

CANADA'S INDUSTRIAL CRISIS  
OF 1919.

A THESIS  
SUBMITTED TO THE  
FACULTY  
of the  
UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

WALTER SCOTT RYDER

in candidacy for  
the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS.

Vancouver, B. C.,

April 6, 1920.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. Direct Source Material.

1. The Labor Movement of Canada by R. H. Coats, Vol. 9, Provinces of Canada, Toronto, 1913.
2. Labor Organization in Canada, for 1916, Department of Labor, Ottawa.
3. Labor Organization in Canada, for 1917, Department of Labor, Ottawa.
4. Labor Organization in Canada, for 1918, Department of Labor, Ottawa.
5. Annual Report of Department of Labor of B.C., for 1918, Victoria.
6. One year of Union Government, Address by Hon. N. W. Rowell, Bowmanville, Ont., December 17, 1912.
7. Labor Gazette, Department of Labor, Ottawa. Issues May 1919 to date.
8. Enquiries of Cost of Living Committee of House of Commons and of Board of Commerce, Ottawa, 1919.
9. Official Report of National Industrial Conference in Ottawa, September 15-20, 1919, and of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, Department of Labor, 1919.
10. Report of Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention of Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, held in Quebec, P.Q., September 16-21, 1918.
11. Report of Thirty-Fifth Annual Convention of Trades and Labor Congress, held in Hamilton, Ont., September 22-27, 1919.
12. Report of Ninth Annual Convention of B.C. Federation of Labor, held in Calgary, Alta., March 10-13, 1919.
13. Report of Western Labor Conference, held in Calgary, Alta., in March 1919, following the B.C. Convention.
14. Western Labor News, Winnipeg, Manitoba, current issues, and Special Strike Bulletins of May, June and July 1919.
15. B.C. Federationist (Labor) Vancouver, B. C., current issues.
16. The Red Flag (Socialist) June 14, 1919.
17. One Big Union Bulletin, Winnipeg, Manitoba, sample copies, February and March, 1920.
18. The Sun, The Province and The World, Vancouver, B. C., current issues.
19. Literary Digest, New York, June 14, September 8, and November 8, 1919.
20. The Activities and Organizations of the Citizens' Committee of 1,000 in connection with the Winnipeg strike May and June 1919.
21. Report of the First Semi-Annual Convention of the One Big Union, held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, January 28 f., 1920.

22. "A Comparison", Judge Metcalfe's charge to the Jury, in the King vs. R. B. Russell - Seditious Conspiracy, Winnipeg, December 1919, and Judge Cave in Rex vs. Burns 1886, Central Criminal Court, London, England.
23. Russell trial and Labor's Rights, an Opinion, by W. H. Trueman, K. C., 1919.
24. Personal Correspondence, and Conferences with men connected with the events of 1919.

B. Indirect and Argumentative Material.

25. Canadian Courier, Toronto, Ont., April 28, 1917.
26. The Survey for February 16, 1918.
27. The Public for March 1918.
28. McLean's Magazine, Toronto, current issues 1919-20.
29. Bolshevism, the Lesson for Canada, published by the Canadian Reconstruction Association, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, 1919.
30. Christian Churches and Industrial Conditions, pamphlet No. 53, published by the Committee on Evangelism and Social Service of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1919.
31. Report of the National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship, held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, October 20-22, 1919.
32. L. T. Hobhouse, Liberalism, London, 1918.
33. G. B. Shaw, Fabian Essays in Socialism, Boston, 1911.
34. G. D. H. Cole, Labor and the Commonwealth, London, 1918.
35. O. D. Skelton, Socialism a Critical Analysis, New York, 1911.
36. Thomas Kirkup, A History of Socialism, London, 1913.
37. Benjamin Kidd, The Science of Power, New York, 1919.
38. W. L. MacKenzie King, Industry and Humanity, New York and Toronto, 1918.
39. Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order, New York, 1912.
40. H. E. Fosdick, The Challenge of the Present Crisis, New York, 1917.
41. S. D. Batten, The Social Task of Christianity, Philadelphia, 1911.
42. L. H. Haney, Business Organization and Combination, New York, 1918.
43. Stephen Leacock, The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice, Montreal, 1919.
44. F. W. Taussig, Principles of Economics, (2 volumes), New York, 1913.
45. Rouck White, The Carpenter and the Rich Man, New York, 1916.
46. C.A. Phillips, Readings in Money and Banking, New York, 1916.

## CONTENTS.

- - -

### INTRODUCTION.

#### I. NATIONAL CONDITIONS DURING AND FOLLOWING THE WAR.

1. Mobilization and Conscription.
2. Union Government and Public Dissatisfaction.
3. High Cost of Living and Profiteering.
4. Demobilization. Reestablishment and Reconstruction.
5. Report of Royal Commission and Findings of Industrial Conference in 1919.

#### II. A CURSORY SURVEY OF THE CANADIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

1. Development Previous to the War.
2. Organization Following.

#### III. SOME ACTIVITIES OF ORGANIZED LABOR IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE WINNIPEG STRIKE OF 1919.

1. Trades and Labor Congress in Quebec in 1918.
2. Succeeding Events in Winnipeg.
3. Convention of B. C. Federation of Labor in Calgary.
4. The Western Labor Conference in Calgary.
5. Succeeding Strikes.

#### IV. THE WINNIPEG GENERAL STRIKE OF 1919.

1. Causes and Issues.
2. Progress and Events.
3. Conclusion and Results.

#### V. THE TRIALS OF THE STRIKE LEADERS.

1. The Crown's Indictment.
2. The Defendants' Defense.
3. Labor's Moral and Financial Support.
4. The Verdicts and Sentences.

#### VI. LABOR AND POLITICS.

1. Ontario Elections.
2. Victoria, B. C., By-Election.
3. Winnipeg Municipal Elections.
4. Labor's Future in the Political Arena.

**VII. DEVELOPMENT AND STATUS OF THE ONE BIG UNION.**

1. Underlying Purpose, Industrial Unionism.
2. Preamble of the Constitution.
3. Constitution and Officers.
4. First Semi-Annual Convention in Winnipeg.
5. Membership and Status.

**VIII. THE MORAL CHALLENGE OF CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL CRISIS.**

1. Labor Awake and Informed.
2. Legitimate Aspirations of Labor to be Taken Seriously.
3. Capitalistic System Severely on Trial.
4. Essential Demand for Human Solidarity and Co-operation.
5. Progress and Human Perfection through Evolutionary Constitutional Methods.
  - a. Education of Public Opinion.
  - b. Organization of Forces and Causes.
  - c. Franchise and Ballot.
  - d. Public Righteousness.

"The testing time is here, - - - - -."

- - L. Sheldon.

INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this Thesis is both historical and interpretive. The former is primary. I am giving a short description of the social, economic, industrial and political conditions of the country, a cursory survey of Canadian Labor, tracing labor conditions during and following the war, culminating in the events of the sympathetic strike last summer and the organization of the One Big Union. Finally, I am enumerating some moral lessons, derivable from the events discussed in the whole paper.

This is an unbiased attempt to recite the facts. There has been so much prejudice regarding affairs that I feel it incumbent upon me to narrate the truth as far as I can discover it.

Many details must inevitably be omitted in a treatment of this length. It would be interesting in a larger work to have practically all the data narrated in order, not merely as a source of reference, but as serving best to show the sequence of events. As it is, according to the purpose before me, I am using only those details necessary to a connected account and to a fair understanding of the situation.

It is presumptuous to some degree and evidence of a measure of temerity that one should undertake the writing of history when the events are so near to us. This is always a danger. We are really too near to the transpirings to appreciate their true content and significance. But this is the price I shall be called upon to pay for my pioneering adventure.

In another connection I have prepared a history of **THE LABOR CHURCH MOVEMENT OF CANADA**, which might fittingly be used as a companion of this one as showing the relation of the Winnipeg Labor Church to the strike of last May and June.

As far as possible I have drawn all information from original sources and documents, which are recounted in the bibliography, and because of the newness and nature of the subject concerned I have made a rather large use of direct quotations.

I

**NATIONAL CONDITIONS DURING AND FOLLOWING THE WAR.**

In 1914 Canada's population was approximately 7,000,000.

Immigrants at a very rapid rate had been coming into the country for years. Many of these new-comers are not easily assimilated into the customs and traditions of the country. A certain amount of neglect must be attributed to the national leaders because of the particular mediocre calibre of many of these immigrants and because of the inadequate policies adopted for their Canadianization. The people were all busy in the development of the resources of a new country. Domestic industry and foreign trade and commerce were going forward by leaps and bounds. Throughout it all there was an evidence of warm loyalty to the Mother Country. Then came the war and the Imperial call to arms.

