

INDUSTRIAL & CRAFT UNIONISM
IN
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in
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INTRODUCTION

Trade unionism in Canada as elsewhere, is essentially a phenomenon of modern industrial society, a reflex on the part of "the workers" to the action of capitalism in creating social strata in which the sole means of support is the daily wage. It is designed primarily to offset the unfairness and inequality of the labourer's bargaining position in wage negotiations.⁽¹⁾ History reveals no single genesis of it, or no uniform process of development through which all types of unionism go. It may originate wherever industrialization has created a group or groups of wage-earners who, because of conditions common to their employment believe they have more to gain by collective action than by individual enterprise. As a form of protective association, the simple purpose of trade unionism is "to maintain or improve the conditions of its members."⁽²⁾ There is no universal answer as to how this may best be done, for modern society is too highly complex and group interests too varied to offer any single solution. At the present time Canadian unionism presents a great variety of structural forms and union policies which are full on contradictions and anomalies. In seeking a key to this complexity it must be remembered: (a) that much of the policy and character of a union or labour organization depends

(1) "Fundamental Universal Service"
Samuel Gompers, in American Federationist, Nov./16
Saposs "Readings in Trade Unionism" pp.27-28.

(2) Webb, Sidney and Beatrice.
History of Trade Unionism, p.1.

on the structural arrangement, or in other words the group interests represented. On the basis of the regulations regarding membership two distinct structural types may be recognized, the craft union in which membership is limited to craftsmen in a single trade and the industrial union, in which membership is open to any wage-earner working in the industry under the union's jurisdiction. Between these, as will be seen later, there are a number of transitional and intermediate stages. (b) That the practical policy of these types, which is of course continually changing, is the outcome of many factors, other than the structural arrangement. The character of the leaders and of "the rank and file" as well as something of the obstacles which confront the union, are reflected in its policy. The union tactics may be influenced slightly by "theory" but they are principally the result of experience and are arrived at by "the trial and error method."⁽¹⁾

While the growth and the present character of Canadian unionism has been greatly influenced by the American and, to a lesser extent by the British labour movement, the determining factor in marking the line of development has been "industrialization." This is clearly shown in the gradual evolution in structural and functional forms which unionism has undergone. In the history of Organ-

(1) Interview with official of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. January 17th, 1927.

ized Labour in Canada three periods may be noted which correspond roughly to three stages in the industrial development of the country: First, 1827-1876, the period of initial development along strictly craft lines which closed with the failure of the Canadian Labour union; second, 1886-1903, a period notable chiefly for the development of federate labour bodies and the struggle between craft and mixed organizations which ended in a victory for craft unionism and the rejection of the Knights of Labour from the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada; and third, the present period of more rapid development in which many new elements have been introduced into the labour movement and in which the principle of craft autonomy is being seriously challenged and in some cases done away with.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

For obvious reasons the pioneer period of Canadian unionism (1827-1876), is of little importance. Not only is it impossible to obtain accurate information concerning it but throughout this period, the colonial character of the country, the domestic system of production and the comparative equality in economic conditions among the people all combined in checking the growth of unionism. Neither industrial conditions nor the individualistic character of the people were conducive for its development. Prior to 1869, with two exceptions, what unions existed were of purely the craft type, small, local and independent. There is some evidence to show that the printers of Quebec were organized as early as 1827, those of York (Toronto) in 1830. Other unions are known to have existed among the shoemakers of Montreal, the stonecutters and other craftsmen but by 1836, it is believed⁽¹⁾ that these had disappeared. The Typographical Unions were reorganized in the forties and other unions grew up among the stonecutters of Montreal, shipwrights of Kingston and amongst various craftsmen in the larger centers. Between 1855 and 1870 general prosperity due to reciprocity and the Civil War, a heavy immigration, railway expansion and other factors gave a slight impetus to the

(1) Labour Gazette, 1902
p. 374

movement of which the most important development was the
 (1)
 affiliation in 1869 of the Toronto, St. John and Quebec
 Typographical Societies with the American National.

The movement towards a wider form of association
 which was the direct result of better transportation
 facilities and the disappearance of the local market,
 had been fore-shadowed by the Amalgamated Society of
 Engineers, a British organization of metal mechanics
 (2)
 which chartered a Toronto local in 1851. Time was to
 show that federation with British unions was not pract-
 ical and that outside of insurance benefits, there was
 little to be gained by such connections. The penetration
 of American business methods and capital, similar economic
 conditions and greater proximity made affiliation with
 American Nationals more desirable. From 1869 on this was
 actively encouraged by the International Typographical
 Society which had since its formation taken the lead in
 (3)
 Canadian labour circles. In 1872 it lead the Toronto
 Trade Council in a nine hour day campaign which had im-
 portant results. The "nine hour campaign" itself was
 simply part of a general agitation such as had been begun
 by the Grand Eight Hour League of Massachusetts. Demon-
 strations were held in Hamilton, Guelph, Oshawa and other

(1) Conner op.cit. p. 90.

(2) Report on Labour Organization, 1911.
 p. 31.

(3) Coats. op cit.
 p. 295.

centers but the principal struggle occurred in Toronto, where the employers acting on the legal decision of Judge Harrison had a number of the labour leaders imprisoned. The decision was to the effect "That the law of Canada as regards labor combinations is the same as the common law of England before the passing of the English Statutes (5 Geo.IV, Cap.95; 6 Geo.IV,95, Cap. 129 or Vic., Cap 34) none of which are enforced in this country and that consequently "combinations of workmen in Canada for the following purposes are illegal."

1. To lessen or alter the hours of labor.
2. To obtain an advance in wages.
3. To fix the rate of wages.
4. To decrease the quantity of work.
5. To induce others to depart from their work before the expiration of their time.
6. To quit work before the work is finished.
7. To refuse to enter into work or employment.
8. To persuade others not to enter into employment.⁽¹⁾

During the disturbance an "emergency act respecting trade unions" was passed, the prisoners released and their demands granted. The new act which was almost word for word a copy of the imperial act of 1871 marked an important turning point in the history of Canadian unionism.⁽²⁾ For the first time public interest had been focused on the affairs of labour while the effects of the struggle had served, to quote from the Labour Gazette, "to still

(1) Conner, op.cit. p.91.

(2) Conner, op.cit. p.93.

further stimulate the movement or organization among the working class."⁽¹⁾ Also there was now no serious legal obstacle to the formation of unions. Hitherto the activities of the unions had been limited to extending their own organizations. In 1873 as a result of the new position of unionism the recognition of the similarity in aims of the different organizations and of the advantages of co-operation, a movement began towards the formation of a national labour federation. The Toronto Trades Congress and the Typographical Society again took the lead in calling a convention of labour delegates to meet in Toronto in September, 1873.⁽²⁾ At this convention it was decided to form a permanent organization to be known as the Canadian Labour Union. One of the first acts of the Canadian Labour Union at which some thirty unions were represented, was to secure the repeal of the unfavourable amendment to the Trade Union Act of 1872.

The declared object of the Canadian Labour Union was: "To agitate such questions as may be for the benefit of the working classes, in order that we may obtain the enactment of such measures by the Dominion and local legislatures as will be beneficial to us, and a repeal of all oppressive laws which now exist. The use of means con-

(1) Labour Gazette, 1902, August.
p. 375

(2) Coats, op cit, p. 296.

sistent with honour and integrity, to so correct the abuses under which the working classes are labouring, as to secure to them their just rights and privileges; to use our utmost endeavours to impress upon the labouring classes of this country the necessity of a close and thorough organization, and to form themselves into subordinate unions wherever practicable." Recommendations were made in favour of the reduction of the working day to nine hours, the settlement of disputes by arbitration where possible, against prison labour and against the importation of foreign labour under contract. Of special interest on the subject of this thesis is the report of the committee of organization. The formation of protective societies was advocated for districts where small numbers made impossible the formation of trade societies. Such bodies were to be called Amalgamated Labour Unions or some appropriate name. But, declared the committee, "We would, however, strongly depreciate the encouragement or allowance of men joining such organizations as that referred to in any place where there is already a society of the trade to which they belong, or where there are sufficient numbers of any one trade to form a separate union."⁽¹⁾ Thus the C.L.U. formulated as part of its initial policy expansion along craft rather than indust-

(1) Labour Gazette, Aug. 1901
 Proceedings of the 1st Annual session of the
 Canadian Labour Union, Sept. 23, 1873.
 PP. 5-7

rial lines. A Congress was held the following year in Ottawa and again in 1875 then despite the efforts of the members of the Canadian Labour Union passed from history. Its failure was due to no inherent weakness in the organization but to the severe commercial depression which swept through the country in 1873-1879 and set back the whole trade union movement. The policy of the C.L.U. indicates that its leaders were men of vision, their attitude on the labour questions of the day and the problems of organization were from a unionist's point of view sound and have required little modification. Had the C.L.U. survived this critical time it is probable that the future history of Canadian unionism and its present character would have been very different. With the disappearance of this early federation and the general breaking up of labour organizations throughout the Dominion, came the close of the period. When unionism again raised its head new conditions confronted it and new tactics were required of it.

In 1880 with the expansion of American craft unions and Knights of Labour Assemblies into Canada a new era in labour began. The growth of the country, industrial and railway developments made possible a more extensive unionism. Throughout Ontario, in parts of Quebec and among the coal miners of Nova Scotia important labour unions grew up, and with them the network of federations which still exists,

with a few modifications, to-day.⁽¹⁾ From this time on the influence of the American Labour movement is clearly marked in the structural and functional development of trade unionism in Canada. In 1881 the International Typographical Society held their annual convention in Toronto and through their example did much to encourage the growth of unionism. Under their instigation the newly-formed Trades and Labour Council of Toronto took the initiative in calling a convention which met in 1883.⁽²⁾ At the second session held in 1886 a permanent organization The Trades and Labour Congress of the Dominion of Canada, was formed which has since that time remained the most important Labour body in the Dominion. The story of the progress of the Trades and Labour Congress from that date is one of almost unbroken expansion and development in size and influence. Around the activities of this body have centered the most important features of the Canadian Labour movement. Prior to 1889 no unions outside of Ontario were represented in the Congress but at the Montreal Convention of that year, a number of Quebec representatives were present. The next year Vancouver sent three delegates to the Convention and in 1897 Manitoba, and in the following year the Maritimes were represented.⁽³⁾

(1) Labour Gazette, 1902.
p. 394.

(2) Canadian Congress Journal, Vol. 10, No. 8.
p. 10
"An Historical Review of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada."

(3) Canadian Congress Journal.
op.cit., p. 11.

It has been pointed out that the Canadian Labour Union of 1873-76 laid down as a fundamental rule, the development of trade unions along craft lines. The Trades and Labour Congress made no such ruling. Craft unions and Knights of Labour Assemblies were both admitted to the Congress and as a consequence of this, it became the battleground for struggle between craft and mixed unionism. Mr. Coats says of this. "The issue of their strife has affected trade union conditions in Canada no less profoundly than in the United States, creating the only open schism that has ever occurred in the ranks of the Canadian Congress - a schism which strikes at the root of the principle of internationalism, and the echoes of which are reverberating at the present time."⁽¹⁾ While petty considerations and the personal ambitions of the leaders undoubtably entered into controversy, the real question was that of organization and "dual unionism."⁽²⁾

The Knights of Labour which was founded in 1869 as a tailors' union by Uriah Stephens of Philadelphia, had become, by 1880 a mixed organization with a wider sphere of activities and a broad policy. The only restrictive clause on membership was that; "No person who either sells or makes a living, or any part of it, by the sale of intox-

(1) op. cit. p.304

(2) William Kirk.

icating drink, either as manufacturers, dealers or agent, or through any members of the family, can be admitted to membership in this order and no lawyer, banker, professional gambler or stock broker can be admitted." (1)

The idealistic character of the movement drew towards it both in Canada and United States, the sympathetic interest of many people outside the labouring classes. In its time the Knights of Labour became almost a religion with an unique power of appealing to the masses. The growth of the Order was amazing, in fifteen years its membership increased from eleven to nearly a million in United States, and according to Simon's so-called history (2) "300,000 more in Canada." Professor Ely writing of it in 1886 at the height of its power calls it "the most powerful and the most remarkable labor organization of modern times, established on truly scientific principles which involved either an intuitive perception of the nature of industrial progress or a wonderful acquaintance with the laws of economic society." In Canada the Order enjoyed a growth unequalled by any organization of the time. Within a few years after the establishment of the first Assembly at Hamilton the Knights of Labour had spread through Ontario and Quebec. By 1888 there were

(2) Simon - History of Knights of Labour.
p. 57

(1) Worker in Modern Economic Society.
p. 541.

six district assemblies in Ontario. Its expansion in
 Quebec was even more remarkable. (1) It remained until
 1893 the most powerful organization in the Dominion
 and the dominant element in the Trades and Labour Con-
 gress. (2) At the Montreal Congress of that year 40 out
 of the 74 delegates represented Knights of Labour Assem-
 blies. Three years later at the Quebec Congress, only
 16 out of 54 delegates came from K. of L. Assemblies.
 Disastrous strikes, opposition of capitalists' associa-
 tions, competition of craft unions, misguided political
 activities, failure of co-operative ventures, inexper-
 ience and too rapid growth are among the many causes
 which attributed to its decline. (3)

Unlike the Knights of Labour the American Feder-
 ation of Labour was established on the principle of
 craft autonomy. (4) It being then, as it is to-day a
 federation of unions which were principally organized
 along trade lines. The American Federation of Labor
 has developed much more gradually than the Knights of
 Labour with which at first it claimed no antagonism. But
 by the middle 80's the policies of the two organizations
 began to conflict and a struggle arose between them which

(1) Labour Gazette, 1901.
 August. p.57.

(2) Canadian Congress Journal, Aug./25 p.10

(3) G.G.Groat,
 An Introduction to the Study of Organized Labor
 in America. pp.78-79.

