THE LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS' STRIKE ON THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY IN 1876-1877

by

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FOREWARD

This study of the Grand Trunk strike is based primarily upon material found in the Canadian newspapers, the Monthly Journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and public records. The author would like to express her gratitude to those persons who helped to make much of this information available.

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Introduction

In the midst of swirling snow and bitter temperatures, Grand Trunk locomotive engineers and firemen struck work on December 29, 1876. Hundreds of men were involved as this four-day Canadian strike marked the beginning of one of the greatest years of labor unrest in North American history. From the evening of December 29, 1876, to the morning of January 3, 1877, the Grand Trunk men refused to work and tried to persuade others not to take their places. To insure success, they enlisted and received support from the Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,[1] an international labor union numbering most of the strikers among its members.

The strike covered the Canadian line of the Grand Trunk Railway from Island Pond, Vermont, to Detroit, Michigan. It created a furor in the Canadian press. Government officials and public bodies commented on the affair. Three months after the strike the Dominion Parliament passed a Breaches of Contract Act. Because it was the first important general strike since Confederation and was attended with some violence, the Grand Trunk incident

raised the perennial problem of federal as opposed to provincial responsibility for quelling local disturbances within the nation.[2]

The strike was an important landmark in the history of the Canadian labor movement. It illustrated both the weakness and strength of organized labor in the late 1870s. Occurring at the height of depression, the strike was a reflection of the power of the Brotherhood. It presented an opportunity for an expression of public opinion which was increasingly disposed to sympathy for the workingman. The strike also illuminated organized labor's vulnerability. Many influential Canadian citizens; leaders of industry, government and the press, used the event of a group of men stopping public transportation to express hostility toward the labor movement. It may also claim a place in social history as an example of human reaction to an unsettled economic society. The ten year period culminating in the strike had been composed of exaggerated periods of economic boom and bust.

Footnotes

[1] P.M. Arthur's history of the Brotherhood in McNeill's The Labor Movement gives this version of the organization's title. The official history published in the locomotive engineers' Journal in 1941 refers to the organization as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers including a Grand International Division. The constitution of 1875 is titled, Constitution and By-Laws of the Grand International Division of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

[2] During a strike of laborers working on the Lachine Canal in 1843, troops were called out and stationed along the works. This action resulted in a dispute betw een civil and military authorities over the use of troops for a civil purpose. H.C. Pentland, "The Lachine Strike of 1843", Canadian Historical Review (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), vol. XXIX, p. 255.

Chapter 1 The Setting for the Strike: Canada in the 1870s

Section 1 Canadian Society in the 1870s

During the decade after Confederation, Canadians were living in what one historian describes as the "horse and buggy age".[1] The average Canadian was "simple, parochial, limited, but healthy, contented, marked by a wisdom close to the soil".[2] The gradual exodus from countryside to city which occurred throughout the remainder of the century was in its infancy. Pioneer customs and conditions were vivid memories for many Canadians inhabiting the eastern Great Lakes region. Sons and grandsons of the early settlers had become established in a comfortable rural existance which dominated Canadian civilization.

> This rural and native British North American culture took the other ingredients of life as they came along and incorporated them. A case in point is associated with the railroad. Here was the major technical novelty of the period, perhaps of any period. No other mechanical invention ever was received with such universal respect, admiration and glamour as was the iron horse. It rapidly became almost as much a friend to man as had the real horse before.[3]

Canadians, however, were not immune to outside influences. The American Civil War and economic conditions in the United States received close scrutiny. A glance at

the Canadian press during the late 1870s will show that European and American social and economic conditions received ample coverage. The death of Commodore Vanderbilt at the end of the Grand Trunk strike was noted on the front page of several Canadian newspapers and received editorial comment as well. In addition to maintaining an interest in European and American affairs, Canadians were forced to begin to think nationally. The British North America Act opened a new era in Canadian social and economic development. Inhabitants of the provinces began to extend their activities westward. Dominion leaders realized that the fate of the nation depended upon economic unity. They initiated expansionist policies which bound Canadians together in a firm if unhappy alliance.

> During the years 1867-79, the three basic national economic policies were adopted. By settlement of the Northwest, transcontinental transportation through all-Canadian territory and industrialization by protective tariffs, the Federal Government planned to bring about economic expansion and complete the unification of the country. [4]

Because of world economic conditions and the depression of 1873, these federal expansionist policies failed to bring prosperity in the late 1870s. The people were burdened with debt. As a result they did not acquire a strong federal loyalty. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick wanted to leave the

union. Racial and religious differences agitated by the western insurrection in 1870 drew Ontario and Quebec apart. Even the western territories were annoyed with federal railway and land policies. Canadians gave their allegiance to local communities and provincial governments rather than to the Dominion.[5]

The communities to which Canadians gave their allegiance ranged from industrial and commercial centers like Toronto and Montreal to rural towns and villages. During the Grand Trunk strike four Ontario communities received attention in the press. Sarnia, Stratford, Belleville and Brockville were typical towns of the period. The population of each of them was under ten thousand. Their inhabitants were mostly of Irish, Scottish and English descent. Each was the center of a farming community. According to the census of 1871, agriculture was the predominent occupation of townsmen. Industrial work was a close second.[6] The numbers of commercial and professional people were usually limited to a few hundred each. Commenting on the culture of the Ontario countryside in the period after Confederation, professor A.R.M. Lower states:

> The country-side had become not only clean but with exceptions, godfearing and law-abiding...Disorder in town and village rapidly came down into one of

> two forms, either local rowdiness interspersed with the occasional but not frequent crime of violence, or the scrimmages conducted by the rank and file of the Orange lodges.[7]

Sarnia, with a population of 3,500, was the terminus of the Great Western Railway. The Grand Trunk station was located in the village of Point Edward, two miles away. Point Edward--population 1,000--was the home of many Grand Trunk employees, especially conductors.[8] Because of its central position, Stratford was a railway center and the home of the Grand Trunk shops since 1871. With a population of 4,500, it was an important market for farm products from the surrounding county of Perth. Its citizens kept alive the Shakespearean tradition by naming municipal wards after Shakespearean characters. Over 6,000 people lived in Belleville, "a pleasant country town and lake port".[9] It's industry included two woolen factories, three grist mills, four foundries and several saw mills employing about two hundred men. Two Grand Trunk shops in the city employed over one hundred men.[10] The "glare and bustle of Front Street"[11] was a direct contrast to the residential section of shaded streets containing "domestic sanctuaries of wealth and fashion."[12] Brockville, located on the St. Lawrence River at the foot of the Lake of a Thousand Islands, was "one of the

pleasantest villages in the Province".[13] A contemporary guide book states:

> the houses are built with considerable taste, and joined with the terrace-like formation of land, it has an appearance of elegance and ease not often met with in Canada.[14]

Named after General Brock, the town was a junction of the Grand Trunk and Ottawa Railways. It had a population of 6,500.

Toronto in the 1870s was described by one historian as "the rising western star".[15] Its population in 1871 was 56,000. Ten years later the city had added thirty thousand inhabitants. During this period Toronto was a progressive city with a stream of traffic from Union Station to the wharf.

> The pleasant estates along the bay shore were rapidly being destroyed as the railroads turned that area into the mixture of steel, smoke, industry and slum that most people think of as 'progress.' In their place, new streets were being opened up farther in, complete with new mansions, new brick and iron-work fences and new trees.[16]

During this period Toronto was noted for its many churches and its English atmosphere. Apparently the comment, "how English is Toronto", was a common one from visiting Americans.[17]

Montreal was more different from Toronto than it is today. Over half of its inhabitants were of French descent.[18] The French influence was predominent, although industrial and commercial leaders of the city were mostly Scottish.[19] Commercially, Montreal was becoming the leading city in Canada.[20] The newly completed Victoria Bridge added to the attractions of Montreal as a seaport and commercial metropolis. Montreal was more of a city of contrasts than other Canadian communities. Indians and peasants, in addition to prosperous merchants and professional men could be seen on her streets. The residential sections were both humble and proud.

> Here are frame houses, some of them scarcely better than an Irishman's hovel on his native bog, and ignorance and squalour and dirt; close at hand are great streets of great houses, all of fine-cut stone.[21]

Commercial metropolis though it might be, Montreal could not escape its agricultural surroundings. The majority of the island was covered with farms,and the "habitants" were a familiar sight in the city as they collected to sell farm produce. Their presence added to the distinctive atmosphere of Montreal.

> Here are antique barges with hay, from the surrounding country, which is being unloaded into carts primitive enough for the days and the land of Evangeline. Instead of the rush of an American city, there is an

> air of repose and human enjoyment. The very coasters and carters pause in their work, to exchange gossip and cherry jokes.[22]

Outlying districts of the city were already settled in the 1870s. One of the most important of these areas was the village of Point St. Charles. This was the residential section for many employees of the Grand Trunk Railway because the company had its shops and station in this area. The Point had its own church and school house. Another cultural center in the area was the Grand Trunk Company library and reading room which was open to employees. A glance at Lovell's Montreal Directory for 1877-1878 gives some idea of the living conditions of the Grand Trunk residents in Point St. Charles. Many locomotive engineers and firemen resided on Wellington, Congregation, Millin, Richmond and Grand Trunk streets near the railway tracks and station. At least thirty-seven Grand Trunk employees lived on Grand Trunk Street. Twenty-seven were listed as residing on Congregation. Most of the engineers and firemen were listed as living with one or more other families at the same house number. In some instances two men with the same surname were listed at one residence. This was the case with George Fell, engineer, and Henry Fell, fireman, listed at 93 Congregation. There were at least ten engineers listed at separate residences.

One listing was John Cardell at 580 Wellington.[23] Most of the names were English or Irish. They included Chris Leary, Thomas Pringle, Samuel Hall, Michel Flynn and William Miller.

During the 1870s a majority of the employed population of both Toronto and Montreal were members of the industrial class.[24] Toronto had 300 railway employees. Montreal had 160.[25] Almost 8,000 citizens in Montreal and 4,000 in Toronto were members of the commercial class. Only a few thousand in each city were in the professional class. The most important members of Canadian society, however, were the clergymen, lawyers and other professional men. Businessmen were not the community leaders they were later to become.[26] Family tradition was important in Canadian cities and towns. Most Canadians were instilled with a sense of duty, self sacrifice and a firm religious faith. The rowdyism of frontier days had disappeared. Canadian towns and cities were marked with a

> dignity and gravity...when every respectable citizen walked to church on Sunday morning in plug hat and cut-away coat, followed by his numerous family, and decorously returned to eat his Sunday dinner of roast beef.[27]

Section 2 Canadian Economy in the 1870s

Probably the most unstable facet of this "horse and buggy" society was its economy. From Confederation to 1880, Canadians witnessed a rapid business cycle of expansion, depression and recovery. Confederation seemed to usher in a new era of economic prosperity for Canada. World market conditions were favorable to Canadian trade. The nation's exports increased from $58 million in 1868 to a total of $89 million in 1874. During the sa me period imports rose from $73 million to $128 million. Exports to Great Britain doubled. Exports to the United States increased by almost one-third. Dominion revenues were high. Immigration was heavy. From 1867 to 1873 the Dominion government asserted strong leadership in economic development. It attempted to combine railway construction and land settlement which had been so successful in the United States. These policies, however, expanded the Dominion debt which grew from $93 million to $141 million.

Accustomed to prosperous economic conditions since Confederation, Canadians were ill prepared for the six years of severe depression which enveloped North America and Europe from 1873 to 1879. The depression,

which began with the collapse of overspeculation in the United States in 1873, spread rapidly through Europe and then to Canada.

> A persistent decline in prices, a sharp shrinkage in international lending and a low level of investment caused general economic stagnation. The Canadian economy, strongly affected by these influences, virtually stood still, although there were many internal shifts and changes.[28]

Canadian shipping suffered loss in the foreign carrying trade. The lumber industry was depressed as eastern United States' markets fell. Between 1873-1879 exports of forest products fell by one-half.[29]

The worst decline in Canadian prosperity occurred between 1876-1879.[30] Beginning in 1875, commercial failures increased sharply. During the four-year period to 1879, paid-up capital of the banks fell by more than $6.5 million. Bank loans and circulation contracted. By the autumn of 1879, market conditions began to improve. Increased immigration and resumption of large-scale investment in railway construction showed that the economy was on an upswing.[31] The Canadian decline was "very largely a traders' depression".[32] A time of forced economies and vanished profits, the depression brought commercial rather than industrial failures. Dry goods and general merchants, hardware

dealers, lumber merchants and grocers were particularly hard hit. There was little financial panic or widespread shutting down of mill and factory.[33] Wages were reduced, however, and unemployment increased.

By the winter of 1876-1877 the Canadian economy was in its worst period of the depression. Mining and fishing were not very profitable. Trade was dull, and neither grain nor lumber, the great staple exports, were profitable. The United States decreased its purchase of Canadian lumber. The autumn harvest of wheat failed, and the spring wheat crop had yielded a poor average.[34] As far as the principal imported goods (dry goods, hardware, groceries) were concerned, the United States was obtaining command of Canadian markets. Sugar refining had been destroyed in Canada. Tea for Canadian consumption was being imported through New York City. The only business carried on actively was building. Land was the only commodity which steadily maintained its value. Long discussions in Parliament over tariff protection had begun.

Some Canadians kept looking for a break in the gloom. Although predicting a slow recovery, the Montreal Daily Witness stated, "the year opens certainly with better prospects than the last."[36] The Toronto Mail was doubtful, however, as it admitted a decrease of failures

in 1876, but stressed the fact that in previous years there had been enough failures to weed out houses not doing a paying business.