1. With her response to the war challenge, Canada sprang into national self-consciousness. For a long time the voluntary system was in operation and worked excellently. Time came, however, when the War Measures Act was passed and Military Conscription put into effect. Conscription was not acceptable to a certain portion of the population. There were opposition and hard feelings in Quebec among the Church leaders and politicians. Others throughout the country, such as Pacifists and Conscientious Objectors, Socialists and Mennonites, caused the Government no little concern. In Vancouver, B. C., a strike of twenty-four hours was called on August 3, 1918, in all trades as a protest against the shooting of

Albert Goodwin, draft-evader, by Dominion Constable Campbell. In the face of pronounced public opinion, the strike collapsed after lasting a few hours.<sup>1</sup> The alien who had been allowed into the country so thoughtlessly previous to the war, began to show that he had not learned Canadian ideals nor entered into a sense of responsibility of citizenship and was consequently one of the sources of unrest and trouble. He had been employed principally upon railroad construction. Now, when the Canadian men and boys donned the khaki, he left the isolated railway camps for the more lucrative opportunities of war industries. This was naturally a cause for grievance to the soldier-Canadians and their families.

2. The Union Government came into power in December, 1917. Its election to power, according to many, was due to questionable methods of procedure. The broadening of the franchise so as to include so many of the women voters, while being an act of deep gratitude in return for the service of the loved ones overseas, did not appear to be quite fair in the political field. Autocratic control by Orders-in-Council followed. Since the Armistice particularly, a good many people have thought that the Government has been "playing politics" instead of looking after the best and highest interests of the country. The unrest and dissatisfaction consequent upon this have been encouraged by an active propaganda, which in some circles, at least, seems to have been strongly Bolshevik.

1. B.C. Annual Report of Department of Labor, 1918, p.51.

3. The High Cost of Living has been another important factor in the determination of national sentiment. In the Labor Gazette for January, 1920, we have this report concerning December:

"In retail prices, the average cost of a family budget of staple foods in some sixty cities was \$14.70, as compared with \$14.27 in November, \$13.65 in December 1918, and \$7.95 in December 1914."

While living costs have been rising so fast, real wages and salaries have not begun to keep pace. Whenever a wage increase was given, in a few months it was more than offset by an increased cost of living. Thus the vicious circle has been continued. There are, of course, economic reasons for this condition. Currency inflation, foreign needs, scarcity of raw material, increased cost of production and of distribution, are factors in the situation which the average man does not understand. Because of his failure to understand, he is receptive to a variety of explanations. In any case, his spirits are restless, and in many instances he and his family have approached dreadfully near the poverty line.

At the same time, there have been some causes for the High Cost of Living which have been inexcusable. As compared with other countries, the Government has probably done least in the adequate control of food, clothing and other prices. Charges of profiteering during the war have not been unfounded. It has been repeatedly said and written that the war produced one hundred and thirty-five Canadian millionaires.

4. Following the Armistice, demobilization started. The

problem now confronting the country was the re-establishment of the soldiers and other war workers into civil life and the reconstruction of the affairs of the nation. Half a million men had fought for democracy. Sixty thousand Canadian lads lay sleeping in Flanders Fields. The whole Army and Navy had been given the greatest promises with reference to their future. A part of Sir Robert Borden's Message to the Overseas Club in January, 1917, was as follows: <sup>1</sup>

"Those who at every sacrifice are writing this undying story in their splendid achievements in every far-flung theatre of war may rely on the unalterable determination of all Britons that nothing shall be wanting to support their heroic effort to preserve a common Empire and common Brotherhood."

Naturally the returned men took these and many other assurances in full faith and upon them built great expectations. How few or many of these expectations have to-day been fulfilled are matters of common knowledge. How soon a busy people forget!

"Man's inhumanity to man  
Makes countless thousands mourn."

So many of these men who have returned have been so very poorly provided for, and been in so many cases the victims of base ingratitude. National selfishness in this respect has been a crime. At the Great War Veterans' Convention in Montreal in March a blind delegate from Toronto deeply impressed the Convention by asking if it was right that his eyes were worth only \$600 while a Brigadier-General's eyes were considered worth \$2700. <sup>2</sup>

1. Canadian Associated Press, December, 30, 1916.
2. Press Report from Montreal, March 24, 1920.

As for the policy of reconstruction, many of our eloquent reconstructionists have been bare-faced hypocrites. With these, Canadian reconstruction meant the grasping of foreign markets, the increase of production, and the accumulation of fabulous profits. The Cost of Living Committee of the House of Commons last year gave us some insight into after-war business dealings. Their findings have been more than confirmed by the Board of Commerce Commissioners. When the head of a large manufacturing firm<sub>1</sub> will report that their profits have been over 70% and unblushingly justifies himself that "their factory was not built for the glory of God or anybody else but for the benefit of the shareholders", there is indeed something radically wrong. Last December the Board of Commerce issued the following statement:

"Thousands of children in Canada are being starved for want of milk. Invalids of the poorer classes suffer likewise. The human asset is depreciating, and in fact in poorer centres is being stunted. All this, in order that the foreign butter, cheese and condensed milk demand may be taken advantage of to make as much money as possible for the Canadian producers and traders. - - - The policy of the Government is to encourage this thoughtless procedure. Every department of Agriculture in Canada, both Dominion and Provincial, is busy reporting week by week the high prices that Canadian produce will demand abroad, and Canadian Agriculture and Trade Departments are encouraging this export to the utmost. All this is done with a total disregard for the preservation of the human asset."

5. The Government has been tardy in investigating national conditions. However, at last, in April, 1919, the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations was appointed to make a survey of the

1. Patton Manufacturing Co., Sherbrooke, Que., Report from Ottawa, June 18, 1919.

Industrial conditions of the whole country and report to the Government. The Commission consisted of seven members. The Hon. Chief Justice T. G. Mathers, of Manitoba, was Chairman. Senator S. White and Charles Harrison, M.P., represented the public. Mr. Carl Riordon, of Montreal, and Mr. F. Pauzé, also of Montreal, represented the employers. Mr. Thomas Moore, of Ottawa, and Mr. J. W. Bruce of Toronto, represented the employees. Mr. Thomas Bengough, of Toronto, was engaged as Secretary. In their report they state that they opened their enquiry at Victoria, B. C., on April 26, and completed it at Ottawa on June 13. Between those dates they held seventy sessions in twenty-eight industrial centres, extending from Victoria, B. C., to Sydney, N. S., in the course of which they examined 486 witnesses. The witnesses examined represented both employers and employees and the public generally. The Commissioners believed that the evidence as a whole portrayed with a fair degree of accuracy the thoughts and conditions of mind of the industrial population of Canada. They stated that serious unrest does exist and is abundantly established by witnesses representing different shades of opinion and by the number of labor disputes which have taken place, and which are still taking place. Paragraph 17 states, -

"The unrest is most pronounced in Western Canada. There it assumes a distinctly different character from that which prevails in Eastern Canada. In several Western cities labor was represented by many holding extreme radical views. Undoubtedly a portion of the labor unrest at present prevailing is to be ascribed to the upheavals in Europe and the disturbed state of the public mind

generally owing to the war. This has given rise to a desire on the part of workers generally to secure a position for themselves in a comparatively short period of time, which otherwise might have been the result of evolution, during a long period of years. This desire varies in degree amongst different groups of workers. One group lays down as a principle the complete possession by themselves of the machinery of production and the full product of their toil, whilst the group at the other extreme would be satisfied with merely a larger purchasing power of the wages they receive. In between these groups lie the more moderate, and we believe the majority, who would welcome co-operation and industrial peace until by a gradual process of evolution a system may be ushered in by which the workers will receive a more adequate share of what their labor produces."

In Paragraph 20 we have a very significant observation,-

"The workers of this country are devoting a great deal of thought to the study of economic questions. This educational process is apparently going on amongst them to a greater extent than amongst the employers of labor."

In Paragraph 21 it is stated that the chief causes of unrest may be enumerated as follows, -

1. Unemployment and the fear of unemployment.
2. High cost of living in relation to wages, and the desire of the worker for a larger share of the product of his labor.
3. Desire for shorter hours of labor.
4. Denial of the right to organize, and refusal to recognize unions. "On the whole we believe the day has passed when any employer should deny his employees the right to organize. Employers claim that right for themselves and it is not denied by the workers. There seems to be no reason why the employer should deny like rights to those who are employed by him. We believe the frank acknowledgement of this right by employers will remove one of the most serious causes of unrest. --- Not only should employees be accorded the right of organizing, but the prudent employer will recognize such organization."
5. Denial of collective bargaining. "Collective bargaining is the negotiation of agreements between employers or groups of employers, and employees or groups of employees, through the representatives chosen by the respective parties themselves."
6. Lack of confidence in constituted Government.

7. Insufficient and poor housing.
8. Restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press.
9. Ostentatious display of wealth.
10. Lack of equal educational opportunities.

The Commission quotes with approval from the Report of the Commission Inquiry into the problem of Industrial unrest, appointed by the British Government in July, 1917, -

"What is wanted is a New Spirit - a more human spirit, one in which economic and business considerations will be influenced and corrected and it is hoped will eventually be controlled by human and ethical considerations. The main cause of unrest lies deeper than any material considerations. The problem is fundamentally a human and not an economic problem. A new spirit of partnership is therefore essential."

The above was taken from the majority report. Commissioners White and Pauzé submitted a minority report and Commissioner Riordon submitted a supplementary report.

