
	Berlin, G.	mftr, caps	1908	INC
	Berlin, W.	mftr, caps	1908	INC
Nu-Mode Garment	Pudavnick, Hymie	merchant	1931	PARTNER
	Billinkoff, Israel	merchant	1931	PARTNER
	Billinkoff, Frank	barrister	1949	INC
	Billinkoff, Israel	merchant	1949	INC
	Billinkoff, Aaron	salesman	1949	INC
Olympic Sport Togs	Freedman, Samuel	barrister	1947	INC
	Baron, Sue	secretary	1947	INC
	Jones, David Henry	law student	1947	INC
Olympic Sportswear	Bakal, Meyer J.	mftr	1944	SINGLE
Ontario Garment Manufacturing	Silverman, Solomon	commercial traveller	1924	INC
	Oiffer, Myer	designer	1924	INC
	Bookhalter, Manuel	merchant	1924	INC
	Manusow, Fannie	steno	1924	INC
	Isenstein, Harry	mftr	1924	INC
Paramount Cloaks	Matlin, Louis S.	barrister	1949	INC
	Drache, Rose	steno	1949	INC
	Israels, Abraham M.	barrister	1949	INC
Parisian Garment	Mittleman, Harry	merchant	1928	PARTNER
	Oiffer, Myer David	merchant	1928	PARTNER
	Mittleman, Harry	mftr	1929	INC
	Gerich, Dmytra	clerk	1929	INC
	Oiffer, David	mftr	1929	INC
	Altmayer, Cecilia	steno	1929	INC
	Cantor, Alexander E.	barrister	1929	INC
Park Fashion Clothes	Hayman, Harvey T.	merchant	1950	INC
	Lenett, Elizabeth	spouse	1950	INC
	Lenett, Harold N.	merchant	1950	INC
Peerless Garments	Wilder, Oscar	law student	1940	INC
	Silverberg, Morris	bookkeeper	1940	INC
	Dozar, Aaron C.	agent, insurance	1940	INC
Perfecfit Glove	Raber, Abraham	glove maker	1934	PARTNER
	Richman, Morris	glove maker	1934	PARTNER
Perfecfit Glove Manufacturing	Silver, Wilfred	mftr	1953	INC
	Richman, Morris	mftr	1953	INC
	Nitikman, Israel	barrister	1953	INC

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COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Perfect-Fit Children's Wear	Katz, Mary	mftr	1955	SINGLE
Perfection Suspender	Anderson, Mary	steno	1925	INC
	Drayson, Alfred R.	accountant	1925	INC
	Atkinson, Hilda	steno	1925	INC
	Bridger, Thomas	accountant	1925	INC
	Adams, John H.	law clerk	1925	INC
Pick Overall Manufacturing	Schroeder, Helene	steno	1946	INC
	Lawrence, Alexander G.	barrister	1946	INC
	Brown, Clifford G	accountant	1946	INC
Pierce Fur	Cohen, S.	merchant	1907	INC
	Pierce, R.M.	furrier	1907	INC
	Abramovitch, L.	merchant	1907	INC
	Pierce, J.	gentleman	1907	INC
	Udow, J.	merchant	1907	INC
	Tapper, Lawrence E.	chartered accountant	1927	INC
	Pierce, Benjamin	mftr	1927	INC
	Cantor, Alexander E.	barrister	1927	INC
	Neaman, Morris	mftr	1927	INC
	Chochinov, Alexander	furrier	1927	INC
	Pierce, Fred	furrier	1935	INC
	Pierce, Esther	married woman	1935	INC
	Pierce, Ben	furrier	1935	INC
Prairie Knitting	Hunter, S.C.	accountant	1923	INC
	Dorsey, H.	salesman	1923	INC
	McClay, J.D.	salesman	1923	INC
	Alford, Vera	steno	1923	INC
	Purly, J.W.	salesman	1923	INC
Princess Garment	Kaimen, William	mftr	1947	PARTNER
	Goldman, Louis	mftr	1947	PARTNER
Princess Klad Junior Mfg.	Kassin, Joseph	cloakmaker	1946	PARTNER
	Kaplan, David A.	mftr	1946	PARTNER
Pudavick Garment	Eibner, Francis J.	barrister	1948	INC
	Evans, Frank R.	barrister	1948	INC
	Anderson, June E.	steno	1948	INC
Quality Pants and Breeches Mfg	Gherman, Benjamin	merchant	1936	PARTNER
	Fridell, Morris	merchant	1936	PARTNER
Quality Suspender Manufacturing	Direnfield, Samuel	unknown	1932	PARTNER DIS
	Meshnik, Isaac	unknown	1932	PARTNER DIS
	Goldstein, Irving A.	unknown	1932	PARTNER DIS

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COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
R.J. MacLean	Wannop, Robert	salesman	1930	INC
	MacLean, Eliza	married woman	1930	INC
	MacLean, Robert J.	merchant	1930	INC
	Kennedy, Frederick C.	barrister	1930	INC
	Hesseltine, George R.	salesman	1930	INC
R.J. Whitla and Company	Elliott, D.K.	merchant	1901	INC
	Driscoll, R.	salesman	1901	INC
	Campbell, J.M.	salesman	1901	INC
	Aikens, J.A.M.	barrister	1901	INC
	Whitla, R.J.	merchant	1901	INC
	Binns, A.S.	salesman	1901	INC
R.K. Garment Manufacturing	Micay, Archie R.	barrister	1948	INC
	McDonald, Bruce	barrister	1948	INC
	Molloy, William A.	barrister	1948	INC
	Walsh, Harry	barrister	1948	INC
Raber Glove Manufacturing	Raber, Abraham	mftr	1941	SINGLE
	Altmayer, Cecilia	steno	1953	INC
	Cantor, Allan P.	law student	1953	INC
	Cantor, Alexander E.	barrister	1953	INC
Regal Sportswear	Kemel, Gordon	accountant	1946	INC
	Goodman, Ben	tailor	1946	INC
	Jackson, Iva B.	steno	1946	INC
	Bober, Max	merchant	1953	PARTNER
	Kemel, Gordon	accountant	1953	PARTNER
Reliable Glove	Madick, Abraham	unknown	1939	PARTNER
	Madick, Minnie	spouse	1939	PARTNER
Rice Knitting	Andrews, Herbert	barrister	1924	INC
	Bastedo, David L.	barrister	1924	INC
	Andrews, Fletcher S.	barrister	1924	INC
	Bryan, Owen	barrister	1924	INC
	Geddes, Jessie	barrister's clerk	1924	INC
Rice Knitting Mills	Corbould, C.D.	accountant	1921	INC
	Rice, Clara	spouse	1921	INC
	Rice, L.	managerial asst	1921	INC
Royal Garment Manufacturing	Bakal, Meyer I.	unknown	1940	PARTNER
	Glesby, Jack I.	unknown	1940	PARTNER
Ryan and Goodland	Levy, A.E.	accountant	1903	INC
	Ryan, John	mftr	1903	INC
	Ryan, Isabella	spouse	1903	INC
	Goodland, Ethel H.	spouse	1903	INC
	Goodland, H.T.	mftr	1903	INC

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COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
S. and P. Garment Manufacturing	Perman, Israel	mftr	1948	PARTNER
	Strauss, Jacob	mftr	1948	PARTNER
S. and S. Sportswear	Shoib, Morley	mftr	1953	INC
	Shtunzeiger, Ben	mftr	1953	INC
	Shok, Samuel	mftr	1953	INC
S. and T. Cloak Manufacturing	Taffert, Harry	mftr, cloaks	1941	PARTNER
	Saper, Monty	mftr, cloaks	1941	PARTNER
Sabina Sportswear	Raber, Leon	mftr	1953	PARTNER
	Weizman, Ben	mftr	1953	PARTNER
Schwartz Fur	Schwartz, Esther	unknown	1944	SINGLE
Seder Sportswear	Sederer, Lawrence	cutter	1939	SINGLE
	Zeisler, Aby	manager, asst	1950	PARTNER
	Sederer, Lawrence	cutter	1950	PARTNER
Service Sportswear	Schaffer, Abraham	mftr	1951	PARTNER
	Coodin, Louis	mftr	1951	PARTNER
Silberman Fur	Silverman, I.D.	merchant	1921	INC
	Silberman, Ada	spouse	1921	INC
	Morrison, Rita	steno	1921	INC
	Silberman, M.	merchant	1921	INC
	Silverman, Lily	spouse	1921	INC
Silpit Apparel Industries	Pitch, William S.	mftr	1947	INC
	Nitikman, Israel	barrister	1947	INC
	Silverberg, Harry	mftr	1947	INC
Silpit Industries	Silverberg, Harry	mftr	1953	INC
	Nitikman, Israel	barrister	1953	INC
	Abrams, William	law student	1953	INC
Silver Dress	Silver, Mary	married woman	1929	INC
	Silver, Rose	married woman	1929	INC
	Silver, Philip	mftr	1929	INC
Singer Headwear Manufacturing	Singer, David	mftr	1927	INC
	Marcus, Marcel	barrister	1927	INC
	Marcus, Arthur	salesman	1927	INC
	Singer, Minnie	married woman	1927	INC
	Horn, Arpad	accountant	1927	INC
Sport-Ease Fashions	Albersheim, Eugene	mftr	1955	SINGLE
Sportex Manufacturing	Zanger, Simon	mftr	1953	PARTNER
	Mandelbaum, Emanuel	mftr	1953	PARTNER