(4) Helen Marot - "American Labor Unions" pp.16-21
 (Henry Holt & Co., 1914.)

ended only in the complete overthrow of the K. of L. For a time the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada attempted to act as mediator between the two factions but as the strength of the K. of L. declined in the Congress this task of peacemaker became more difficult. (1) By 1894 when the A.F. of L. issued their famous "fighting ultimatum" the Congress was already in favour of the policy and principles upheld by the American Federation. (2) The final breach came in 1902 at the Berlin Congress when a resolution was passed which excluded "dual organizations" from the Congress. By this resolution some thirty K. of L. Assemblies and national unions whose jurisdiction conflicted with that of the international were thus "shouldered out", the membership decreased by 3340 and the revenue by \$377.00. (3)

For two reasons the year 1902 is a very suitable date for marking the beginning of modern developments in the Canadian labour movement. From this time on the gradual evolution in unionism which was the result of the progress of the country and technical developments in industry became more noticeable. The principle of international affiliation began to be seriously challenged and one of the first of many breaches in the ranks of labour effected. The final defeat of the K. of L. thus marks a very important turning point in the history of Canadian unionism. The earlier period had been primarily one of experimentation during which the foundations were laid for a larger and more diverse labour movement of which the most salient

(1) Coats, op.cit. p.308 (2) C.C.Journal, Aug/25 p.11
 (3) Coats, op.cit. p. 369

features were the change in structural organization among the craft unions, the growth of industrial unionism, revolutionary thought and the development of independent Canadian organizations. The last while of great interest, is not closely related to the subject of this thesis. Immediately upon being rejected from the Berlin Congress, the delegates representing K. of L. Assemblies and other "dual organizations" formed a new body The National Trades and Labour Congress. In 1908 this was reorganized as the Canadian Federation of Labour. As set forth in the preamble of the constitution it was declared "to be in the best interests of Canadian labour to organize along national lines and thus foster the spirit of our Canadian
(1)
nationality."

One other national organization which will always be of great interest in the history of Canadian unionism, is the Provincial Workmen's Association of Nova Scotia. This union had had a very successful and spectacular career dating from 1879 when Pioneer Lodge No. 1 was organized among the coal miners of Springhill, N.S. Until 1883 membership in the Association was restricted to workmen employed around the colliers and coal piers, but from then on charters were extended to other labour groups until by 1903 over one hundred classes of workmen were represented in the union and it had become a mixed organization. This structural change appears to have been due to two things. The success of the Association in its early years encouraged other classes of labourers to petition for admission. In the 90's the Knights of Labour began to

(1) Constitution - Can. Fed. of Labour
p.1.

challenge the ~~success~~ of the Association. By 1897 it was found necessary to reorganize the union and to fight the Knights of Labour "with their own weapons."⁽¹⁾ After the failure of the K. of L. the Provincial Workmen's Association met with little competition until the coming of the United Mine Workers' Union in 1908.⁽²⁾ By this time the P.W.A. appears to have realized the difficulties facing a mixed organization and to have reverted to its earlier policy of limiting the membership to mine workers. In the struggle which arose between these two organizations the mine operators sided with the Provincial Workmen's Association. This combination of forces did not however succeed in driving the U.M.W. from the field and it remained until 1917 to divide the province with the P.W.A. In that year the two rival organizations united to form the Amalgamated Mine Workers of Nova Scotia.⁽³⁾

The important changes which took place in the structural organization and policies of many of the other unions are dealt with more fully in the following chapters, some features may however be mentioned here. Developments in methods of production and in industrial technique seem to have been the underlying cause of this evolution. The general effect was to remove many of the lines which

(1)

(2) Report on Labour Organizations, 1917

(3) Report on Labour Organizations, 1917 pp.62-66.

divided the skilled trades, to relatively increase the importance of the semi-skilled machine worker and to produce a great uniformity of aims among labour organizations. A further result of industrialization and "progress" was the widening breach between capital and labour which brought about a growth in class-consciousness. This evolution is not to be interpreted as being very rapid. The history of particular unions, such as that of Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, and of Canadian unionism in general, show it to have been very slow in operation. The positive results of it were only noticeable after the Great War and they are not yet fully developed. It must be born in mind that from the beginning of the century the character of Canadian Labour and Labour organizations was gradually changing. The introduction of "labour theories" and immigrant trade unionists had not a little to do with this change but the great force producing it was the machine. It must be admitted however that the turn developments took was in many respects unusual and unnatural. It reflects the reaction of American Unionism to modern economic conditions in the United States, which were in no way general throughout Canada. Left to itself, Canadian unionism would very likely have developed along different lines.

It is difficult to give a comprehensive survey of the general growth of unionism since 1900, nor indeed would such a survey be of much use, for the numerical growth reveals little of the character of the movement. Beginning in 1896 during a period of prosperity, there was a more rapid increase in membership and in the number of labour organizations.⁽¹⁾ This increase continued with fluctuations until 1919 when a high point was reached. Parallel with this growth the jurisdiction of the various unions and the Trades and Labour Congress extended over all the industrial centers in the Dominion. In the period 1900 to 1911 (the year of the first report on Labour Organizations) the most notable features were the development of several Canadian national unions and the surprising increase in organizations which came in the years 1903 and 1907 when 275 and 230 new organizations were formed. By 1907 the growth of unionism in the west and in B.C. was relatively more rapid than in the eastern provinces.⁽²⁾ This continued until in 1912 the Western cities were more highly unionized than the older centers in the East. A striking situation when one remembers that the presence of cheap land has always been regarded by students

(1) Labour Gazette, Aug. 1901
p. 317

(2) Labour Gazette, Dec. 1907.
p. 921.

of the American Labour movement as a check to trade union-
 (1) ism.

The Labour Report of 1911 gives a total union
 (2) membership of 133,132 organized in 1,531 locals. Of the
 total membership 119,415 belong to 91 different International
 Unions and the remainder to 12 Canadian organizations.
 The local units were distributed as follows, Ont. 706,
 B.C. 235, Quebec 211, Alberta 157, Nova Scotia 133, Manitoba
 118, Sask. 84 and N.B. 72. The same report shows the
 Building, metal, engineering and ship-building trades to
 be relatively highly organized. in contrast with the text-
 ile and clothing trades. Among the mine and quarry workers
 there were three unions of which one, the United Mine
 Workers was the largest in Canada. Besides the trade
 unions, Federations, District Councils and Trade and Labour
 Councils were established in all the provinces except P.E.I.
 By 1913 the total membership of all classes had increased
 (3) to 175,799. A slight decline occurred in 1914, followed
 by a decided slump in 1915. During the years 1917-1918
 there was an increase in membership of over 40,000 a year.
 The most phenomenal development came however in 1919 when
 the total membership was 378,047 showing an increase of

(1) John R. Commons,
 History of Labour in the United States.
 1, p.3. (The MacMillan Co., 1921.)

(2) Report on Labour Organizations 1911 - p.21

(3) " " " " 1913 - p.7

(1)
 129,160 of which only 58,815 went to the Internationals.
 Since then there has been a gradual decline in membership
 (2)
 until 1925, when 271,064 members were reported. Of these
 172,573 are members of unions with headquarters in the
 United States. The most important trade group is that
 made up of Railway employees. This contains 79,009 members
 or 29.9 p.c. of the total. The second largest group is
 that of the public employees which forms 9.73 p.c. of the
 (3)
 whole union membership. The total membership and the
 number of local units is divided as follows:-

| | Branches | Membership |
|---|----------|------------|
| International Craft Unions (so-called) | 1.985 | 172,573 |
| Industrial Workers of the World. | 6 | 10,000 |
| One Big Union | 53 | 17,256 |
| Non-international Organizations | 311 | 34,070 |
| Independent Units | 40 | 12,165 |
| National & Catholic Unions | 99 | 25,000 |
| | 2,494 | 271,064 |

In actual fact very few of the organizations classed as International Craft Unions are pure craft unions, most of them are "amalgamated craft unions", several of the largest of them, typical industrial unions. Over 115,000

(1) Report on Labour Organizations, 1919
 p.7.

(2) Report on Labour Organizations, 1925.
 p.7

(3) Report on Labour Organizations, 1925.
 p.8.

of the membership in this class belongs to thirteen organizations, three of which are industrial in structure, five "craft unions" with a very broad membership⁽¹⁾ and the remainder pure craft unions.

At the present time trade unionism in Canada presents a very complicated and confusing mass of federations and alliances which have resulted from the common aims of labour as distinct from those expressed by the individual unions. Of these the most important body is The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada which has under affiliation fifty-seven of the eighty-seven international "craft" unions, five Canadian unions whose jurisdiction does not conflict with that of the "recognized internationals", two provincial federations of Labour, forty-seven Trades and Labour Councils and thirty-seven federal labor unions.⁽²⁾ The total membership represented in the Congress is 105,912. A rival organization The Canadian Federation of Labour has a number of Canadian unions in affiliation and a total membership of 9,130.⁽³⁾ The main function of the Trades and Labour Congress is to protect the interests of trade unionists in legislative matters. It designates itself as "the mouth piece of Canadian organized labour." The Congress does not interfere with the various international organizations but retains only the power of issuing charters to purely Canadian central bodies, provincial federations

(1) Interview with A.F. of L. Official

(2) Canadian Congress Journal, Aug. 1925, p. 14

(3) Report on Labour Organizations, 1925, p. 219

ations, trades and labour /councils and to such bodies of workers as are not eligible for membership in a recognized international union. On questions of jurisdiction disputes between the various internationals the Congress (1) accepts the decisions of the American Federation of Labour.

The chief purpose of such subordinate bodies as the Provincial Federations and the Trades and Labour Councils is to deal with matters of particular concern to organized labour in the territory under jurisdiction. Like the Trades and Labour Congress they are made up from representatives of the recognized trade unions. Many of these unions have besides district and provincial councils of their own co-ordinating the activities of the various locals (2) in a certain area and for handling the affairs of the union.

Quite apart from these internationals and their various "super-structures", there are the "outside" organizations such as The National and Catholic Unions, The One Big Union, The Industrial Workers of the World, The Communists Party, The Canadian Federation of Labour and the independent international and National Unions some (3) of which are very important.

(1) Canadian Congress Journal, August, 1925.
p. 14

(2) Report on Labour Organizations, 1925.
pp. 66-79

(3) op.cit.
p.7.

CRAFT UNIONISM

A ~~craft~~ union has been defined by G.D.H.Cole, as a labour organization which "consists of persons following a particular calling or occupation, possessing in common a certain skill, and aiming in common at a certain set of co nditions of employment. (1)

At the present time the name is applied also to unions which may include workers in a number of closely allied trades. The early labour bodies seem with few exceptions, to have been organized along craft lines. When the individual craftsman realized the inequality and insecurity of his bargaining position he joined up with, not all the labourers in the industry or district, but with those whose competition he feared, his fellow craftsmen. By such an organization he would not only gain the advantages of his skill but also, he would be associating with men of his own class and of similar interests. (2)

There was nothing to be gained by including the unskilled in the union. Indeed, according to the wage fund theory of the day, higher wages for the skilled unionists meant lower wages for the unskilled. There was little thought of "labour solidarity". Until the coming of the Knights of Labour in 1880 no important attemps were made to organize common labourers.

(1) - G.D.H.Cole
An Introduction to Trade Unionism.
pp. 13

(2) - Helen Marot
American Labor Unions.
pp. 78 (Henry Holt & Co.)

It is true that in England and in the States during the thirties and the forties many humanitarian experiments had been made with "general labour unions" but these had been singularly unsuccessful.⁽¹⁾ After the failure of the Knights of Labour craft unionism began to enter upon a constructive period of which Professor Commons says. "Withdrawing from the weaker elements of unskilled and semi-skilled, the skilled trades began building up stable and nation-wide organizations, and winning such recognition from employers' associations that they were able to establish more or less enduring systems of trade agreement, and to retain their membership during a period of depression. At the same time, the recurring problem of the unskilled is again threatening an upheaval."⁽²⁾

Craft unionism was adequately suited for a stage of industrial progress in which management was small and the lines between crafts clearly marked. But now "a new technology tended to eliminate the importance of specialized skill, a new tactic was demanded of unionism."⁽³⁾ The rapid introduction of new machinery tended to split up many of the skilled trades and to create a large force of semi-skilled machine-workers whose chief characteristics were adaptability and mobility.

(1) John R. Commons and associates,
History of Labour in the United States

(2) op. cit. 1. p.6.

(3) Solomon Blum,
"Labor Economics"
p. 311.

At the same time the allegiance of the skilled men to the craft form of organization grew less as their position weakened. Parallel with this was the development of trusts and combines employing workers in many trades, which encouraged, and in some cases necessitated, the reorganization of labour along the lines of capital. Not only was the strength of capital growing but the solidarity of labour was weakened by jurisdictional disputes between craft unions which Samuel Gompers characterized as "the greatest problem, the danger, which above all others most threatens not only the success, but the very existence of the American Federation of Labour." ⁽¹⁾ The further competition of the unorganized, semi-skilled and common labourers could no longer be ignored. It became "imperative that Labor set its house in order"

The readjustment of international craft unions to the new state of affairs has not necessitated a serious departure from the original principle of craft autonomy. In the Autonomy Declaration of the American Federation of Labor accepted in 1901 and reaffirmed in 1912, the impossibility of drawing hard and fast lines between crafts was recognized but it was also stated that the principle of autonomy must be maintained as far as it is "consistent with the varying phrases and transitions of industry."

(1) President Gompers' Report. A.F. or L. Proceedings, 1902, p. 161. Saposs Readings in Trade Unionism 127

The special committee appointed to consider the question of autonomy laid down three general propositions which have been adhered to consistently by the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. It was recommended first that "As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labour is conceded by all students of economics thought to be the result of organizations on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from the fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent changes in methods of production and employment make practicable!"

That "closely allied and sub-divided crafts" consider the question of amalgamating and also of organizing District and National Trade Councils. It further declared that, "the American Federation of Labour being a voluntary association, can not direct and should not adopt methods antagonistic to or in conflict with established trade union laws."⁽¹⁾

(1) Autonomy Declaration,
American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1912,
pp. 114-15.