Upon the recommendation of the Royal Commission, the Federal Government arranged for a National Industrial Conference, which was held in Ottawa September 15-20, 1919. The Hon. G. D. Robertson, Minister of Labor, was chairman. There were present representatives of the Dominion and Provincial Governments and of the employers and labor men. Sir Robert Borden sent a message to the Conference in which he emphasized the necessity for justice, confidence and co-operation in Canadian industrial relations. He observed, that if among thirty-two nations differing so widely in material, social and political development it was possible to secure so large a unanimity in the ideals embodied in the League Covenant, "Surely it behooves every member of the League to find within its

own body politic means of composing industrial differences otherwise than by industrial war".<sup>1</sup> Other statements of the Premier are worthy of quotation, -

"The physical degeneracy of a considerable portion of the population is too high a price to pay for domination of the world markets. -- Full right of organization on the part of both employers and employees has become so well recognized a principle that those that do not accept it are in a small and short-sighted minority."

A great deal of consideration was given throughout the Conference to a consideration of the Labor features of the Treaty of Peace. For the purpose of this Thesis it will be desirable that these should be enumerated, -<sup>2</sup>

"First - The guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second - The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third - The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth - The adoption of an eight-hour day or a forty-eight hour week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth - The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday whenever practicable.

Sixth - the abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh - The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

1. Report, National Industrial Conference, Ottawa, 1919, p.7.
2. Official Report, Introduction, P. XVIII.

Eighth - The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth - Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the law and regulations for the protection of the employed."

II

A CURSORY HISTORIC SURVEY OF THE CANADIAN  
LABOR MOVEMENT.

The potential wealth of Canada is enormous. Russia, China and the United States alone have equal areas for industrial exploitation. Canada in the twentieth century is repeating the experience of the United States in the nineteenth. The more important industries of Canada, as offering primary scope for the Labor Movement, are Agriculture, which occupies 40% of the population; Fishing, which in 1913 provided employment for 90,000 men, and represented a capital of \$15,000,000; Lumbering, whose exports are only second to those of the farm; Mining, in whose field Canada is prodigally endowed with mineral wealth; Manufacturing, representing a capitalization of nearly \$1,500,000,000; Transportation, with reference to which Canada leads the world in proportion of the railway mileage to population and in which the great railway systems run east and west; Construction, which in a new country has included much building of railways and civic improvements, the latter of which in 1911 in 103 leading centres totalled \$150,000,000 in the value of building construction. At the beginning of 1919 Canada's National wealth was estimated to be over \$19,000,000,000.

1. The Labor Movement is to a high degree individualized in each of the four Canadian Districts, namely, the Maritime Provinces, Quebec and Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, and British

Columbia. Canadian Labor has drawn its inspiration from Great Britain and its mechanism from the United States.<sup>1</sup> In 1912 nine-tenths of the Unions were affiliated with the International. Three periods are discernable in the development of Canadian Organized Labor. The first was a period of unconcerted action leading up to the First Congress of 1873. The third period started in 1886, since which the main body of Labor has developed quite regularly.

In September, 1873, there took place the first Dominion Labor Assembly. The date is a land-mark in the history of Canadian Labor. The result of the Assembly was the formation of the Canadian Labor Union. One of the principal policies decided upon was a submission of labor disputes to compulsory arbitration. Following the financial and business depression of 1873, which dealt the movement a hard blow, the Union disappeared in 1875. In 1883 another Dominion Congress was launched, when the outlook seemed more promising. By 1880 the Internationalists of the United States came across the border in increasing numbers. The first Assembly of the Knights of Labor was held in 1881. Their first gathering was held at Hamilton, and for a time in Ontario, and especially in Quebec, their success and advances were phenomenal. It should be said that this Organisation of the Knights of Labor was founded in Philadelphia in 1869 by Uriah Stephens. Its principal platform was against trade autonomy. The Assembly was the finally authoritative body. Its slogan was, "That is the most perfect Government in which a wrong

R. H. Coats, in "The Labor Movement of Canada", in "The Provinces of Canada", 1913, Volume 9.

done to one is the concern of all". In the fifteen years following the General Assembly of 1878, it numbered one million strong. In one single year four hundred thousand members were added.<sup>1</sup>

In 1886 the Canadian Assembly of Labor became the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which has been the most outstanding Labor agency in Canada for the past twenty-five years. By 1898 all the provinces were represented in the Congress and by 1912 each province had an executive. The Congressional strength has been indicated by the success of Labor's participation in Dominion and Provincial legislation. Once a year the views and claims of the workers have been presented to the Governments and, since 1908, the Congress has had a Parliamentary solicitor. A change has taken place from the radical demands of earlier days to a concentration upon matters of practical well-being.

During the past thirty years there has been growing a stronger bond between American and Canadian Unions. The American Federation of Labor came into being in 1881. It soon came into deadly combat with the Knights of Labor on account of the opposing policies. The Federation favored Craft Union which should be autonomous, whereas the Assembly advocated Trade Assemblies and centralized authority. The fight was waged hotly until in 1895 the Knights were overthrown. In 1894 the Trades and Labor Congress declared itself definitely committed to the Federation as a model.

In this division there were ousted from the Congress 30

1. R. H. Coats in "The Labor Movement of Canada", as above.

organizations with 3,340 members. These immediately formed the National Trades and Labor Congress and determined to have no connection with the Internationals. In 1908 the Movement assumed the name of the Canadian Federation of Labor, and its chief strength has always been derived from the Province of Quebec.<sub>1</sub>

In addition to these there has been the growth of craft unions and notable among these have been the Provincial Workman's Association of Nova Scotia, which was organized in 1879; the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, organized in 1908; the Canadian Federation of Boot and Shoe Makers, organized in 1901; the Federation of Textile Workers of Canada, organized in 1906; the National Association of Marine Engineers, organized in 1900; and the Federated Association of Letter Carriers, organized in 1901.

The greatest growth of Canadian trade unionism has taken place since 1900. In 1903 no fewer than 275 new organizations came into being, and in 1907 230 new unions. From 1900 to 1912 the labor movement as a force for the improvement of conditions increased in strength 75%. In 1911 there were some 1752 unions of workers in Canada. British Columbia has been the most highly organized in proportion to population. Of the Canadian local Unions, about 85% have been members of the International organization. On the basis of the numbers constituting the International on the Continent, the Canadian unions represent about 8 %. The total membership of Canadian Trade Unions covers between 10 and 15% of the entire wage-earning classes. It is interesting to note that in

*no foot note? - purely intuitive, my boy*

Great Britain the relative strength of organized Labor is almost four times as great.

2. The declaration of war created much confusion in the Labor Movement. The readjustment to war conditions caused considerable disorder. In large measure further organization was impeded or suspended altogether. At the close of 1918 the membership of all classes of Trade Unions in Canada was 248,887, comprising 2,274 branch unions - a total increase for the year of 44,257 in membership and 300 in local branches. There were 48 Federations, 43 District Councils and 48 Trades and Labor Councils. These were remarkable gains in comparison with the three years between 1914 and 1916, when there was a net loss of 175 in Trade Union branches.<sup>1</sup>

During 1919 a new organization was started principally in Western Canada and designated as the One Big Union. We shall have occasion to refer to this again. Its basis is Industrial Unionism in contrast with Craft Unionism. In some respects its precedent may be found in the Knights of Labor and in French Syndicalism. Its advocates have sought for an all-Canadian Labor organization in opposition to American control and affiliation.

1. Labor Organization in Canada, Department of Labor, Ottawa, 1918.

III.

SOME ACTIVITIES OF ORGANIZED LABOR IMMEDIATELY  
PRECEDING THE WINNIPEG STRIKE OF 1919.

The war produced many labor problems. Under the voluntary system thousands of men and boys enlisted, in many cases without due consideration having been given to their economic relation to the country. Conscription sought to correct this condition but was too late. There was not only a disconnection of the workers because of the industries of the war, but a most lamentable spirit of dissatisfaction. As mentioned before, the foreigners who had been mostly employed in railway construction entered the war industries at high wages. Whether in the mines, the camps or the cities, many of them had not yet become Canadianized and were impressionable to the appeals and doctrines of soap-box orators and labor agitators.

1. We shall go back to the Trades and Labor Congress of 1918, which met in the City of Quebec. Delegates were present from all over Canada. The matter of conscription was discussed. It was noted that in 1915 the Congress at its Annual Convention in Vancouver had declared opposition to conscription. In 1916 the resolution of the previous year was reaffirmed. In 1917 the Congress without changing its previous views, but considering that conscription had become law, deemed it right and proper "to refrain from aught that might prevent the Government from obtaining all the results that they expected from the enforcement of that law." Therefore, at the

1918 Congress the delegates considered that conscription had ceased to be a live issue in Canada and that there should be no further reference to it.