Effects of depression shifted down to the workingman. On December 2, 1876, the Montreal Daily Witness reported that employers were getting together to try to reduce wages of employees generally. On December 9, 1876, a Montreal stonecutter filed suit against a trade union because he claimed they were pricing him out of the business by asking him to demand too high wages. On December 11, 1876, the Montreal Road Committee decided to reduce wages to carters to $1.50 a day and to laborers to $.80 a day. By December 27, 1876, many Montreal mechanics were out of work as a result of the closing of several city workshops and the dismissals by the Grand Trunk.[37] A correspondent to the Montreal Daily Witness on December 19, 1876, stated that wage reductions had lately taken place in many Canadian cities including Sorel where ship carpenters and others were reduced from $1.00 a day to $.86. He wrote that some Montrealers who were employed by canal contractors at $.60 a day were working only half time and had about $12.00 per month in wages. People were in rags, unable to go to church or shcool, he added. This letter to the editor ended with an appeal to workingmen to

unite under the law and demand higher wages, not only for their own betterment but to put more money into circulation.[38]

Over 3,000 families in Montreal had their water turned off by December for refusal or inability to pay water rates. This was the largest number ever deprived of water. About $80,000 was due from the 1875 w ater tax, and one estimate stated only tw enty-five percent could be collected. Montrealers were getting water from neighbors, the river, or snow banks. The Board of Outdoor Relief for the Protestant House of Refuge in Montreal had 270 applicants on the morning of December 21, 1876. Each family was given two pounds of flour, two pounds of oatmeal, three ounces of tea, three-quarters of a pound of sugar, two loaves of bread, one-third pound of soap, and sometimes one-quarter cord of wood.[39] In Toronto, the House of Industry gave to the needy four hundred tons of coal, 12,894 loaves of bread, groceries and distributed 170 gallons of soup between December 15, 1876 and February 24, 1877. Its casual lodgers averaged fifty a night in addition to regular inmates. The Shelter for the Homeless reported averaging 168 men a night during the three weeks preceding February 24, 1877.[40]

The plight of the workingman did not go entirely unnoticed. On December 12, 1876, the Board of Works of the

Toronto City Council asked for funds to provide work for the many destitute men in the city. Approving of the move, the Toronto Mail called for public welfare.

> The winter seems to be setting in with unexampled severity, and when one reflects that while the weather was still warm, and before out of door work was suspended,men who professed to be able and willing to work were begging their bread from door to door, one shudders tothink of what a hard winter may bring forth...Surely in such a charitable community all that is needed is concerted action and the exercise of common sense to avert what threatens to be a calamity and a disgrace to the city. At the last meeting of the Board of Works it was decided to ask Council for an appropriation with which to buy stone to be broken by unemployed labourers during the winter, but while this was undoubtedly a step in the right direction it is far from being adequate to meet the necessities of the case...To meet the requirements of the city poor this winter there should be established, with as little delay as possible, public soup kitchens, lodging rooms, and stores for fuel and cast-off clothing, and these should be under the control of honest and efficient people who could devote their whole time to their management...A large amount of relief will be necessary to prevent wide-spread misery among the poor of this city during the present season, and the sooner our citizens become fully awake to the fact the better.[41]

Section 3 The Grand Trunk Railway During the Depression

The winter of 1876-1877 was one of the worst in railway financial history. At the mercy of depressed economic conditions, railway management complicated their difficulties by running a rate war.[42] The war between the great east-west lines affected the Grand Trunk from 1875 to 1877. It resulted from an effort on the part of lines such as the New York Central, Grand Trunk and Great Western to gain a majority of east-w est through traffic. By offering low rates to through shippers, the lines hoped to undercut each other. They were so successful that by late 1876 through traffic was running at a loss on all lines. Rates dropped to one-third or one-quarter of their former figure. In addition to losing revenue, the Grand Trunk incurred the ire of local shippers. Montrealers were particularly vociferous.

The Montreal Evening Star and the Montreal Daily Witness expressed editorial concern over the through rate policy. On December 29, 1875, the Star wrote:

> The great reduction of freight rates between the Western States and the sea-board will benefit some interests and injure other interests...The lines connected with New York suggest that the war has been originated by the Grand Trunk and its Boston connection undertaking to carry freight over a greater

> distance for less money than was charged by the New York Central and other roads on their much shorter routes...Owing to its greater length the Grand Trunk will be the heaviest loser, and should never have ventured upon a race so unwise and utterly vain. In winter it cannot expect to compete with the American lines. In summer it cannot compete with both the American lines and the navigation...Would it not be an act of wisdom to pay more attention to the cultivation of a local trade than to battling against shorter and richer American lines and the entire Government of Canada for the through traffic between the Western and Eastern states.

By December, 1876, the Montreal Daily Witness charged that the Grand Trunk had caused Montreal merchants to lose business and was discriminating against Montreal with high freight rates. The Witness stated that the Grand Trunk was charging $105.80 for freight of a carload of property "double-billed"[43] from Chicago to Portland via Montreal and only $46.50 for the same carload on a through rate.[44] The Witness also charged that the Grand Trunk was granting lower harbor dues to western importers than to Montreal importers under an agreement with the Montreal Harbor Board giving concessions to Grand Trunk customers.[45] Calling for a competing Canadian railway, the Witness wrote:

> It (The Grand Trunk) systematically frames its tariffs to destroy the trade of the city which gives it its largest and most profitable business... probably because...one or two subordinate officials in this country, having no direct interest in the road, control its tariff policy, and do not frame it in the true interests of the road...Carrying stuff

> for less than running expenses from competing points, and diverting business from places where the railway was sure of what there was by prohibitory rates, and also prohibitory delays in serving these points, while the costly through business was being attended to,--this has been and is the policy of the Grand Trunk,...The only way for Montreal is to get competing lines.[46]

The loss to the Grand Trunk in 1876 was at least 500,000 pounds ($2,415,000),[47] and the total loss to all companies not less than 5,000,000 pounds ($2,415,000).[48] At the April, 1877, stockholders meeting Grand Trunk President, Sir H.W. Tyler commented:

> We have suffered, perhaps, ten times as much from competition as from depression...the war of rates, reducing the earnings of transportation to starvation point, cut, as it were, the ground from under our feet. Other subsidary causes, such as the deficient harvest of 1876 in Canada, and the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, operated further to our disadvantage, and the latter doubly so, by depriving us of traffic we should otherwise have received, and by enabling other Companies, who reaped important benefits from it, the better to bear the low rates at which they carried their traffic...

Despite these losses, the Grand Trunk and other railways managed to show a profit. In 1876 the Grand Trunk had a profit of 9,779 pounds ($47,232). American railways gave as much as eight percent in dividends to stock holders.[49]

Commenting in April, 1877, on the Grand Trunk's economic position for the previous year, Tyler stated:

> The more we study the conditions of the half-year, and its effects upon some of our neighbours, the more

> we must be surprised that this company, which had never previously been prosperous, has been able to pass through such times, and to bear so unprecedented a strain, with so little injury.[50]

Total receipts were about 900,000 pounds ($4,347,000). Approximately five-eights of this was from freight trains. Although the quantity of freight carried was 58,000 tons more than the year before, the company received 118,288 pounds ($98,179) less for freight. Local freight business was down 86,000 pounds ($415,380). The remaining three-eighths revenue was from passenger trains, and this, too, was lower than 1875. Although traffic increased by 59,256 passengers, earnings per passenger per mile decreased 50,000 pounds ($241,500). Tyler attributed this loss to competition and the extension of excursion fares in the summer at new low rates.

Decreased profits were partly offset by decreased running expenses. Between the two years the company had a decrease in expenditure of 12.43 percent against a decrease of 12.69 percent in receipts. In the locomotive department expenditures dropped 4,462 pounds ($21,551), mostly saved in the cost of fuel as the price of coal declined.[51] Some money was saved in maintenance and repairs in spite of additional train mileage of 4.7 percent and car mileage of 7.4 percent. The rate of expense per train-mile declined,

and the cost per car mile of locomotive expenses was the lowest in the history of the railway. The percentage of shunting and other mileage not earning revenue was kept at the level of the previous year.[52] Although Tyler stated that the company did not spend enough on permanent way and engine-stock during 1876 because of the poor economic conditions, he hastened to add:

> Economy has not been sacrificed to efficiency or to safety, and we are assured that the road and the rolling-stock was never in better working condition than at the present time...[53]

According to A.W. Currie, the Grand Trunk Railway went through a period of erratic progress from 1875 to 1882. In addition to the depression and rate war, the company was plagued with internal difficulties. From 1872 to 1874 the gauge on the entire line from Sarnia to Portland had to be narrowed at great expense.[54] Top management changed hands. Both Canadians and English stockholders criticised the company's administration. On several occasions British shareholders demanded independent inquiries into the company's affairs. Passes were abused, passenger fares often were not collected. A favored few were given the bulk of Grand Trunk business. Operating expenses were high.

In April, 1874, C.J. Brydges resigned as general manager of the Grand Trunk Railway.[55] He was succeeded by Joseph Hickson. An Englishman, born in Northumberland in 1830, Hickson had worked on English railways before joining the Grand Trunk staff. He was appointed chief accountant in 1854 and held the position of secretary before becoming general manager. At the time of his appointment Hickson was familiar with local conditions and popular with the Canadian public.[56] Under his management from 1874 to 1891, the railway slowly improved its financial position.[57] As general manager, Hickson received a salary of 5,000 pounds (about $24,000) per year. He resigned because of ill health at the end of 1890. Created a knight bachelor in 1890, Sir Joseph Hickson was married to Catherine Dow of Montreal.

In September, 1876, Grand Trunk president Richard Potter complained that Hickson was taking too much authority into his own hands. He also accused Hickson of acting as an agent for the bankers Baring and Glyn.[58] Potter wished to visit Canada to check on company affairs.[59] Hickson was insulted and threatened to resign if Potter came to Canada. In October, 1876, at a Board of Directors meeting in England, Potter moved that he be empowered to visit Canada with full authority to settle the organization.

No one seconded his motion. He resigned immediately. Potter was succeeded by Henry Whatley Tyler.

A former critic of Grand Trunk management,[60] Tyler was chief inspector of railways in Britain and vice-president of the Grand Trunk before he replaced Potter. A captain in the Royal Engineers, he had been educated at Woolwich. While president of the Grand Trunk from 1876 to 1882, he wrote a number of technical articles on railways. He was Conservative member of Parliament for twelve years, chairman of the Westinghouse Brake Company (of England), and member of the Council of Foreign Bondholders with particular attention to Peru. Tyler was knighted after he became president of the Grand Trunk Railway.[61]

Section 4 The Canadian Labor Movement in the 1870s

Businessmen were not the only ones to feel the effects of the depression. Canadian employees faced unemployment and declining wages. Their labor organizations, built largely during the 1860s were usually powerless. Trade union members found many of their advances in the late 1860s melting away. During the period of prosperity before 1873, Canadian employees had taken advantage of full employment to develop demands for increased wages, shorter working hours, employee benefits. Much of this had been done through the growing labor organizations. According to one historian, the basis of modern Canadian trade unionism was laid in the 1860s.[62]

Undoubtedly, trade union ideas of British, European and American immigrants added influence to the Canadian movement. Large numbers of young people from the United Kingdom immigrated to Canada in the 1850s. During the American Civil War, many young Americans came to Canada to avoid conscription. Many Canadians who had previously sought greener pastures in the United States returned.[63] Immigration remained high in the early 1870s. In 1873 over 50,000 people immigrated to Canada, the

largest since the Irish exodus, compared with 25,633 in 1876.[64] Depression in the United States in 1873 sent some workingmen north.[65] Although the total number of laborers arriving declined from 12,248 in 1870 to 4,259 in 1874, the number of mechanics rose from 1,717 in 1870 to 7,662 in 1873.[66]

In the United States following the Civil War, trade unionism was taking on a national character as many craft locals combined into nation-wide organizations. These organizations bore the stamps of modern unionism, concerned with practicalities not ideals. The American unions were interested in hours of labor and wages. They organized funds for strike benefits, rules for apprenticeship, closed shops, union employment offices, initiation fees and dues. They excluded employers, politicians and intellectual friends of labor such as Goldwin Smith. As a result of immigration and increased trade with the United States through the 1860s, newly formed American unions moved into Canada. The iron molders ventured north in 1859, the typographical union and the cigarmakers in 1865, the shoemakers' Knights of St. Crispin in 1867. By 1875 the majority of progressive locals were tied with American internationals either through affiliation of former independents or through American organizing.[67]

The growth of extensive American militancy in the Canadian labor movement is questionable. Up to this time Canadian unions had been isolated locals or off-shoots of English organizations such as the carpenters and joiners. Organized by crafts and based on the English idea of mutual aid societies, they had been friendly to employers and had participated in few strikes. Their protests against overwork and low wages had been mostly verbal, although they made several attempts at operating closed shops.[68] During the 1870s Canadian trade unionism remained British in ideals and principles as workers campaigned for rights to material and political advancement because of their intellectual and social worth. Arbitration rather than the strike was their avowed method of action. With the entrance of American influence in the 1860s, however, Canadian unionism became more militant in practise. The workers placed less stress on the partnership of employer and employee. There was a growth of city strikes for wages and hours. Local organizations began cooperating with one another. They sent representatives to each others social affairs. They gave small monetary support for strikes by other locals. In 1869 two unions combined to fight the removal of a five percent duty on imported books.[69] By 1872 local strikes

were fairly common. The Ontario Workman reported at least nine strikes during the year in Toronto alone.

During the early 1870s there were many intercraft activities and attempts were made at federation. The first city central in Canada, the Toronto Trades Assembly, was organized in 1871. It was prominent in the nine hour movement in Toronto which culminated in the printers strike in 1872 against George Brown's Toronto Globe.[70] It also contributed to the passage of the Trades Union Act of 1872, legalizing trade unions in Canada, and the Criminal Amendment Acts in 1872, 1875 and 1876. In 1873 this city central developed into the Canadian Labour Union, the first effort to form a federation of all unions in the country. Other city centrals were organizing at the same time; Ottawa in 1873, and Hamilton in the early 1870s.