The American Federation and The Trades and Labour Congress have been very insistent on this voluntary character of their organizations which made it impossible for them on their own initiative to actively oppose or advocate any serious changes in policy.⁽¹⁾ On this one question however, they have made a radical departure from their policy and "opposed tooth and nail" the resolutions of a determined minority who favour the reorganization of the trade unions along industrial lines. They offer as a substitute for industrial unionism, the amalgamation of closely allied craft unions and the formation of industrial departments and federations.

"While", to quote from Theodore Glocker, "the radical industrial unionists have been engaged in controversy with the conservative trade autonomists, a gradual evolution has been taking place in consequence of which craft unions are disappearing. Of the 133 national unions most of them affiliates of the American Federation of Labor, only twenty-eight may be called craft unions, if by a craft we mean work requiring identical skill and training." According to Mr. Glocker the tendency towards the amalgamation of related craft unions had been increasing since 1894,⁽²⁾ It was accelerated by the rise of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1904 and other radical organizations whose activities made the American Federations and its

(1) "Industrial Unionism in its Relation to Trade Unionism"
A.F. of L. Pamphlet.

(2) Theodore Glocker,
"Amalgamation of Related Trades in American Unions"
American Economic Review V - (1915) 554-575.

affiliates adopt a broader policy. The desire to avoid jurisdictional disputes, to co-operate in maintaining strikes and in general to strengthen the internal structure of organization were of course instrumental causes in producing amalgamations and a general broadening of craft union policy. The history of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners offers a good illustration of the evolution from a "pure craft union" to a broader form of organization. Membership in the union was originally limited to carpenters, but the competition of "rough carpenters", of new machinery, new means of production, such as sash and trim etc. which was now made in factories instead of "one the job", forced them to extend their jurisdiction. It became essential to control the millmen and after a long struggle the carpenters finally defeated the Brotherhood of Woodworkers. Jurisdiction was gradually gained over box-makers and furniture workers and other classes until to-day the union has control over all labour on wood materials and the setting up of metal substitutes for wood.⁽¹⁾

A common feature of such amalgamations has been for the more powerful organizations to absorb the weaker unions, the "subsidiary unions" and the organizations of helpers. There are several notable exceptions to this amalgamation movement. The Railway Brotherhoods, excluding the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, have

(1) Solomon Blum,
Labor Economics,
p. 316-317.

retained their policy of rigid craft membership. The International Typographical Society has granted complete trade autonomy to a number of classes of closely allied crafts such as the stereotypers, electrotypers and other craftsmen formerly under the union's jurisdiction. Nevertheless despite these and other exceptions it is undeniable that the majority of craft unions have been transformed until now they can only be said to be based on "the craft hypothesis." This has produced some important changes in craft union policy of which only a few features need be considered here. The policy of a trade union seems to reflect something of the character of the membership and leaders, of the conditions confronting the organization and of its final aims. The policy of craft unionism as far as it is possible to generalize on such a broad subject, appears to reflect the interests of a group of trade conscious, conservative-minded men whose chief possession is their craft skill. For many years craft unionism accepted the "existing order" and merely attempted to secure better wage bargains through some form of trade agreement. The theory and practice of unionism was then closely bound up with conception of "the lump of work argument" and the monopolistic character of the craft union, the strength of which lay in its ability to withhold the supply of skilled labour. The general broadening of membership has made this policy difficult to carry out. While the recognition, that at the best, the concession won by means of the collective bargaining were only temporary, has given craft unionism a different outlook. "Henceforth the organization of the workers

into trade unions must mean the conscious organization of one of the most vital functional elements for enlightened participation in a democracy of industry whose purpose must be the extension of freedom, the enfranchisement of the producer as such, the rescue of industry from choas, profiteering and purely individual whim, including individual incapacity, and rescue of industry also from the domination of incompetent political bodies" (1) From these platitudes and many others like them, it may be gathered that craft unionism is developing a new spirit and new aims which are often difficult to distinguish from those of the industrial unions. Yet this change in structure and policy has not gone far enough to satisfy the demands of many trade unionists. The question is then, can this modified form of unionism which is based on a "craft hypothesis" meet the requirements of labour. Before attempting to answer this it is perhaps advisable to make some analysis of the present character and extent of craft unionism in Canada.

The basis of the craft union is the local unit which is made up of "duly qualified members of the trade" within a certain area defined by the local's charter. Occasionally, as in Montreal, separate locals are formed of the different racial elements. Intermediate between the Headquarters and the local are the various district and provincial boards, which like the Headquarters

(1) Industrial Democracy is Labor Goal.
 (Report of Executive Council.
 A.F. of L. Proceedings, 1923)
 p. 31.

are supported by a per capita tax from the locals. The Union may have besides various affiliation or federation with "central labour bodies" such as The Trades and Labour Congress. Also it may be affiliated with some council made up of unions of closely allied trades. Fundamentally the character of the union depends on the regulations regarding membership in the local units. On the basis of these regulations the various international and national craft unions may be divided into three principal groups. (1)

- (1) Craft unions such as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in which membership is open to only one class of skilled men.
- (2) Craft union in which the membership is open to one class of skilled mechanics, apprentices and helpers, e.g. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.
- (3) "Trade amalgamation" unions such as International Association of Machinists in which membership is limited to skilled men and apprentices in a number of similar trades.

There are only five or six important examples of the first class some fifteen of the second and about twenty-five of the third. Besides these there are a number of organizations which can only be classed as "product" or as "service unions" but whose policy closely resembles that of the craft unions. The best example of these types are The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

- (1) Interview with A.F. or L. organizer.

It is obvious that there will be considerable diversity in policy between these different kinds of unions. The traditional craft union attitude towards apprenticeship and the restriction of numbers entering a trade is still applicable among the first and to a lesser degree among the second and still less among the third class. In brief there is a broadening of policy as the group interests represented become broader. These structural arrangements of labour and the policies which have naturally resulted from them are severely criticized by the "modernists" and the "revolutionists" in the trade union movement. In the early days of the Industrial Workers of the World the chief object of attack was the old type of craft unionism which has now practically disappeared. For the past twenty years attention has centered around the "structural form controversy". In this controversy, the chief criticism of craft unionism, has come from those who do not believe the principle of craft autonomy to be the most efficient form of organization and from the revolutionary industrial unionists who attack both the structure and the spirit of craft unionism. The common disadvantages of the craft basis which are stressed are that under such a system jurisdictional disputes are unavoidable, the interests of a large body of semi-skilled and unskilled workers are ignored, that the effectiveness of labour's greatest weapon, the strike is minimized. Also that it is possible when unions are organized on a craft basis for employers to "play off" one group of workers against another and to "break" the power of trade agreements.⁽¹⁾ To the revolutionary industrial unionist the craft

(1) Marian Savage,
Industrial Unionism.
pp. 19-20.

form of organization creates three types which are particularly obnoxious, viz., the "aristocrat" of labor, the "union scab," and the "labor lieutenant."⁽¹⁾ The O.B.U. and other revolutionary organizations have also attacked craft unionism as typified by the A.F. of L. on the additional grounds that it teaches that capital and labour have interests in common.⁽²⁾

From the standpoint of a trade unionists the question is primarily. Can the type of unionism based on a craft hypothesis bring "immediate and tangible" results? It must be admitted first that for some trades craft unionism of the "old type" is the only logical basis of association. It is questionable if such groups as the musicians and barbers could be organized in any other way. The problem of estimating the value of the modern features of craft unionism is more difficult. These features are, in nature, a movement towards consolidation which is "a reflex of a competitive capitalistic industry on the part of the workers"⁽¹⁾ As stated before the principal characteristics are the tendencies towards the formation of amalgamations of related trades. The weakness of the trade amalgamation, according to Theodore Glocker, "has arisen largely from the failure to provide in its form of government for the fact that it is a federation of distinct groups."⁽²⁾ It is likely to neglect the interests of the minority groups which may be the most skilled. Not only does the trade amalgamation increase the difficulty of union management

(1) Solomon Blum,
op.cit. 316

(2) Theodore Glocker,
op.cit. pp. 582.

but it is sometimes exceedingly hard to bring about. Union officials and "the rank and file" are likely to oppose any encroachments on their rights and of course unless they favour amalgamation little can be done. The first important problem which arises in carrying out a programme of amalgamation is how closely related do unions have to be before amalgamation is feasible. Not only must their interest be fairly uniform but for the successful combination of related trades it is essential "that such trades have the same employers."⁽¹⁾ The extent of trade amalgamations is further restricted by the fact that there is a great diversity in the labour groupings employed in different industries and trades throughout the country. This particularly applies to the unions such as the Carpenters or Machinists' whose members are scattered around in many different places. It will thus be seen that for the present at least, consolidation of craft unions is limited to several particular classes of unions and that there is little likelihood of such amalgamations proceeding much further. Realizing this the reformists in the A.F. of L. have advocated under the name of amalgamation a complete reorganization along the following lines. "Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor take the necessary action toward bringing about the required solidarity within the ranks of Organized Labor, and

(1) Theodore Glocker,
op. cit. 557.

that as a first step in this direction the various International Unions be called into conference for the purpose of arranging to amalgamate all the unions in the respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover an industry." ⁽¹⁾ Such a reorganization would simply mean industrial unionism under a different name. It ignores very many important factors. The following opinion is worth quoting. "The result would be splitting up our trades into groups rather than uniting them closer. The evolution of time and efforts for more complete unity will no doubt bring improvements in our present methods, but the present is no time for experiments and visionary schemes, which can only result in a division of our forces, efforts and resources." ⁽²⁾

Many trade union leaders and students of the labour movement believe that the interests of labour will be best served by the federation, where possible, of unions into industrial departments. In such federations the unions retain complete autonomy over internal affairs. The opinion of Solomon Blum is that, "these forms of association seem more appropriate to American conditions and serve much the same purpose that the industrial union serves. They take into account very real differences in crafts, and thus avoid an infinite amount of friction within the unions, while at the same time they provide substantial unification of interests when the

- (1) Minority View Point.
Resolution No. 29.
Rejected by A.F. of L. Convention.
Proceedings 1922 - pp. 264
- (2) Saposs Readings on Trade Unionism.
pp. 247-8.

necessity arises." ⁽¹⁾ The idea of forming sections or departments in which delegates from the different related unions would deal with the joint business was suggested as early as 1888 by the President of the A.F. of L. It was not however, until 1908 that Building Trades Department, the first of the present departments, was throughly organized. The Metal Trades Department which was organized in 1909 was also the outgrowth of many years of tentative efforts at constructing a central body. In 1912 the Mining Department and the Railroad Employees' Department were organized. It should be noted ⁽²⁾ that the first of this is made up of industrial unions. Another federal body of this character is the Allied Printing Trades Councils. The full list of federations operating in Canada are as follows:- Building trades councils,10; printing trades councils,11; railway employees' federations, 18; federations of theatrical employees,3; federations of employees of public authorities,5; miscellaneous,2. The most important of these is Division No.4, Railway Employees' Department which is granted jurisdiction by the Railway Employees' Department of the A.F. of L. over organized shop workers on all Canadian lines. The chief functions ⁽³⁾ of the Division in which of course the various crafts are represented, is the making of wage schedules and the consideration of other matters related to working condition of the various members represented.

(1) Solomon Blum,
Labor Economics, pp.316

(2) A.F. of L. History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book.
pp. 430-432.

(#) Report on Labour Organizations, 1925.
pp. 62-63.

It appears that these departments and federations provide a very valuable and at present indispensable super-structure for craft unionism. Undoubtably they overcome many of the obstacles which modern industrialism has created for organized labour. They present when needed, a united front against capital and they remove many of the causes of internal warfare which have for years weakened the labour movement. Their strongest advocates recognized however that they are not perfect. Structurally they are a bit cumbersome and slow in operation, and have not the compactness of the industrial union. Professor John R. Commons refers to them as "industrial unionism of the upper stratum." This stresses an important feature, that in the departments and federations the unskilled labourers are to a large extent ignored. It may however be said of these quasi - industrial bodies that they are a development consistent with the traditional policy of American unionism.

Industrial unionism may be defined as a form of labour association in which the interests of particular classes of workmen are subordinated to the interests of the whole industrial group. In contrast with craft unionism, industrial unionism is based on the labour groupings which capital has created and is primarily class-conscious. Two distinct types are commonly recognized, the ordinary, i.u. which limits its membership to one particular industry, and the union which attempts to organize industrially all workers. This last for want of a better name, may be called revolutionary industrial unionism and is treated in a separate chapter. The development of ordinary industrial unionism, appears at the present time to be limited to industries in which capital follows the line of production, rather than that of trade or craft. It has developed, for instance in the Brewery industry, but not in the Construction Trades in which capital is sub-divided by the contracting system. In the relation between capital and labour most of the important features of industrial unionism and the distinction between the various types are revealed. There are only two important types functionally. First, there is the union which is industrial in structure only, which does not hope to do away with capitalism but simply to gain as many concessions from it as possible. It would appear at first sight and judging from their policies, that the greater percentage of industrial unions are of this character. But if we may believe union writers themselves, there is a fundamental difference underlying the surface which marks the greater pro-

portion of industrial unionism and distinguishes them in spirit from the ordinary trade union. They are conscious of their desire for a new order and so base their strategy on more fundamental considerations"⁽¹⁾

The ultimate object of such unions is to abolish "capital" and to establish "democratic ownership and control of industry"⁽²⁾ This conception of the purpose of industrial unionism is closely bound up with the idea of labour solidarity and the doctrine of the class struggle, but it is not revolutionary in the sense that the Industrial Workers of the World is. "The first effect then, of industrial unionism is the permeation of Labour with the class spirit. Its second effect is, from our point of view, no less important. It equips the workers with an organization capable in time of supplanting capitalism"⁽³⁾ It is of course, conceivable that a true craft union might be imbued with such theories, but it is doubtful if they could ever be put into practice. In contrast, this socialistic doctrine is, it would appear, the natural outcome of union which embraces all workers in an industry. It is a teaching consistent with the structural organization. In its common form the philosophy is a composition of practical trade unionism and Marxian socialism. The emphasis of the "spirit" of the new unionism, while easily over exaggerated, is nevertheless a vital fact which must be taken into account. Here again among the different schools there is a different teaching.