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Sportswear Specialties	Babchuk, Samuel	mftr	1952	SINGLE
Stall Sportswear	Altmayer, Cecilia	steno	1946	INC
	Simkin, Abraham L.	law student	1946	INC
	Cantor, Alexander E.	barrister	1946	INC
Standard Clothing Manufacturing	Lenoff, Rose	married woman	1927	SINGLE
	Lenoff, Rose	married woman	1936	INC
	Fieldbloom, Moses J.	accountant	1936	INC
	Lenoff, Joseph	mftr	1936	INC
	Lenoff, Jean	steno	1936	INC
Standard Fur Manufacturing	Fred, Ida Lea	spouse	1917	INC
	Green, S.H.	barrister	1917	INC
	Levine, S.B.	house dealer	1917	INC
	Portigal, M.	merchant	1917	INC
	Simmons, A.C.	auditor	1917	INC
Standard Glove Works	Kachuk, Nicholas T.	mftr	1955	SINGLE
Standard Knitting	Fishman, Moses	merchant	1921	SINGLE
	Colman, S.	knitter	1923	INC
	Colman, Nadia	spouse	1923	INC
	Halparin, Clara	spouse	1923	INC
	Dworkin, S.	steno	1923	INC
	Cherniak, J.A.	barrister	1923	INC
	Fishman, M.	mftr	1923	INC
	Halparin, M.	butcher, wholesale	1923	INC
Sterling Cloak	Parker, William	unknown	1932	PARTNER
	Libling, William	unknown	1932	PARTNER
	Matlin, David	unknown	1932	PARTNER
	Matlin, David	merchant	1933	INC
	Libling, William	merchant	1933	INC
	Matlin, Louis S.	attorney	1933	INC
	Drach, Samuel J.	barrister	1933	INC
	Gray, James Henry	accountant	1933	INC
	Filkow, Alex	merchant	1948	INC
	Burstein, Joseph A.	dentist	1948	INC
	Levin, David	barrister	1948	INC
Sterling Manufacturing	Costigan, A.	law student	1913	INC
	Ferguson, A.C.	barrister	1913	INC
	Dilts, A.E.	barrister	1913	INC
	Lewis, R.	law clerk	1913	INC
	Emery, R.E.	mftr	1913	INC
Sterling Sportswear Manufacturing	Brotman, Benjamin	mftr	1946	INC
	Silverman, Joseph	manager	1946	INC
	Brotman, Israel	mftr	1946	INC

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Stetson Clothing	Sokolov, Hyman	barrister	1949	INC
	Hoe, Mabel	steno	1949	INC
	Wolinsky, Max	barrister	1949	INC
Stewart-Hecht Furs	Hecht, Albert	furrier	1944	INC
	Green, S. Hart	barrister	1944	INC
	Stewart, Max	mftr	1944	INC
Stone Cloaks	Black, Louise M.	steno	1948	INC
	Nitikman, Israel	barrister	1948	INC
	Stone, Isadore	mftr	1948	INC
Stoney's Sportwear	Green, Hart Jr.	barrister	1954	INC
	McMannis, Beryl	steno	1954	INC
	Green, S. Hart	HMC	1954	INC
Style Creations	Klass, Paul	agent	1939	PARTNER
Stylecraft Neckwear	Lyons, Freda	housewife	1932	INC
	Lyons, Mendel	mftr	1932	INC
	Bricker, Rose	housewife	1932	INC
	Hall, Harvey C.	mftr	1932	INC
	Hall, Marion	housewife	1932	INC
	Bricker, Aaron	mftr	1932	INC
Styled Sportswear	Moses, Sam	mftr	1945	SINGLE
Superior Children's Wear	Manitoba Cap Mfg.	company	1945	PARTNER
	Gobuty, Edward	unknown	1945	PARTNER
	Wileman, Robert	unknown	1945	PARTNER
Superior Dress Manufacturing	Bogach, Abraham	mftr	1931	PARTNER
	Freedman, James	mftr	1931	PARTNER
Superior Knitting Mills	Steinberg, Mary	spouse	1917	INC
	Cohen, E.A.	barrister	1917	INC
	Steinberg, M.	merchant	1917	INC
	Weidman, N.J.	merchant	1917	INC
	Weidman, J.P.	merchant	1917	INC
Sutherland's Men's Wear	Brock, Clifford W.	barrister	1932	INC
	MacHale, Marion	steno	1932	INC
	Sutherland, George D.	salesman	1932	INC
	Sutherland, Alex R.P.	accountant	1932	INC
	Parker, Frederick J.	salesman	1932	INC
Ticholas Knitting Industry	Ticholas, William	merchant	1947	SINGLE

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Toronto Fur	Innes, Hugh A.	manager	1930	INC
	Morrison, Catherine	steno	1930	INC
	Robertson, John E.	barrister	1930	INC
	Innes, Andrew D.	manager	1930	INC
	Innes, Minnie Maud	married woman	1930	INC
Trufit Clothing	Cohen, Nathan	merchant	1925	INC
	Adams, John H.	law clerk	1925	INC
	Finkelman, J.	merchant	1925	INC
	Slobinsky, Bella	merchant	1925	INC
	Bridges, Thomas	accountant	1925	INC
Twentieth Century Headwear	Leonoff, Melvin	mftr	1954	PARTNER
	Hoch, Mickey	mftr	1954	PARTNER
	Weber, Mary	steno	1955	INC
	Michel, Henry E.	barrister	1955	INC
	McDill, Nora	steno	1955	INC
Union Overall	Suckling, J.	buyer	1909	INC
	Chalmers, F.E.	mftr	1909	INC
	Stratton, R.D.	barrister	1909	INC
	Bulling, A.C.	gen manager	1909	INC
	Lockwood, H.S.	mftr	1909	INC
United Garments	Martin, Mary	steno	1935	INC
	Kenzik, Elizabeth M.	steno	1935	INC
	Brown, Dorothy	steno	1935	INC
United Leather Manufacturing	Isenstein, Harry	merchant	1928	SINGLE
Universal Garment	Gandler, Samuel	merchant	1942	SINGLE
Utility Glove	Diamond, Gertrude C.	bookkeeper	1954	TAKEOVER
	Berman, Martin	law student	1954	TAKEOVER
	Diamond, Max Yale	barrister	1954	TAKEOVER
	Madick, Abraham I.	mftr	1932	SINGLE
Vannick Manufacturing	Vannick, John R.	mftr	1928	INC
	Head, Edward H.C.	accountant	1928	INC
	Tracz, John	artist	1928	INC
	Layton, N. Hamilton	barrister	1928	INC
	Ross, A. Murray S.	barrister	1928	INC
Viceroy Sportswear	Butovsky, Michael	mftr	1945	PARTNER
	Nitikman, Israel	barrister	1945	INC
	Silverberg, Solomon	mftr	1945	INC
	Packer, Irving	mftr	1945	PARTNER
	Schwartz, Abraham H.	mftr	1945	INC
Victoria Cap	Laskin, David	mftr	1941	PARTNER
	Porten, Abraham V.	mftr	1941	PARTNER