Although there was not an extensive labor press at the time, a weekly newspaper, The Ontario Workman, managed to remain in circulation for three years, from 1872 to 1875. Published in Toronto, it contained articles of activities of local and international labor organizations in addition to attempting to further the cause of the laborer. A glance at the six purposes for the publication of the weekly gives an idea of the attitude of the Canadian workingman in the 1870s.[71]

By 1876 Canadian trade unionism was declining. Reduced wages and unemployment in all industries were the direct result of the depression. At a time when employees were easy to obtain, employers took their opportunity to rep ress the workingmen. Because few unions were closely knit national or international organizations, they crumbled away as their members preferred a lowered standard of living to unemployment and starvation. In Canada, The Ontario Workman ceased publication. The Canadian Labor Union fell apart as many of its member craft unions collapsed. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was one of the few internationals to hold its own, if not increase its prestige during the depression. In addition to activities in the United States, it was successful in the Grand Trunk strike of 1877. Its superficial success in negotiations with the Canadian railway company a year earlier showed that the employer was at least wary of the strength of this international body.[72]

Section 5 The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers

Although American locomotive engineers recognized the need for organization a decade before,[73] they were unable to form a permanent association until May 5, 1863. On this date a group of thirteen men on the Michigan Central Railroad called a convention in Detroit. During the four-day session the first division of the Brotherhood of the Footboard was formed. There were at least nineteen delegates to the convention, including B. Northrup, who represented the Grand Trunk Railway on the American side.[74]

Incorporating features of a fraternal order and benevolent society, the Brotherhood had a purpose and a motto. The purpose of the organization was "to combine the interests of locomotive engineers on the American continent, to elevate their standing as such and their character as men".[75] The motto of the organization was sobriety, truth, justice and morality. There was a specified regalia for local officers and an international funeral ritual. Many Canadian and American divisions had their own lodges which were similar to the Odd Fellows and Foresters lodges of the times.[76] Benevolent society features included the establishment of a Widows', Orphans'

and Disabled Members Fund in 1866 and a Mutual Life Insurance Association in 1867.

The Brotherhood's leader was W.D. Robinson. After being fired from his post on the Michigan Central Railroad as a result of his trade union activities, Robinson traveled over 4,000 miles in the next few months organizing local divisions. By the time of the next convention at Indianapolis in August, 1864, there were fifty-four divisions of the Brotherhood. At this meeting the name of the organization was changed to the Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and G.C. Wilson was elected grand chief. He remained in office until his resignation was called for during a special convention in 1874. The Brothers asked Wilson to resign because he had suspended the charter of the Moberly, Alabama, division for staging an illegal strike. The same convention elected P.M. Arthur as Wilson's successor. Arthur continued in office until his death in 1903.

During the decade from its founding until the Grand Trunk strike in 1877, the Brotherhood grew steadily. At the time of the strike it had about 12,000 members including ninety percent of the Canadian railway engineers.[77] There were 182 divisions in the United

States and eight in Canada. To belong to the Brotherhood an engineer paid an entrance fee of ten dollars and annual dues of one dollar a month. The monthly dues were subject to a raise as high as four dollars during a railroad strike.[78] The applicant had to be an engineer in good standing with "good moral character, and temperate habits".[79]

Other American unions considered the Brotherhood a conservative organization in practice and principles. This opinion was based on the benevolent society aspects of the Brotherhood and its constant appeals for arbitration as the best method of settling labor disputes. Its conservative attitude was summarized by P.M. Arthur in 1887 when he wrote:

> In a general way, it may be said that the idea most prominent in the constitution, and which is repeated with emphasis in every annual address of the Grand Chief Engineer, is that members of the Brotherhood shall aim to reach a high standard of ability as engineers and of character as men, well fitted to the important and responsible nature of their occupation, thus entitling them to liberal compensation, which should be insisted upon by all legitimate means...Argument, the true worth of able and competent men, and the highest and best interests of the companies themselves, rather than strikes, were at first, always have been and are now, the means on which the Brotherhood has relied to maintain the justice of its requests at the hands of the railroad companies.[80]

The Brotherhood also separated itself from other American unions by refusing to join a national federation of trade

unions in the 1870s.

One reason given for the Brotherhood's individualistic and conservative qualities was the excellent strategic position of the engineer in the railroad industry.[81] This position forced his employer to grant him recognition not given to other trades. It taught Brotherhood leaders, such as P.M. Arthur, that they could accomplish more through peaceful pressure than through violence. That the Brotherhood's conservative attitude was due as much to the engineers' position as to their desire for peace is probably a correct assessment. Although Arthur continually talked of arbitration, he was not afraid to use the strike when he believed the case warranted it. During the 1870s the Brotherhood engaged in strikes throughout the United States and Canada.

Like the International Brotherhood, its leader, Peter M. Arthur, reflected through his speeches, writings and actions the combination of British and American unionism so prevalent in Canada in the 1870s.[82] Born in Scotland about 1831, Arthur immigrated to America when he was ten years old and lived on the farm of his uncle in New York state until he was seventeen. At this age he moved to Schnectady where he purchased a horse and wagon and started a small jobbing business. A year later

found him employed as a wiper in the engine-house of the New York Central in Schnectady. He subsequently became a fireman and an engineer. A charter member of the Albany division of the Brotherhood, Arthur was active in the organization from 1866. Before becoming grand chief engineer in 1874, he held the post of second grand assistant engineer for five years. He received a salary of $2,500 in 1877.

A short, solidly built, bearded gentleman with full face, broad cheek bones and lively eyes, Arthur favorably empressed both employers and railway men who knew him. A staunch churchman, he was constantly urging the engineers to a greater exercise of temperance, caution, forbearance and self reliance. He instructed the men to concentrate their leisure time upon technical, moral and intellectual improvement. He desired greater educational opportunities for workingmen.

Although he was an active labor organizer,[83] Arthur continually stressed the advantages of peaceful settlement and cooperation between labor and management. In his address to the 1874 annual convention of the Brotherhood at Atlanta, Georgia, he said:

> It is utter folly for any labor organization to array themselves in an attitude hostile to the interests of their employers; their interests are

> mutual, and it is essential for the prosperity of both that friendly relations should exist between them...there is nothing that is so demoralizing to any association as strikes; they should be avoided as much as possible; they never should be resorted to unless in a case of dire necessity, and then only after every other means has been exhausted...[84]

During the Louisville Courier-Journal interview, Arthur declared that the Brotherhood had prevented strikes on thirteen railroads during 1877. He described the workingman's movement which would make a distinct issue between labor and capital, as "a deplorable and threatening condition, which can only result in a general suspicion and antagonism that would superinduce the direst of social, commercial and political evils".[85]

At times, however, Arthur's actions belied his words. The engineers conducted at least three official strikes during 1876-1877.[86] Arthur, himself, assumed a militant tone in a note to John Eaton during the Grand Trunk strike.[87] Although considered a conservative by labor radicals, Arthur was pugnacious enough to gain his share of odious titles. His firm attitude toward management was expressed during his address to the Brotherhood annual convention in 1875 when he stated:

> So long as railway managers evince a disposition to treat us with fairness, listen to our grievances, and recompense us for the arduous service rendered, trouble will be unknown; but when they attempt to

> deprive us of the priviledge of exercising an inherent right, or swindle us out of our hard earnings, then we shall feel justified in resorting to such means as will secure to us our lawful wages and protect us from such gross imposition as has been practised by some railway managers the past year.[88]

Arthur's sudden death during a Brotherhood banquet in Winnipeg in 1903 brought comment, not only from members of the Brotherhood, but from business leaders. Sir T.G. Shaughnessy, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, sent the following telegram:

> I have just learned with sincere regret of the sudden death of Mr. P.M. Arthur, at Winnipeg last night. In recognition of his magnificent work during the past quarter of a century in the interest of the locomotive engineers, and incidently of the railway systems of the continent, I would advise that you do everything in your power to facilitate the carriage of his remains to his home, providing, if it be desired, a special funeral train over our portion of the route.[89]

The Monthly Journal stated that "he was a gifted and pleasing orator and was endowed with executive ability possessed by few men with a memory for names and faces, equal if not surpassing that attributed to James G. Blaine".[90]

Spending much of his time traveling throughout the United States and Canada during 1875 and 1876, Arthur commented on his visits to local divisions in the Monthly Journal. These comments give some indication of the engineers' standard of living. When describing the homes and halls of American Brothers, Arthur frequently used the

words "handsome" and "comfortable". The Louisville Courier-Journal reporter described Arthur's home as "a comfortable house, surrounded by pleasant, though very limited grounds".[91]

Arthur visited the Canadian divisions in both 1875 and 1876. Judging by his reports of these visits, the Canadian engineers and their organization were respected members of their communities. Arthur was introduced to railway officials and taken on tour of locomotive shops. He was taken sight seeing in Montreal and attended a special church service in Point St. Charles. In the smaller towns of Brockville and Stratford, he was guest of honor at special dinners where other invited guests included the mayors.

In 1875, Arthur visited the Montreal, Brockville, Toronto and Hamilton divisions. His main purpose in this visit was the settlement of a Grand Trunk grievance.[92] While in Montreal, Arthur rode over the Victoria Bridge. He attended a special Sunday evening service for the Brotherhood at St. Matthews Presbyterian Church on Wellington Street. He reported afterwards that the Montreal division had fifty-seven members and "is in a prosperous condition".[93] At Brockville the forty-eight

members of the division held a special banquet at the St. Lawrence Hotel in his honor. Mayor Buell and ex-mayor Simmons were among the invited guests. Arthur commented that he "was much pleased to see so much interest evinced by the citizens of Brockville towards the Brothers".[94] He reported the Toronto division, with 100 members, to be "prosperous". He stated that he was cordially received by officers of the Great Western Railroad when he visited the Hamilton division.

A year later Arthur visited the St. Thomas, Stratford and Belleville divisions. He reported that the St. Thomas division engineers received the lowest wages in the country. They were employed on the Canada Southern and Great Western railroads. He added, however, that the Canada Southern shops would compare favorably with any in the country. A special supper was held in his honor at Stratford, where mayor T.M. Daly "created a good deal of mirth by his witty sayings".[95] Arthur remarked that the Stratford division "has done remarkably well. They have bought a handsome regalia, furnished their hall, paid all their indebtedness, and have money in their treasury".[96] Belleville also received praise as Arthur commented:

> Belleville Division No.189 is one of our youngest, and although but recently formed, they have evinced sufficient interest to purchase a regalia and pay

> for it, which is more than can be said of some of the older divisions. They are not as comfortably situated for a hall as some others, but it is the best they can do at present.[97]

The eight Canadian divisions of the Brotherhood included London, Toronto, Stratford, Brockville, Belleville, St. Thomas and Hamilton in Ontario, and Montreal in Quebec. Employees of the Great Western and Canada Southern lines were members in Hamilton, London and St. Thomas divisions. London division No.68 was the first of the Canadian divisions to be organized.[98] Toronto division was No.70, Montreal No.89, Brockville No.118, St. Thomas No.132, Hamilton No.133 and Stratford No.188. The annual convention of the Brotherhood was held in Toronto in 1871. William Robinson of Toronto was elected to the third highest position, second grand engineer, in the Grand International Division in 1875.

Section 6 The Occupation of Locomotive Engineer

The engineers who composed the international organization were highly respected in their communities, though they had but modest means.[99] Their life on the rails was one of both glamor and hardship, and their duties were manifold. Engineers of the 1870s looked upon their livelihood as more than a means of earning money. They were attracted by the romance of motion and the fascination of machinery. One veteran of forty years on the rail admitted:

> You know, when you and I were kids, boys did not go to work on the railroad simply because their fathers did. What fetched them were the sights and sounds of moving trains, and above all the whistle of a locomotive. I've heard of the call of the wild, the call of the law, the call of the church. There is also the call of the railroad--or there used to be in our day. It was the echo of a mogul whistle in these same old 'Hegan Woods that made me a railroad man for life...The Grand Trunk engines possessed whistles built by a master who was a combination of Thor himself and some brilliant esthete, for he perfected an art form fitted wonderfully to that northern clime and splintery air...The steam shot quickly up from the big round dome on the mogul's heaving back, then a blast of mighty noise shattered the woods and the night...It was a blast to roll on and on...and... before the echo had worn itself out...the Grand Trunk was making the 'Hegan Woods with a full head of steam and would soon be over the hump, to drift easily downgrade along St. Lawrence waters...[100]

The engineer, however, had more to do than enjoy the ride. His multifarious duties aboard a swaying, noisy locomotive not only increased the excitement of his occupation, but probably shortened his life.[101] Responsible for the condition of his locomotive, the driver was required to inspect the engine for loose or broken parts, oil joints, tighten flues, check pumps and make any necessary repairs during a brakedown on the road. While the locomotive was in motion, the engineer had at least three simultaneous duties. He was required to arrive at stations on time, keep tabs on the condition of the engine and observe the track ahead for emergencies such as broken rails and bridges, cattle on the tracks and stalled trains.[102]

The roughness of his occupation was reflected in the engineer's appearance and manner on the job.

> His face all blackened by his long
> Combating soot, oil, dust and care.
> His sturdy form in smeary clothes,
> His head encased in greasy cap,
> With oil-can round dabbing goes.[103]

Hard swearing and tobacco-chewing were often two of his fortes. Drunkeness was a constant problem. In 1873, W.J. Spicer, Montreal superintendent for the Grand Trunk, tried to organize a company temperance league because of frequent dismissals for intemperance. Two days before the 1877 strike, he advocated the removal of taverns in

the immediate vicinity of Grand Trunk stations to aid drivers in the performance of their duty.[104] In a poem entitled "Railroad Song", J.H. Redmon, a contributor to the 1877 Monthly Journal, wrote:

> The engineers are bully boys,
> And know how to pull out the throttle,
> They will go over the road without any noise,
> If they keep away from the bottle.[105]

Two of the most frequent casues for suspension and expulsion of engineers from their local Brotherhood divisions in 1877 were drunkeness and unbecoming conduct.

Another characteristic of the engineer which earned him little love among the rural population was his predisposition to kill or maim farm stock on the track. A poem submitted from a Texas division called "Just For Today" suggests:

> Oh, make me an Engineer! just for today.
> I'll sit on the box, with the whistle I'll play,
> And I'll kill all the stock that comes in my way.
> Oh! make me an Engineer! just for today.[106]

Some engineers also delighted in scaring teams on the country highways or animals in the pasture by blowing the train whistle.

Part of the romance of the occupation of locomotive engineer came from the fact that the men were frequently required to use quick thinking in order to avoid disaster. Obstacles on the tracks, fallen bridges

and washed out rails were not unusual in 1877. An account of an engineer nearing the end of his run through a storm pictures a frequent occurrence.

With eyes strained out into the night
    The engineer gazed down the road,
To see if the accustomed light
    From his far cottage window glowed;
But just before him at the curve,
    Across the track a lantern swung
Backward and forth: with every nerve
    To danger's highest tension strung.