The noteworthy thing concerning this Congress was the introduction by the Winnipeg Machinists' Joint Executive of Resolution No. 136, which reads as follows:<sub>1</sub>

"Whereas, the Capitalist class of this country have in the past used every means at their disposal to defeat the workers in their attempt to ameliorate the conditions under which they live; and whereas, to successfully conduct a strike, all Crafts in an industry must act together; and realizing that the present organization in Craft Unions makes it necessary that each Craft must secure a sanction from the Internationals, tends to defeat this object; therefore be it resolved, that the Executive of the Trades Congress be instructed to take a referendum vote of all affiliated Crafts on the following question: Are you in favor of reorganizing the workers in Canada into a modern and scientific method, that of organization into industries instead of Crafts and, this Congress appoint a representative Committee to receive the result of this vote, and should it be favorable to new organization this Committee proceed to draft up a constitution to submit to the membership for ratification."

This was the resolution which was so strongly urged by the Western delegates and so strongly opposed by the Eastern delegates that it was dismissed with non-concurrence. The up-shot of the affair was that the Western delegates regarded the Congress as hopeless and reactionary, and left Quebec with the tacit intention of holding a labor conference which would express the decisions of Western Labor.

2. We must now trace some succeeding events in Winnipeg.

1. Official Report, Trades and Labor Congress, Quebec, 1918.

In July, 1918, there had been organized in the down-town section of the city the Winnipeg Labor Church, under the leadership of the Rev. William Ivens, M.A., B.D. "The Voice", privately owned by a Mr. Puttee, was purchased by the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council and used as its official organ under the name of the "Western Labor News", and under the editorship of Mr. Ivens. After the civic strikes of 1918, the Trades and Labor Council concluded that if the truth from Labor's point of view was to be given to the public, then Labor must have a paper of its own.<sup>1</sup>

Winnipeg is one of the most strongly foreign centres of the Dominion. Many of the alien workmen became members of the Trade Unions. Although it cannot be said that these foreign workmen were leaders in labor propaganda, they seem to have been earnest followers of Canadian leadership.

In the Trades and Labor Council a fight was waged between two sections - the progressives and the conservatives. The former seemed to have been lead by Mr. R. B. Russell, whose section gained control over the members of the political party. Not only were these squabbles going on in the City of Winnipeg, but the Council was the centre of a propaganda whose agencies radiated throughout the West. This propaganda was apparently along the lines advocated by the Western delegates of the Quebec Congress, and had as its basis and driving force the grievances of the workers against the injustices of the war and the autocracies of the capitalists. These grievances

1. Explanation given by Editor and Manager.

found expression in both speeches and resolutions from time to time. Two meetings in particular were outstanding - one held in the Walker Theatre and the other in the Majestic Theatre. The utterances of some of the speakers were of an inflammatory nature, and caused no small stir among the auditors.<sup>1</sup>

3. Our next investigation will take us to the City of Calgary to the Ninth Annual Convention of the British Columbia Federation of Labor, which met from March 10-13, 1919.<sup>2</sup> There seemed to be a good deal of unanimity in that Convention along advanced lines. In fact, the opposition to the general procedure was almost negligible. The delegates soon made it known that they came together for a definite purpose and they followed that purpose religiously throughout the Convention. Among the resolutions which were passed were the following, -

1. A protest against the continuance of the war being waged against the Soviet Government of Russia.
  2. A demand for full freedom of speech, press, and assembly.
  3. The release of all political prisoners.
  4. The recognition of no alien but the capitalists.
  5. The conviction that the system of Industrial Soviet control by selection of representatives from industries is more efficient and of greater political value than the present system of Government by selection from districts.  
The acceptance of the principle of Proletarian Dictatorship.  
Fraternal greetings of the Russian Soviet Government, the Spartacans in Germany, and all definite working class movements in Europe and the world.
  6. A demand for a six-hour day, five days a week, to go into effect June 1, 1919.
- 
1. Press Reports and the Trial Proceedings on side of Prosecution.
  2. Official Report of Proceedings.

7. The severance of affiliation with the International organizations and the formation of an Industrial Organization of all workers, to be decided upon by a referendum vote.

The Committee on constitutional law recommended an amendment to the constitution which was unanimously adopted. This amendment reads as follows, -

"And the building up of organizations of workers on Industrial lines for the purpose of enforcing by virtue of their industrial strength, such demands as such organizations may at any time consider necessary for their continued maintenance and well being."

4. The Western Labor Conference, which was really originated at the Quebec Congress of 1918, followed the Convention of the B. C. Federation of Labor.<sup>1</sup> This Inter-Provincial Conference followed very closely the lines which were adopted at the Provincial Convention immediately preceding. An extended report of this Conference may not be necessary. Let it suffice that delegates were present from all four of the Western Provinces, that they came together in conference with a predetermined purpose and that that purpose, with some possible exceptions towards the close of the Conference was followed unanimously. The proceedings of the Conference for the purposes of this paper may be analysed as follows, -

1. Formation of One Great Labor Union in Western Canada and later in Eastern Canada.
  2. General strike to begin June 1st, for the release of political prisoners, the withdrawal of allied troops from Russia, and the six-hour day.
  3. Abolition of present representative institutions in favor of Industrial control.
  4. The appointment of Executive Committee of five members - W.A. Fritchard, J.R. Knight, R. J. Johns,
1. Verbatim Report, Vancouver World, April 15, 1919.

Victor Midgley and J. Naylor.

5. The Labor Gazette tells us that during the month of May, 1919, there were going on in Canada 69 strikes, involving approximately 75,088 employees, and that a large proportion of these were West of the Great Lakes. During the month of June also, there were in existence at some time or other 80 strikes, involving about 88,000 work people. The total time loss on account of industrial disputes was estimated at 1,445,021 working days, as compared with 893,816 in the previous month and 46,941 in June 1918. A good many of these strikes were also in the West, principally in connection with the Winnipeg Sympathetic Strike.

A very serious strike - the Western Coal Miners' Strike - of district 18, took place on the 24th of May. The miners had been working under an agreement concerning hours covering a period up to April 1, 1919. Upon the expiration of this agreement a dispute arose between the operators and the workers over a new schedule of hours and of pay. Negotiations were hindered by the suspicion that the officers and members of the district, United Mine Workers of America, had gone on record as being in favor of the One Big Union. The strike came to a close and work was resumed on the 2nd of September, following conferences between the parties and orders from Mr. W. H. Armstrong, the Director of Coal Operation.<sup>1</sup>

1. The Labor Gazette, Ottawa, September 1919, p.1050f.

IV

THE WINNIPEG GENERAL STRIKE OF 1919.

There took place in Winnipeg last May and June a strike which has easily been the worst crisis in Canadian industrial history. For the first time in the history of the country the employing and employed classes came into deadly conflict on a large scale. This is the alleged revolutionary plot concerning which so much has been said and written. It was heralded at the time far and wide as an attempt at Soviet control in Canada. The population of Winnipeg was for weeks living over a figurative volcano. Chaos prevailed throughout the West and to some degree reached the East. The public mind generally was inflamed, and the people lived in the midst of uncertainties.

1. The strike was the culmination of a struggle that commenced thirteen years ago when the Vulcan Iron Works of Winnipeg took out an injunction against Organized Labor. The attitude of Labor toward employers and the Government was intensified by reason of the strike of civic employees in 1916. The immediate causes of the strike lay in the disagreements between certain employers and certain employees and the immediate issues were an increased wage schedule and collective bargaining.

The strike began with the Building Trades. It was claimed that wages were only 18% higher than in 1914 and that the cost of living had gone up 80%. The employers conceded that the demands of the men were reasonable and necessary to maintain the proper stan-

dard of citizenship. But they maintained that they had reached the limit of their ability when they offered an average increase of 15-1/3 %. The men, on the other hand, were determined upon a flat increase of 20 cents an hour - an approximate raise of 32%. Even with this increase the workmen claimed that they would be considerably worse off than before the war. They must either have more wages or starve. If the master builders were sincere in their claims, that they were unable to meet the demands of the men, so the workers said, then the ultimate responsibility must rest upon the dictations of the bankers and financial magnates.<sub>1</sub>

The position of the building trades workers is peculiar. With practically no building going on during the war, these men had been forced to leave the country or compete with the laborer in an open market. Even in ordinary times the building trades worker is less fortunate than the worker in many other industries because his is purely seasonal occupation. It is said that the average time worked by the average mechanic in a normal building season is between seven and eight months. The wages derived from their occupation were inadequate to maintain a respectable standard of living in the presence of rising living costs. Under these circumstances a committee of five representatives of the workers of the industry met in negotiations a like committee from the Builders' Exchange representing the employers. Because of their failure to come to a mutually satisfactory understanding, all the workers including the Building

1. Special Strike Bulletins of the Western Labor News, May, 1919.

Trades Council went on strike on May 1st. The vote was 1,199 for the strike and 74 against.

We turn now to the Metal Trades Council strike. Here the demands were for increased wages similar to those paid on the railways under the McAdoo award, a reduction of hours from ten to nine, in accordance with the decisions reached by the Allied Governments at the Paris Peace Table, the recognition of their Unions and their affiliation with the Trades and Labor Councils, also in accord with the Agreement reached at the Paris Peace Conference. There were three firms concerned in this dispute, namely, the Vulcan Iron Works Limited, the Manitoba Bridge & Iron Works Limited, and the Dominion Bridge Co. Limited. The managers of these firms refused to consider the issues involved with the Council, took the stand that labor had no right to organize, and refused to recognize any Union the workers should form. The most that they were willing to do was to meet a committee of their men, provided they had no connection with the Trades Union Movement.