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Victoria Leather Jacket	Laskin, David	mftr	1938	PARTNER
	Rosenberg, David	mftr	1938	PARTNER
	Hametin, Samuel	mftr	1938	PARTNER
	Porten, Abraham V.	mftr	1938	PARTNER
	Laskin, David	mftr	1941	PARTNER
	Rosenberg, David	mftr	1941	PARTNER
	Porten, Abraham V.	mftr	1941	PARTNER
	Smith, Alma	secretary	1952	INC
	Shinbane, Abraham M.	barrister	1952	INC
	Webster, James B.	barrister	1952	INC
W.C. Junior Wear	Wincure, Joseph	cutter	1945	INC
	Craven, Harry	operator	1945	INC
	Wincure, Morris	manager	1945	INC
Watkins Glove and Mitten	Watkins, W.W.	mftr	1909	INC
	Hein, V.L.	foreman	1909	INC
	Morley, A.W.	barrister	1909	INC
	Watkins, H.	mftr	1909	INC
	Suffield, J.D.	barrister	1909	INC
Weathercoats	Marcus, Marcel	barrister	1929	INC
	Ralph, Norman N.	unknown	1929	INC
	Mawhinney, Ruby J.	steno	1929	INC
	Tobias, Herbert N.	unknown	1929	INC
	Noble, William M.	barrister	1929	INC
Well-Don Manufacturing	Mitchell, Nathan	tailor	1953	PARTNER
	Haber, Benny	tailor	1953	PARTNER
Western Apparels	Horn, John	accountant	1949	INC
	Borg, William	mftr	1949	INC
	Doduck, Mavis	wholesaler	1949	INC
Western Clothing	Shapiro, Moritz	merchant	1929	SINGLE
Western Garment	Brodsky, I.E.	law student	1922	INC
	Adilman, C.	mftr	1922	INC
	Rubin, Benjamin	merchant	1922	INC
	Adilman, N.	mftr	1922	INC
	Rubin, Lily	merchant	1922	INC
Western Glove Works	Nitikman, A.J.	merchant	1921	INC
	Sirluck, I.	merchant	1921	INC
	Silver, Solomon	mftr	1921	INC
	Nitikman, S.B.	mftr	1921	INC
	Nitikman, J.	merchant	1921	INC
Western Hat Manufacturing	Tishler, Stanley	hatter	1946	INC
	Sokolov, Hyman	barrister	1946	INC
	Wolinsky, Max	barrister	1946	INC

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Western Junior Wear	Rich, Sam	unknown	1944	PARTNER
	Rich, Abraham	unknown	1944	PARTNER
	Kettner, Benjamin	unknown	1944	PARTNER
Western King Garment	Binns, A.S.	merchant	1906	INC
	Campbell, J.A.	merchant	1906	INC
	Driscoll, R.	merchant	1906	INC
	Elliott, J.H.	merchant	1906	INC
	Whitla, H.W.	barrister	1906	INC
	Elliot, D.K.	merchant	1906	INC
Western Leathers	Allott, Maxwell H.	bookkeeper	1932	INC
	Levin, Alice	steno	1932	INC
	Miller, Salem	barrister	1932	INC
	Cohen, Joseph J.	barrister	1932	INC
	Caplan, Max	barrister	1932	INC
Western Pants Manufacturing	Raber, Gutil	merchant	1926	SINGLE
Western Shirt and Overall	Haid, Morris	merchant	1917	INC
	Cohen, E.A.	barrister	1917	INC
	Haid, Rebecca	spouse	1917	INC
	Haid, Freida	spinster	1917	INC
	Haid, Ida F.	spinster	1917	INC
	Bowne, F.W.	cutter	1917	INC
Western Sportswear	Kamin, William	unknown	1945	PARTNER
	Wincure, David	unknown	1945	PARTNER
Wexler Cloak	Wexler, Irving	mftr	1942	SINGLE
William Martin Shirt	Olin, Lily	unknown	1948	SINGLE
Winchester Knitted Goods	Graham, George M.	barrister	1924	INC
	Kahane, Abraham	merchant	1924	INC
	Colman, Nadie	spouse	1924	INC
	Rincover, Eda	spouse	1924	INC
	Wallar, John F.	barrister	1924	INC
Windsor Junior Garment	Bricker, Aaron	mftr	1939	PARTNER
	Silvert, Samuel	mftr	1939	PARTNER
	Cantor, Alexander E.	barrister	1940	INC
	Dorfman, Irwin	barrister	1940	INC
	Altmayer, Cecilia	steno	1940	INC
Winer Garment	Winer, Masha	merchant	1929	PARTNER
	Gruber, Harry	merchant	1929	PARTNER

Winnipeg Garment Industry: Letters Patent, 1900-1955. Source: MANITOBA GAZETTE.

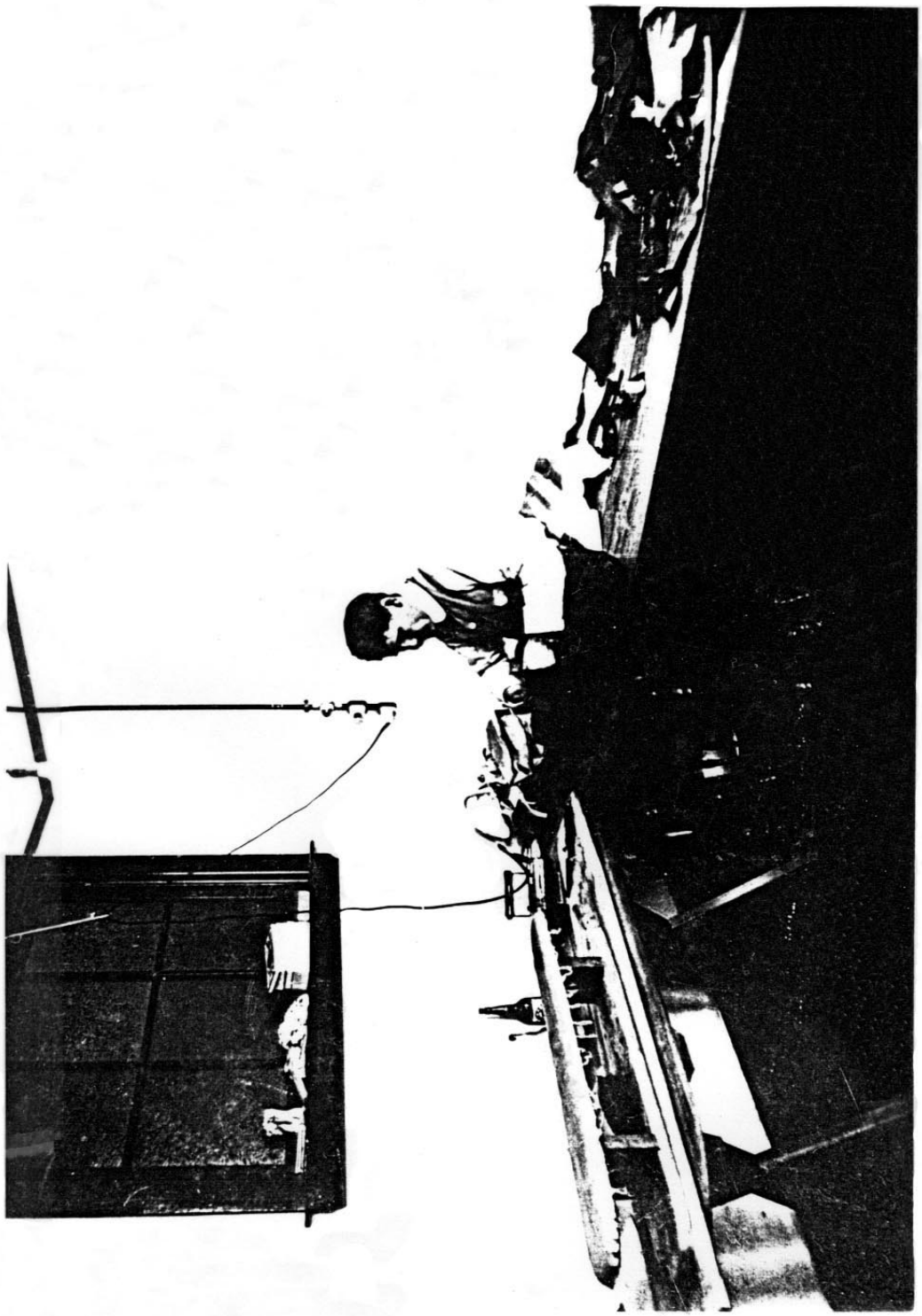
COMPANY	APPLICANTS	OCCUPATION	DATE	TYPE
Winnipeg Fur	Wright, A.	gentleman	1905	INC
	Knott, J.A.	merchant	1905	INC
	Knott, L.H.	gentleman	1905	INC
	Wright, Mary	spouse	1905	INC
	Wright, J.A.	gentleman	1905	INC
Winnipeg Garment Manufacturing	Korren, Sam	merchant	1920	PARTNER
	Pressman, H.	merchant	1920	PARTNER
	Fishman, L.	merchant	1920	PARTNER
Winnipeg Knitting Mills	Unknown	unknown	1925	INC
Winnipeg Leather Goods Mfg.	Yukelis, Aaron	mftr	1952	PARTNER
	Levine, Don	mftr	1952	PARTNER
	Intrater, Jack	mftr	1952	PARTNER
	Diamond, Max Yale	barrister	1955	INC
	Diamond, Gertrude C.	bookkeeper	1955	INC
	Berman, Martin	law student	1955	INC
Winnipeg Pants Manufacturing	Rich, Abraham	unknown	1944	PARTNER
	Kettner, Benjamin	unknown	1944	PARTNER
	Sokolov, Hyman	mftr	1950	INC
	Rich, Abraham	mftr	1950	INC
	Zivot, Jack	mftr	1950	INC
Winsome Dress	Western Shirt and Overall	company	1941	SINGLE
Winston Angelle Furs	Winston, James	furrier	1950	PARTNER
	Angelle, Maurice A.	mftr	1950	PARTNER
Winston Furs	Angelle, Maurice A.	mftr	1950	PARTNER DIS
	Winston, James	furrier	1950	PARTNER DIS
Women's Wear	Garland, E.P.	barrister	1915	INC
	Waldman, J.H.	mftr	1915	INC
	Waldman, Rebecca	spouse	1915	INC
	Porter, E.G.	barrister	1915	INC
	Alexander, J.	mftr	1915	INC
Youngstown Sportswear	Klapman, Max	mftr	1949	SINGLE
Zelda Dress Uniforms	Lasker, Zelda Lillian	designer	1943	INC
	Lasker, Adolphe H.A.	bookseller	1943	INC
	Forrester, David B.W.	barrister	1943	INC