(1) Budish and Soule, The New Unionism, 1920.
pp. 10

(2) G.D.H.Cole & W. Mellor.
& The Meaning of Industrial Freedom,
(3) p. 18

Among some unions such as The Amalgamated Clothing Workers the "spirit" is decidedly humanitarian, among others, it is no more than predatory unionism. While it is characteristic of industrial unionism to look forward to the day when labour shall control industry, there is no uniform opinion as to how this will be brought about. The United Mine Workers advocate nationalisation, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and other unions in the clothing industry are experimenting with co-operation, the Industrial Workers of the World bank their hope on a universal strike which will overthrow Capitalism. Any classification of industrial unionism is at the present time difficult to make because the movement is very transitional and complex. American authorities of the labour movement and trade unionists themselves do not agree whether the departments of the A.F. of L. and the tendency towards the formation of amalgamated craft unions are steps towards industrial unionism. It will be found in many cases that unions favouring amalgamation are opposed to industrial unionism. An example of this is to be found in the "platform" of the International Association of Machinists.

"7. To adopt and advocate a plan of co-operation with other kindred crafts, with the ultimate object of amalgamating all closely related metal trades, thereby eliminating strikes of one organization at a time and by concerted action making it possible for all to reap the full benefit of their labour. This shall not be construed to favor the theory of industrial unionism."⁽¹⁾

(1) Constitution of International Association of Machinists
pp.1.

In England the development of industrial unionism has been due chiefly to the uniting of craft unions into larger units.⁽¹⁾ There is evidence to show that perhaps this is going to be case in Canada and the United States.⁽²⁾ For this reason, and because the chief purpose of federations and amalgamations seems to be to settle jurisdictional disputes and to co-operate in forcing wage agreements, such organizations have been considered under Chapter 2. In the final stages of development the federation of craft unions and the industrial union might be difficult to distinguish between, from both a structural and a functional standpoint. At the present time this is not so, while the industrial union practices many of the accepted principles of trade unionism, it has yet a indefinable "spirit" which is entirely different from that of the craft federation or the craft union. This fact makes it impossible to reduce the question of industrial versus craft unionism to the limited grounds of a structural controversy. Nor do the "ultimate aims" of the two offer any solution for they seem to be one and the same thing, a meaningless term, "Democracy In Industry" which means "All things to all men".⁽³⁾ For the trade unionist the only question is what is "the most effective way of getting the most."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Marian Savage,
Industrial Unionism. pp.6.

(2) Report on Labour Organizations, 1922.
pp.214-216.

(3) Solomon Blum,
Labor Economics, pp.424-25

(4) Trade Union Educational League Pamphlet.

The arguments for industrial unionism are of two kinds depending on what views one holds of the purpose of unionism. From the point of view of the worker, interested only in bettering his immediate condition, it is claimed that the industrial unionism provides the most effective way of doing this. It provides a united front against capital invested in an industry, further by this method of organization, capital is prevented from playing off one set of workers against another. Jurisdictional disputes are avoided, competition of unskilled labour eliminated and the whole strength of the union concentrated on the business of bargaining. These and other arguments for this form of unionism may be summed up by saying "that it is better adopted for industrial warfare"⁽¹⁾ The other class of argument is based on the assumption that the purpose of trade unionism is not merely protective, the object not merely to maintain or improve conditions of employment. If the object of trade unionism is to bring about "self-government of industry", then clearly the union which is based on product not on process is best suited for this task. Viewed in this way an industrial union is both a trade union and a training school for "the future controllers of industry."

In United States, the growth of capitalism, modern methods of production, and radical labour theories fostered the development of industrial unionism.⁽²⁾ In Canada there

(1) Official Journal
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees.
Jan. 1927 pp.32

(2) Amalgamated Illustrated Almanac, 1923
pp.31.

are two additional causes of some importance; The competition of international organizations has frequently forced Canadian unions to adopt an industrial structure. For example, the competition of the Knights of Labour forced the Provincial Workmen's Association to broaden their policy (1) regarding membership. A somewhat similar case is to be found in the history of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees. A second factor of almost equal importance has been the neglect of some international unions to protect satisfactorily the interests of their Canadian members and to extend their organization in Canada. Reviewing the history of the various important secessional movements from the Internationals, which have occurred in the last twenty years it will be found that the common grounds of complaint are. (1) That the Canadian locals have been paying per capita tax to the Headquarters in excess of benefits received. (2) That the International has neglected to properly organize the trade and advance the interests of the members. (3) That a stronger form of organization is necessary. This appears to be particularly true of the new organizations formed since the War. In connection with these accusations against the Internationals, it must be said in fairness, that there were other causes probably just as important.

(1) Report of Labour Organizations, 1913.
pp. 121.

Petty jealousy, personal ambition, communistic activities have had some influence. The plain statement of these complaints by no means proves the case for national autonomy but it does show another set of factors which have been promoting the development of industrial unionism in Canada.

In analysing the present extent and character of industrial unionism in Canada, reference must first be made to the "official attitude" of the Trades and Labour Congress.

Like the American Federation of Labour the Congress is by its constitution at least, powerless to force any system of reorganization upon an affiliated union. Each affiliate has complete trade autonomy over its internal affairs. If the policies of two organizations conflict, the A.F. of L. not the Trades and Labour Congress does the adjusting. Although the "constitutional position" of the Congress on such a question is commonly recognized in labour circles, in the last fifteen years many attempts have been made to commit this body to a policy of reorganization along industrial lines. It is not evident how this could be brought about by the Trades and Labour Congress. So, while the various resolutions introduced into the Conventions are of some interest it would be misreading the character of Canadian unionism to think them very important. From 1911 on, with the exception of two years, proposals favouring industrial unionism have been introduced into the Congress.

The first of these quoted below is of added interest because it was accepted by a vote of seventy to fifty-two.

"Whereas, craft unions have proved inadequate to successfully combat the present day aggregation of capital; and whereas, the activities of the craft unions are almost entirely absorbed in jurisdictional disputes causing an internal warfare that prevents any continued successfully co-operation among crafts in any given industry. Therefore, be it resolved, that this convention endorse the principle of industrial unionism.⁽¹⁾"

At the 1912 Congress a similar resolution was moved by the delegate representing the Trades and Labour Council, Victoria, B.C. With the consent of the mover the following amendment was adopted which had the effect of "killing" the motion.

"Whereas, the present industrial development calls for a more effective plan of organization among the workers, be it resolved that this convention refer to the Fraternal Delegate of the A.F. of L. the matter of advocating before that body the desirability of the various international trade unions adopting a universal interchangeable membership card enabling any member of their respective organizations to join any other organization without initiation fee"⁽²⁾

(1) Labour Gazette, Oct. 1911
pp 344.

(2) Labour Gazette, Sept. 1912
pp. 582.

In 1913 the resolution committee recommended concurrence to a resolution "endorsing the industrial form of organization" and asking "all affiliated unions to, at once, setting machinery in force to have this completed."

Secretary Draper successfully opposed the recommendation on the grounds that it was outside the jurisdiction of the Congress to interfere with the nature of trade unions as organizations, such matters being left to the International Unions or to the A.F. of L.⁽¹⁾

This seems to be consistent with the policy of the Trades and Labour Congress. It does not however conceal the fact that this body and its officials are simply following the lead of the A.F. of L. in opposing industrial unionism. The many resolutions favouring industrial reorganization introduced into the Convention would indicate that there are a considerable number of trade unionists who are not satisfied with craft unionism. This seems to be particularly true of the western unionists, who have introduced a good proportion of the resolutions. "The reactionary attitude" of the Trades and Labour Congress undoubtedly has lead to much dissatisfaction and in one case to the largest secessional movement which has occurred in the history of the Congress. It can be fairly well proved that the One Big Union owes its origin to the decisiveness with which in 1918 the Congress rejected some fifteen or

(1) Labour Gazette, 1913, October.
pp. 371.

(1)

twenty reorganizational programs of the western delegates. Since the 1918 Convention there is a noticable decline in the agitation for industrial unionism and it seems that for the present the Congress has shelved the problem by passing it on to the A. F. of L.

It would appear from the early history of industrial unions in Canada that some have adopted an industrial form of organization through pure chance, others because it was especially suited to the industry, still others because of socialistic beliefs. The International Unions have of course had a predominating influence on the structural development of Canadian unionism. They have been less influential in determining its character and "spirit" Excluding the revolutionary organizations, industrial unionism is found only in a limited number of industries. It is the one important form of organization in the mining industry and the predominant form in the clothing and textile. Important examples of industrial unionism are to found also in the Railway service, electrical trades and other industries.

(1) Report of the 34th Annual Convention
T. and L.C. of Congress,
pp. 130.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM IN THE MINING INDUSTRY

Conditions peculiar to the mining industry, such as, the isolation of the mines, the relatively high percentage of unskilled or similarly skilled labour, the homogeneity of interests among the workmen and other factors have made the industrial form of unionism especially suitable. Strikes are very common to the industry and unless all the workmen are organized into one union not only is the effectiveness of strikes greatly reduced, but when one grade of workmen strike many others are likely to be thrown out of work.

In Canada there have been five important industrial unions in this industry, The Provincial Workmen's Association, The Western Federation of Miners, The Amalgamated Mine Workers of Nova Scotia, The United Mine Workers and The Mine Workers Union of Canada. Mention has already been made of the P.W.A. and of the Amalgamated Mine Workers of N.S. The W. F. of Miners, now the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, is an international organization which claims jurisdiction over all workmen engaged in or around metal mines. At one time it was quite important and had a Canadian membership of 4,013. The first affiliate, the Rossland B.C. Miners' Union, which was granted a charter in July, 1895, other affiliations took place from time to time and in 1899 District Union No. 6 was organized. In 1906 the W. F. of Miners formed a local among the Cobalt miners of Ontario, other units were formed and by 1913 the union had a Canadian membership of 5,572.⁽¹⁾ Since that date the membership has.

(1) Report on Labour Organizations, 1914.
p. 94.

declined. In 1916 the name of the organization was changed to The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, which in 1925 reported a membership of 750. The most important union among Canadian miners is the United Mine Workers of America, an international union which was organized in 1890. Since this organization is not only the largest industrial union in America but also the strongest affiliate of the A.F. of L. and the third largest union in C. it merits a detailed study. Previous to its formation there had been a number of miners unions formed in the United States. In Canada the K. of L., the P.W.A. and the W.F. of Miners had attempted with various degrees of success to organize the coal miners. According to records available, the first Canadian local of the U.M.W. was organized at Fernie, B.C. in 1902. This local had been formed in 1899 as Gladstone Miners' Union of the Western Federation of Miners. Other locals of the W.F. of Miners also changed their affiliation and in Nov. 1903 District Union No. 18 was formed, with jurisdiction covering the mainland of B.C. and the Province of Alberta. Until 1908 the operations of the U.M.W. in Canada were limited to the territory under the jurisdiction of District No. 18, in that year local No. 469 was established in Springhill, N.S. In the following year a number of locals were formed in the coal fields of Cape Breton and District No. 26 organized with jurisdiction covering the province of Nova Scotia. During 1911 several local branches were established in the coal fields of Vancouver

Island and a new district No. 28.⁽¹⁾ In that year, when the first report of labour organization was made the U.M.W. had a Canadian membership of 12,950 and was the largest union in Canada by some five thousand.⁽²⁾ It has remained since that time one of the most important organizations in Canada and has to-day 36 locals and a membership of⁽³⁾ 12,500.

In structure the organization is a thorough industrial union. The laws governing the membership in local units provide that they shall be composed of ten or more workmen, skilled or unskilled, working in or around the coal mines, coal washers or coke ovens. The jurisdiction of each local covers one mine. Workmen in some fifty occupations, engineers, machinists, blacksmiths, carpenters as well as many other classes besides miners, are thus included in the union. In fact, about the only people excluded are mine managers, top foremen, operators' commissioners, persons engaged in the sale of intoxicating drinks, members of the Civic Federation and of the Boy Scout movement, the I.W.W. or the O.B.U.⁽⁴⁾ The coal fields covered by the U.M.W. are divided into thirty districts of which districts 18, 26 and 28 are in Canada. Each district has its own constitution, officials and convention and representatives on the Executive Board of the Union.

(1) Report of L.O. 1914 - p.80

(2) " " " 1911 - p.89

(3) " " " 1925 - p.215

(4) Constitution - p.7.

The District Units have not however, power to issue chart-
 ers or make regulations which conflict with those of the
 international union.⁽¹⁾ The constitution also provides that
 no district shall engage in a strike without the sanction
 of the International convention or the international ex-
 ecutive.

It is impossible to give here an account of the many
 difficulties and struggles which mark the history of the
 U.M.W. Reference may however, be made to some of the more
 important disputes it has had with craft unions. These
 jurisdictional disputes with few exceptions, occurred first
 in the United States. The settlement of them has, of course,
 applied equally to the Canadian branches. Until 1901 the
 U.M.W. made little attempt to gain jurisdiction over classes
 of workmen other than miners, many of which had their own
 unions.⁽²⁾ In that year President Mitchell began to urge
 the necessity of controlling these workmen. The same year
 the A.F. of L. made its "Autonomy Declaration" and juris-
 diction was granted to the U.M.W. over all workers in the
 industry. For sometime the Mine Workers had trouble with
 the International Association of Stationary Firemen and
 other organizations, including the W.F. or Miners, but they
 eventually succeeded in gaining the recognition of their
 claims. In Canada the U.M.W. has had some very serious

(1) Report on Labour Organizations 1915.
 pp. 48-9

(2) Marian Savage,
 Industrial Unionism.
 p. 87

(3) Report on Labour Organizations, 1914,
 p.105.

struggles with dual organizations such as the P.W.A., the I.W.W., the O.B.U. and the newly formed Mine Workers' Union of Canada.

The U.M.W. has been characterized by one authority as a mixture of radicalism and conservatism. The "preamble" gives no signs of any socialistic tendencies nor does the policy of the union, but it is generally understood that there is a turbulent minority which favors a more "direct policy"⁽¹⁾

(1) British Columbia Federationist,
Dec. 10-1920.