The different Unions concerned in the dispute had gone on strike. One by one they ceased work upon the cessation of their agreements. Then they presented the matter to the Trades and Labor Council, which was composed of elected representatives from every Union in the City that decided to affiliate. These delegates, which were elected on the basis of proportional membership, voted only on the issues that affected the whole Council. The Council had no absolute control over the affiliated Unions. It served only in an

Advisory capacity. When, therefore, the general strike was considered by the Council there was not one dissenting voice. In the referendum vote it could not be said that the members were stampeded, because the returns show that the vote in favor of the strike was overwhelming.

The issue now really resolved itself into one of collective bargaining. There are three uses of the general strike, - First, the Syndicalist Strike, for the purpose of revolutionizing the economic system; secondly, the Socialist Strike, for effecting a political object; thirdly, the Trade Unionist Strike, which is merely the industrial strike on a large scale.<sup>1</sup> Up to the present stage, at least, it does not appear difficult to decide in which class the Winnipeg strike falls.

Since collective bargaining seems to be the outstanding issue, we had better have a clearer understanding of it. It is said that from 1901 to June 30, 1919, 2,408,870 days were lost to the production of Canada by strikes for the recognition of collective bargaining.<sup>2</sup> The Mathers' Commission apparently interpreted collective bargaining as the workers of Winnipeg understood it.<sup>3</sup> The Labor features of the Treaty of Peace provided for the right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers. The progressive economists and statesmen of our day recognize that with the development of modern industry from the small units to the large aggregations, the measure of labor union organization must be

1. History of Socialism, Thos. Kirkup, London, 1913, p. 303.

2. Report of National Industrial Conference, Ottawa, Sept. 1919, P. 128.

3. Official Report, section 62.

somewhat commensurate with general industrial expansion. The right of association and of organization by workers is a fundamental right. If in the past a Shop Committee could be recognized, if later a Craft Union could be recognized, why should there be opposition to-day to the recognition of an Industrial Union? Once the principle is granted, the size of the organization should not be a stumbling block. If men may combine their small accumulations of capital into a large capital, then men ought to be allowed to combine their small bits of labor into large accumulations. If there is to be a collective bargaining, that privilege is just as inviolate as the right to form corporations.

As late as March of this year we have the Organization of an Employers' Association of Manitoba with a membership of 162 firms and comprising 24 groups by trade and industry. The avowed purpose of the Association is that the employers of the Province might get together for mutual protection against so-called unwise methods of Labor, which is believed to be becoming more and more efficiently organized, and to lobby the Provincial Legislature against the alleged radical legislation which Labor had proposed.<sup>1</sup>

In the Manifesto of the British Labor Party it is stated that the four pillars of the house which is to be erected upon the old social order are as follows:-

- (a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum.
- (b) The Democratic Control of Industry.
- (c) The Revolution in National Finance.
- (d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

1. O.B.U. Bulletin, Winnipeg, March 13, 1920.

2. The events of the Winnipeg strike should be briefly indicated. In all, about 35,000 workers were on strike. On the 15th of May two organizations were started, which were destined to be the executives of the opposing forces in the succeeding weeks. The first was a Central Strike Committee of the workers which began to place the City on a strike basis industrially and commercially. They called out in sympathetic strike the workers in the Civic, Fire, Water, Health, Light & Power Departments. They also called out such workers as the Telephone Operators, the Postal Clerks, the Winnipeg Electric Railway employees, and many others. While, in a sense, they paralysed all industry, they provided for the necessities of the citizens. The domestic water service was allowed, the Police Force remained on duty, Bread, Milk and Meat were distributed, requirements of the hospitals and of the sick were looked after. Their object avowedly was to seize the control of the City. Whatever activities were in progress were permitted by the authority of the Strike Committee. Even under this most extraordinary situation, in all fairness it must be kept in mind that this was a Sympathetic Strike to enforce the demands of the workers against recalcitrant employers for a living wage and for the principle of collective bargaining.

Fearing the authority of the Strike Committee and the consequences of the strike in general, the Citizens' Committee of 1,000 was organized. Naturally the membership of this Committee consisted of employers, lawyers and others who were not directly affiliated with the rank and file of Labor and were not in sympathy with the immediate

issues of the strike. One cannot help believing that this Committee from the start was representative of the Metals Trades firms and threw out the struggle advocated their arguments and fought their battles. Their platform included resolutions which constituted their Magna Charta against the Principle of sympathetic strikes in the sense in which such were most serviceable to Labor, especially with reference to public utilities and the departments of public service. Early in the history of the Committee, ulterior motives were attributed to the Strike Committee and the following resolution was passed: 1

"Resolved, that in the opinion of this Committee this strike has got far beyond any dispute between the Metal Trades and other employers and their employees; and, That the issue now involves the constitutional rights of the citizens at large; and, That the Metal Trades and other employers be requested to leave their disputes in abeyance until the larger questions now involved in the general strike be disposed of."

As explaining the position of the strikers, in view of the charges against them at this period, we should record this resolution, passed by the Strike Committee on the 22nd of May, which proved that they fully recognized the existing Governments and had no desire to usurp control, -2

"That this Committee go on record as being in favor of legislation making it compulsory for employers to recognize the right of their employees to collective bargaining, through the representatives of their organizations as expressed in Craft Unions, Industrial Unions, Trades Councils and Trade Federations."

1. Activities of Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, Winnipeg, May - June 1919, p. 10.

2. Strike Bulletin, No. 7, Winnipeg, May 24, 1919, p. 1.

The Governments now intervened. The City Council, the Provincial Legislature, and the Federal Government were all opposed to the claims of the strikers. It would appear that they followed the precedents of the Citizens' Committee and in all of their actions were guided by their dictation. The Ottawa Government was represented in Winnipeg by the visits of Senator G. D. Robertson, Minister of Labor, and the Hon. A. Meighen, Minister of Justice. The Federal Government ordered the Postal Clerks back to work within a given time under penalty of losing their positions. Upon the expiration of the time-limit they were replaced by new men. The Provincial Government, through Premier T. C. Norris, was approached several times by the strikers both through their executives and en masse. The petitions were supported by the returned soldiers in Winnipeg, 85% of whom were said to have been sympathetic to the strikers.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, on Tuesday, June 3rd, at a meeting in Manitoba Hall, jammed by some 2,000 members of the Great War Veterans' Association, the following resolution was passed:

"Resolution instructing Executive to support strikers.

Whereas great changes have taken place in the strike situation in Winnipeg; and

Whereas the time has come for the G.W.V.A to declare its position as to which side is right in the present struggle; therefore,

Be it resolved that this mass meeting of the G.W.V.A. go on record giving their entire support to the present strikers and that our Executive Board be instructed to give all necessary assistance to the workers now on strike in order to bring an early settlement!

1. Strike Bulletins, Nos. 13, 14, and 15.

The City Council also took adverse action by compelling the civic employees who were to be allowed to remain in the employ of the City, to sign the following Agreement which was designated by the strikers as the "Slave Pact", -<sub>1</sub>

"I hereby agree that if I am appointed to any position in the City Service, I will not join or remain a member of any Union or Association which is directly or indirectly in affiliation with any other organization to whose orders, directions or recommendations such Union or Association or its members are obliged to agree to observe or confirm or act in concert with; that I will be governed by and observe and comply with all rules and regulations in force from time to time for the management of the Department in which I may be employed, whether prescribed by the City Council or by the head of such Department; that I will at all times be loyal and faithful to the City; that I will not take part in or support or favor what is known as a sympathetic strike; and that upon a breach of any of the above conditions occurring I shall be liable to instant dismissal from the City's service."

Naturally, a large number of the Civic employees, for example, the Policemen and Firemen, refused to comply with and to be bound by any such agreement as this. Upon their refusal to act, the City Council proceeded to the appointment of volunteer Policemen, volunteer Firemen, and other emergency assistants.

To the issues already mentioned there was now added a third. The irreducible minimum of Labor's demands at that stage were, -

1. The right of collective bargaining.
2. A living wage.
3. The reinstatement of all strikers without prejudice.

/ Strike Bulletin, No. 13, May 31, 1919 and following.

The sympathetic strike had now assumed immense proportions. By the 1st of June it would appear that the Citizens' Committee, the City Council, the Provincial Legislature, and the Dominion Government were determined to crush the strikers at all cost. In spite of threats at home and those from Ottawa of settling the affair with a firm hand by deporting or interning the leaders, Labor refused to call off the sympathetic strike. Since the struggle had become more or less country-wide, the workers agitated for a Dominion Strike Committee, and some outsiders were called in. By this time the sympathetic strike had spread to the following cities; - Vancouver, Calgary, Smithers, Lethbridge, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Regina, Prince Albert, Radville, Brandon, Minnedosa, Redette, Sioux Lookout, Dauphin, Melville, Kamsack, Neepawa, Atikokan, Rainy River, Fort Francis, Hudson Bay Junction, McBride, Toronto, Port Arthur, Fort William, and Souris.