APPENDIX E

Entrepreneurship: Photographs

Solomon Swartzman and group of workers at Cameron Tailor Shop on Main St., c. 1912.

Source: PAM, JHS, 784.



Saul Swartzman at work.

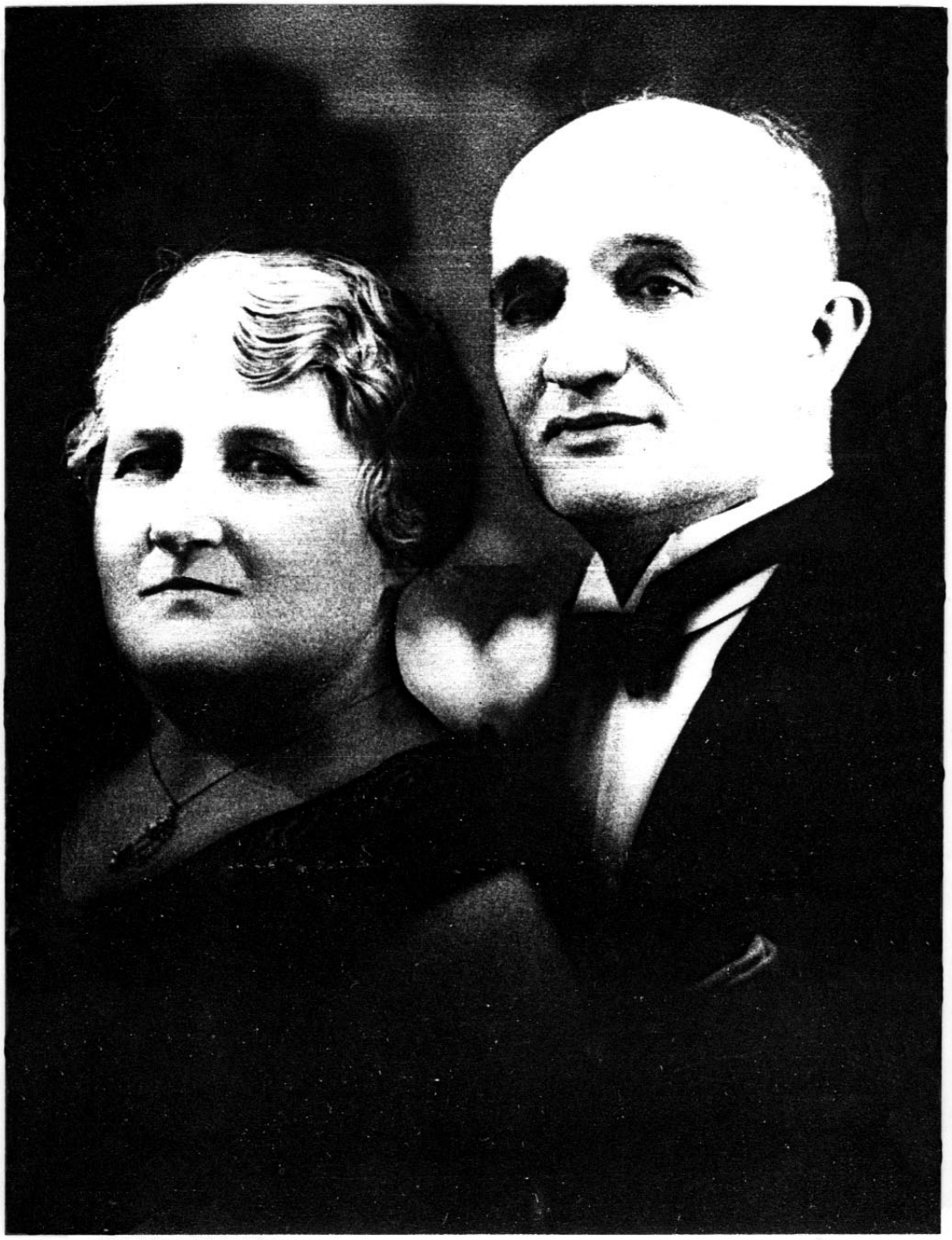
Source: PAM, JHS, 792.

Benjamin Jacob (standing) and John H. Crowley, n.d.

Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, 63.

Moses and Becka Haid and family, 1916.

Source: PAM, JHS, 2647.

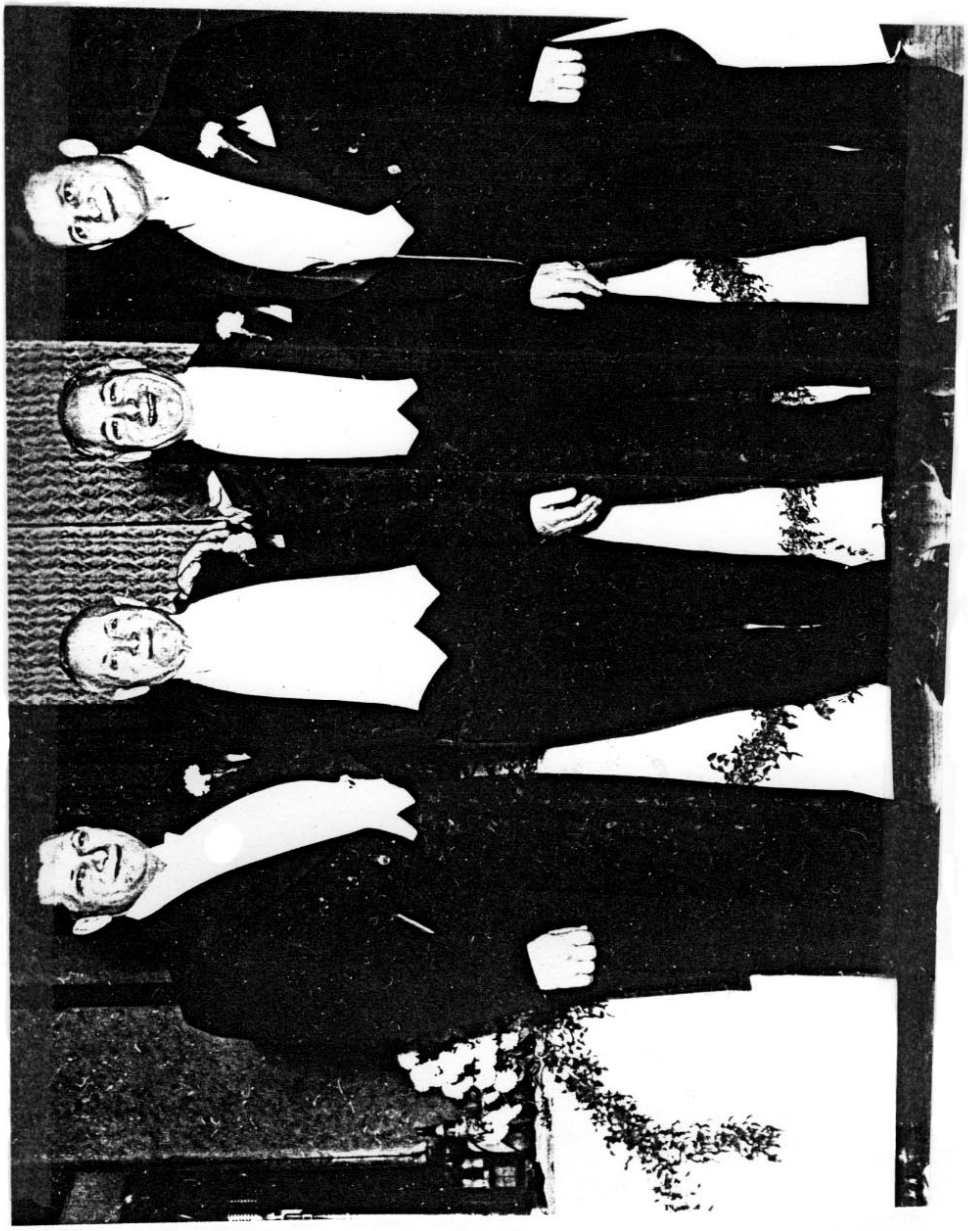


Mr. and Mrs. David Freed.