He knew what thing the storm had done,
    "By the Almighty God," he said,
"The culvert's gone from Devil's Run."
    He blew a blast to raise the dead,
Reversed her on the slippery track;
    That engine from the danger fled;
As willingly she now went back
    As she was loath to go ahead.[107]

In a day of handbrakes, often the only way for an engineer to save his train from total destruction was to stay with the locomotive as long as possible. This sometimes resulted in his death or injury. There were many accounts of such bravery in the 1870s. Engineers compared their devotion to their engine to a captain's for his ship. The engineers, moreover, were aware that their loyalty was not often appreciated. E.A. Clay, a Monthly Journal contributor from Minnesota wrote:

Nobody hurt but the engineer!
    Sooty and black and begrimed,
Who faced down death with a martyr's soul,
    For the strangers' lives behind...

'Nobody hurt! and the laugh goes on,
And the jest and the repartee,
While the motley, bustling, careless throng
Chafe at the long delay;[108]

Locomotive engineers on the Grand Trunk Railway worked a nine-hour day.[109] Their ordinary day's trip was 100 miles. The longest section of the line was 125 miles from Brockville to Montreal for which the men received higher wages. The engineers were paid by the trip. A first class engineer averaged $2.50 a day, second class $2.25 and third class $2.00. Firemen received wages ranging from $1.53 per day to $1.00 per day.[110] These wages were lower than those in the United States where engineers often received $3.00 or $4.00 a day.

Before becoming an engine driver, a man was required to spend from three to five years as a fireman at lower pay. Previous to his stint as fireman he had to serve some years in the company repair shops where he learned all parts and fittings of an engine. Once promoted to driver, a man usually started on a slow freight train. He advanced to fast freight or slow passenger and finally to fast passenger which ran about forty miles per hour.

Because of the risks involved and the amount of alertness required, the engineer of 1877 believed he had a right to a higher wage. According to an article in

the Monthly Journal:

> There is not a class of men in this country that get less pay in proportion to the amount of physical and mental labor and the great risks they run, than our locomotive engineers...If an engineer stops for a day, he is 'docked'; if an engine needs repairs he either had to 'lay off' during the time she is in the shop, or take his chances of running as 'extraman'. No matter how sick his wife or babies may be, he dare not get anyone to take his 'run', without permission from the M.M., and if he cannot find him he must go when time is up. An engineer, taking one year within another, does not make the wages of a third-rate salesman in a dry goods store; for by the time that all lost time is taken out, there is but a bare living left--certainly nothing to induce him to risk his life, as he does on almost every trip.[111]

Although they believed they were underpaid, most locomotive engineers were not entirely dissatisfied with their lot. Judging by Arthur's accounts of his visits to American and Canadian divisions, the men were able to feed, shelter, clothe their families and even maintain a certain standard of living.

Footnotes

[1] A.R.M. Lower, Canadians In the Making (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1958), p.262.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Dr. Joseph Sirois, chairman, (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940), book I, chapter II, p.52.

[5] Ibid. p.55.

[6] Ten years later the census showed a rise in industrial and commercial occupations. In Brockville the number of railway employees rose from 89 to 172 during the decade.

[7] Low er, pp.330-331.

[8] Lovells Dominion Directory for 1870-71, (Montreal: John Lovell, 1871), p.663. Out of sixty-four names recorded, twenty-six were employed by the Grand Trunk. Six were listed as conductors.

[9] Lower, p.305.

[10] Lovells Dominion Directory, p.191.

[11] Picturesque Canada, ed. G.M. Grant (Toronto: Belden Brothers, 1882) I, p.651.

[12] Ibid.

[13] The Canadian Handbook and Tourists' Guide (Montreal: M. Longmore & Co., 1867) p.109.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Lower, p.304.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Picturesque Canada, p.410.

[18] In 1871 out of a population of 107,225, almost 57,000 were French, 25,000 were Irish, 13,000 English and 10,000 Scottish.

[19] Picturesque Canada, II, p.106.

[20] Lower, p.304.

[21] Picturesque Canada, II, p. 106.

[22] Ibid., II, p.139.

[23] Cardell played a prominent role in the Grand Trunk strike. See pages 58, 60, 105-106, 108, 189. The newspapers sometimes referred to a John Cardwell. There is no such listing in the Montreal Directory for 1877-1878. Presumably the press meant Cardell.

[24] According to the census of 1871, over 16,000 persons in Montreal and over 8,000 in Toronto.

[25] Ten years later Toronto had almost 600 railway employees and Montreal over 300. See page 132.

[26] Lower, p. 308.

[27] Lower, p.321. According to Montreal newspapers, Grand Trunk strikers in Point St. Charles attended church in an orderly fashion on the second day of the strike, a Sunday.

[28] Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, p.52.

[29] Ibid. p.50.

[30] Ibid. In 1879 both the price level and the physical volume of exports had fallen by twenty percent from the peak of 1873.

[31] W.T. Easterbrook, and Hugh Aitken, Canadian Economic History (Toronto: Macmillan, 1958) pp.392-393.

[32] O.D. Skelton, "General Economic History", Canada and Its Provinces, eds. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1914) 9, p.138.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Toronto Mail, January 1, 1877.

[35] Grand Trunk Reports (London: Waterlow & Sons, Carpenters' Hall, London Wall, 1877) semi-annual meeting, April 30, 1877.

[36] Montreal Daily Witness, January 9, 1877.

[37] See page 56.

[38] The Witness' remarks following this letter were fairly typical of the prevailing attitude among businessmen of the time. They stated that raising labor prices would put business out of business, that workingmen were spending too much on whiskey, gin and rum and not enough on bread, and that shipping trades should be on low wages in winter and high wages in summer. Montreal Daily Witness, December 28, 1876.

[39] Ibid. December 21, 1876.

[40] D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1947) p.155.

[41] Toronto Mail, editorial, December 20, 1876.

[42] Although traffic increased during the depression, earnings decreased from 1.44 cents per ton mile in 1873 to .80 cents in 1877. Colonel G.R. Stevens, Canadian National Railways, I, p.435. These figures were taken from the manuscript of Colonel Stevens work. The book has since been published.

[43] This expression was used in the newspaper article. Presumably it refers to material billed from Chicago to Montreal and then from Montreal to Portland.

[44] Montreal Daily Witness, December 13, 1876.

[45] Ibid. December 19, 1876.

[46] Ibid. December 21, 1876.

[47] The revenues are quoted in sterling because they were taken from the annual reports published in England for English stockholders. The dollar values are approximations calculated from a pound value of $4.83.

[48] Grand Trunk Reports, semi-annual meeting, April 30, 1877. Tyler also stated that rates were lower in 1876 than in 1875. Losses of 1875, 1876 and the first three months of 1877 were 950,000 pounds ($4,548, 500) to the Grand Trunk and 9, 500,000 ($4,548,500,000) total.

[49] See page 220.

[50] Grand Trunk Reports, semi-annual meeting, April 30, 1877.

[51] The Grand Trunk began using coal instead of wood in the early 1870s. A.W. Currie, The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957) p. 122.

[52] To increase efficiency, in January 1875, Potter created an incentive payment plan for twenty-five senior officers of the company. "These men would get a bonus of 1½ percent of whatever dividend was paid on the first and second preference stock, plus an increase of 25 percent in salary when the first preference dividend was paid in full, and an increase of 35 percent when the second preference was fully paid." A.W. Currie, p.141. Strikers later charged that management reduced workers salaries in order to increase profits under this plan. See page 116.

[53] Grand Trunk Reports, semi-annual meeting, April 30, 1877.

[54] The cost of the Montreal-Portland line alone was nearly five percent above the company's estimate. A.W. Currie, p.142-144.

[55] He was under criticism for a serious under-estimation of the cost of converting the Grand Trunk's gauge. Currie, pp.142-144.

[56] Currie, p. 142.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Currie, p.149.

[59] The president and board of directors of the Grand Trunk resided in England wherea s the general manager lived in Canada.

[60] Currie, pp.111-113.

[61] Ibid. p.152.

[62] H.A. Logan, The History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928) p.16.

[63] Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1783-1885, eds. H.A. Innis and A.R.M. Lower (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1933) II, section I, p.632.

[64] "Report of the Minister of Agriculture for the Dominion of Canada for the Calendar Year 1876", Sessional Paper No. 8, 1877 (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1877) pp.xii-xiii.

[65] Select Documents, Innis and Lower, II, I, p.622.

[66] Sessional Paper No. 8, 1877, p.xiv.

[67] Logan, p.39.

[68] H.A. Logan, Trade Unions In Canada, Their Development and Functioning, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1948) pp.39-41.

[69] Logan, The History...p.25.

[70] Bernard Ostry, "Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour in the 1870's", Canadian Historical Review, XLI (June, 1960) pp.93-127.

[71] Appendix A

72 In an editorial on January 4, 1877, the Toronto Mail commented: "If Mr. Hickson has had to recede somewhat from his original ground, that is due to the extraordinary strength of the Locomotive Brotherhood, which...had one of the most powerful memberships in the world. It is strong in men; it is strong in means; but it is peculiarly strong in this respect, that the number of unemployed locomotive engineers is very small. The Brotherhood is, therefore, in a position to dictate terms which is at least not less powerful than that of any similar organization on the continent."

73 A National Protective Association was formed by American engineers in 1855, and its membership extended into Canada during the following year. Because of management opposition, depression and the civil war, the organization did not last into the 1860s.

74 Monthly Journal (Cleveland; Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers) February 1941, p.86.

75 Ibid.

76 Montreal Herald, January 2, 1877.

77 Toronto Globe, January 8, 1877; Montreal Herald, January 2, 1877.

78 In the case of a legitimate strike the Brotherhood gave monetary support to the strikers. The Canadian newspapers mentioned this aid, though not the amount, during the Grand Trunk strike.

79 Appendix B

80 P.M. Arthur, "The Rise of Railroad Organization," The Labor Movement: The Problem of Today, ed. George E. McNeill (Boston: A.M. Bridgmen & Co., 1877) p.316.

81 J.R. Commons and associates, History of Labor in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918) p.68.

82 This short biography of P.M. Arthur was compiled from a biography in McNeill's book on page 65, and copies of the Monthly Journal, 1874-1877. The most helpful article was a reprint of an interview with a special correspondent of the Louisville Courier-Journal in the 1877 volumne pp. 459-464.

[83] A frequent visitor to local divisions, Arthur traveled over 33,000 miles in 1875.

[84] Monthly Journal, 1874, p.585.

[85] Ibid. 1877, p.463.

[86] See Chapter 12.

[87] Appendix C

[88] Monthly Journal, 1875, p.594.

[89] Ibid. 1903, p.570.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid. 1877, p.460.

[92] See Chapter 2.

[93] Monthly Journal, 1875, p.258.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid. 1876, pp.412-414.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Because the divisions were numbered consecutively, it is to be presumed that the number corresponds to the official chartering of the division.

[99] The American Railway, ed. T.C. Clarke and associates, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892) p.384.

[100] Stewart H. Holbrook, The Story of American Railroads, (New York: Crown Publishers, 1947) pp.2-3. The veteran engineer was a Vermont resident.

[101] Monthly Journal, 1874, p.31. This account stated that the average life of a man upon an engine was twelve years.

[102] Ibid. pp.236-237.

[103] Ibid. 1877, p.500.

[104] Montreal Daily Witness, December 27, 1876.

[105] Monthly Journal, 1877, p.16.

[106] Ibid. p.23.

[107] Ibid. p.499.

[108] Ibid. p.253.

[109] Since 1872 when the Grand Trunk and the Great Western accepted the nine-hour movement.

[110] Toronto Globe, January 3, 1877.

[111] Monthly Journal, 1873, p.14.

Chapter 2 Preparation for the Strike

Locomotive engineers on the Grand Trunk Railway had more job security than most employees during the depression. The need for competent drivers guaranteed many of them a position unless the railway failed. Their strong international union gave them the monetary and moral support needed to approach the employer for better terms. Because of these advantages, the men usually preferred to settle their grievances peacefully. In December, 1876, however, the engineers believed that a show of force was necessary. Their wages had been reduced, and many of their number had been discharged. They thought the company had broken a previous written agreement. Most important of all, they believed the company was attempting to destroy the Brotherhood organization on the railway. The engineers' grievances began a year before the strike.