THE MINE WORKERS' UNION OF CANADA

The only other union of importance in the mining industry at the present time is The Mine Workers' Union of Canada which was organized among secessionists from the U.M.W., in District 18. In 1924 the B.C. Miners Association had been formed among the employees of the Crows Nest Pass Coal Company who withdrew from the U.M.W. in order to make a wage agreement with the employers. During April, May and June, 1925, this secessionist movement extended into the Alberta part of the Pass and the majority of the workers had withdrawn from the U.M.W. and formed separate agreements with the employers. In June of that year, a convention was held at Blairmore and a provisional executive installed. At the same time three locals in Lethbridge had seceded from the U.M.W. and formed an organization of their own. Several other organizations grew up among the seceders but they were of little importance. At a convention held in Calgary on the twenty-ninth of September it was decided to form a Canadian union, the Mine Workers' Union of Canada, in which all workmen employed in or around coal or metal mines would be eligible for membership. (1) The organization reported at the end of 1925 a total membership of 6500. (2)

In connection with this secessionist movement the following statement made to the press by R. Livett acting head of District 18, is worth quoting; "There is one point I

(1) Report on Labour Organizations, 1925
P. 182

(2) Report on Labour Organizations,
p. 219.

should like to clear up. The U.M.W. of A. has returned to the mine workers of Canada far more money than has been sent out by the men in dues to union headquarters. So far as funds are concerned District 18 has always been a liability to the international organization. I should say that since 1908 the miners of Canada have received from the international \$3,000,000.00 and I do not believe payments in union fees have exceeded \$500,000.00. A million dollars have been paid out in strike relief and in other ways to District 18 alone."⁽¹⁾

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY

The important labour organizations in the clothing industry are all industrial unions with headquarters in the United States. The Canadian locals which are situated chiefly in Montreal and Toronto, the centers of the industries, are somewhat different in character than the average American Unit.⁽²⁾ These various organizations are as follows:

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, which is an independent organization with a total membership of 119,400⁽³⁾ and a Canadian membership of 5,600.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union which is an affiliate of the American Federation of Labour and the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, and has a total membership of 87,895 and a Canadian membership of 2,205.

The United Garment Workers is also an affiliate of the A.F. of L. and the T. and L. of C. This is the "officially recognized" union with jurisdiction over the same class of

(1) Report on Labour Organizations, 1925
p. 182

(2) Interview with Union Official

(3) Report on Labour Organizations, 1925
pp. 215-17

workers as claimed by the Amalgamate Clothing Workers. Since its formation in 1891 it has been theoretically organized on an industrial basis but the craft element has been emphasized and little attempt made to bring the unskilled into the union. ⁽¹⁾ At the time of the last report it had a total membership of 47,500 and a membership in Canada of 700.

The Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union which has a total membership of 12,300 of which 350 belong to Canadian locals.

The Fur Workers Union and the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. Both these organizations are affiliated with the A.F. of L. and the T. and L. Congress of Canada. The Canadian memberships are respectively 335 and 373.

(1) Marian Savage,
Industrial Unionism.
p.207.

THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers is a particularly interesting union not only because it has succeeded where other organizations have failed and in spite of the opposition of the A.F. of L. but also because it has combined a radical philosophy with a very constructive program. It originated in 1914 from a split between the old and new elements of the United Garment Workers. For several years its chief strength was in Chicago. In 1918-19 it succeeded in organizing practically all the men's clothing industries in the United States. In January, 1915, an amalgamation of the Clothing Workers and the Tailors' Industrial Union was formed but almost immediately broke up. By this agreement the Amalgamated Clothing Workers had 23 Canadian locals in the "Tailor Department" and none in the "Clothing"⁽¹⁾ The following year, two locals were⁽²⁾ organized among the pant and coat makers of Montreal. Considering the difficulties which faced it, the growth of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has been remarkable. Not only was it opposed "tooth and nail" by the U.G.W. and the A.F. of L. but the garment industry was itself especially difficult to organize. The greatest evil in the industry has been for many years the system of subcontracting by which the "manufacturer" did not actually do the manufacturing but handed it out to small producers

(1) Report of Labour Organizations, 1914.
p. 56

(2) Report of Labour Organizations, 1915,
p. 221.

who operated on little capital and were continually "going in and out of business" Sharp competition between these small operators and the seasonal character of the industry combined in making the conditions of the workers very bad. Extremely small wages, long hours, unsanitary conditions, and unemployment were common characteristics of the industry. (1)

The fact must also be added that workers were comparatively unskilled and a great percentage of them of foreign origin. Among this element the U.C.W. had done little organizing, it was according to the Amalgamated Ill. Almanac "more concerned with selling union labels for income than about organizing the workers of the industry." (2)

Although not a thorough industrial union because it does not include all workers in the industry, but principally those actually engaged in making men's and boy's garments, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is nevertheless typical of the New Unionism.

In membership and in representation the Amalgamated is very "democratic" Some thirty-six different nationalities are to be found within its ranks. Periodicals are published in seven different languages. The basis of organization is of course the shop unit with a committee in which the different crafts are represented. Local unions with which the shop units are linked up vary somewhat in their composition, as a rule they are made up of workers in a single craft, frequently they are divided along racial lines. The center of authority for strikes or agreements however rests with the joint board made up of all locals (3) in a certain city or trade unit. The advantage of this

(1) Interview with local Officer.

(2) Report of Labour Organizations 1923, p. 31

(3) Amalgamated Illustrat Almanac, 1923 ed. p. 32

The advantage of this system is that individual crafts and shop units are free to consider their own problems and the joint board to work out the remedy.

The radical philosophy of the Union as set forth in the Preamble, is generally considered to be due to the presence in the union of so many Russian Jews and to the circumstances of the industry which, according to Budish and Soule, "made all conditions so unstable and fluctuating that it seemed impossible for the workers to hope for material improvement without abolishing the capitalistic regime."⁽¹⁾ The Preamble is given here in full because of the manner in which it sets forth the theory of the class struggle and of the irresistible forces making for industrial and inter-industrial unionism. The anomaly which exists between the philosophy and the constructive policy of the amalgamated is a characteristic feature of the New Unionism.

"The economic organization of Labor has been called into existence by the capitalist system of production, under which the division between the ruling class and the ruled class is based upon the ownership of the means of production. The class owning those means is the one that is ruling, the class that possesses nothing but its labor power, which is always on the market as a commodity, is the one that is being ruled.

A constant and unceasing struggle is being waged between these two classes.

In this struggle the economic organization of Labor

(1) The New Unionism,
p. 8.

the union, is a natural weapon of offense and defense in the hands of the working class.

But in order to be efficient, and effectively serve its purpose, the union must in its structure correspond to the prevailing system of the organization of industry.

Modern industrial methods are very rapidly wiping out the old craft demarcations, and the resultant conditions dictate the organization of labor along industrial lines.

This history of the Class Struggle in this country for the past two decades amply testifies to the ineffectiveness of the form, methods and spirit of craft unionism. It also shows how dearly the working class has paid for its failure to keep apace with industrial development.

The working class must accept the principles of Industrial Unionism or it is doomed to impotence.

The same forces that have been making for Industrial Unionism are likewise making for a closer inter-industrial alliance of the working class.

The industrial and inter-industrial organization, built upon the solid rock of clear knowledge and class consciousness, will put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production, and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it."

The rapid development as well as something of the character of the organization is shown in the following extract.

"In 1913 our hands were outstretched for alms. In 1919

we gave from our own treasury One Hundred Thousand Dollars for support of the strike of the Steel Worker against the Steel Trust. In 1920 we raised nearly Two million Dollars to finance our own struggle against the Open Shop onslaught on the Amalgamated. And shall we add, that after a six month's lockout and after the unemployment in 1921 we sent Two Hundred Thousand Dollars for the famine stricken workers and peasants of Soviet Russia?"⁽¹⁾

The growth of the Amalgamated was in part due to labor shortage during the war and to the falling off of immigration and in part to the character and ability of its leaders. When asked to explain the phenomenal success of the organization Schlossberg replied; "It was through our idealism. We had nothing but that to offer the people in the beginning."⁽²⁾

Co-operative production which is to do away with the evils of the industry and bring complete emancipation from the capitalistic system is the ultimate goal held out to the workers. This socialistic ideal has been reinforced by a constructive policy of a broad and comprehensive character. The Union has had great success with its "joint agreements", Amalgamated Banks, Unemployment Insurance and Co-operative buying enterprises and in its endeavours to settle industrial disputes."⁽³⁾

It is noteworthy that while the union insists that there is a class struggle going on it does not endorse the I.W.W.

(1) Amalgamated Illustrated Almanac

(2) The Nation, May 22, 1920
The A.C.W. in Session,
Mary Heaton Vorse.

(3) Solomon Blum,
op. cit. p. 430.

policy of "obstruction" or the "ca canny" of some craft unions. As is declared in the Executive Board Report for 1920, the union recognizes the "double mission of securing for ourselves democracy in industry while keeping the wheels of industry in uninterrupted motion."⁽¹⁾

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION

Unlike the A.C.W. the International Ladies' Garment Workers is affiliated with the A.F. of L. and the T. & L. Congress of Canada and has official jurisdiction over all workers in the ladies' garment industry. In structure and policy it resembles the A.C.W., differing from this organization chiefly in that it lays great emphasis on political action. The union contains a large percentage of social-⁽²⁾ists and is radical in its outlook but not its policy. It advocates as the only way for the workers "to get the full value of their labour" organization along industrial lines into "a class conscious labour union." Since the formation of the union in 1900 the industry has become more specialized and there has been a marked tendency within the last few years to break up the larger locals into trade divisions, and to recognize the divergence of interests between the different crafts. This is a common feature of industrial unionism. It should be noted however that the interest of particular groups are subordinated to the interest of the whole industrial class. The purpose of dividing the locals into trade and shop groups is simply to facilitate the settlement of disputes and the general field management of the union.

(1) Ex. Board Report, 1920
p. 224

(2) Interview with organizer.

At the present time the Canadian membership of the Ladies' Garment Workers is made up entirely of cloak-makers, many of whom are of Jewish and foreign origin.. Although the union is operating under the open shop it practically controls the trade. A forty-four hour week and many other gains have been made by the union and it has done much to better the conditions of the workers in what was for many years, one of the sweated industries. The union policy in Canada reflects many of the unusual features of the industry, its seasonal character, the changing fashions and the "dictatorship of New York cloak designers". In Canadian labour circles the Ladies' Garment Workers are regarded as a decidedly rabid organization, as far as respectable trade unions go. (1) Class consciousness is admittedly a common feature of the membership, but it is a class consciousness without depth and which soon disappears. Most of the foreign born workers who enter the industry are socialists or communists in theory "but they soon become acquainted with the idea of getting on in the world and starting a shop of their own. They stop" saying things about the boss and start saving as much money as they can." (2)

This appears to contradict the statement of one authority on labour that "The average wage-earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage-earner." (3) In the Montreal

(1) Interview with Trade Union Official

(2) " " Business Agent of I.L.G.W.U.

(3) John Mitchell,
Organized Labour,
p. 1.

units of the Cloak~~makers~~ there are no members of more than seven years standing. "Most of them have either got married or started into business for themselves."⁽¹⁾ This prospect of "starting into business" which is in actual fact a comparatively simple thing, has completely changed the workers attitude towards capitalism. Industrial unionism becomes simply a form of business unionism which is now a help and will presently be a nuisance. Thus as a union official admitted in the Canadian ranks of the union "the spirit is lacking."⁽²⁾

The United Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union and the Fur Workers Union are very similar to the International Ladies Garment Workers in structure, policy and philosophy. In the case of the Fur Workers most of the Canadian members are Gentiles and not in sympathy with the socialistic teachings of the union.⁽³⁾ Neither of these organizations have a large enough membership in Canada to necessitate a detailed study. The United Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers which was organized in 1901 has had since its beginning a radical philosophy. Among the objects of the union as set forth in the Preamble to the constitution the final "emancipation of the wage-earners" and "the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth"⁽⁴⁾ are stressed. One other organization

(1) Interview with business agent of I.L.G.W.

(2) *ibid.*

(3) Interview with Union official.

(4) Constitution - p.1.

in the Clothing industry, the Journeymen Tailors' Union was for a time an industrial union. As the Tailors' Industrial Union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers it had in 1913 a Canadian membership of 800.⁽¹⁾ It was later re-admitted to the A.F. of L. on the agreement that it return to its old jurisdiction and the conservative policies of its earlier years. Since 1911 the Canadian membership has declined steadily. Radicals in the union declare that this is due to the narrow craft policy.⁽²⁾ An equally important cause is probably the growth of the ready-made clothing industry which lies outside the jurisdiction of the union.

The effects of industrialization are possibly more noticeable in the clothing trades than in any other. The almost complete removal of "craft barriers" and the notoriously bad working conditions in the industry have encouraged class consciousness and in some cases necessitated organization of industrial unions. At the same time it must be noticed that this type of unionism conforms with the socialistic doctrines common among the workers.

THE BREWERY WORKERS.

In Canada few of the product unions are industrial in structure. Of these the history of the Brewery Workers, now the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers offers the best illustration of the development of a certain type of industrial union. Since

(1) Report on Labour Organizations, 1913,
p. 112

(2) Interview with local officer.

1887 when the industrial form of organization was adopted the union had had a colourful history marked by more internal dissention, "beer boycotts" and more jurisdictional disputes than any other American labour organization and a fight against prohibition in which the union and employers joined forces.⁽¹⁾ The industrial structure of the union has been the great cause of its jurisdictional disputes. Bottlers, coopers, carpenters, engineers, firemen and teamsters which made up a large proportion of the membership, were all claimed by other organizations and in each case the Brewers have had a fight to gain jurisdiction over them. For a brief time because of their unconciliatory spirit and the trouble they were causing the Brewers were expelled from the A.F. of L.⁽²⁾ but later reinstated through the influence of the United Mine Workers. It is noteworthy that the efforts of the A.F. of L. and the craft unions to establish the principal of trade autonomy in the industry failed completely. The socialistic character of the leaders and members and the conditions peculiar to the the brewery business made the industrial form of association more desirable.⁽³⁾ Skilled and unskilled alike recognized its superiority. In a referendum vote held in 1910, sixty-two engineers elected to withdraw from the Brewery Workers while one-thousand and ninety-two voted against withdrawal.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Solomon Blum,
Jurisdictional Disputes in American Trade Unions.
p. 422.