Throughout the struggle the workers maintained law and order. Always they were urged by their leaders to be patient, to keep the law, to "do nothing". With some minor exceptions, after the arrest of the leaders, and under the stress and strain of the fight, their ideals were rigorously followed.

It is necessary to understand the attitude of the Trades and Labor Congress toward the Winnipeg situation. President Tom. Moore, under date of June 24th, wrote to Secretary E. Robinson, of the Trades and Labor Council, Winnipeg, that the Congress would lend its assistance to the settlement of the dispute on the industrial side only on the following conditions, -<sub>1</sub>

1. Report, Trades & Labor Congress of Canada, Hamilton, Ont. September 1919, p.43 f.

1. The passing of resolutions by your Council that they renew their allegiance to the Trades and Labor Congress and its principles.
2. That they advise all local Unions to place themselves in the hands of their International Executive, agreeing to abide by the decision of such Executive, and the Constitution of their respective Craft Unions.
3. That they repudiate any connection with the O.B.U. and its policies of massed action.
4. That the Trades Council and eleven local Unions affected by the strike pass resolutions pledging themselves to observe the inviolability of Agreements entered into between workers and their employers, whether by the individual Union or by Federation to which they belong, and entered into on their behalf.
5. That the full autonomy to decide their own action according to the laws laid down in their respective Constitutions shall be restored by the Trades and Labor Council of Winnipeg to each Local Union affiliated therewith.

3. On Tuesday, June 17th, ten men, including five conspicuous leaders in the strike, were arrested in Winnipeg by the Dominion Government. At the same time a quantity of literature on labor and industrial questions and other documents were seized in Winnipeg. It was announced at the time that these prisoners were to be on their way across the Atlantic within seventy-two hours, under the provisions of amendments to the Immigration Act, which were passed respectively on June 4th and 6th, 1919. <sup>1</sup> This sudden action proved to be not in harmony with public opinion throughout the West. The struggle in Winnipeg became more intense, men's spirits were more inflamed. On Saturday, June 21st, "Winnipeg's Black Saturday", there took place on Main Street, a riot in which one man was killed, thirty taken to hospital, and <sub>2</sub>

2. Newspaper Reports, June 23, 1919.

1. The Labor Gazette, July 1919, p.801.

over one hundred rioters were arrested. This riot followed an attempted silent parade undertaken in open defiance of the Mayor's Proclamation against parades and his warning that if any parades were attempted, military force would be invoked to maintain constituted authority. Other arrests followed but, under the protest of the strikers and the strength of rising public opinion, those who were directly concerned in the strike were released on bail. On the 1st of July a Dominion-wide search for labor literature was conducted with the expectation of collecting materials which would support the charges of a revolutionary move on the part of the strike leaders. Simultaneous raids were conducted by the Police in Winnipeg, Brandon, Saskatoon, Montreal, Vancouver and Victoria.<sup>1</sup>

On Wednesday, June 25th, the sympathetic strike was called off at Calgary, Saskatoon and other Western points. The previous evening the General Strike Committee had announced its decision to call off the Winnipeg Sympathetic Strike unconditionally. Announcements were made by the heads of various industries that in no case would newly-engaged employees be displaced in favor of returning strikers. The following communication was sent by Mr. E. Robinson, Secretary of the Strike Committee, to the Hon. T. C. Norris, Premier of the Province, -

"I am instructed by the General Strike Committee to notify you that a resolution has been passed, officially declaring the Sympathetic Strike off on Thursday, June 26th, at 11 A. M. We now make formal application to your Government to appoint a Royal Commission, having the widest powers of enquiry."

1. Press Reports, July 2, 1919.

After nearly nine weeks of strike and strife the Metal Shop workers went back to work on July 2nd. Some men were not reinstated, others refused to go back on the conditions offered. The Big Three employers were still opposed to collective bargaining, as understood by Trades Unions. They decided to unite together with Committees from the Three Shops to negotiate new schedules. Thus a measure of collective bargaining had been conceded. For the time being the hours of labor were reduced from 55 to 50 a week with the same pay for the 50 hours as formerly for the 55 hours. The Dominion Bridge Company agreed to reinstate all its men. The Manitoba Bridge & Iron Works were to reinstate about 70 out of 170 men who struck. The Vulcan Iron Works took some men back at once and promised that all would be taken back as soon as vacancies occurred.

Y.

THE TRIALS OF THE STRIKE LEADERS.

The strike leaders had been hastily arrested and imprisoned in Stony Mountain Penitentiary and held under the charge of seditious conspiracy. The authorities stated publicly that they would not be given the privilege of civil trial but would be dealt with according to the provisions of the amended Immigration Act.<sup>1</sup> As stated before, this policy proved to be too aggressive not only for the ranks of Labor but for the bulk of the thinking public throughout the country. The Government soon realized that if they carried out their intentions with reference to the accused, serious results might follow. Consequently the prisoners were released on bail and promised a fair trial by Jury. To follow the details of succeeding events is beyond the purpose of this paper. They can be secured at any time from the proper sources. A general outline of the procedure is all that will be necessary under this section.

1. There were eight men who were charged with seditious conspiracy. These eight were Messrs. R. B. Russell, Rev. William Ivens, R. J. Johns, George Armstrong, A. A. Heaps, John Queen, William Pritchard of Vancouver, and R. E. Bray. Messrs. Queen and Heaps were Aldermen of the City of Winnipeg. The Defense Counsel included, at one time or another, Mr. E. J. McMurray, Mr. Robert Cassidy, K.C., Mr. J. Edward Bird, Mr. R. A. Bonner, K.C., and

1. Western Labor News, July 5, 1919.

Mr. W. H. Trueman, K.C.. Messrs. Ivens, Queen, Heaps and Pritchard defended themselves. The prosecuting lawyers were led by Mr. A. J. Andrews. K. C.

The lawyers for the Crown had without exception been members of the Citizens' Committee. The direction of their charges during the strike was now continued in their prosecution. It was decided that Mr. R. B. Russell's trial should be first and separate from that of the others. The eight accused men were tried in the Assize Court of Manitoba before Justice Thomas Metcalfe. Seven counts were preferred against the accused. The first six constituted the charge of seditious conspiracy and the seventh that of a common nuisance. There were two other men arrested by the Crown - Mr. F. J. Dixon, M.L.A., who was charged with seditious libel on the basis of articles published in The Strike Bulletin, and the Rev. J. S. Woodsworth, of Gibson's Landing, B. C., who was charged with seditious libel for certain articles in The Strike Bulletin including quotations from the Prophecy of Isaiah, and with seditious words alleged to have been uttered to an audience of the workers after the arrests had taken place.

The Crown's indictment against the men really followed the line of the opposition which had previously been carried on against the strikers. All parties concerned acknowledged that certain events had taken place. These events we have already enumerated. Like a good many episodes in history they were capable of different interpretations. The Prosecution preferred one interpretation and the

Defense another. The Crown claimed that the events of 1919 were sufficient evidence of an attempted revolution and of an organized effort to establish a Soviet form of Government in the City of Winnipeg and afterwards throughout the country. It was claimed that the movement found theoretical birth among the Western delegates to the Labor Congress at Quebec in 1916, that the idea was crystallized and the plans formulated at the Western Labor Conference at Calgary in March, that the One Big Union, the instrument of the conspiracy, was formally launched in Winnipeg under R. B. Russell as Provincial Organizer, and that the Winnipeg General Strike, under the pretense of an industrial dispute, was the entering wedge of the country-wide programme.

2. The defense of the defendants was in clear contrast. They realized that public opinion in many quarters was against them. They endeavored to have the seat of the trial removed from the scene of the strike, so that an impartial verdict could be rendered. This request was refused. The Defense argued for an interpretation of the events of 1919 along lines which were in direct contrast to the interpretation of the Crown. As they had contended throughout the strike, so they now contended that the dispute was a purely industrial one in the beginning with the issues clear and unmistakable, that had the employers yielded to the just and reasonable demands of the workers the strike would immediately have been called off, that the Citizens' Committee was more guilty of the charge of usurping governing control than was the General Strike Committee, that governmental

interference was unjustified and prolonged the strike, and that the charge of seditious conspiracy and of revolution was nonsensical.

3. Not only had Labor protested against the early arrest of the leaders but they hastened to help with their moral and financial support. Local and district unions and the Dominion Labor Party passed formal resolutions against the action of the Government and the continuance of the trials. Thousands of dollars were raised throughout the country - in some cases in the form of "Liberty Bonds" - for the defraying of the expenses in connection with the trials.

4. On the 27th of December Mr. R. B. Russell was pronounced guilty on all counts and sentenced by Mr. Justice Metcalfe to two years' confinement in Stony Mountain Penitentiary. From the Judge's charge to the Jury and the conviction in the case, we conclude that sympathetic strikes, Socialism, and the One Big Union are all illegal.<sup>1</sup>

On the 18th of February Mr. F. J. Dixon, who had been charged with seditious libel, and who conducted his own defense, was found not guilty by a Jury in the Assize Court under the direction of Mr. Justice Galt. The charge of seditious libel against the Rev. J. S. Woodsworth was consequently withdrawn but he is being held over to the spring Assizes upon the charge of seditious utterance.