In March, 1875, the Grand Trunk notified its employees that wages would be reduced. Resenting the reduction, members of the Brotherhood formed a grievance committee and summoned P.M. Arthur. Arthur traveled to Montreal where he conferred with Joseph Hickson and

Herbert Wallis, mechanical superintendent. An agreement was reached whereby running time wages remained the same. The men, however, were paid ten cents an hour or under instead of the former twenty cents for detention time.[1] According to the Montreal Daily Witness the men represented their case so forcibly that company officials, afraid of a strike which they did not desire at the time, appeased the engineers and firemen.[2] At the same time they reduced wages of employees in other departments ten percent.[3]

The company soon proceeded to circumvent the March 1875 agreement by re-classifying the engineers and firemen. Strikers later stated that this violation of the spirit of the agreement was responsible for the 1877 strike. Nine days before the strike, P.M. Arthur declared in Montreal:

> The Grand Trunk officials seem to be guided partly by motives of economy and partly to destroy the influence of the Brotherhood. While they are keeping to the letter of the agreement made last March, they are violating the spirit of it. The locomotive engineers on the Grand Trunk Railw ay are three classes or grades; the lowest grade receive about seventy-five cents per day less than the highest; by the agreement of last March, the men were to be promoted according to their time of service on the road; but this has not been done, as members of the Brotherhood are passed over, while others are promoted; besides, the Grand Trunk authorities have introduced a fourth grade which was not contemplated in the arrangement of last March. These fourth grade men, of course, get less

> pay than the others, but they take the place of third class men, who replace the second class, who in turn are used to replace the first class men, who are now discharged. Thus while the letter of the agreement made last March is maintained, the spirit is violated, and the wages are reduced for running time, as well as for time lost in detentions...as drivers are paid by the trip and not by the day, it is quite easy to give the first class men less work to do.[4]

Reviewing the cause of the strike in the February 1877 issue of the Monthly Journal, Arthur further stated:

> If any engineer happened to have the Babbitt melted out of any of the rod brasses, he would either be reduced or suspended, without an opportunity of defending himself. We were told of one instance that occurred at Belleville of an engineer being suspended for reporting the valves blowing. Everything seemed to be done to irritate and aggravate the men. The next blow aimed at the men and our institution was the revoking of the order granting leave of absense to the Brothers who had been elected as delegates to the Convention held at Detroit, from Montreal, Brockville, Belleville and Stratford, notwithstanding there were plenty of spare engineers to run the trains. We considered it a direct insult to the Brotherhood, yet the Brothers on the road quietly submitted to it all until an order was issued September, 1876, establishing what they called a fourth class of engineers, and third class of firemen, which paid at the rate of two cents per mile for engineers, and one cent per mile for firemen.[5]

Two months later a grievance committee composed of ten Brothers from various sections of the line held a meeting in Montreal with Wallis. He "treated them very cooly, and was very indignant at them for coming to him with their complaints".[6] Dissatisfied with their treatment by Wallis,

the men met with Hickson. He

> received them very courteously, and after listening to their statements told them to go home and he would see that the agreement of 1875 was adhered to, but insisted upon maintaining the fourth class of engineers and third class of firemen. The committee returned to their respective Divisions dissatisfied with the new grade introduced, but decided to submit rather than to have any trouble.[7]

In early December, the company reduced wages and discharged employees in many departments. Train despatchers, laborers, and mechanics were numerous among the discharged.[8] Canadian mechanics were particularly disturbed to see American-made locomotives sent to Portland for repairs while they were out of work.[9] The reduction of employees was announced by notice on company bulletin boards on December 7, 1876.[10] According to Arthur, the engineers would not have objected to the reduction had the company followed its stated policy of considering seniority. The engineers became alarmed only when each member of the grievance committee and all old engineers who were prominent members of the Brotherhood were served with discharge notices. The chairman of the committee, John Eaton from Toronto, was discharged before the expiration of his notice, with no reason given. By the end of the month about 150 drivers had been discharged.[11] Places of some of those discharged were filled with newly-promoted

firemen. These activities on the part of management led the men to believe that the company designed to destroy the Brotherhood organization on the Grand Trunk.[12]

After receiving their discharge notices the men telegraphed Arthur to come to Toronto. He arrived there on December 15, 1876. That evening, he attended a meeting of the Toronto division. The Torontonians showed him a clipping from the Toronto Globe stating that fifty-six engineers had received their discharge, many of whom had served for fifteen years on the Grand Trunk. The clipping also suggested that an attempt was being made to break up the Brotherhood. The following afternoon Arthur held a public meeting at the Toronto division hall for Grand Trunk employees. He then journeyed to Montreal with members of the grievance committee. They stayed for several days at the Albion Hotel while Arthur attempted to talk with Grand Trunk officials.

A letter from Arthur to Hickson was answered by C. Drinkwater, Hickson's assistant, who suggested the men take their complaint to Wallis. A letter from Arthur to Wallis brought the reply that the mechanical superintendent was unaware of any unsettled grievances. Another letter to Drinkwater was answered by a renewed suggestion to see

Wallis or wait until Hickson's return from New York City.[13] Arthur urged the committee to seek a personal interview with Wallis. In answer to the committee's request, Wallis replied that he would see any one engineer that had not been discharged, but not the committee. Arthur then asked to have Wallis' refusal telegraphed to Hickson. This request was refused, and Drinkwater would give Hickson's address as only New York City. Arthur decided to return to Cleveland,"to avoid expense, as we had already incurred a heavy expense running after them, without accomplishing anything".[14] Out of town members of the grievance committee returned to their homes. Before Arthur departed he instructed three Montreal Brothers; Cardell, Germain and Pickering, to present the demands of the engineers in writing to Hickson upon his return to Montreal.[15] Hickson refused to meet these demands. "The matter was referred to the proper authority of the Brotherhood, and they decided the Brothers would be justified in stopping work".[16]

In the meantime, the dissension between Grand Trunk officials and the engineers was receiving notice in the Canadian press. Montreal and Toronto papers printed copies of the reduction notice and attempted to keep tabs on Arthur's activities. According to an account in the

December 18, 1876, issue of the Montreal Daily Witness the engineers intended to strike on Saturday, December 23, 1876. Arthur denied any plan for a strike at that date in an interview on December 20, 1876. The Witness also stated that the Grand Trunk officials were trying to break up the Brotherhood and had notified about fifty engineers to quit either the society or the company's service.[17] According to the press, sixty-six enginemen and seventy-one firemen were discharged. The Grand Trunk employed 375 enginemen and 365 firemen before the reduction.

In opposition to the engineer's claim of discrimination in discharge, the company stated through the press that twenty percent of the men from all grades were discharged in order to prevent a general reduction in pay. The company expressed the opinion that the men had received no reduction under the 1875 agreement because detention time was only ten percent of the amount of wages paid to enginemen and firemen. An account in the Montreal Star on December 22, 1876, stated:

> The facts are that the men are receiving as high wages as they have ever done in the history of the road, and not withstanding that the road has been thoroughly equipped with new locomotive stock, and steel rails, which has rendered the work they perform done in considerably less time, and also that the rates for traffic have decreased to such an alarming extent, no real reduction has taken place in their rate of wages.[18]

More of the first class men were discharged, the company admitted, but it justified this by the fact that the first class men were in the majority. Since ninety percent of the enginemen were members of the Brotherhood, this was the reason for a large proportion of those dismissed being members of that society.[19] The company explained to the Montreal Gazette that the deputation of Cardell, Germain and Pickering was received kindly. They were told on Tuesday, December 26, 1876, that they would receive an answer to their demands the following evening. The men returned the same evening requesting a reply. Hickson told them he would have to see the whole committee, and he offered them railway passes to Montreal.

At this time company officials believed there was little possibility of a strike because they had reserve men ready at a moment's notice. They believed that the engineers and firemen still employed who did not belong to the Brotherhood had little sympathy with it. According to the Toronto Globe on December 23, 1876, all Grand Trunk employees capable of running an engine were dispatched to different stations to be ready for the rumored strike among Brotherhood members. This account said the men were oblidged to go or be dismissed from the shops. The same

day Grand Trunk officials said they were fully prepared to meet any emergency.

During the remainder of the week, the company increased its anti-strike activities. On December 28, 1876, the Toronto Globe reported from Montreal that employees said the company was using every means to prevent a stoppage of traffic in the event of a strike. Men previously discharged had been sent for. Those competent to take engines had been offered a job and their board if they agreed to stand by the company. Engineers still employed were asked to take an oath of service to the company or leave their jobs. Drivers and firemen at Belleville reportedly refused to take the oath and did not expect to have their engines for long. Several men had already accepted less wages than those dismissed had been receiving. The report said nearly all the engine drivers employed on the eastern locomotives were strangers. On the morning of December 29, 1876, a message from Hickson alluding to these preparations was handed to every member of the Brotherhood on the road.[20] Another report stated that engine drivers sent from Montreal to Toronto to take over in an emergency were being accosted by men prepared to strike. One man by the name of Johnson received a beating that sent him to

hospital. Then, in the midst of mounting tension, the Brotherhood submitted an ultimatum to Hickson at seven o'clock on the evening of Friday, December 29, 1876. Hickson refused to accept it. Grand Trunk trains stopped at nine o'clock.[21]

Footnotes

[1] If a locomotive was detained on route by the company, the engineer was paid for his time. Appendix D.

[2] The position of the firemen throughout the Grand Trunk affair is not too clear. According to newspaper reports, the firemen joined the strike by refusing to work. Negotiations were apparently carried on only by engineers, although the terms of settlement applied to firemen also. Firemen may have been members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in Canada at this time. In the United States, a Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen had been organized in 1873. According to the Monthly Journal of 1877, the firemen had only three lodges at that time. P.M. Arthur later stated, however, that the organization had fifty-three lodges with over 1,500 members by 1876. There is no reference to this organization in any of the strike material. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen with headquarters at Cleveland, Ohio, have been unable to find any information about the strike in their records.

[3] December 19, 1876. On December 5, 1876, the Witness wrote that the 1875 reduction was not general. The paper stated that some employees such as mechanics and laborers suffered by the reduction. Others, particularly those employed in connection with the officials, managed to escape it.

[4] Montreal Daily Witness, December 20, 1876.

[5] Monthly Journal, 1877, pp.65-66.

[6] Ibid. p.66.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Toronto Globe, December 11, 1876. The Globe reported about thirty percent of train despatchers and laborers along the line discharged.

[9] Ibid. December 9, 1876.

[10] Appendix E.

[11] Daily Eastern Argus (Portland, Maine) December 30, 1876.

[12] Monthly Journal, 1877, p.66.

[13] Appendix F.

[14] Monthly Journal, 1877, p.68.

[15] Appendix G.

[16] Ibid. According to the B.L.E. constitution, the general standing committee of the road must try to settle the dispute before sending for the grand chief, who then had the power to decide all controversies appealed from sub-divisions. In this case the "proper authority" was apparently Arthur. A letter was found on the person of John Eaton when he was arrested giving Arthur's suggestion for a strike. Appendix C.

[17] Montreal Daily Witness, December 19, 1876.

[18] Montreal Star, December 22, 1876.

[19] Toronto Globe, December 27, 1876.

[20] Appendix H.

[21] Appendix I.

Chapter 3 The First Two Days of the Strike

By accident, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers picked the night of one of the worst snowstorms of the season to begin their strike. The storm, which covered Ontario, Quebec and the northeastern United States, began on Friday, December 29, 1876. In some cases it lasted through Tuesday, January 2, 1877.[1] Portland, Maine, newspapers reported that the snow was over three feet in depth and drifted over the car platforms.[2] At Montreal, the storm raged from five-thirty Friday evening to nine o'clock Saturday morning. It was one of the worst many residents remembered.[3] Ontario communities received their share of the storm. Hamilton reported eight inches of snow on Friday with the storm continuing. Roads were blocked in Kingston. Napanee reported the roads impassable and this the most severe snowstorm in years.[4] Temperatures ranged from a low of -5 degrees at Montreal to a high of 22 degrees at Toronto on Friday. Ontario and Quebec temperatures hovered between 10 degrees and 15 degrees on Saturday.[5] Although the weather cleared by Tuesday and Wednesday, low temperatures, such as -14 degrees at Brockville, -5 degrees at Montreal and 1 degree at Toronto

continued.[6] Almost all northeastern railroads in the United States and Canada reported blockades on Saturday. The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad was forced to abandon trains because of the snow. A train from Rome and Ogdensburg which was due at Oswego at nine o'clock on Saturday evening, was unable to reach its destination. Passengers were brought in Sunday on sleighs.[7]

The snowstorm had a direct effect on the Grand Trunk strike. According to the Montreal Gazette on January 1, 1877, a "severe snow storm from the West came in Friday afternoon and continued over the whole length of the road which led to freight trains being cancelled to a large extent so there were only a limited number of trains running when the men decided to strike". Even the Grand Trunk president candidly admitted when discussing the cost of the strike:

> There was a severe snow-storm at the time, which would in any case have caused considerable interruption to the traffic for two out of three working days.[8] Otherwise the loss would have been much heavier.

Cold weather, deep snow and the festive Christmas season, therefore, supplied the setting for the first organized Canadian locomotive engineers strike in history.

From Island Pond, Vermont, to Detroit, Michigan,[9] trains ceased to run after nine o'clock on Friday evening,

December 29, 1876. There were few exceptions because most engineers and firemen stopped locomotives and extinguished fires.[10] Grand Trunk officials were so concerned that many of them including Hickson, Wallis and W.J. Spicer, Montreal superintendent, were present at the railway telegraph office during the evening.

Apparently passengers were given no notification of the expected strike. In Montreal, they thronged Bonaventure Station along with strikers and their friends from nine o'clock to midnight. Many had previously had difficulty getting to the station through the deep snow and storm. They then spent an uncertain four to five hours waiting for arriving and departing trains. Some spent the night in train cars at Bonaventure. Many were waiting for a train from Ontario which was to make connections in Portland, Maine, with the Sarmatian, an Allan steamship, sailing to England. The bell for this train tolled a few minutes before its scheduled departure. By ten o'clock in the evening, however, the train had no engine and was still waiting for the train from the west which was delayed by snow. At the same time passenger train No.4 left Montreal for Toronto. It became stuck in snow at St. Anne de Belleville until Saturday morning. The driver of this train did not strike. He completed his trip days

late, but unmolested.[11]

There was great excitement along the line. Drivers between Island Pond and Portland did not strike, but no trains went through. From Island Pond to Montreal the men struck. According to press reports, several trains were deserted. The most exciting strike activity, however, centered in Ontario. An express from Toronto due in Montreal at nine-thirty Saturday morning was abandoned between Cobourg and Grafton. Sixty passengers had to be taken to Cobourg in sleighs.[12] Jackson, the driver of a mixed train, left it between Gananoque and Kingston. He was arrested. The western division express was abandoned six miles east of Lancaster station. Two other trains were abandoned between Scarboro and the Don River in Toronto. At eight o'clock Friday evening an excursion left Toronto for Weston with 120 members of the Loyal Orange Lodge and their ladies bound for a dance.[13] The train was abandoned by its engineer and fireman. The passengers were condemned to a two-mile walk back to town. Two drivers who were to take the eastern express from Toronto uncoupled the locomotive, ran it past the danger signals out of the city and abandoned it one and one-half miles from Don station.

Toronto, itself, was a center of great activity according to press reports. One account stated that at five o'clock Friday evening local Grand Trunk officials received information from Montreal that a strike was imminent. They were given orders to telegraph to station masters along the line to allow no trains to leave their stations. Freight trains were ordered cancelled by six o'clock. At least fifteen were placed on sidings between Toronto and Stratford. Before the arrival of this message, enginemen on outgoing trains were asked if there would be a strike. They replied that they would strike if instructions were received from the Brotherhood to do so. Up to that time they had had no such instructions. After nine o'clock, about fifty strikers, some in disguise, gathered at the round house for a demonstration. They extinguished lamps and the mayor ordered a police guard. The men dispersed although they hung around the station during the night. By one-thirty Saturday morning the strikers were still congregated and had damaged two engines and assaulted several non-strikers. Another group of men had shunted five engines from sidings to the main line at Scarboro in order to impede traffic between there and the city. The mayor put the police force at the service of the Grand Trunk. A Mr. Gregory, assistant-superintendent for

the Grand Trunk in Toronto, and the heads of departments were at the station all night. At three o'clock in the morning, the mixed train from the west, the only train moving on the line, was "dodging" a gang of men at the Queen Street crossing.[14] Previously, the evening train from Toronto to London had pulled through.