Source: PAM, JHS, 470.

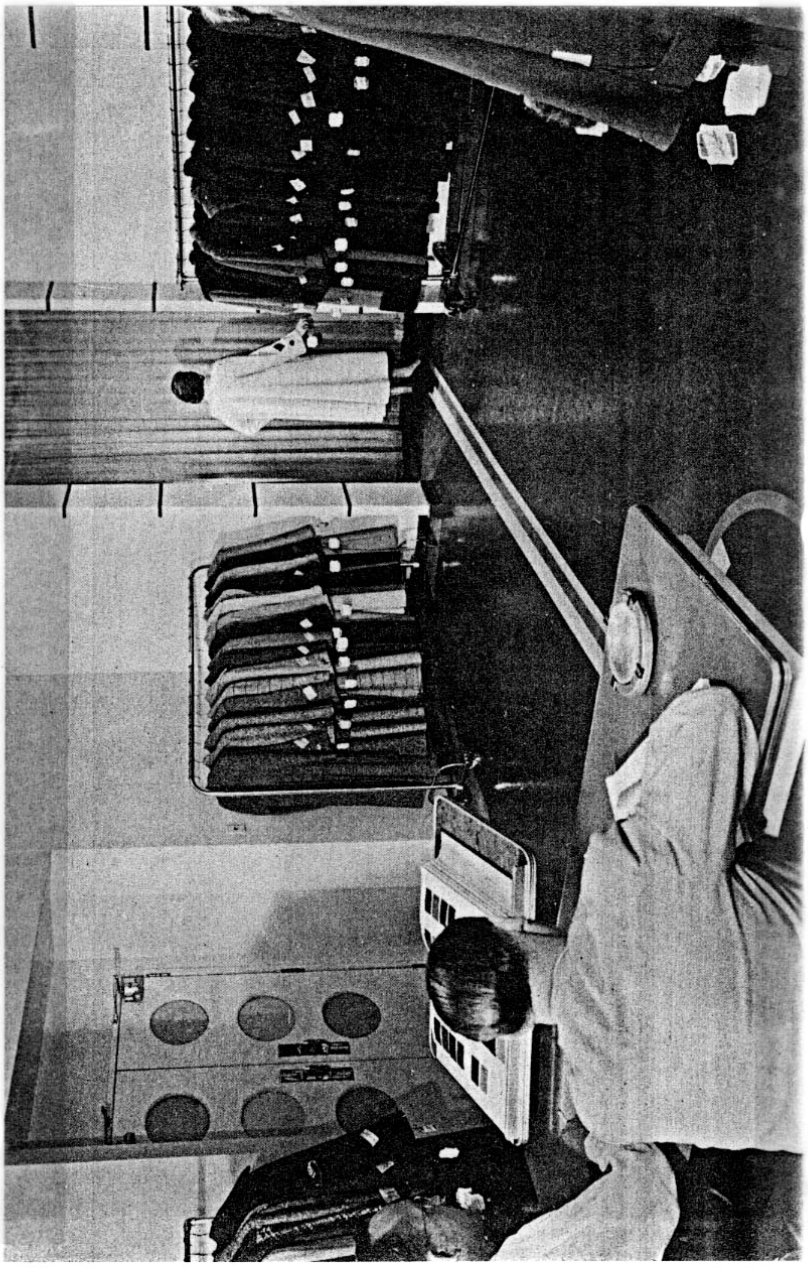
Morris Neaman.

Source: PAM, JHS, 440.



Sam Stall and sons, David, Morris, Nathan.

Source: PAM, JHS, 2899.



Making decisions on the styles and colours of product lines in the Jacob-Crowley showroom, 1949.

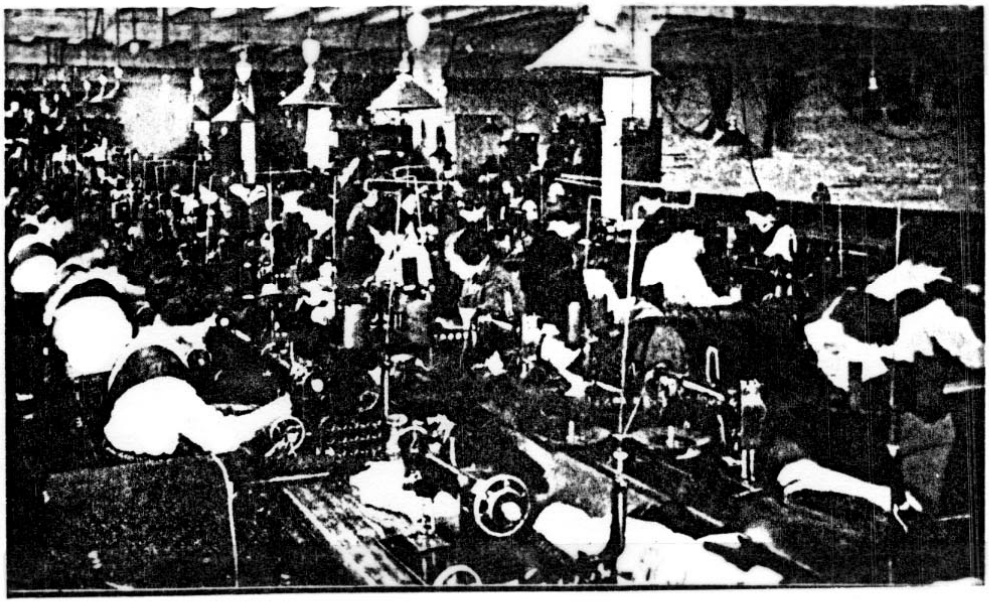
Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (Sept.- Oct. 1949).

Richard Crowley, John Crowley Jr., and Ted Jacob discussing inventories, 1949.

Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (Sept.- Oct. 1949).

APPENDIX F

Working in the Factory: Photographs



Women at work in a turn of the century Winnipeg garment factory, possibly the Whitla factory.

Source: Unknown.

Jewish strikers from the Scotland Woolen Mills, 1906.

Source: PAM, JHS, 401.

S. Matlin and family in their tailor shop on Dufferin Avenue, c. 1910.

Source: PAM, Jewish Historical Society, 1591.

Interior, Winnipeg garment factory, c. 1920.

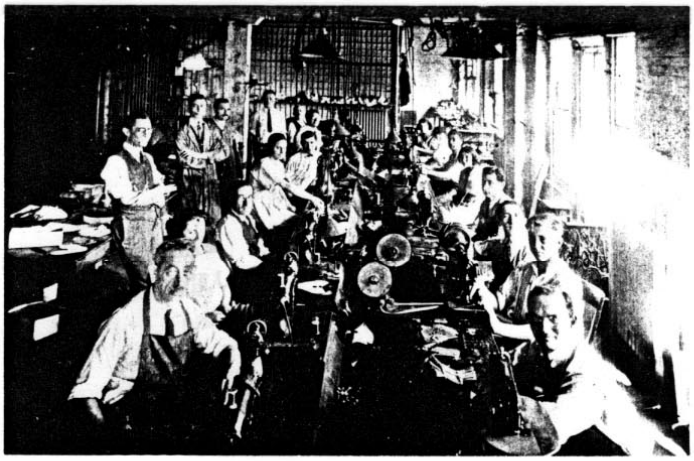
Source: PAM, JHS, 3281.

Dobbs Cap Manufacturing demonstration on the Main Floor of Eaton's, 1928.

PAM, JHS, 1589.

Sam Raber and staff, 1927.

Source: PAM, JHS, 24.