On the 1st of March the written judgments of the Court of Appeal of Manitoba in the case of R. B. Russell were filed, and these upheld the decisions of the Assize Court.

1. Pamphlet, "A Comparison", published by Winnipeg Labor Defense Committee.

In the case of the seven remaining defendants, their trials were in continuance for many weeks during which the same arguments pro and con prevailed. It is worthy of remembrance that the Jurors sitting on these cases were practically all farmers within easy access of the City of Winnipeg, who had no doubt been inconvenienced by the industrial tie-up of the city last May and June and the shutting off of the domestic markets for their farm produce, and who would naturally be expected to be almost totally unacquainted with modern labor and industrial questions and quite naturally unable to appreciate the arguments of the Defense. On the 27th of March the Jury brought in their decisions. Alderman John Queen, Rev. William Ivens, W. A. Pritchard, R. J. Johns and George Armstrong were convicted on all counts of being guilty of seditious conspiracy and of having committed a common nuisance. R. E. Bray was acquitted of the charge of conspiracy but was found guilty of committing a common nuisance. Finally, Alderman A. A. Heaps was found not guilty on all counts. The convicted ones have not yet (April 2nd) received their sentences.

Organized Labor in Canada has naturally viewed with alarm the precise nature and probable ultimate consequences of the judgments of the Courts. Seemingly, what they have been working for for years is to be completely cut off. Their apparent strength is to become their helplessness. They are unwilling at this stage to accept without further protest the decisions that sympathetic strikes, Socialism, and the One Big Union are all illegal. They are convinced that while some of their leaders may have to spend a few years behind prison bars

the ideas and ideals of Labor cannot be so easily destroyed. They have legal opinion to support them in the conviction that the demands which have long since been conceded to Old Country Labor must continue to be fought for in this country until they are won, that the judgments of the Courts were based not only upon a superficial examination of the events of the year, but upon a wrong and untenable interpretation of the Criminal Code. Consequently, it is the intention of this section of Canadian Labor to carry the decision of the Canadian Courts to the Privy Council in London, where it is hoped and believed these decisions will be reversed by the unprejudiced and more widely-experienced legal minds.

VI

LABOR AND POLITICS.

In the Labor Assemblies of the past year there has been evidence of a lack of faith in the ballot and in legislative lobbying. While we are supposed to be enjoying the privileges of political democracy, it is maintained that the people's representatives become owned and controlled by "the interests". Elections are bought with money. Electoral purity has no chance against entrenched graft and corruption. Labor especially feels that its aspirations have not been truly expressed nor adequately represented. But in spite of the seeming neglect and discrimination under which they are striving, the majority of the workers still persist in using the privileges and opportunities of the franchise.

1. In the Provincial elections of Ontario in October, 1919, when the Prohibition Referendum was the dominant issue, the Hearst Government was overthrown. The new Government was under the control of the United Farmers with 43 representatives out of a total of 111, and Labor, which had elected 11 representatives, was taken into coalition in the Cabinet.

2. In the same month there was a by-election in Victoria, B. C. It was brought on by the appointment of Dr. Tolmie as the Federal Minister of Agriculture. He was opposed by a Labor Candidate, Mr. Thomas A. Barnard, of New Westminster. The campaign was short and hot. Barnard was accused, according to the fashions of the day, of being a Bolshevik. Other machine methods were employed which

resulted in the defeat of Barnard by a majority of 2,134, the vote being 7,219 to 5,085.

3. In the latter part of November the Winnipeg Municipal elections were held. Mayor Gray was again in the field. Mr. S. J. Farmer was Labor's candidate. The fighting was hard, the campaign was intense, misrepresentation of Labor was charged, and the events of last summer's strike were constantly to the fore. The contest resulted in an enormous increase in the Labor vote. Mayor Grey, the Citizens' candidate, was elected by 15,630 votes, a majority of 3,116 over Mr. Farmer, Labor's candidate, who received 12,514. Farmer carried four wards out of seven and Labor gained two seats in the Council, leaving the Council evenly divided with seven representatives on each side.

4. From now on we may reasonably expect a larger participation of Organized Labor in Civic, Provincial and Federal politics. Already they have a good many representatives. The Dominion Labor Party especially, which recently held a most successful Annual Convention in Winnipeg, has laid down ambitious plans for itself. Many of the spokesmen of Labor testify that after the events of last summer Labor is determined to enter more zealously into the political field and, if possible, to wield a more representative control of the affairs and policies of the country.

VII.

DEVELOPMENT AND STATUS OF THE ONE BIG UNION.

As specified before, the One Big Union came into being at the Calgary Conference in March and was formally launched in Manitoba. Its programme was also early ratified by the Trades and Labor Congress in Vancouver. It is really something new under the sun in Canada, although it has some elements of precedent in the Knights of Labor.

1. Its underlying purpose in Industrial Unionism. Its sponsors, having studied history, proceed upon the basis that the industrial Revolution practically did away with domestic enterprise, that its progress necessitated Craft Unions and that its most modern development carries industry in the most of its branches into large scale production. From the point of view of the employers or Capitalists, Trusts, Combines, Amalgamations, great aggregations of business have resulted, and become increasingly necessary, so it is maintained, not only nationally but internationally. We have all about us today, Merchants' Association, Bankers' Associations, Manufacturers' Associations, not only on a local and Provincial scale, but upon a national scale. We have even great imponderable corporations, which proverbially "Have no bodies to kick nor souls to save," with interlocking directorates stretching their tentacles of business acumen and capitalistic strength far and wide to the ends of the earth. Labor has learned, not only from the development of industry, but from their dealings with these great organizations, that if it is to live and survive upon a self-respecting basis it must logically

develop along, at least, national lines.

2. The matter cannot be better explained than in the words of the preamble to the constitution and laws of the One Big Union:-

"Modern industrial society is divided into two classes, those who possess and do not produce, and those who produce and do not possess. Alongside this main division all other classifications fade into insignificance. Between these two classes a continual struggle takes place. As with buyers and sellers of any commodity, there exists a struggle on the one hand of the buyer to buy as cheaply as possible, and on the other, of the seller to sell for as much as possible, so with the buyers and sellers of labor power. In the struggle over the purchase and sale of labor power the buyers are always masters - the sellers always workers. From this fact arises the inevitable class struggle.

As industry develops and ownership becomes concentrated more and more into fewer hands; as the control of economic forces of society become more and more the sole property of imperialistic finance, it becomes apparent that the workers, in order to sell their labor power with any degree of success, must extend their forms of organization in accordance with changing industrial methods. Compelled to organize for self-defense, they are further compelled to educate themselves in preparation for the social change which economic developments will produce, whether they seek it or not.

The One Big Union, therefore, seeks to organize the wage workers, not according to craft, but according to industry; according to class and class needs, and calls upon all workers to organize irrespective of nationality, sex, or craft into a workers' organization, so that they may be enabled to more successfully carry on the everyday fight over wages, hours of work, etc., and prepare themselves for the day when production for profit shall be replaced by production for use.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE."<sub>1</sub>

3. The Constitution and Laws of the Union have sections relating to the Name, Membership, Initiation Fee, Shop Cards, Certificates, the Executive Board, Recall, Conventions, Per Capita Tax, Supplies, Official Membership Receipt, Central Labor Councils,

1. As amended at the Semi-Annual Convention in Winnipeg, January, 1920.

and Disputes and Strikes. The National Organizer has been Mr. J. R. Knight of Edmonton. The Secretary-Treasurer has been Mr. V. R. Midgley of Vancouver. The Central Executive since the Conference of last March has consisted of Messrs. W. A. Pritchard, J. R. Knight, R. J. Johns, V. R. Midgley and J. Naylor.

4. The First Semi-Annual Convention of the Union was held in Winnipeg, January 28th, f., 1920. There were present 24 accredited delegates, coming from as far East as Montreal and from as far West as Victoria. The different reports were received showing satisfactory progress and a favorable position. Organizer Knight reported upon his activities in the East, in Ontario and Quebec, where in some quarters he met with a very favorable reception, and in others with the most strenuous opposition. The resolutions passed concerned the necessity of issuing an O.B.U. national paper, pledged an unfaltering support for the labor prisoners, decided that delegates should, where possible, be chosen from industries, that a Semi-Annual Convention should be held, that the incoming Executive, representing all the industries, be instructed to consider the possibility of the institution of a Labor College.

5. The officers of the Union state that there are at present 55,000 members. The growth is taking place mostly among the unorganized workers, for example, the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of B. C. On the other hand, many of the Locals have had nothing whatever to do with the propaganda. At the Convention of the B. C. Federation of Labor, held in Victoria last month, the One

Big Union formally absorbed the Federation. The delegates to the Convention voted that the Federation be dissolved and that the B. C. Federationist, Vancouver's Weekly Labor paper, should become the organ of the O.B.U. in the Province.<sup>1</sup> This action was not unanimously concurred in, although it was practically so. Following the Convention, the Trades and Labor Council of Victoria voted to have nothing to do with the One Big Union and ordered its officers that no funds should be sent to the Union.<sup>2</sup>

The officers of the International believe that the One Big Union is sporadic and antiquated, that its principles have been discredited and, like its predecessor the Knights of Labor, which engaged in life and death grapple with the American Federation of Labor over the issue of Centralized versus Craft Authority, it is destined to collapse.