(2) Marian Savage.
Industrial Unionism - p. 68.

(3) Schlueter,
The Brewing Industry and the Brewery Workers
Movement, p. 135.

(4) Blum.
op. cit. p. 424.

The United Brewery Workers has for many years been a strong advocate of socialistic doctrine and has according to Mr. Schlueter in his history prided itself on the fact that "the proletarian virtue of solidarity has been exercised by the U.B.W. in a far higher degree than by any other organization."⁽¹⁾ The preamble of the constitution lays great emphasis on the class struggle and the need of joining the economic and political labour movements in order to emancipate the workers. In structure and policy the union has conformed closely to the changes through which the industries have gone. At the present time the wide jurisdiction of the organization has made its problems particularly acute. In 1917 the U.B.W. was granted jurisdiction over malt, yeast, vinegar, alcohol, wine, cider, cereal beverage and mineral workers and in the following year over cereal, flour and grain elevator workers. Despite this the membership has declined. In Canada the union has roughly one third of the enrollment that it had in 1914. This is made up almost entirely of Brewery and Soft Drink Workers. Even of these the numbers organized are few in proportion to the total employed in the industry.

(1) Schlueter,
op.cit. p.249.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

The unions already considered in this chapter were with the exception of some in the mining industry, international unions with headquarters in the United States. Besides there are a number of Canadian organizations which are in various degrees, industrial unions. Numerous small independent organizations such as, The Workmen's Association of Longueuil; The Piano Action and Key Workers', Toronto, Water Works Operators and Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Canada exist throughout the Dominion. This last union is the only one which is industrial in both structure and spirit. There are besides several organizations such as the Brotherhood of Dominion Express Employees, which are in part industrial unions. This Brotherhood has an enrollment of over 1500, but it cannot be classed as a thorough industrial union because membership in it is limited to employees of the Dominion Express Company.⁽¹⁾ The Canadian Electrical Trades Union which had at the time of the last report a membership of 1473 is also in part an industrial union. This organization developed from a Toronto local which broke away from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in 1920. The reasons given for the secession are: That the per capita tax was excessive in comparison to the benefits received; that a closer form of organization was necessary in the industry and that the

(1) Constitution, Brotherhood of Dominion Express Employees,
p.7.

International had been lax in its efforts to organize the
(1)

trade. Since its formation the union has extended its territory and now has ten local unions in affiliation. The objects of the union are: To organize all workers in the electrical industry; by mutual assistance to place members in a position where they can resist any encroachments on the rights and privileges of the trade; to establish an apprentice system and higher standard of skill; to encourage the formation of schools of instruction for the teaching the practical application of electricity; to settle all disputes and grievances between employers and employees by arbitration or otherwise; to promote friendly relations with all electrical workers of the world and by legal and proper means to elevate the moral, intellectual and social
(2)

conditionsof the members. The union which has been since 1921 an affiliate of the Canadian Federation of Labour, is a very good example of a small National industrial union.

THE CANADIAN BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD EMPLOYEES

The largest industrial union in Canada is the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees which was organized at Moncton, N.S. in 1908 by the station, shop and shed employees
(3)
of the Old Intercolonial Railway. In the following year when it was registered under the Trades Union Aact as an international organization, fourteen local divisions were

(1) Report on Labour Organizations, 1925
p. 44.

(2) ditto.

(3) "Seventeen Years of Service"
Official Convention Number, 1925
Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees Monthly
pp. 12-19

in operation, and the membership had been increased from 397 to almost a thousand. At the second annual meeting efforts were made to expand the Brotherhood beyond the line of the old Intercolonial. Divisions were established among the employees of the Grand Trunk and the C.P.R. at Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto. From that time on the growth of the union in membership and divisions has been almost continuously. In 1913 the Brotherhood became involved in the largest strike in its history which began over the refusal of the C.P.R. to recognize the union. Despite the fact that the Conciliation Board upheld the claims of the employees the union suffered a heavy loss and has never since established itself on this road. The loss in membership among the C.P.R. employees was however made up by a substantial gain on the Intercolonial and Grand Trunk lines, so that the total membership remained at the same level. During the first year of the war in common with other labour organizations the Canadian Brotherhood did not attempt to extend its activities but adopted a policy of entrenchment. Notwithstanding this fact membership continued to increase and in 1915 the Intercolonial Railway made determined but unsuccessful efforts to "uproot" it on the government-owned lines. (1) In the negotiations the union not only gained a further recognition but a new rate schedule was arranged

(1) WOfficial Convention Number, 1925"
op.cit p.14.

allowing substantial increases in pay. This wage schedule applied equally to the new Transcontinental Government Railway and had the effect of strengthening the position of the Brotherhood especially in the West. At the meeting of the Grand Division held in Port Arthur, 1918, important changes were made in the constitution, Head Office changed from Halifax to Ottawa and the union became in every sense a nation-wide organization.

In the previous year the Canadian Brotherhood had been affiliated with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, according to the Executive Committee's report in 1921, "conditionally and, with the distinct understanding that the chartering of the said C.B. of R.E. was in no way to interfere with the jurisdiction or membership of the bona-fide international organizations chartered by the A.F. of (1) L and recognized by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada." The Executive Council further declared that they had expected that "the affiliation would result in the consolidation of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees with the international organization covering the same class of workers." but that in proposing the terms of amalgamation the Canadian Brotherhood had adopted "an attitude of ir- (2) reconcilability." The membership of the Canadian Brotherhood conflicted particularly with that of the International

(1) Proceedings of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. pp. 164.

(2) Proceedings of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention pp. 164-166.

Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees. Despite the repeated efforts of the Executive Council of the Trades and Labor Congress to bring about an amicable understanding it finally became evident that this was impossible and the President of the Canadian Brotherhood was notified that the charter would be cancelled on Sept. 1st, 1920. A feature of the controversy was that the Brotherhood immediately applied for and got an injunction from the Supreme Court of Ontario restraining the Executive Council from cancelling the charter on the grounds that they had no power under the constitution, "as at present constituted"⁽¹⁾ Nothing further was done until at the 1921 Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress a resolution was passed revoking the charter of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees "on the grounds that there is a bonafide international organization affiliated to this congress, covering this class of workers;- that a continuance of the affiliation of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees with the T. & L. Congress of C. would be a recognition of a dual organization which policy the Congress emphatically declared against at its annual convention in the City of Berlin, Ont. 1922."⁽²⁾

(1) Proceedings op cit
pp. 170-171.

(2) Proceedings op cit.
p. 170.

The effect of this on the C. B. was, to quote from a rather inaccurate report which the official journal gives "that the C.B.R.E. was able to extend its strength in the few centers formerly included in the international body, and was left free to expand the number of classifications of railway employees eligible for membership."⁽¹⁾ As may be seen from table #1 the membership for that year shows a slight degress. At the present time membership in the union is open to "All male or female persons of 16 years of age of good moral character, who are railroad employees, or who are employed by the Brotherhood." In actual fact the principal strength of the organization is limited to the C.N.R. and to the T & N.O. Railways, the union being particularly strong among the shop, station and clerical departments.⁽²⁾

In the constitution an elaborate system of organization has been laid down which is very carefully worded in order to allow for the expansion of the Brotherhood.⁽³⁾ As it stands to-day the union is not "completely rounded out", some important classes of railroad employees are not to be found in its ranks because they preferred to remain in the railroad brotherhoods. Thus in actual fact, the Canadian Brotherhood is not yet an industrial union. The structural arrangement of the organization is one which conforms closely to the labour groupings in the

(1) Official Convention Number, 1925.
C.B.R. Employees, p.16

(2) Interview with Union official.

(3) " " " "

industry. Much of the union's success in wage negotiations has been due to this fact, which makes it possible for the divisional company managers and the union officials to deal with the disagreements regarding a local division. The basic unit of the organization is the local shop or departmental unit, in which the employees in a closely related trade are grouped together. Where several groups of the same class of workers occur throughout a city, different divisions are made.⁽¹⁾ Employees are thus organized by their trade and by the place where they work. These "subordinate divisions" are granted charters from headquarters outlining their jurisdiction. Where two or more of them exist a district council may be formed "to co-ordinate" their efforts. The head of the organization is the Grand Division and the Grand Executive Board which has control over the affairs of the Brotherhood between conventions. This body has "exclusive jurisdiction" over all affairs pertaining to the Brotherhood,⁽²⁾ subject only to a referendum vote or the convention. This centralization of power is also noticeable in the duties of the president on whom evolves the serious task of levying strike assessments and determining what strike benefits shall be paid. He also has the sole authority to interpret the constitution.

(1) Constitution - p.7

(2) Constitution - p.31

An important feature of the Canadian Brotherhood is the system of dealing with grievances. By the constitution the formation of departmental, local, general and system grievance committees is provided for. In operation, when an employee feels that he has been unjustly treated he presents his grievance in writing to the departmental grievance committee - if they fail to settle the matter it is referred to the local committee and if they fail to adjust, the grievance is passed to the general committee.⁽¹⁾ The greater part of the grievances are over "the seniority rule" which the union insists upon "because they've never been able to find anything better."⁽²⁾ It must be pointed out that this system of grievance committees is adopted to deal with the railway management. In a local division in which members are employed in different railroad or express systems separate committees are formed. The General Committees are also organized on this same plan there being three general committees on the C.N.R. corresponding to the managements division of the territory, Atlantic, Central, and Western, and one each on the C.N.R. Express and the T. & N.O. Railway.

By a very careful and conservative system of wage negotiation carried out in something of the manner of the

(1) Constitution of C.B. of R.E.
p.11

(2) Interview with union official.

English Trade unions, the union has had a material effect on wages. It has been the general policy to attempt to negotiate the wage contracts on the basis of the 208 hour month.⁽¹⁾ The advantages of a monthly rate are obvious. Under this system the employee is not laid off for short periods and he is paid for seven legal holidays and a two weeks vacation. Within the last few years the Brotherhood has been successful in negotiating wage schedules and working agreements covering practically all classes of members. Considering the number of different classes of employees concerned in these agreements this is quite an achievement. While in general the union has attempted to make wages and working conditions of the different trades fairly uniform throughout the Dominion, it has been found more effective to negotiate the schedules by divisions and consequently there is considerable diversity in wages of the same classes of members in different units. An interesting feature of the wage schedules is that they make provisions for advancement. A member finds his promotions fixed ahead of him, and within certain limits, assured by the "seniority rule."

(1) Interview with union official.

Since its early years the Brotherhood has been very insistent on the principle of complete "national autonomy" and has consistently advocated this in its pamphlets and in the official journal. "We recognize the world-wide aspect of labor problems and the importance of the international solidarity of the working-class, but we do not subscribe to a doctrine of internationalism such as that of the American Federation of Labor Unions, which permits the workers in one country to dictate the policy of the workers of another country in the conduct of their national affairs. Our policy is, therefore, international affiliation of national unions such as pertains in our affiliation with the International Transport-workers' Federation."⁽¹⁾ Its attitude on this question made inevitable the breach with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada in 1921.⁽²⁾ Since then the Brotherhood has remained unaffiliated with any organization except the International Transport Workers. At the present time negotiations are being carried on by the Brotherhood, The Canadian Federation of Labour, The Electrical Communication Workers, Canadian Pacific Express Employees, The Mine Workers of Canada and the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, to form an All-Canadian Congress of Labour.⁽³⁾ Among the questions which have been considered by the provisional committee are those involving the Nationalization of Key Industries; Old Age Pensions; Unemployment Provisions to

(1) Official Pamphlet.

(2) Convention Number, 1925. p.16

(3) Official Journal, Dec. 1926. p.42.

be born by the "Political State." All of which the Canadian Brotherhood have at various times advocated.

In contrast with the "legitimate trade unions" such as the affiliates of the T. and L. Congress, the Canadian Brotherhood is class-conscious, in a degree somewhat different from that of either the Amal. Clothing Workers or the I. W. W. The Preamble of the constitution lays some emphasis on the class struggle and the preparation of workers for their emancipation, but as explained by officials of the union, this was adopted simply as a compromise between two different views and does not reflect exactly the feelings of the members on this subject.⁽¹⁾ The broad features of the union's policy indicate that this is true. It has for some years advocated the nationalization of the railways and has opposed the handing over of natural resources to individuals. On the other hand the membership has never evinced much interest in the co-operative movement or labour's efforts to gain control of industry. In common with the T. & L. Congress, the C.B. has supported the Labour Party, favoured a change in the British North American Act and the abolishment of the Senate. But its practical policy has throughout been its chief concern.⁽²⁾

(1) Interview with Union Official.

(2) op cit.

At the present time the Brotherhood is the chief advocate among the unions of the industrial unionism in the Dominion and the chief critic of the principle of craft autonomy and international unionism upheld by the T. & L. Congress. The propaganda issued by the union and articles published in the Official C.R.E. Monthly, are in nature, but attacks on the international unions and arguments for industrial organization and national autonomy. The general argument is briefly; on industrial unionism that craft unionism has outgrown its usefulness, and that modern machine process has subdivided crafts until they no longer form an efficient basis of association to combat the growing power of capital.

Not only, it is claimed, does craft unionism neglect the greater body of labourers but it separates the interests of different classes of workers and thus offers no protection "against betrayal of one class of workers by another."⁽¹⁾ Finally craft unionism has no higher object than protecting the working standard of the skilled worker, its interest in the broad issues of labour has been no more than a short-lived "pious inspiration."⁽²⁾ On the other hand industrial unionism "does not refuse recognition to the craft element" but it subordinates it to the inter-

(1) Official Pamphlet.