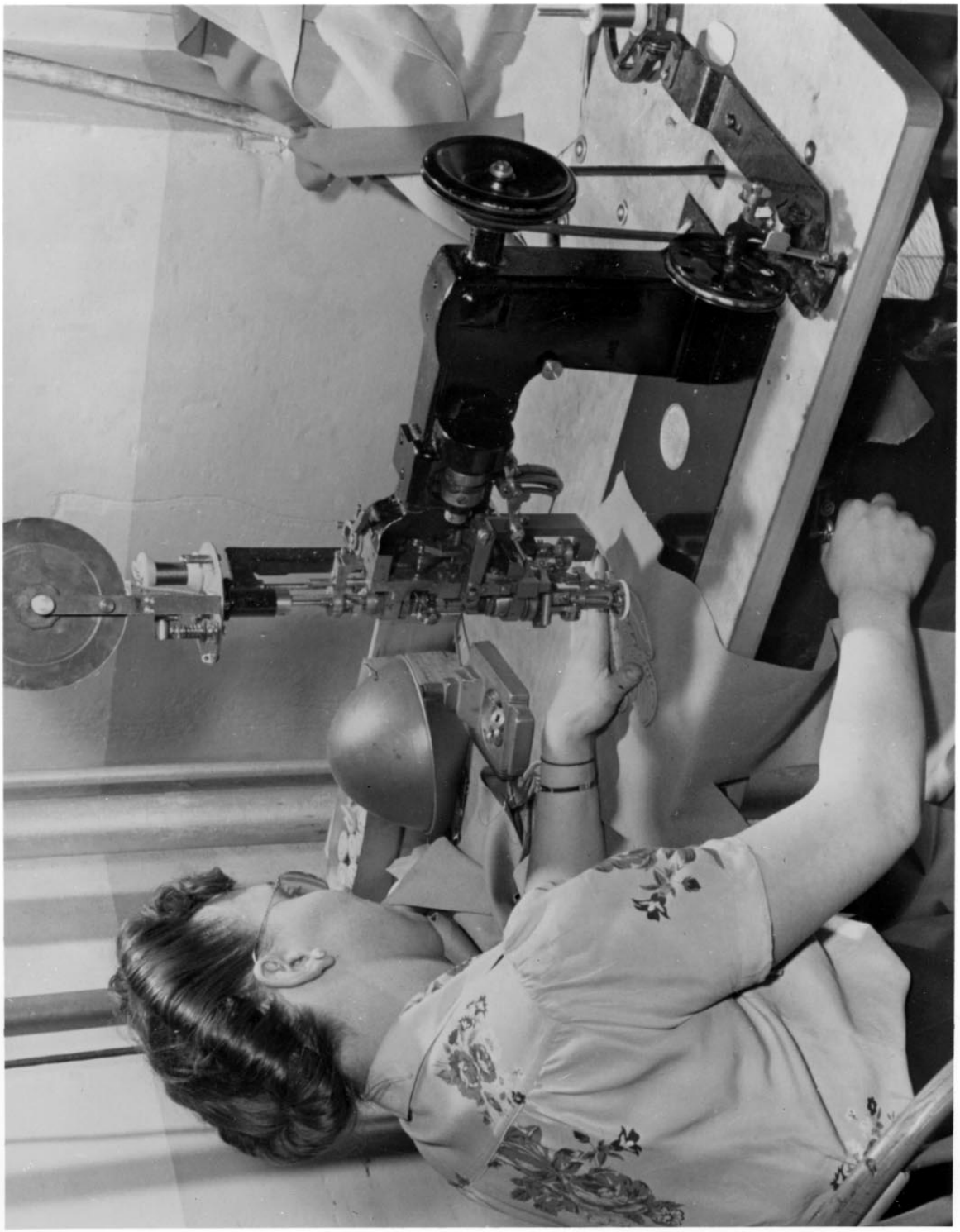


Working 'on the shaft', c. 1929.

Source: PAM, JHS, 2341.

Stall and Sons, Peck Building, 1939.

Source: PAM, JHS, 3063.



Woman sewing fancy embroidery on coats, Jacob-Crowley plant, 1940s.

Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

Operating a large steam pressure iron, Jacob-Crowley, 1940s.

Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

Excerpt from an article on the Winnipeg garment industry in the Free Press, 1907. Clockwise from top, left; the Hague Armington tent and awning factory; the Whitla factory at McDermot and Kate; men working inside the Hague Armington building; a woman at work at the Union Overall factory on McDermot and Lydia; women inside the Western Shirt and Overall factory.

Source: Free Press, 11 July 1907.

Training shop for women workers, Ort, Vilna, 1923.

Source: PAM, JHS, 2026.

Pressers at work inside Jacob-Crowley, 1940s.

Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

An experienced sewing machine operator, Jacob-Crowley, 1940s.

Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

John Crowley (right) and an assistant in the design and cutting room, Jacob-Crowley, 1940s.

Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

Cutting a pattern, Jacob-Crowley, 1940s.

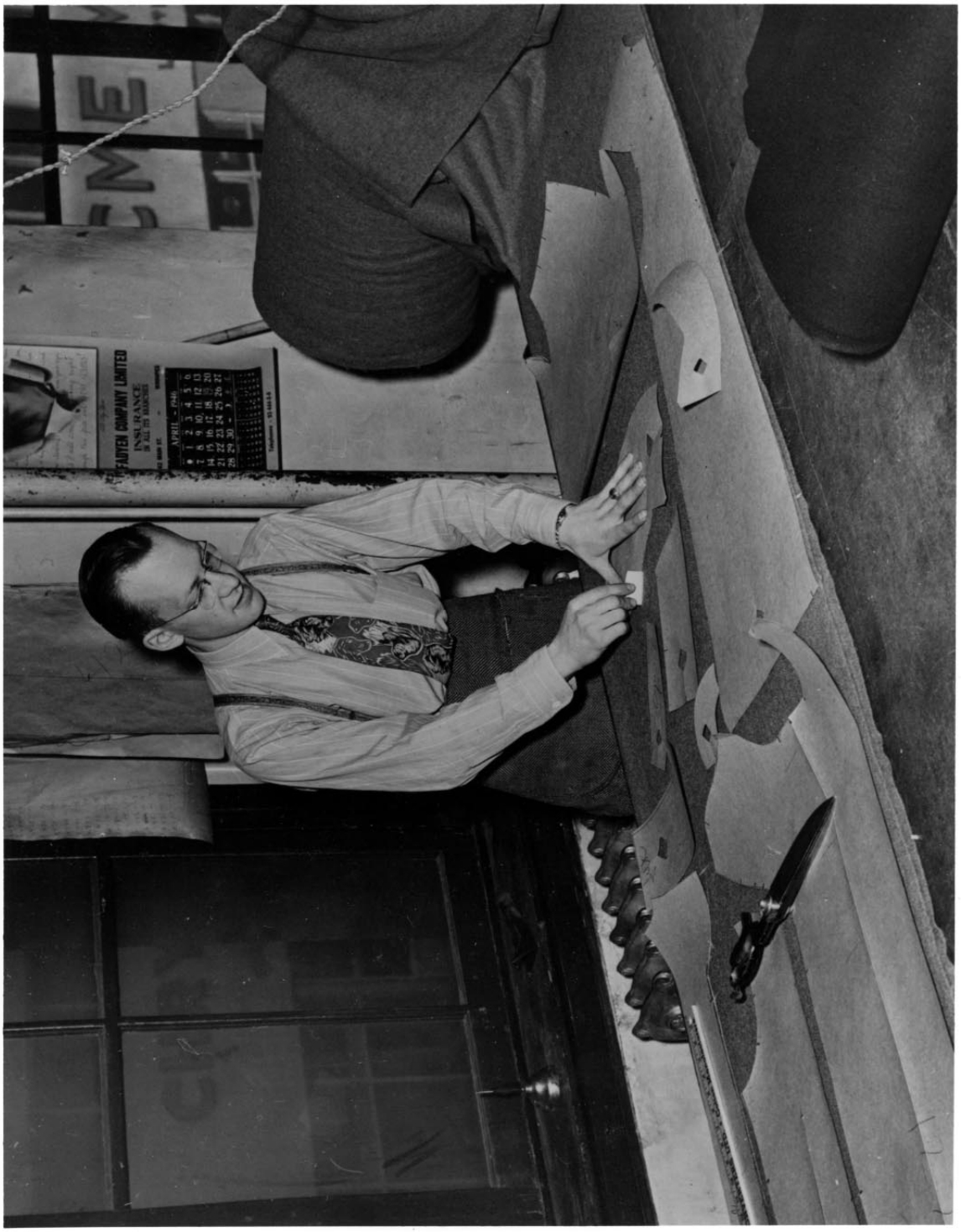
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

Ben Jacob and John Crowley in the cutting and design room, c. 1920s.

Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

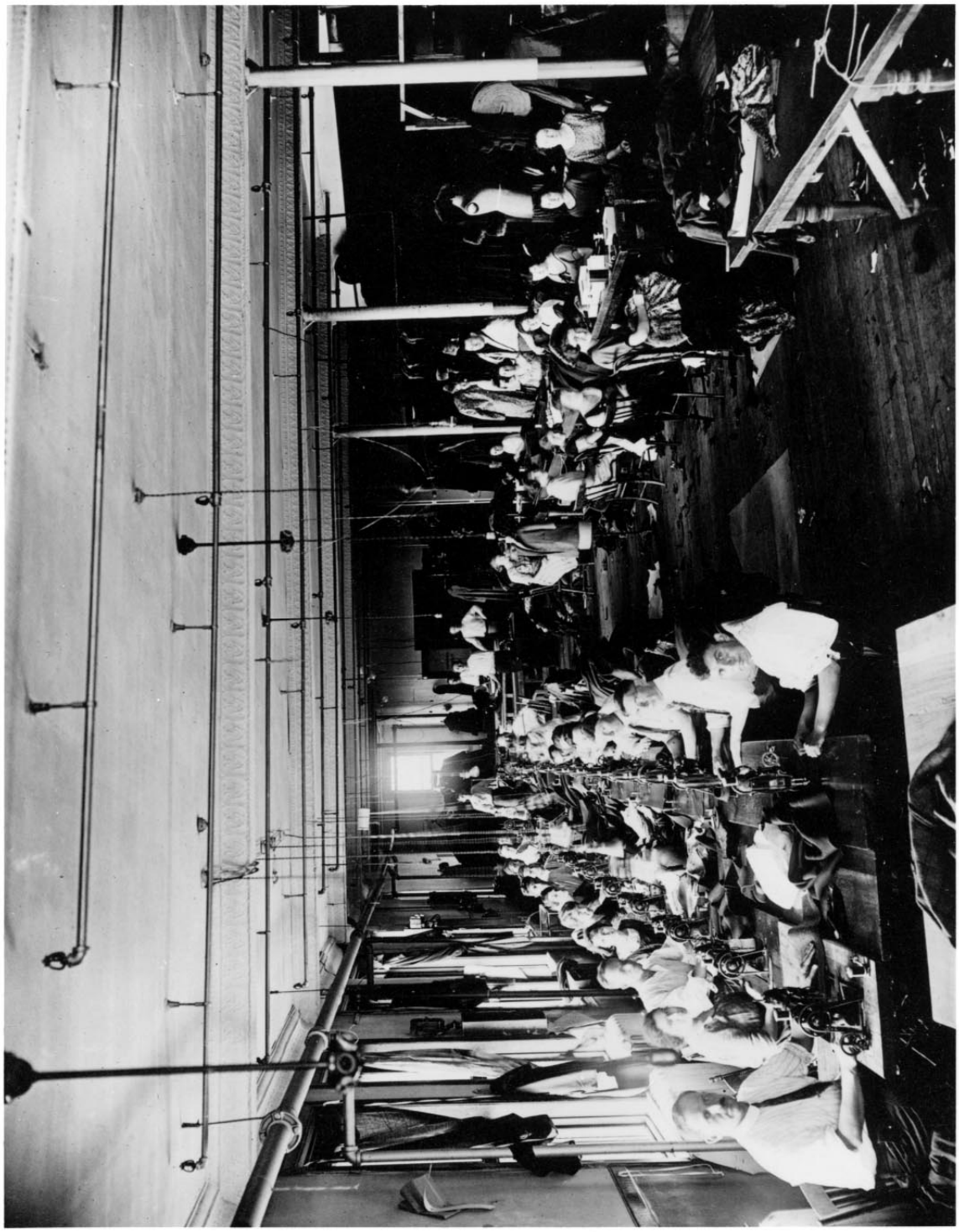
Making a 'sample' in the design department, Jacob-Crowley, 1940s.

Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.



Chalking the cut patterns onto the cloth, Jacob-Crowley, 1940s.

Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.



Sewing machine operators in the Jacob-Crowley factory, 1940s.

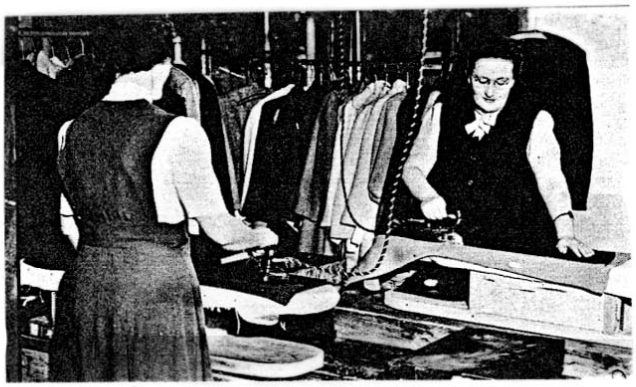
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

Imitation and padding machine operator.

Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (July-August 1946).

Working at a binding machine.

Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (July-August 1946).



Pressing coat linings.

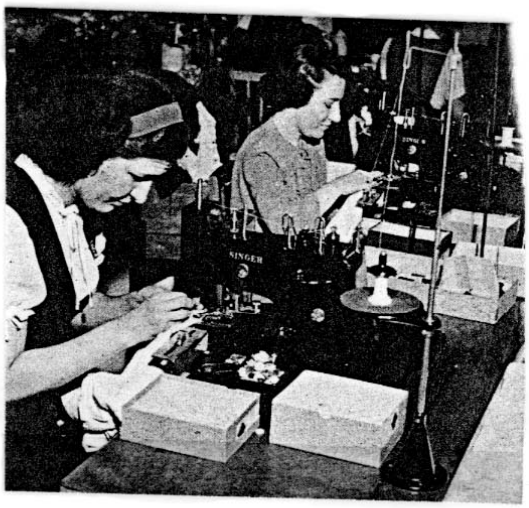
Manitoba Industrial Topics, (July-August 1946).

A foreman checks the completed garment.

Manitoba Industrial Topics, (July-August 1946).

Assembly and shipping department, Jacob-Kilroy Fashions.

Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (May-June 1945).



Sewing buttons.

Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (May-June 1945).

Finishers hand felling-seams.

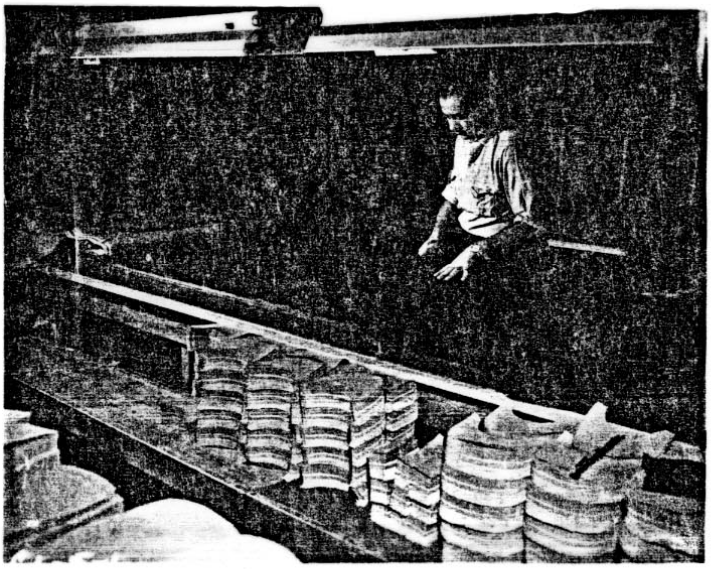
Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (May-June 1945).

Finishing a garment with hand-stitching.

Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (May-June 1945).

Head cutter at work on the cutting table.

Source: Manitoba Industrial Topics, (May-June 1945).