1. B.C. Federationist, Vancouver, March 12, 1920.
2. Press Reports.

VIII

THE MORAL CHALLENGE OF CANADA'S INDUSTRIAL CRISIS.

The preceding discussions have not been concerned merely with abstract data nor mechanical sequences. All have a meaning and contain lessons of enormous and far-reaching application. In bringing this Thesis to a close I wish briefly to indicate some of these.

1. Labor is awake and informed. Mr. Peter Wright, the old sea-dog, in addressing the Educational Conference in Winnipeg last October, said, -<sub>1</sub>

"I have travelled in every nation under the Sun, yet I am filled with admiration for this glorious land of yours. What immense possibilities, what hidden innate potentialities are waiting for noble men and women who will realize the responsibility and, by a process of co-operation, will try to develop them in the way they ought to be developed in order to make this country one of the greatest factors for civilization that the world has ever seen."

This war has been one of the greatest determining factors in the creation of a new labor-consciousness. As Mr. John Kavanagh remarked at a mass meeting of the strikers in Vancouver last June, "If the war did nothing more so far as we are concerned, it has educated us at least." Their world-view has changed. The Royal Commission in their report observed that the workers of Canada were greater students of economic questions than their employers. The time has arrived in this country when a good many of the workers have realized what some few thinkers have for some time realized, that military and naval wars are caused in large measure by a perverted and dehumanizing social and

1. Official Report of Proceedings, P. 66.

economic order.

2. The legitimate aspirations of the workers are to be taken seriously. The national leaders have publicly proclaimed that Labor was essential to the winning of the war. Now, Labor demands that the promises made during the war shall be redeemed and the gains won by the war shall be conserved. As Canadians fought overseas for the maintenance of world democracy, so now they claim that they should be assured of domestic democracy in the field of industry. They, therefore, point to the signs of the times. The workers are not commodities to be sold in the competitive market, but human beings. Personality is above machinery, soul prosperity is above the prosperity of Mammonism. What Labor is now seeking and struggling for is not expressed merely in terms of hours of labor or of wages, but in terms of self-respect, recognition, and some share in the administration of industry.

3. The Capitalistic System is severely on trial. I do not mean by this the system so much, which has come to stay, and which is deemed necessary under our modern organization of life, but the abuse and exploitation of it by the few as against the many. No system of mankind is justified except on the basis of rendering service. This system of which we form a part to-day must not be allowed to be a Juggernaut to crush human lives in order to produce dollars and effect material progress, but must be made to serve the highest and best interests of men. As Sir Robert Borden said in his message to the Industrial Conference at Ottawa last September, "The physical degeneracy of a considerable portion of the population is too high a price

to pay for domination of the world's markets."

4. We must heed the essential demand for human solidarity and co-operation. It must not be any longer true, as the late Professor William James said, concerning the labor question, that "One-half of our fellow countrymen remain entirely blind to the external significance of the lives of the other half."<sup>1</sup> This whole matter of our industrial conflict touches the survival of the social organism. The Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King is undoubtedly correct in saying that "Until Labor and Capital are both democratically represented in the control of the business carrying their respective investments, this warfare and anarchy are certain to persist."<sup>2</sup>

Men and women are not merely biological animals, economic units, and industrial cogs, but Children of God and brothers and sisters of each other. They are members one of another in a great world brotherhood. The true community is a brotherhood of labor, and he who lives outside of its borders is an outcast from the privileges of life and the honor and blessing of Heaven. There are not merely two parties to modern industry but four, namely, land and capital, labor, management, and the community. We shall have to recognize the principle that whether we like it or not we must get along together. Thomas Carlyle tells us that an Irish woman once wandered into a village where she did not belong. She was suffering from smallpox and made application for admission to the institution, but was denied the right on the grounds that she did not belong to that community.

1. "Talks to Leaders on Psychology", p.297, N.Y. 1915.

2. "Industry and Humanity", p. 379.

Suffering from the disease, she wandered around among the inhabitants of that village until she inoculated them with her own disease, and as Carlyle pointedly remarked, proved to them that she did belong to the community.

5. Progress and human perfection must be realized through evolutionary, constitutional methods rather than through revolutionary, direct-actionary methods. Even when we have granted the justification for radicalism in Russia and Germany we shall have to remember that the pendulum has swung too far and that even among the aggressive leaders a reaction has perforce set in.

There must be an education of the public opinion. Education is of two kinds, the education for citizenship and the education to equip for the making of a living. We are wont to say that the education of the child will determine the civilization of the future. The school master can deal with the children and guarantee the nature of the next generation, but it remains for the statesmen, the journalists, the spiritual leaders, the business men and the labor leaders to educate this present adult generation. In this connection concerning the education of children, it is gratifying to know that the National Education Conference, held in Winnipeg last October, included among its resolutions this one, -

"That inasmuch as the prevailing emphasis on competitive methods in industry and commerce has tended to a weakening of the sense of solidarity among the citizens of Canada, and the perversion of motive resulting from undue regard to the rewards of work as compared with interest and service rendered, this Conference recommends that all our schools promote, by every reasonable means, the spirit and practise of co-operative effort, both in team-games and in class work."

So far as the education of the adult generation is concerned, other great forces must be commandeered and directed for public good. Some of these forces are discovery, invention, government, the press, literature, art and universal education.

Forces and causes must be organized. The history of organized Labor alone has demonstrated that all privileges have been won only by persistent and organized effort. The very nature of human life seems to render the individual almost impotent, and to ordain the most efficient organization as absolutely necessary. This conclusion seems to be fairly well confirmed by the lessons of history. Individual prizes are won by individual struggle. Social prizes are won by social struggle. It is exceedingly doubtful whether history presents an instance of a possessing class dispossessing itself in favor of those who do not possess.

The franchise and the ballot must be exalted. These great rights have come down to us as a priceless possession purchased by the blood and sacrifices of millions of our fellow-men. No longer should we be slaves but free-men. We must claim the benefits of our freedom. To be guilty of abusing that freedom is to enslave not only ourselves but our neighbors. The time has come in our advanced countries when the laws must be re-adjusted to provide for some method of proportional representation among the various classes of society.

Public righteousness must also be advocated and striven for. It is an old but reliable principle that "Righteousness exalts a nation but sin is a reproach to any people." Great statesmen recognize the necessity for justice, confidence and co-operation. Religion must be

taken out of the dark and placed in the midst of society. It must cease to be merely the profession of priests and must become the practice of the multitudes. Major J. W. Gordon (Ralph Connor) seemed to be perfectly at home at the Canadian Educational Conference last year in speaking on the subject of "The Moral and Spiritual Lessons of the War for Canadian Education". These lessons he asserted to be, -<sub>1</sub>

1. The re-affirmation of Conscience as supreme in human conduct.
2. The re-assertion of the supreme worth of humanity.
3. The discovery of the supreme value of comradeship in the making of a nation.
4. The supreme place of religion in character-making and national building.

The Super-man is a good way off, but the man is on the way.

In his progress he will do well to remember the words of Dr. Henry Suzzallo, President of the University of Washington, "Democratic discipline is congenial to free souls. You can control a man in two ways - by putting a club on one side of his head, or putting an idea into his head."<sub>2</sub>

On the 11th of February, 1918, President Wilson, speaking before the Houses of Congress, made this statement, - "What is at stake is the Peace of the World. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon the broad and universal principles of right and justice." The machinery for the realization of that new international order by virtue of the triumphs of the war has been effected in the League of Nations, to which there are thirty-two national signatories. If such a gigantic result can be consummated

1. Report of Ed. Conf., Winnipeg, p. 3 f.
2. " " " " " , p. 76.

in the international realm, then a lesser result must somehow be accomplished within the national realms. Just as we have had the creation of the Criminal and Civil Codes and Courts, so now we must go on to the creation and establishment of an Industrial Code and Court. When this has been brought about by the efforts of men and the grace of God, along with the International League, we shall have an Industrial League.

My concluding thought can best be expressed in the stirring words of Lurana Sheldon in "The Test", -

The testing time is here! The time  
When souls of men are heated in the fire  
Whereby Truth separates what is sublime  
And steels the temper of her fine desire.  
It is the time that dross is sifted out  
From human masses - time when what is pure  
Is set aside, full soon to bring about  
A peace on earth, good-will that shall endure.

The proving day has come! The day  
When man shall testify to his integrity,  
His love of Honor, Right's eternal sway,  
The end of conflict and war's misery,  
None can evade and none can compromise  
This solemn duty. Suffering lands await  
The great decision. Now men must arise  
Lest justice die and love depreciate.

The turning hour is here! The hour  
Wherein lies hope for future energies,  
They who upheld the hands of righteous power,  
Linking their aims, attainments, destinies,  
Shall find in union mankind's true release  
From brutal wrongs, heart-sorrows, deadly fear,  
A League of Souls and Nations bodes us Peace-  
He stands the test whose name is written here!

---