The eastbound train from Stratford to Toronto had reached Toronto at midnight. The original driver of this train, McKibbon, was thrown off the engine at Stratford. Afterwards a number of constables were sent to the Stratford station. Grand Trunk superintendents, Larmon and Roberts, at Stratford attempted to bring in all outlying trains and locomotives before the nine o'clock strike. Their success was hampered only by the violent snowstorm. The evening train from Toronto arrived safely in Stratford. The engineer and fireman, however, were handled roughly at the station. Press reports stated that at least three hundred persons were detrained at Stratford, some continuing their journey on the Great Western Railway. Five carloads of cattle going from Chicago to Buffalo were stranded in Stratford for the duration of the four-day strike.

At Detroit, Grand Trunk members of the Brotherhood left their engines at six o'clock in the evening. An

eastbound train with about seventy-five passengers left the Michigan Central Railway station shortly after five o'clock. It traveled only to the Detroit junction where passengers waited in the midst of an "unusual commotion". According to one eyewitness account:

> Conductors were wildly rushing about the platform, the brakesmen were strolling aimlessly through the storm wearing a puzzled look, and the telegraph office seemed to be the central point of interest.[15]

When passengers heard about the proposed strike, they joined the platform throng. Later the train was pulled back to the station by a Michigan Central engine.

On Saturday, December 30, 1876, confusion held sway in many eastern Grand Trunk towns. Judging from newspaper reports, both snow conditions and the striking engineers were responsible for cancellation of trains. On the section of the Grand Trunk east of Island Pond all express passenger trains left on Saturday. Any delay of freights and others was attributed to the snow storm.[16] On Saturday evening Wallis sent a telegram to Joseph N. Martin, locomotive foreman at Portland, congratulating the Atlantic section of the line for their refusal to strike.[17] The Montreal Daily Witness reported that western trains from Montreal were cancelled more on account of the snow than because of lack of engine drivers. The newspaper

stated that the foreman at Point St. Charles had ten or twelve men ready to take trains out under police protection. Two engines were frozen in the yard at Point St. Charles. Two others were running with no attempt at intimidation, although small knots of people looked on at the crossings.

The western section of the Portland-bound train waited at Pointe Claire all night and most of the morning for a snowplough. It was finally procured from Cornwall. After joining its Montreal section, the train left Bonaventure Station at two o'clock on Saturday afternoon. The foreman of the company's machine shops at Montreal drove the train to Island Pond. It arrived in Portland by eight o'clock on Sunday morning.[18]

At Sherbrooke, a mail train which usually came into the station at midnight arrived at one o'clock Saturday morning. It was halted until after six in the evening because the company feared trouble at Richmond where an angry crowd was reported to be gathered. All drivers at Richmond struck except one. He was threatened when he attempted to take his engine out of the shed. No trains left Levis, Quebec, Friday evening or Saturday. One report stated that a group of engineers was in possession of the locomotive sheds and all engines. Passengers were returning to Quebec. At St. Hilaire, an

engine driver named Leavy, who was taking a mixed train with two passenger cars to St. Hyacinthe, struck and was arrested. He was replaced by a recent recruit named Richmond. When Richmond was ordered by Spicer to move a train from the main to a side line immediately, he struck. After reporting this incident, the Montreal Daily Witness commented: "The strangest part of this affair is that nearly all the men recently put on to take the place of those discharged, have been amongst the first to strike".[19] The newspaper added, however, that several drivers who were not members of the Brotherhood were working because they would have no money to support their families. The organized strikers received funds from the Brotherhood.[20]

Meanwhile, Hickson and representatives of the strikers, were attempting to arbitrate in Montreal. Early Saturday morning Hickson telegraphed an appeal to Arthur stating that he had tried to cooperate with the men, but they had struck in spite of his efforts. Hickson asked Arthur to exercise any power he might have in the interest of the men and public order.[21] On Saturday afternoon, four members of a local grievance committee had a long conference with Hickson. He said if the men had met him as he req uested he would have listened to any complaint.

If they could show that any men were dismissed who had an exceptional claim on the company he would recognize them. According to the Montreal Daily Witness, he also stated he would abolish the fourth class of engineers, which had twelve men, if the men attached any importance to it. The men hinted that they might accept a ten percent reduction. The Montreal division of the Brotherhood discussed the interview until midnight, but had no decision and reported this to Hickson.

By Saturday, civic authorities at Montreal, Brockville, Belleville, Toronto, and Stratford had placed police at the disposal of the company. In Ontario, J.G. Scott, clerk of the executive council, telegraphed to chief magistrates and crown attorneys along the line to take all proper steps to prevent violence. General confusion and several disturbances had taken place in Ontario. Brockville was at first in a state of confusion. At the time of the strike, a great number of cars were lying on different tracks and several were on the main line. By two o'clock Saturday morning, however, everything was quiet and remained so until Monday, New Years Day. At Kingston, the superintendent of the Canadian Engine and Machinery Works was called upon to supply three engines for Grand Trunk trains.

Belleville, which turned out to be the greatest scene of violence, was already upset according to press reports.[22] One hundred men were on strike. A newspaper account stated that striking engineers were visiting doubtful men and urging them to take an oath to strike. On Saturday morning, Davis, the chief engineer of the Grand Trunk in Belleville, started an engine to run a snow plough east with a company recruit named Doig. Within 100 yards the engine was stoned, knocking the side of the cab in. Doig ran for his life. Someone aimed a pistol shot at Davis. Later Davis' house near the station was stoned. Extra men whom the company had brought to Belleville to break a strike were locked up and guarded during the morning by company officials. The strikers forced the guard, however, and the strike breakers were "spirited into the country by the engine drivers".[23] A later report stated that the men were being "escorted" to Shannonville. At this stage the strikers were gathered one hundred strong around the station and engine house. Company officials locked themselves inside as the town police force was sent to guard them. The size of the police force is not discussed in the press nor in the Sessional Paper which later was written about the strike. One report, however, mentions that two men were claiming

to be police chief at the time, and neither was at the station.[24] Mayor W.A. Foster and H.S. Smith, J.P., called out one company of the 49th Battalion, Belleville militia, to prevent a riot at the station. During the evening, twenty-one men and two officers arrived to spend the night protecting men who were trying to replace cars on the tracks, according to press reports.

At Toronto, while some engineers and officials were in consultation, traffic was reported to be at a standstill. The station was besieged by persons who either expected travelers or wished to travel. The strikers congregated near the round house track all day to prevent trains leaving the building. In the afternoon, a colorful incident occurred at the St. James' Hotel near the station where the company boarded non-strikers. John Eaton, chairman of the general grievance committee, tried to persuade an engineer by the name of Kay not to work for the company during the strike. Kay drew a revolver and snapped it. The chamber proved to be empty. Eaton then knocked Kay down and beat him in a tussle. Apparently another striker, William Johnston, was also involved in the scuffle. Eaton and Johnston were arrested two hours later. Police found a message from P.M. Arthur advocating a strike among Eaton's papers.[25] On Tuesday, January 2, 1877, Eaton

and Johnston were brought before magistrates and remanded until Friday. They were released on bail at three o'clock Sunday morning, January 7, 1877.

By Saturday, the Grand Trunk Company was attempting to hire strike breakers in three Ontario cities. The Toronto Globe of December 30, 1876, carried the following one-column advertisement.

> Wanted Immediately
> Experienced Engineers and Firemen to work on
> Grand Trunk Railway.
> Applicants must have satisfactory testimonials.
> Apply to Locomotive Foremen at Toronto,
> Stratford and Belleville.
> (Signed) Joseph Hickson, General Manager.

A similar advertisement appeared in the Montreal Gazette on January 1-2, 1877.

One incident occurred at Sarnia on Saturday. A loyal employee who went thirty miles east to bring in a train was pulled off the engine a mile from Point Edward station. The fire in the locomotive was extinguished. No further trouble occurred until Tuesday because the company made no attempts to start trains. Saturday evening, however, the crown attorney feared a possible disturbance. To prevent any trouble he ordered the liquor license inspector to personally visit each licensed premises to discourage drunkeness and disorderly conduct. Local police were stationed at several premises to see that these orders were carried out.

Footnotes

[1] Montreal Daily Witness, January 2, 1877.

[2] Daily Eastern Argus, December 30, 1876.

[3] Toronto Globe, January 1, 1877.

[4] Ibid. December 30, 1876; January 1, 1877.

[5] Montreal Gazette, December 30, 1876; January 1, 1877.

[6] Ibid. January 3, 1877; January 4, 1877.

[7] Montreal Daily Witness, January 2, 1877.

[8] Grand Trunk Reports, semi-annual meeting, April 30, 1877.

[9] Although these two American cities were affected, they were not, technically on strike. The strike did not enter the United States.

[10] The Portland newspapers stated that 600 engineers were on strike. The Sarnia Observer, a weekly, reported 80 strikers. The rest of the Canadian press did not mention numbers except to comment that 30 men remained loyal at the height of the strike. According to the press, there were over 700 engineers and firemen employed on the Grand Trunk in 1876.

[11] See pages 81, 85.

[12] One of the strikers later gave the following account of the abandonment. Thomas McNab, the engineer, left Grafton at seventeen minutes after nine o'clock knowing he could not make Cobourg by nine-thirty. The train stopped three and one-half miles from Cobourg, and a passenger, James Sheldon, was one of the first to find the engine gone. Sheldon started walking. He found the engine one and one-half miles from Cobourg,

and later found McNab eating dinner at his hotel in Cobourg. The Brotherhood did not sanction McNab's conduct. Toronto Globe, January 3, 1877.

[13] At this period of Canadian history, the Orangemen included prominent Ontario citizens. Lower, p.282. The fact that this train was an Orangeman's excursion undoubtedly influenced the opinion of anti-strikers such as Mackenzie Bowell, a prominent Orangeman. See page 197.

[14] Toronto Mail, December 30, 1877.

[15] Detroit Free Press, December 30, 1876.

[16] Toronto Globe, January 2, 1877.

[17] Appendix J.

[18] Daily Eastern Argus, January 1, 1877.

[19] Montreal Daily Witness, December 30, 1876.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Appendix K.

[22] The crown attorney later wrote that no disturbance occurred on Saturday. See page 164.

[23] Montreal Daily Witness, December 30, 1876.

[24] "Correspondence Respecting Disturbance of the Line of the Grand Trunk Railway", Sessional Paper No.55, 1877 (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1877) X, p.39.

[25] Appendix C.

Chapter 4 The Last Three Days of the Strike

Grand Trunk officials increased agitation to move trains on Sunday, December 31, 1876. At St. Albans, Vermont, company officials asked the Central Vermont Railroad to run Grand Trunk trains from St. Johnsbury to Montreal. By Sunday evening Hickson was able to report that engineers on the line between Richmond and Island Pond were willing to return to work. He hinted that they might accept a ten percent reduction. He added that the Montreal strikers were willing to resume work as soon as the men on the western division stopped striking. The Ontario engineers were divided in their opinions.[1]

With the exception of Belleville, Grand Trunk towns were undisturbed on Sunday. Strikers in Montreal were quiet and orderly as they attended Sunday church services. A Montreal-bound passenger train left Toronto at eight o'clock Sunday morning. It made slow progress and was unable to get beyond Cobourg. Trains west of Toronto were reported to be running on other railroad lines. A report from Guelph stated that three locomotives were on the track at this station with their tanks emptied, boilers blown out and pumps disconnected. One engine was

attached to a freight, including twelve cars of live hogs, which were sitting at the station waiting transport. The engine drivers and stokers were reported to be respectful but firm in their refusal to work. Passengers, live stock and important freight were being carried west from St. Thomas, Ontario, by the Canada Southern Railroad.

At Stratford, local authorities attempted to prepare to combat a disturbance if the company tried to run trains on Monday. The mayor and police magistrate swore in two hundred employees of the Grand Trunk as special constables and armed them with batons. The crown attorney, M. Hayes, telegraphed Ontario Prime Minister and Attorney-General, Oliver Mowat,[2] for an outside force of two hundred men for Monday. Mowat replied that this request would have to be made directly to the senior officer of the active militia. According to Hayes, before he could make this request, he received a telegram from Hickson on Monday to await action of the Toronto authorities before requesting militia.[3]

Passenger train No.4 from Montreal became the center of attention in Napanee and Belleville. The train had arrived in Napanee shortly after two o'clock on Saturday afternoon. The mayor there had received a request from railway authorities at Toronto to send a

company of militia with the train to Belleville.[4] At three-thirty on Sunday afternoon, the fire bell was rung to call the militia. "Nothing further was done as the men were not prepared for such emergency".[5] Passengers had been quartered at local hotels, except for a few who had hired livery teams to journey to Belleville. The train had been moved to Shannonville where it remained until Sunday morning w hen Davis took an engine to Shannonville and brought the train to Belleville. He then had difficulty getting an engineer for the trip west because threatening strikers were gathered at the station. An engine was taken out, however, and attached to the train. The platform was crowded. Rioters beat the engineer, partly disabled the engine, and forced its return to the shed.[6]

One member of the crowd was wounded in the neck as he attempted to take a bayonet from a soldier. Several others were slightly hurt in the scuffle. At least one pistol shot was fired in the air. John Bell, Grand Trunk solicitor, decided that the company did not have sufficient strength to attempt to move the train. Upon learning this information, Mayor Foster and Captain Harrison, leader of the 49th, decided to withdraw the militia company. To replace the men of the 49th, two companies of the 15th,

also a Belleville unit, were ordered out. One reporter stated that the men seemed unwilling to turn out. By two o'clock in the afternoon only forty were under arms.[7] Out of a possible eighty men, forty-eight turned out. According to S.S. Lazier, Major of the 15th, the men were not ordered to the station until four o'clock in the afternoon. When they arrived, Grand Trunk employees were indignant that they had been called out. The militia were quartered in the station house until early Monday morning when the mayor ordered them disbanded. There was no disturbance during the night, although there were rumors that the company was attempting to get additional military protection to start another train on Monday morning.[8] At least thirteen strike breakers had joined the strikers and were staying at a Belleville hotel.