(2) Railroad Employees' Monthly, Feb. 1927
p. 271.

ests of the industrial group. It implies "the growth of democracy in the workshop, the elimination and final obliteration of the class distinctions between the skilled and so-called common labour which though not skilled in the craft sense has a kind of skill of its own."⁽¹⁾

It is labour's inevitable answer to the challenge of capital to develop a form of association capable of "counteraction the new oligarchies" and the results of modern industrialization. "The industrial union is thus pregnant with a new promise to humanity; it implies constant effort to unite all workers- men and women - in an ever widening confederation of labour, with national goals harmonizing with international aims."⁽²⁾

(1) C.R.E. Monthly- Feb.1927; pp.270-271.

(2) C.R.E. Monthly- Nov.1926.

REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

The determination of whether or no a labour organization may be called revolutionary, must depend alike on its philosophy and its practice. As has been stated in Chapter Three, many unions are according to their preambles, "revolutionary". They hope eventually "to gain control of industry." This is the ultimate aim of "the New Unionism" and other industrial unions such as The United Mine Workers^I. The difference between these types and the true revolutionary union, lies in the doctrine and teaching regarding the manner in which the emancipation of the working class is to be brought about.

The New Unionism hopes to take over peacefully, the control of industry. On the other hand real revolutionary unionism wages an intermittent war against capitalism which it hopes eventually to overthrow by means of a general strike. The philosophy of such organizations which is a mixture of Marxian Socialism and Syndicalism is quite distinct from that of ordinary trade unionism. In structural form, the revolutionary industrial union differs from organizations like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in that, it does not limit itself to one industry but endeavours "unionize all workers industrially."² Such unionism is based primarily on class consciousness and its philosophy, on the doctrine of the class struggle.

(1) - Budish and Soule,
The New Unionism (New York, 1920) pp. 8-10.

(2) - Industrial Workers of the World, Pamphlet.

(3) - Marion Savage,
Industrial Unionism
pp. 143-44.

The Industrial Workers of the World.

At the present time there are only two important revolutionary industrial unions in Canada, the Industrial Workers of the World and the One Big Union. The Trade Union Educational League which is dealt with in this chapter, is not in any sense a trade union, but is important for its activity in spreading revolutionary teaching.

The Industrial Workers of the World was formed in Chicago in 1905 but of a number of socialistic labour organizations. (1) The initial policy formulated by Wm.D.Haywood, Eugene V.Debs and Daniel de Leon, was to go down "into the gutter to get at the mass of the workers and bring them up to a decent plane of living." (2) Once the unskilled workers were organized it was expected that the skilled or "the aristocracy of labour" would have to come into the movement. A continual war was to be waged against capitalism in order to "undermine" it in preparation for the general strike which would bring its complete overthrow and the abolition of the wage system. At the 1906 Convention the question of political action divided the ranks into two camps and lead finally to the withdrawal of de Leon and his followers. (3) The remainder adopted a policy of "direct action" which has drawn attacks on the organization from every quarter.

(1) - Brissenden, The I.W.W., pp 70-71.

(2) - Brissenden op.cit. p.70.

(3) - Report on Labour Organizations 1925, p 175.

In Canada while it has caused some disturbance, the I.W.W. has never been very important. The chief interest in it, is in the proposals it has made for the organization of an inter-industrial union, or what is sometimes called a "federation of industrial unions". By 1915 all the Canadian branches of the I.W.W. had "officially" disappeared, there remained however some signs of their activities and in 1918 the organization was declared unlawful by the Dominion Government. ⁽¹⁾ The ban was later removed but it was several years before any attempts at re-organization were successful. At the close of 1925 there were in Canada six branches ⁽²⁾ with a total estimated membership of ten thousand.

The I.W.W. is frankly revolutionary. In the preamble which was adopted at the Chicago convention of 1908 and which has been reaffirmed ever since, the doctrine of the class struggle is laid down with uncompromising militancy. The historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism, is declared. This is to be done by an organization "formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all." ⁽¹⁾ The philosophy expressed in

(1) - Constitution of the I.W.W. p.1.

this preamble shows the influence of Karl Marx in its emphasis of the class struggle and the inevitable overthrow of capitalism ,but it puts its hope not on the ballot but on "direct action". On account of the revolutionary character of the I.W.W., several attempts have been made by the Communists to secure its affiliation with The Red International Labour Unions. For this purpose a Red International Affiliation Committee was organized in 1924 which proposed a program of action within the I.W.W. designed to strengthen that organization and develop a better understanding between it and other revolutionary bodies. (1) In a statement published in 1924 the duty of communists within trade unions on this continent was defined as follows:" A communist who belongs to the American Federation of Labour should seize every opportunity to voice his hostility to this organization, not to reform it, but to destroy it. The I.W.W. must be upheld as against the A.F. of L. At the same time the work of communist education must be carried on within the I.W.W." (2) It can not be said that as yet these efforts have had much effect. At the 1925 convention the delegates reaffirmed the stand taken in 1922, that the I.W.W. would not send a representative to either The International Workmen's Association or to The Red International. (3) While the revolutionary doctrine of the

(1) - Report on Labour Organizations 1925 p. 24.

(2) - Report on Labour Organizations 1924 p. 168.

(3) - Report on Labour Organizations 1925 p. 177.

organization has drawn sympathy from some quarters the general effect has been to create a strong opposition from "organized labour" and from the public. Since its beginning the I.W.W. has been opposed to the A.F. of L., mainly because this body is organized on craft lines, has assumed that there is an identity of interests between employer and employees and has denounced (1) the necessity of united political action.

The tactics of the I.W.W. like those of any labour organization are determined largely by the character of the membership and the conditions confronting them. With the I.W.W., "Direct Action" takes the form of intermittent strikes and sabotage. The doctrinaires declare that this is a guerilla warfare being waged against capitalism, to undermine it in preparation for the general strike which will bring its complete overthrow. These tactics, while conforming with the philosophy of the organization are the only ones possible. The membership is made up principally of unskilled workers who have either the funds or sufficient control over the labour market to enforce a strike of any great duration. The aim is to temporarily paralyze the industry. If the strike fails the "Wobblies" immediately return to work (2) and strike again within a short time. For this reason trade agreements with employers were for many years prohibited. The constitution on this point has since been modified, but the general attitude remains unchanged. In their own words "they make no truce with

(1) - Brissenden op.cit. p.84.

(2) - Marion Savage op. cit. p. 151.

capitalism." Much has been said of the organizations's practice of sabotage or "obstruction of production". The opinion of such authorities as Dr.Brissenden and Robert Bruere is that this has been greatly over emphasized.⁽¹⁾ For some years following 1913 the doctrine of sabotage was preached openly in the official pamphlets, since 1920 however the organization has stopped such teachings in its literature anyway.⁽²⁾ Within the last few years an interesting change has been taking place in the I.W.W. It is perhaps, losing something of its old militant character and is turning "from its course of revolutionary industrial unionism into some spiritless industrial pacifism."⁽³⁾ Should such a change take place there are many constructive possibilities within the organization which may be realized. At the present time, despite the high ideals of fraternity and workers' emancipation which it holds the I.W.W. has not been effectual as an industrial weaponed or as a trade union.

The general structure of the I.W.W. is of interest because it provides a broad program for the organization of a federation of industrial unions, in which each union has complete industrial autonomy. A plan for the formation of six departments, agriculture, Mining, Construction, Manufacturers and general production, and of transportation and public service, was adopted some seven years ago, but has not yet been

(1) Robert Bruere ,article in Harper's Magazine July 1918.
pp.250-257.

(2) Savage op.cit. p.151.

(3) Industrial Unionist Vol.1. No.7.

put into operation. At the present time there are within the organization, twenty-nine industrial unions, most of them with a very "mixed" membership. The constitution provides that the individual unions may be subdivided into 1. Shop or job sections; 2. Language Sections; 3. Department sections, in large industries operated by departments; 4. District sections.⁽¹⁾ The six Canadian branches are of a very composite character and most of them are classed as "general recruiting unions".

(1) St. John, The I.W.W., its History, Structure & Methods
p.34.

THE ONE BIG UNION

The name " One Big Union" was for many years used as a slogan by the I.W.W. In 1919 it was adopted as the name of a Canadian organization with radical tendencies, which grew out of the Western Labour Conference held in Calgary, in March of that year. Like the I.W.W., the O.B.U. is an inter-industrial organization which aims at uniting all workers on a platform of radical class consciousness. There are however, important points of difference between the two unions, as will be noted later.

At the Quebec convention of the T. and L. Congress held in 1919, a number of the western delegates passed a decision to recommend that the labour bodies of the four western provinces hold a conference previous to the next Convention of the T. and L. Congress. The dissatisfaction of the Western delegates was due chiefly to the defeat of a strenuous effort they had made to have the following referendum issued to all "crafts". "Are you in favour of re-organizing the workers in Canada into a modern and scientific organization, that of organization in industries instead of crafts?"⁽¹⁾ It was stated that the proposal to hold a western conference was not designed as a secessionist movement but simply to allow the western membership to formulate a progressive policy.⁽²⁾ In March 1919 following the Convention of the British Columbia Federation of Labour held in Calgary, the conference met.

(1) Report of the 34th. Convention of the T. and L. Congress. p. 130.

(2) Report on Labour Organizations 1918 p. 65.

It was evident from the first that many of the delegates did not agree with the principles and policy of the Trades and Labour Congress. The early resolutions give evidence of a decided radical tendency, a desire to break away from the international unions and to form industrial unions "so that by virtue of their industrial strength, the workers may be better prepared to enforce any demand they consider essential." A substitute resolution offered by the Resolution Committee, favouring reorganization along industrial lines and denouncing the "innocuity of labour leaders lobbying parliament for palliatives which do not palliate" was passed. ^(I) This was followed by a resolution from the B.C.F. of Labour that the convention recommend its affiliated membership to sever their affiliation with their international organizations and "that steps be taken to form an industrial organization of all workers". A resolution was also passed endorsing the system of industrial Soviet control which declared that the principal "of proletarian dictatorship" was the most "efficient for the transformation of capitalist private property to communal wealth." It was decided by the conference to submit the question of forming a national industrial organization, to a referendum vote of the entire Canadian trade union membership. ⁽²⁾ Later when calling the June Convention, the central committee declared that "the returns of the referendum on industrial organization so far received, indicate that this proposal has been carried throughout the four western provinces by an overwhelming majority." ⁽³⁾ At this

conference held also in Calgary a constitution and policy were adopted of which the main features are as follows.

The general philosophy, as set forth in the preamble stresses the inevitability of the class struggle. "Modern society" it declares "is divided into two classes, those who possess and do not produce and those who produce and do not possess. Between these two classes a continual struggle takes place. Further, as the control of the 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 educate themselves in preparation for the social change which economic developments will produce whether they seek it or not."^(I)

"The O.B.U. therefore, seeks to organize the wage workers according to class and class need; 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 profits shall be replaced by production for use."

(I) Constitution of O.B.U. Preamble, p.I.

In structure ,the O.B.U. is "both a geographical and an industrial organization".The preliminary groupings are industrial but the chief emphasis is upon the territorial divisions in order to give "the highest degree of industrial organization plus location." The advantages of the industrial organization is obvious in the case of railroad employees, of the "territorial phase " in the case of street railway employees. Another argument claimed by the O.B.U. leaders for the territorial organization is that workers are more likely to change their occupation in order to get a job than to change their location. ⁽¹⁾ This may be true of certain classes of workmen . It is certainly evident that for a union committed to a policy of sympathetic strikes ,territorial organizations is essential.

By the constitution, membership is open to all "wage workers",provisions are made for their organization into mixed local units in the small centers and in the cities, into separate industrial units,if so desired. To co-ordinate the activities of the local units,district divisions may be formed,called central labor councils.It is from these chiefly that representation to Conventions and to Headquarters is made. ⁽²⁾

The insistence of the union officials on the geographical representation caused the secession of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union in 1920.⁽³⁾ This organization which

(1) Official Pamphlet No.5.

(2) Constitution p. 3-4.

(3) Report on Labour Organizations. 1920 p.32-33.

claimed a membership of twenty thousand, was the most important body within the O.B.U. The Lumber Workers' admitted the necessity of a territorial organization but maintained that there should also be a basis of industrial representation. ⁽¹⁾ Their delegates to the Convention refused to abolish the union headquarters and recommended to their membership the withdrawal of the L.W.I. Union from the O.B.U. until it accepted "the principals of industrial unionism as defined by them."

It is a matter of opinion whether or not the O.B.U. is an industrial union. The constitution provides ample scope for the development of subordinate industrial unions and the publicity committee has actively encouraged the formation of these. But it would appear that the "constructive policy" of the O.B.U. does not appeal to a very broad class of Canadian workers. Because of this, the union is a "hodge-podge, somewhat like the Knights of Labour, neither craft nor industrial structure." ⁽²⁾ There is evidence to show that the union would subordinate industrial interests in order to encourage class solidarity. Class consciousness is one of the most characteristic features of the organization. The doctrine of the class struggle is stamped on practically all the union's activities and its propaganda. True its philosophy is somewhat less incendiary than that

(1) Report on Labour Organizations 1920 pp. 32-34.

(2) Industrial Union News, Oct. 9th. 1920.

of the I.W.W. It does not preach bloodshed, riot, anarchy or sabotage, " but it does contend that only by a change in the present basis of distribution of wealth can rebellion be avoided." It claims among other things that "Labour produces all wealth" and "that the worker should receive the full product of his toil. (I) In the opinion of some critics of the O.B.U. it has over-emphasized the "Class element" and lost sight of the real purpose of industrial unionism which is to organise and educate workers for the taking over of industry. The O.B.U. looks forward to the day when "production for profits shall be replaced by production for use." It prophesize that this "social change" (2) will come about through economic developments whether the workers seek it or not. But it fails to realize sufficiently that production is carried on by industries not by localities.

No other labour organization except the K. of L., has had such a spectacular rise and fall as the O.B.U. Definitely launched in June of 1919 it had by August a membership of 8,600. By the close of the year the Secretary reported 8 central labour councils, 2 district boards, a 101 local units and a combined membership of 41,150. (3)

(1) O.B.U. Bulletin No.1 .

(2) Preamble .

(3) Report on Labour Organizations 1919 p. 31.