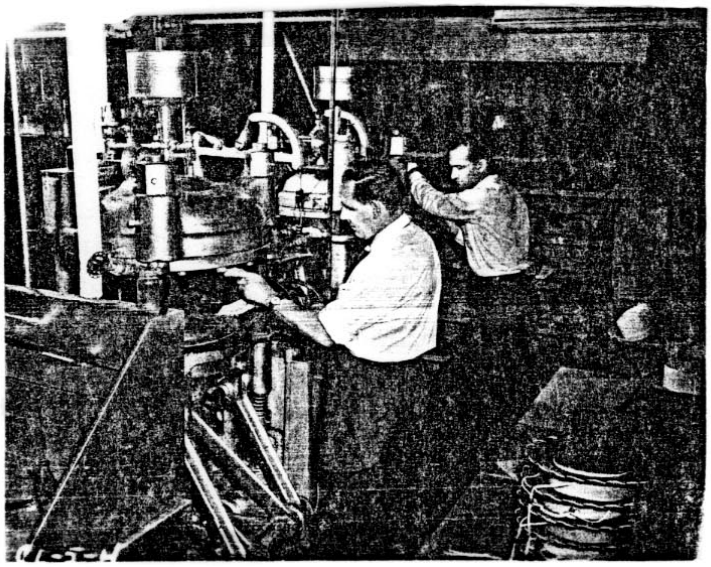


Cutting room, Dressler Headwear Co., 246 McDermot, 1956.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Buildings - Business - Dressler - 1

Interior, Dressler Headwear Co., 246 McDermot, 1956.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Buildings - Business - Dressler - 2

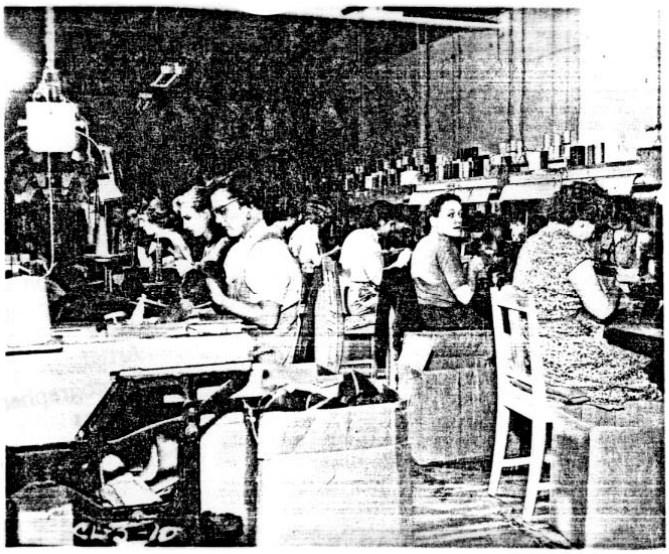


Shaping hats, Dressler Headwear Co., 246 McDermot, 1956.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Buildings - Business - Dressler - 3

Stitching brims, Dressler Headwear Co., 246 McDermot, 1956.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Buildings - Business - Dressler - 4

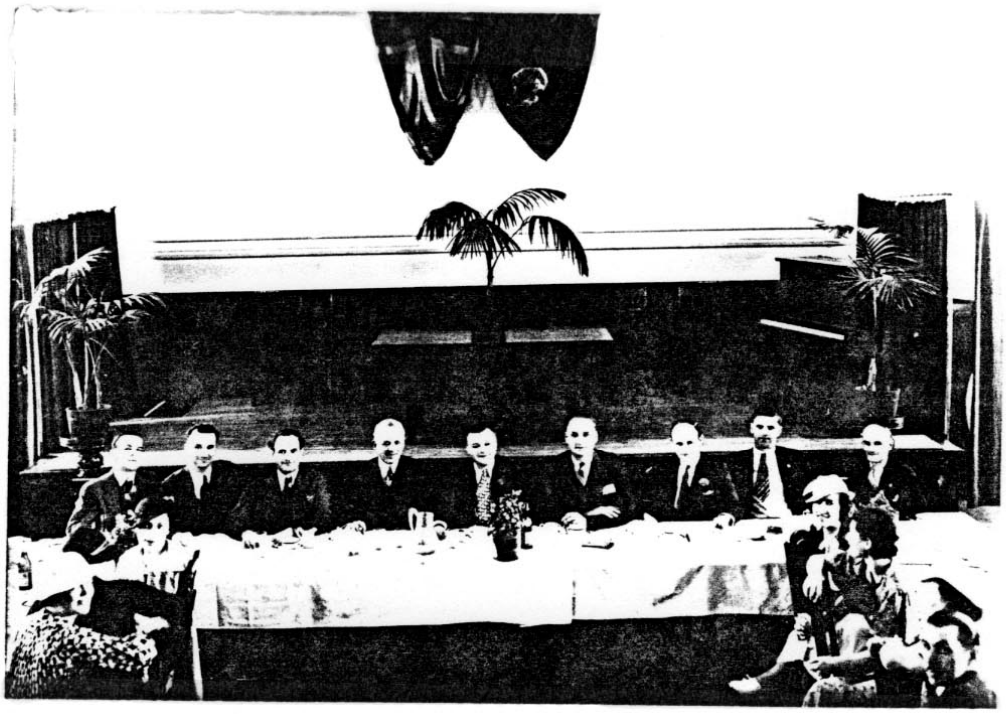


Women operators, Dressler Headwear Co., 246 McDermot, 1956.

Source: PAM, Winnipeg - Buildings - Business - Dressler - 6

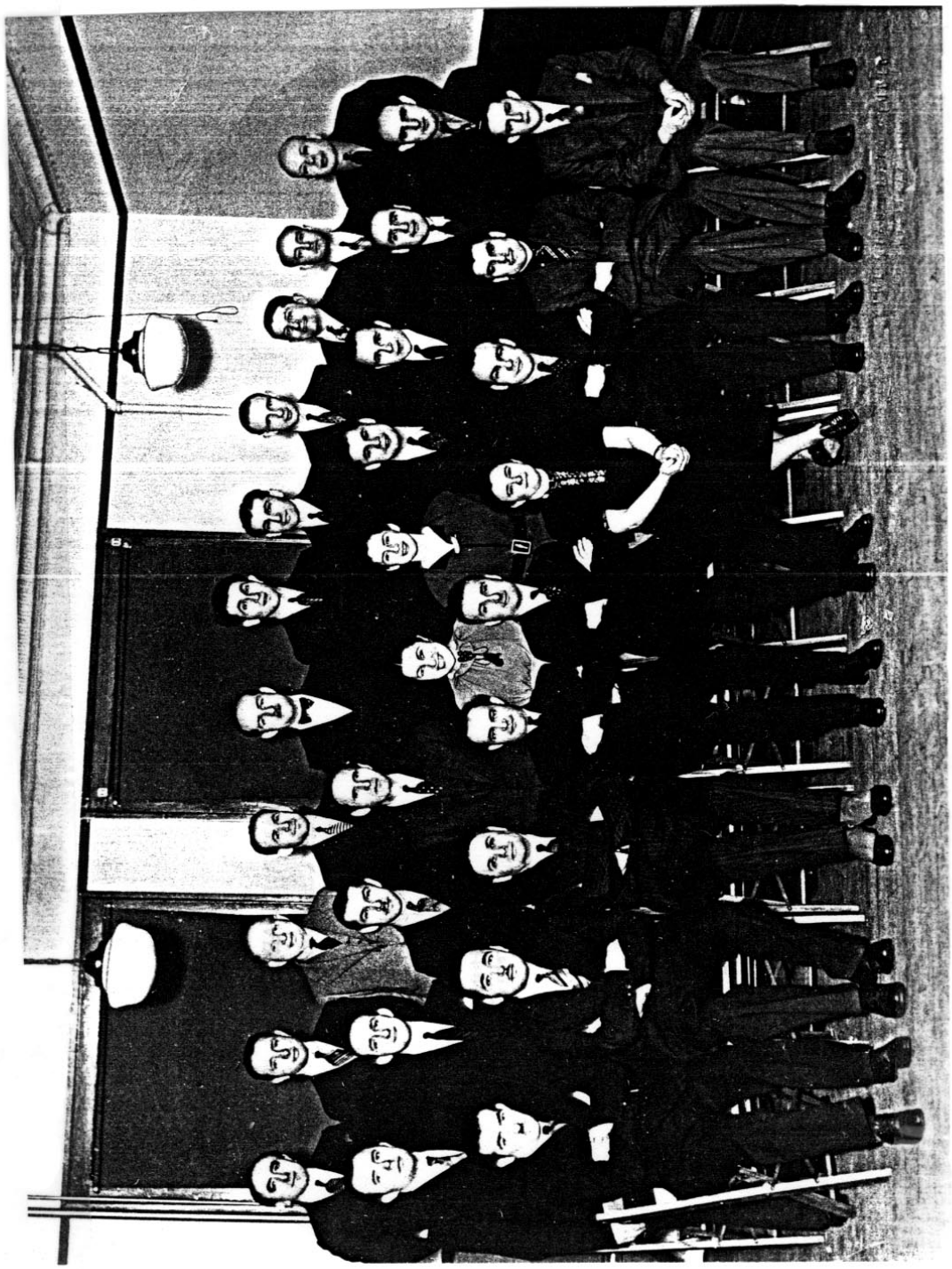
APPENDIX G

Industrial Relations: Workers' Organizations



ILGWU signing contract in 1936.

Source: PAM, JHS, 1678.



ILGWU Executive.

Source: PAM, JHS, 74.

ILGWU Group.

Source: PAM, JHS, 1748.

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