On Monday, New Year's Day, newspapers reported passenger trains east and south of Montreal were running as usual. Men from Island Pond to Portland had not struck, nor given the company any trouble. Although Quebec City reported no strike in that district, all night trains from Levis were cancelled. Police assistance was requested in case of an emergency. A train for Toronto left Montreal at nine o'clock in the morning. It proceeded only as far as Prescott, twelve miles east of Brockville, and returned

in the evening.

The Montreal strikers committee sent representatives to Belleville and Brockville to try to discourage violence. They also attempted to obtain delegates for the general committee which Hickson asked to meet him in Point St. Charles. During a press interview, the men said they did not like the use of violence by the Ontario strikers. They believed, however, that they held the key to the road, and management must be shown this was so.

Company officials were in conference at Bonaventure Station offices. Hickson reported that he was in communication with the Dominion Government about the use of militia at Brockville, Belleville, Toronto, Stratford and Sarnia. He said he did not think trains could be run past these points until civic authorities interfered. They seemed reluctant to do so.[9]

Ontario towns were agitated. At Brockville, a New Year's mob attacked a special train sent from Kingston to Montreal. The mob drove the driver off, leaving the train on the main line.

> The town was in a considerable state of excitement that day, owing to its being a holiday, and the municipal elections being held, and a large number of people had congregated at the Grand Trunk Station. At the time of the arrival of the train, only the Chief of Police and one policeman happened to be at the Station, and some persons managed to disconnect

> some of the cars and to do some injury (of no great importance) to the locomotive. At this time the Mayor arrived, and some others of the police force who had been sent for, also came. The Mayor immediately got on the locomotive, and told the driver that he should be protected. The driver, however, lost courage, and requested to be taken to the gaol as a place of safety; this was done by the police. The Mayor was of the opinion that if the driver had showed more courage, the engine could have been repaired in a very short time, and taken on with the train.[10]

As a result of this incident, the morning train from Montreal went no further than Prescott where several strikers persuaded the driver to leave his engine and accompany them to Brockville. The mayor tried vainly to get a quorum in the Town Council at both five o'clock and seven o'clock in the evening to discuss the advisability of calling out militia. The council could not be collected until the following morning. Then it decided the militia was unnecessary. Meanwhile, the mayor had assembled the local police force at the Grand Trunk station. Policemen boarded every locomotive that passed through the station Tuesday and Wednesday to prevent violence. Some rough language was used, but there were no more disturbances during the strike.[11]

Napanee reported that passenger train No.4 from Montreal was still waiting to proceed through Belleville. Annoyed passengers spent much of their time being trans-

ported to and from hotels for meals. Belleville authorities met Monday morning under the direction of crown attorney, Charles Coleman. They drew up a requisition asking Lt. Col. W.S. Durie, Deputy Adjutant-General of Militia at Toronto, to command whatever force he thought necessary to quiet Belleville. Durie wired Oliver Mowat to discover if he could legally follow this request. By six-thirty in the evening he had been answered in the affirmative. He sent out a call for seventeen officers and two hundred men and non-commissioned officers of the Queen's Own Rifles to be ready to move at seven o'clock on Tuesday morning. At the mention of the calling of the Queen's Own, rumors flew that drivers on the Great Western and Northern who were in sympathy with strikers on the Grand Trunk would strike if the militia assembled. Although members of the Queen's Own gathered at the Toronto station on Tuesday morning, the sympathizers did not strike.

Toronto citizens flocked to their station during New Year's Day to keep abreast of the situation. Non-strikers accosted striker Fitzpatrick, secretary of the grievance committee. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the express from Toronto which had been stopped at Cobourg on Sunday returned without hinderance. One engine almost ended in the Don River. While some of the non-striking

employees were shunting engines onto sidings, five strikers seized one engine. They ordered the driver and fireman off and started on the eastward track with the locomotive. Since the switch at the Don River was turned onto a siding, the stolen locomotive and its occupants ran toward the river. Noticing their direction, the strikers reversed the engine, then jumped off to avoid a ducking. The engine ran off the siding and through a paling. Badly bruised, the men limped back into the city.

Brantford reported all quiet although strikers refused to resume work until some settlement was made. London reported no trains arriving or leaving on the Grand Trunk since Friday. A train left Stratford for Sarnia at two o'clock in the afternoon. Driven by H. Roberts, assistant superintendent, it had at least twenty special constables on board. The train went as far as Widder and returned because the occupants were fearful of disturbances at Point Edward. On the way they discovered two engines frozen on the line. A train with snow plough and three engines despatched from Toronto at ten o'clock in the morning arrived in Stratford at five-thirty in the afternoon. At Stratford the driver joined the strikers.

In the United States, Port Huron strikers stopped an eastern train from Detroit on Monday afternoon. They

let only the mail go through. There were about forty strikers at Port Huron, quiet but determined. Local police officers would not arrest them without assistance. At Fort Gratiot Village and the upper end of the city, where nine-tenths of the people were railroaders, citizens were reported to be in sympathy with the strike. There was no disturbance, however.

On Tuesday, January 2, 1877, despite a few special trains that ran between isolated spots, through traffic on the Grand Trunk was still stopped. A general cessation of business by employees was at that time unique. According to the Montreal Daily Witness, "probably never before has a strike of employees been more unanimously and successfully carried out...the whole business of the Company is paralyzed".[12] Brockville reported all quiet. There were no attempts to start trains nor was there any sign of the militia. At noon, Tuesday, the first train with the Toronto papers and mail since Friday passed through Guelph without incident. London was quiet. Mail and passengers were being transported by Great Western and Port Dover lines. Stratford special constables were on hand at the station when the first train from Toronto arrived on Tuesday. After surrounding the engines, the constables escorted the drivers and firemen to Town Hall Police Court.

The men were given refreshment. Afterwards they joined the strikers.

At the request of the Grand Trunk station agent, Sarnia civic authorities readied the Point Edward station for a fight. None occurred. Over thirty special constables were sworn in and the Sarnia company of artillery was called out. The mayor telegraphed to London for troops. The station agent made one unsuccessful attempt to start a train in the morning with the constables on duty. He later decided to wait for a settlement or the collection of the troops. About one hundred men were reported to be on strike and another hundred in sympathy. No other attempts were made to start trains on Tuesday. By noon on Wednesday, the mayor stated that military assistance was no longer necessary.

Mails had not reached Ottawa since Friday. The nation's capital was feeling the transportation pinch. A government statement was issued and carried in the Montreal Daily Witness.

> In case the trains on the Grand Trunk Railroad are unable to get through, the Postmaster General has made ample arrangements to have the mails conveyed through the United States. It is much to be desired that the country should be saved this humiliation, but if trains do not get through today it will have to be done. As to the request sent to the Federal Government to call out the troops, it must be understood that the law does not permit such

> action except in cases of invasion or insurrection. It is the business of local Magistrates alone to call the military to the assistance of the civil power, to suppress tumults and riots.[13]

According to newspaper reports, the strikers offered to run mail cars only from Toronto to Montreal on Sunday and Monday. The company declined these offers. The Saturday mail from Toronto arrived in Napanee on Tuesday morning at six o'clock. It had been transported on two sleighs with a guard of eight men. The twenty-five bags of mail continued to Kingston by sleigh. It arrived at five o'clock in the afternoon. Monday evening when post office officials in Toronto learned about the calling of the Queen's Own, they cancelled other scheduled relays for Tuesday. Other arrangements for mail had included a train east to Belleville, a train to the west as far as Berlin and teams to Stratford and Goderich. Mails for places on the Midland Railway were despatched by Toronto and Nipissing to Cannington. Mails for Ottawa and Montreal were to go from Kingston on the United States' roads, after permission was granted from the United States Postmaster General.[14]

In Toronto, Great Western Railway authorities were busy contradicting rumors that their men might strike. At the Grand Trunk station yard engines worked

all day without interference. On Tuesday evening, 150 strikers and railway men met in the Brock Street Temperance Hall in preparation for a mass meeting planned for Thursday. Because the city council was in session, the men were asked to speak before the council. The strikers marched two by two into the council chamber at nine-thirty. James Duffin spoke for over an hour on behalf of the men.[15]

By noon Tuesday, the Queen's Own were on their way to Belleville. They included fourteen officers and one hundred and fifty-six men and non-commissioned officers. They were stationed on a train including two pilot engines, two engines and nineteen passenger cars. The driver of the leading engine was John Connolly, an old Grand Trunk express driver. Another driver was a man from the Illinois Central. Several thousand people watched the train pull out of the Toronto station alittle before noon. There were no attempts at violence. At each station, the troops left the engines and formed a cordon around them. Crowds turned out at stations along the line, but there were no attempts at resistance. According to a special reporter on the train, "at the larger places our advent was hailed with mingled cheering and hooting, the former as we approached our destination seeming to resolve itself into the latter".[16] There were large crowds at Brighton and

Cobourg which shouted the travelers on. "The pace at which we traveled was, of course, very slow, often not exceeding ten miles an hour, and much time was spent at the stoppage in watering, transferring mails, etc."[17] By nine o'clock in the evening, the train arrived at Sidney, seven miles out of Belleville. At this point, "our train presented rather a novel spectacle with its four engines, each guarded by ten men with bayonets fixed, and a train of nineteen cars, out of the windows of the first five of which the heads of the troops were thrust".[18]

There was great excitement, but no violence, in Belleville as citizens awaited the arrival of the Queen's Own Rifles. On Tuesday afternoon, at the request of a Bench of Magistrates, the mayor issued a proclamation forbidding all persons who had no legitimate business from visiting the station. This had little effect, apparently, because there were people in the yard and on the platform all day and evening. Strikers and friends were reported to be gathered in a hotel close to the station.

The moonlit night was cold and clear. At eleven o'clock the militia escorted the train into Belleville. They were greeted with a storm of hooting and yelling at the west end of the station. A crowd of men, women and

children estimated at 600 to 800 persons had gathered.[19] A few sticks and stones were thrown at the engines, but no damage was done. After the station was reached safely the crowd had to be kept back by a double line of soldiers on both sides of the train. The crowd shouted threats to the engineers whose names they knew. Stones and clubs were thrown at the engines, breaking a few windows. Shunting was carried on with great difficulty. One man was arrested for inserting a bolt to break the sliding bar of an engine. Two engines were taken from the train to be coaled and watered for the continuation of the journey. Accompanied by the militia, the train moved east at one-twenty Wednesday morning against the wishes of the crowd. In the eastern end of the yard some boys and strikers climbed on the cars, put on the brakes and tried to uncouple them. Twenty-five men of the Queen's Own and several passengers beat them off. This was the first train to leave Belleville since the beginning of the strike on Friday night. The soldiers rode as far as Napanee.

After the train was safely off, orders were given to move the other two engines to the round house. Davis, Foster, Coleman and Mackenzie Bowell, M.P.,[20] tried to calm the crowd and supervise the movement of the engines.

One engine was pushed off the track, stones were thrown, several pistol shots and one rifle shot were fired, and one man was struck by a bayonet. By three o'clock Wednesday morning the locomotives were in their sheds, and their drivers taken to a near-by boarding house. A guard was kept all night on both. The town was quiet after the successful departure of the train. No further violence erupted.

Meanwhile, Grand Trunk officials and spokesmen for the strikers were trying to work out a solution. The men wanted the re-employment of discharged engineers and firemen. They requested the terms of the Friday ultimatum. They also demanded the release of four strikers arrested for leaving their engines.[21] In Montreal, representatives of the men held a four-hour conference with Hickson at his home on Monday evening. This resulted in the Montreal strikers sending a message to Toronto. The message stated that although Hickson was unwilling to agree to the Friday ultimatum, he would re-employ immediately all men except those guilty of violence.[22] Terms of wages and promotion would be decided at a later meeting of Hickson and the general grievance committee. Toronto strikers relayed the message to the various chapters on the Western Division.[23] Their representatives met in Toronto from Tuesday evening

until early Wednesday morning. Then the men conceded their readiness to return to work, some walking the streets announcing the end of the strike. A message reading "all right" was telegraphed to the Brothers along the line.

Footnotes

[1] Daily Eastern Argus, January 2, 1877.

[2] A Liberal, Sir Oliver Mowat was Prime Minister and Attorney-General of Ontario from 1872 to 1896. His period of office was unparalleled in the history of British Parliamentary government. He took a leading part in the fight for provincial rights and in the gradual extension of the franchise. The Encyclopedia of Canada, ed. W. Stewart Wallace, (Toronto: University Associates of Canada Ltd., 1935) IV, p.354.

[3] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.34.

[4] Ibid. p.44.

[5] Montreal Gazette, January 1, 1877.

[6] Apparently, the volunteer militia were not ordered to load or to use bayonets, so they stood as spectators. Montreal Gazette, January 2, 1877.

[7] Ibid. January 1, 1877.

[8] One reporter expressed doubt that militia would be easily gathered because he stated that nine-tenths of them were members of trade unions. Montreal Gazette, January 1, 1877. Another reporter was impressed by the amount of money the strikers seemed to possess to buy off any new men. He wrote: "Strikers appear to have money in abundance and snap up all the new men that put in an appearance". Montreal Daily Witness, January 2, 1877.

[9] See Chapter 9 and Appendix L.

[10] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.42.

[11] Ibid.

[12] January 2, 1877.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Probably connecting with the Rome, Watertown and Ogdensburg Railway across the river from Kingston. Then journeying to Ottawa via the Ottawa & Prescott (St. Lawrence and Ottawa) Railw ay from Ogdensburg, and to Montreal through New York State or Vermont.

[15] See Chapter 6.

[16] Toronto Globe, January 4, 1877.

[17] Ibid. January 3, 1877.

[18] Ibid. January 4, 1877.

[19] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.10.

[20] See page 194.

[21] Those arrested were Leavy and Richmond on the eastern division. Tom Fennell and Henry Fell on the western division also had been arrested. On Thursday, January 4, 1877, the company dropped its case against Leavy and Richmond for train desertion. The men were released. There is no further mention of Fennell and Fell.

[22] On Tuesday afternoon a notice signed by Wallis was posted at the Point St. Charles sheds. According to this document, all engineers and firemen who had committed no violence could resume work at their old pay upon application to him. A large crowd read the notice.