Twenty-seven international local branches had withdrawn from their parent organizations and affiliated with the O.B.U. In all there were secessionist movements in some fifteen international unions and a number of Trades and Labour Councils became supporters of the new organization. The campaign inaugurated was particularly successful in the west, in the province of Ontario not much progress was made, except in Fort William and Port Arthur. (1) From the first the O.B.U. was attacked from every quarter, by the state, the employing class, "orthodox" labour and even by radical labour organizations. It may be said in turn that the O.B.U. attacked practically every one of these and has continued to do so. There is some evidence to show that before the Government discovered that the O.B.U. was a "bogey" it attempted to blame the union in part, for the Winnipeg strike and that it regarded the organization as an off-shoot of Soviet Russia. The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada in co-operation with the internationals made determined and in the end successful efforts to check its growth. (2) At the Hamilton Convention of 1919 the declaration was made that since 1914 the trade union movement had been subject of attacks from many quarters but that it remained for a section of

(1) Report on Labour Organizations 1919 p. 30.

(2) Report on Labour Organizations 1919 p. 32.

organized workers themselves to do what governments and employers had failed to do. "The nearest approach to disaster came when ten thousand workers were swept off their feet by alluring promises of the advocates of the O.B.U. " The futility of the O.B.U. methods should have been apparent from the beginning "founded as it was on force and intolerance, preaching class hatred and gambling their whole future on the success of sympathetic and national strikes. (1) By an amendment to the constitution, power was given to the Executive Council "by a majority vote of its members to suspend or revoke the charter of any Provincial Federation of Labour, Trades and Labour Council or Federal Union where the officers have encouraged or advocated secession from international unions." (2) In May 1920 further steps were taken to combat the O.B.U. It soon became evident in trade union circles that the organization was on the decline. At second convention held in Port Arthur as before mentioned, the Lumber Workers withdrew from the Union, other symptoms of internal strife appeared. By the end of the year the membership had declined greatly. (The government estimate based on representation at the convention was 5000, this is probably too small). (3) For the next four years the membership continued to fall off and in 1925 the Union Secretary reported a combined membership of 17,856. (4)

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| (1) | Report on Labour Organizations | 1919 | p. 33. |
| (2) | op. cit. | 1919 | p. 34. |
| (3) | op. cit. | 1920 | p. 37. |
| (4) | op. cit. | 1925 | p.217. |

With the reports published and available it is impossible to say just how remarkable the growth of the O.B.U. in its early years was. It appears that perhaps neither the Government nor the official union reports are entirely accurate. The membership of 41,150 and the 20,000 membership of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union is exceedingly difficult to account for. Accepting the figures as we find them they show a surprisingly rapid growth and a decline almost as rapid. Undoubtedly the attacks made on the O.B.U. had the effect of limiting the membership and using up the energy of the organization, in defensive tactics. Other reasons existed. The organization does not appear to have been sufficiently well established, there were many slips in the constitution and inconsistency in the philosophy which were bound to cause internal trouble. Also, whether it was due to the liking of the officials or to necessity, it appears that too much attention was paid to propaganda and verbal conflicts with rival unions. The O.B.U. fought and still fights more different enemies than any other labour organization in Canada. Lastly it is in no way evident that the labouring class in the country were ready for the message the O.B.U. had to give them. It echoed a clarion call of class consciousness which was unanswered by the great majority of workers. Had it been answered it is doubtful if the O.B.U. policy contained enough constructive features to permanently hold a large membership.

The Trade Union Educational League.

At the present time the chief advocates in Canada of revolutionary industrial unionism, are the various bodies connected with the Third (Communists) International. These are the Communists Party of Canada, its adjunct the Young Communists Party and the Trade Unions Educational League which is the official representative in America of the Red International of Labour Unions. It is not necessary to mention here the activities of the first two bodies . While their influence cannot be ignored they co-operate closely with the T.U.E.L. and it is chiefly through this organization that their programme is carried out. The T.U.E.L. is not in any sense a trade union, the affiliation of trade unions is expressly prohibited. The purpose of the body is purely educational, to carry on an "intensified campaign of educational work within the trade unions to the end that the natural development of these bodies to even more clear-sighted, cohesive, militant and powerful organizations may be facilitated, and thus the labour movement hastened on to the accomplishment of its great task of working class emancipation. (I) In practice this means "boring within" advocating revolutionary industrial unionism and preaching the economics of communism. The League consists of fourteen national industrial educational sections made up of "militant workers from all the recognized trade unions in their respective spheres." The operations of the League are limited to four territorial districts, of which one is Canadian and is divided into two sections, Nova Scotia to Fort William and Fort William west. (2)

(I) Report on Labour Organizations 1925. p. 149.
 (2) " " " " 1925. p. 149.

The activities of the Trade Union Educational League, its propaganda and policy of "boring within" has created a great deal of factional strife in the labour world. But in the opinions of some authorities it is starting a movement which may have "far-reaching results." (I) Drastic efforts have been made to check these "red activities" and a voluminous near-literature written on the subject. Whether this has all been to no purpose is a matter of controversy which time alone can answer. Undoubtedly the teachings of the League and the "philosophy" and deductions of Mr. Foster, its leading member, contain many enlightening features. Foster's analysis of trade unionism and the probable course of its evolution, is based on the undisputable fact that "trade unions always act upon the policy of taking all they can get from their exploiters, they are as insatiable as the veriest so-called revolutionary unions. In the measure that their strength increases, so do their demands. Permanently satisfied trade unions under capitalism would be the eighth wonder of the world, outrivalling in interest the famous hanging gardens of Babylon. It is purest assumption to state that the trade unions would balk at ending the wages system." (2) With this view of the spirit of unionism he interprets the whole labour movement as under going a process of evolution towards greater cohesion and strength which will be accompanied by ever

(I) Savage op. cit. p. 60.

(2) William Z. Foster, The Great Steel Strike, p.257.B.W. Huebsch, 1920

broadening demands. The evolution he predicts is from the stage of isolated craft unionism to that of a federation of crafts; from a federation to an amalgamation of crafts "from an amalgamation of all crafts in one industry to a federation of different industries, such as the Triple Alliance in England; and finally from a federation of different industries to an actual amalgamation of all groups of workers into one great organization of the working class. (I) Consistent with this view Mr. Foster has for years urged the radicals to stay within the A.F. of L. and recreate it instead of attempting to organize new bodies on a revolutionary basis. The Trade Union Educational League does not directly advocate industrial unionism although that is the ultimate object. It aims in general, " to broaden, deepen, clarify and speed up the natural evolution now taking place." (2)

It would be useless here to attempt to discuss the importance and influence of the Trade Union Educational League because it is impossible for an "outsider" or indeed anyone, to find out just what effect the extensive propaganda of this body has had. The agitation for the amalgamation of a number of trade unions into industrial groups, which appears to have reached a climax in 1922-1923, was believed by many of the opponents of this scheme to be due to the "machinations of agents of the Trade union Educational League." (3)

(I) Marion Savage Industrial Unionism p. 58.

(2) " " " " p. 59.

(3) Report on Labour Organizations 1925. p. 25.

On the other hand, many of the proponents of this movement are careful to denounce any connection with the League, mainly because of its Communistic leanings. This indeed appears to be one of the strongest objections to "Fosterism."

CONCLUSIONS.

The controversy over industrial and craft unionism would not be of wide interest if it were simply a question of which is the most efficient or which is going to be the predominant form of organization. But since trade unionism is one of the great evolutionary forces in modern society and since it has already helped to modify man's conception of many things such as the "rights of property", the value of free competition, and has given a new meaning to the phrase "democratic individualism", its future is of importance.

In discussing the probable structural and functional developments in Canadian unionism, radicalism and revolutionary unionism, may, in the opinion of the writer be ignored. The chief importance of the radicals seems to be that their denunciations and criticisms have stirred trade unionism on to wards better efforts. The "doctrine" of revolutionary unionism is simply a medley of unassimilated economic and social theory. Based as it is on militant class consciousness it appears out of place in a country as democratic as Canada. Revolutionary thought does not seem to be indigenous but to have been introduced by foreign born radicals. Its growth in Canada has been due to poor wages, bad working conditions, lack of proper factory laws, neglect of employers to obey the existing legislation and lastly to the partial failure of trade unionism to remedy these evils. Briefly, radicalism

is the storm bird of the labour world which appears only in times of distress. It has not even the partial successes of trade unionism to recommend it to the Canadian worker.

Trade unionism then, seems to be Labour's only hope. Its achievements while incomplete and not far reaching enough are nevertheless, real and undeniable. Its failures due in part to the incurable fact that it is a human movement destined to be imperfect and in part to the almost insurmountable obstacles which have confronted it. Of these none presents more complexing problems than that of adjusting the cumbersome machinery of unionism to meet changing conditions, for in contrast with capitalism, organized labour is slow in motion and does not readily adopt itself to new demands.

It must be admitted first, in considering the validity of the claims of the proponents of industrial and craft unionism, that neither is universally "the natural form of organization" and that each type is especially suitable for different classes of workers. From a trade unionist's point of view each has disadvantages. The pure craft union, while it may operate with internal friction, is weak as a bargaining force. It is more expensive and wasteful in operation because of travelling expenses of convention delegates and useless duplication of agents and field work. It ignores the interests of the unskilled. And finally, if "the historic mission of the working class" is "to do away with capitalism", craft unionism is ill-suited for the task because it divides the ranks of labour and prevents the building up of a workers' or-

ganization capable of carrying on production. The industrial union while more economical and powerful, lacks the unity of interests which characterizes the craft union. It ignores partially the interests of the skilled worker who have not as much to gain from the industrial form of organization as the unskilled. Not only are the skilled men likely to find themselves out voted in such an organization but their union travelling card is of little use to them. An additional disadvantage of the industrial union is that it appears to be limited to industries which are not divided into stages operated by different capitalistic interests.

The amalgamated trade union and the federation of craft unions, which may be said to be based on a craft hypothesis and on the principle of trade autonomy, respectively, have both weaknesses. The amalgamated trade union has many of the disadvantages of the craft union, also like the industrial union it is limited to certain trades and in it the interests of minority groups are likely to be neglected. Its advantages are that it is less expensive than the individual craft union and that it is capable of offering a more powerful front to employers. In contrast with the industrial union, the trade federation is different in structure, policy and in "ultimate aims". In it, craft interests and trade autonomy come first, whereas in the industrial union the interests of single labour groups are subordinated to the interests of the whole industrial groups.

From a social standpoint the industrial unionism is undoubtedly superior to craft unionism in three respects. Its theory of the class consciousness correctly understood, is idealism of a broad humanitarian type and is certainly preferable to the selfish trade consciousness of craft unionism. While denouncing the class struggle and declaring simply that the interests of capital and labour are not harmonious, craft unionism really adopts a more hostile attitude towards capital than the modern industrial union such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Craft unionism hopes to gain industrial democracy by the practice of "restriction of output" and "conscious withdrawal of efficiency." In contrast with this the New Unionism accepts with employers part of the responsibility of increasing production and reducing inefficiency. Further, craft unionism through jurisdictional disputes etc., frequently checks production. By its nature it is primarily interested in forcing concessions from employers whereas the interests of the industrial union are very obviously bound up with the success of the industry. Industrial unionism also accepts the difficult task of trying to organize the unskilled, for this reason some authorities have been inclined to favour it in preference to the exclusiveness of the craft union. It has not yet however, proved its superiority as an agent for bettering the conditions of the working classes.

More might be said of the pros and cons of the question, but it is evident that Organized Labour in choosing between these two principles of organization and the two distinct views which seem to be inherent with each, will be influenced by other factors. Theoretical discussions are not without their value, for Labour is perhaps more thinking than political democracy, yet in the end these issues must be settled by the mob vote of the rank and file. Here the influence of union leadership, of union editorial writers and of the conservatism and prejudice of the ordinary member is revealed. The very debatable advantages which might be gained by industrial reorganization in some trades are not yet positive enough to satisfy the union voter, nor the union official who has perhaps much to lose by the change.

The only possible and logical course is then "to move slowly", to adopt the existing machinery of unionism to meet the new requirements placed on it with as little departure as possible from the proven principles of unionism. This appears to be essentially what the majority of trade unions in Canada are doing. It is probable that the Canadian national unions will, where it is possible, develop into industrial unions, because for a small organization operating in a country which is so completely divided up into separate economic provinces and rural and industrial districts, the

industrial form of organization appears to be the cheapest and most efficient. On the other hand there is every indication that the international unions will continue their policy of development along the lines indicated by the A.F. of L. Autonomy Declaration of 1901. This may be concluded from the fact that in the past fourteen years no resolutions favouring the reorganization of labour along industrial lines, have been successfully introduced into the Conventions of the Trades and Labour Congress or of the American Federation of Labor, while during this time a number of successful amalgamations have been negotiated. Further, several schemes such as the "Minnesota plan" which provides for the amalgamation of related railroad unions and for the formation of a departmentalized organization, have met with some success.

It appears then, that unionism in searching for some method of representing industrial labour groups still finds the interests of similarly skilled workers to be the best general basis of organization. Modern conditions have proved that the world of labour has many common aims, but neither these or the closer ties which bind together industrial groups are sufficiently strong to overshadow the craft element. The hope of industrial democracy or of a co-operative producers' commonwealth may lead labour to substitute some broader principle for that of craft unionism. Failing this, the predominant type of unionism in the

future will doubtlessly be one which takes into account the trade, the industrial and perhaps the territorial interests. Structurally it may be either a compromise between craft and industrial unionism or a dual organization in which the individual craftsman holds cards in both craft and industrial unions. Such a system of unionism having eliminated many of the causes of internal strife and the obstacles to efficient administration should have an authoritative voice in the control of industry.

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19-22-23-24-25

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1907 September.
1921 November and December.

(b) Official Union Publications.

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(Industrial unions)

Amalgamated Clothing Workers'
Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees
United Mine Workers'
International Ladies' Garment Workers

(Craft unions)

International Typographical Union.
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers

(Amalgamated Craft Unions)

International Association of Machinists
Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners
Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

(Unclassified)

Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.
Brotherhood of Maintenance - of-way Employees.

(Revolutionary Organizations)

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One Big Union.

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