[23] Daily Eastern Argus, January 4, 1877. Appendix M.

Chapter 5 The Settlement

Early Wednesday morning, January 3, 1877, Grand Trunk centers bustled with activity as employees attempted to meet regular schedules. In Montreal, drivers hurried to their engines at Point St. Charles to thaw them and get them in steam. The Montreal Gazette reported that the men were glad to be back at work. They were tired of "lolling about their hall", or "lazying about their homes".[1] By nine-thirty in the morning a heavy express left Montreal for Toronto, the first to go through since Friday morning. The sudden announcement of the end of the strike caused some surprise in Toronto, according to press reports. Freight traffic, however, was actively resumed on Wednesday morning. Passenger trains were to meet regular schedules by evening. Engines were being fired up in Brockville. In the west, a train left London for St. Mary's alittle after seven o'clock on Wednesday evening with passengers and freight. It was the first train since Friday. The train from Toronto started by the Queen's Own reached Lansdowne, about thirty miles west of Brockville, at eleven o'clock on Wednesday morning. It was reported to be proceeding eastward slowly

because of delays and its enormous length, having picked up passengers and mail for four days.

On Wednesday night in Montreal a force of ten men tackled fifty-eight bags of mail which they finished sorting by midnight. This assortment was completed only two hours after the usual sorting time, according to press reports. The first installment of the mail left on the six o'clock train on Thursday morning.

Several of the missing drivers who had been sent west to replace strikers returned to Montreal on Friday beaten badly. One man said that when he was attacked at Belleville he ran to the militia for protection, but they only looked on. He then appealed to the mayor who tried to give him protection in a station office. The mob found him and someone hit him in the eye which blinded him. They would have hurt him more severely, he stated, except that a brakeman lifted him from the ground and turned the crowd away.

In accordance with the return to work settlement, Arthur was telegraphed. He arrived in Toronto on Thursday noon and met with the western committee members. They journeyed to Montreal in the evening. On Friday afternoon, Arthur and the general committee met with Hickson and Wallis and reached a final settlement. The agreement was

drafted on Saturday in the company reading rooms at Point St. Charles.[2] A comparison of this final agreement with the ultimatum of the engineers of December 29, 1876, will show that the engineers received three of their eight original demands. They won the most important clauses of the agreement of 1875. They were conceded the rehiring of all strikers except those guilty of personal violence. The engineers were certainly correct in later stating that the strike ended in a victory for the strikers.[3] The text of the agreement was published in local newspapers. In Toronto on Sunday, Arthur read and explained the settlement to all engineers and firemen who attended a gathering for this purpose. On Monday, January 8, 1877, copies of the agreement were distributed to the engineers. The Toronto Globe reported that Wallis had agreed to have a meeting of all mechanical foremen on the road for a discussion of any other grievances. According to the Monthly Journal the Grand Trunk strike had lasted 108 hours. The company reported that it cost about 12,000 pounds ($57,960) including loss of receipts and wages paid.[4]

The following Tuesday, January 16, 1877, the Toronto Mail reported rumors of a second strike on the Grand Trunk. A reporter stated that several Brotherhood men told him on Monday evening that they thought the

company was not keeping the agreement. They believed company officials were unwilling to reinstate all the Brotherhood men who had joined the strike. The men said the company had brought in twenty-seven new non-union men "or scabs as they call them" from the Lower Provinces to take the place of old employees. The day of the strike was to be secret. The hour would be midnight, in order to cause least inconvenience to the public. This grievance, however, was settled peaceably. The same article reported that on Monday night John Eaton and several others communicated directly with Hickson at the Union Station Telegraph office. Shortly before midnight they settled the situation satisfactorily.

Footnotes

[1] Montreal Gazette, January 4, 1877.

[2] Appendix N.

[3] Monthly Journal, July 1941, p.487.

[4] Grand Trunk Reports, semi-annual meeting, April 30, 1877.

Chapter 6 Two Sides to the Strike

Because of the direct effect of the strike upon the public and extensive newspaper coverage of strike activities,[1] both the strikers and the company felt compelled to justify their actions. Tyler condemned the strikers at the April, 1877, stockholders meeting in London. Hickson stated his side of the case in press interviews and telegraph messages to Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie.[2] The case for the Brotherhood appeared in newspaper interviews with strikers during the strike, the account given by striker James Duffin before the Toronto City Council and in the February,1877, issue of the Monthly Journal.

Section 1 The Voice of the Engineers

Arguing that their actions had been both justifiable and honorable, the engineers stressed five aspects of the strike. They believed management to be at fault in breaking the 1875 agreement. According to their version of the December negotiations they believed all peaceful means of settlement had been exhausted. They had stopped all trains at a certain time in order to avoid accidents. They advised the company ahead of time that they would strike. The strike organizers and supporters argued that they did not sanction violence. In addition to showing an appeal for public favor, these arguments tend to illustrate the character of the labor movement at the time. The workingmen upheld respect for law and order and were greatly concerned with fair play in negotiations. Conscious of their inferior position in the economic world, they were still aware of the power they might wield in organized action, especially if this action received public sympathy. They felt justified, therefore, in resorting to a strike to gain recognition for their demands as much as for the demands themselves.

The men were particularly concerned with the

breaking of the "spirit" of the 1875 agreement and the insult to Brotherhood prestige which it entailed. They believed that they had conceded to the company in allowing the new grades of firemen and engineers to be retained. James Duffin told the Toronto City Council that the men had accepted the 1875 agreement even though they had considered it unfair. He placed much of the blame for the strike on Wallis. He said the mechanical superintendent had refused to pay the contracted ten cents per hour for shunting to men on the Stratford and Goderich branch. He also stated that a reduction of staff made no difference to company coffers because the men were paid by the trip. He believed the reduction was aimed at destroying the Brotherhood. A Montreal member of the Brotherhood, John Cardell, gave his own case as an example of the breaking of the spirit of the agreement. Cardell said he was one of the first to be dismissed although he had been employed by the Grand Trunk for nineteen years. He considered the fact that he had been a delegate to Brotherhood conventions several times one reason for his early dismissal.[3]

The engineers stressed the fact that they had exhausted all peaceful means of settlement. Arthur, Cardell and Duffin gave the same explanation of events

from December 19 to 21, 1876.[4] Cardell said the men were "enraged" to see their representatives refused an interview with Wallis. Duffin stated:

> As a body of men, when our Grand Chief (Arthur) is refused an audience we take it as a direct insult to the Brotherhood at large...They (Grand Trunk officials) refused to hear us, they refused to recognize us, they refused to do what they had promised to do, and it is no use mincing matters--we have determined if possible, to make them do it.[5]

This lack of tact on the part of Wallis was a pivotal point between the strike and peaceful settlement. Throughout the strike and afterward, most of the strikers maintained respect for Hickson. Cardell stated that a peaceful settlement would have been reached if an early contact had been made with Hickson. Other Toronto and Montreal strikers voiced the same opinion to the press. Although Arthur declined to indulge in personal vindictiveness, his version places much of the blame on Wallis and credits Hickson with receiving the men courteously. Duffin, who was harshest toward Hickson, held him responsible for Wallis' dismissal of old employees and for stranded passengers.[6]

By the beginning of January, the charge of foreign interference among the engineers was being bandied about in the press. The Canadian Brothers vehemently denied charges that Arthur instigated the strike. Duffin said:

> All that the Grand Chief has got to do, rather than to instigate a strike, is to do all he can to prevent a strike; but when prevention becomes impossible without submitting to tyranny, he allows us to do as we think proper.[7]

One of the severest criticisms against the strikers in the press was the charge of abandoning passengers in the snow between stations. The strikers answered these charges by stating that all trains were stopped at one particular time to avoid collisions. They further countered that since the company was well warned of the strike, it was the duty of company officials to see that passenger trains did not leave stations close to the time of the strike. Mentioning the weather, Duffin said visibility was so low that collisions could not possibly have been avoided if trains had been allowed to go through. He stated that the strikers were more interested in the safety of the passengers than in their inconvenience. Duffin placed the ultimate responsibility for stranded passengers upon the company. Stating that Hickson had ample warning that all trains would stop at nine o'clock, Duffin continued:

> And if Mr. Hickson had any regard for the interest of the Grand Trunk Company, and for the interest and comfort of the traveling public and his daily customers, why did he not stop these trains at a station knowing that they could not make the next station...Why, then, did they start us five or six minutes away from a station, knowing that we could not make that station. I say the responsibility rests with Mr. Hickson for the inconvenience of the

> passengers and for any trouble or loss that they sustained by being kept out that night. If he choose not to act upon the warning it was his fault and not ours.[8]

The strikers also had to answer to charges of violence resulting from the strike. Montreal engineers were particularly vocal about this aspect. On December 30, 1876, several of the strikers told the Montreal Daily Witness that they did not intend to cause disturbances. On January 3, 1877, Cardell said the men disapproved of the conduct of the mob in Ontario, and that "those on the Montreal division had interfered with no one and did not intend to do so".[9] Although he stated that the Brotherhood could not be held responsible for acts of violence, he said that the Montreal division had telegraphed a strong protest to Belleville and Stratford. The strikers "would attain their end by fair means or consent to be defeated", he added. According to the Gazette reporter, other strikers with Cardell during the interview also deplored the western disturbances. The interview was held in Brotherhood headquarters in the rear of the Victoria Hotel. Duffin also vehemently denounced the unlawful activity which had taken place. He stated that members of the Brotherhood were bound by solemn pledges to expose perpetrators of violence even if they belonged to the

Brotherhood. He expressed the hope that Toronto citizens and Grand Trunk officials would have no fear for their persons or property. He commented, "we cannot, we did not, and we will not recognize violence either towards the Company's property or the persons of those representing the Company".[10]

Section 2 The Company Retorts

Lack of respect for company property and personel was, however, one of the company's strongest points against the strikers. Pointing to disturbances at Stratford, Brockville and Belleville, Hickson and Tyler not only criticised the strikers, but condemned the Canadian government for not controlling the rioters. When describing the strike at the April stockholders meeting, Tyler commented:

> They (the strikers) further resorted to violence and intimidation, to prevent the traffic being forwarded by loyal men; and they did not hesitate to disable the engines and beat the men who would otherwise, in some instances, have taken them forward. A reign of terror was thus established, and the traffic of the country was paralysed for four days and nights.

Hickson wrote Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie that because of its failure to employ military force the government was responsible for his concessions to the men that ended the strike.[11]

Other charges against the strikers by the company included claims that the men were well paid, that they did not exhaust all peaceful means of settlement, and that the Canadians were controlled by American interference. Company spokesmen did not mention the 1875 agreement.

Stressing the depressed economic conditions of the time, Tyler stated that, "the engine-drivers on the Grand Trunk Railway are represented to have been better paid in proportion than other servants of the Company".[12] He said that the company felt it necessary to economize because of the hard times, but that none of the Canadian officials had wished to deal harshly with the men. The company did not single out Brotherhood men for dismissal in December, company officials told the Montreal Gazette.

In its editorial columns the Gazette attempted to prove the company point that the strikers were "arbitrary in their demands, and preemptory in their measures".[13] On January 1, 1877, the newspaper published the account of negotiations between the grievance committee and the company as proof that the men had not exhausted all peaceful means of settlement. Commenting on this narrative in its editorial column, the Gazette stated:

> The telegram from Mr. Drinkwater was dated the 22nd December, and it stated that Mr. Hickson was in New York, but that on his return, he would be glad to examine into the whole question. Was that an unreasonable message to send. Important as the demands of the engine drivers were, it could hardly be contended that they were such as to cause the General Manager to neglect the work which had taken him to New York, and come back on the summons of this Mr. Arthur, who was not even in the employ of the Company. He got back from New York on Sunday morning, Monday was Christmas Day, and on Tuesday he received

> a deputation of men, who presented him with the list of demands which we print. Was that document presented in good faith, and with the object of avoiding any difficulty. Unfortunately, it was not. It bears the same date as the inflammatory appeal, order it might more properly be called, of Mr. Arthur, calling upon the men to strike, and strangely enough basing the call upon the fact that he had a letter from Mr. Hickson, in which that gentleman promised to consider the whole question.

The Gazette added on January 6, 1877, that all telegraph correspondence addressed to Jos. Hickson Esq, New York, reached him because the telegraph company officials knew him.

The charge of American interference was made in the press and by company spokesmen. Tyler told the stockholders:

> There is a powerful organisation in America, known as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, with its headquarters at Cleveland, Ohio, and with ramifications over a great part of the United States and in Canada; and the head of this Brotherhood assumes to himself functions of the most arbitrary and extensive character ...this man issues his ukase and at a certain hour of a specified night, the traffic of a country is stopped.

When referring to the meeting of Montreal strikers and Hickson on December 30, 1876, the Gazette stated that Hickson and the men almost reached a settlement but that the men called Hickson after the meeting to say they had no authority. The Gazette commented:

> As a matter of fact, it did not suit the American combination to have the matter settled so easily. They doubtless have their own objects to accomplish,

> and in the doing of it they have been successful in making victims of a body of men who have hitherto borne the highest character, and the great mass of whom, we are sure, can have but scant sympathy with the proceedings to which they have thus been made parties.

No matter how vehement their arguments, the case for the company seems weaker than that for the strikers. The only facts that could be called American interference were the presence of Arthur, who came only on request, and the strike funds which the international organization paid the striking Brothers. Although the demands of employees did not carry the importance in 1870 which they do now, company officials could have given immediate recognition to the men. Wallis' blunt refusal to see the grievance committee, and Hickson's failure to answer them personally, if only by telegraph, show a lack of foresight in a delicate situation. Comparatively well paid, the strikers were not paid enough for the hazards and demands of their occupation. They were in the constant position of having to defend what wages they did earn. Their touchiness about the prestige of the Brotherhood and the breaking of the 1875 agreement is understandable during a depression period when labor organizations were being beaten down. The maintenance of the terms and spirit of the agreement of 1875 was an important point to the union since it

established firmer ground for arbitration and peaceful settlement in the future.

The stranding of passengers and violence were the two strongest points against the strikers in the Grand Trunk affair. There appears to be no definite evidence available to determine the responsibility for stranded passengers. Copies of any standing rules for Grand Trunk engineers at this time cannot be found, although there is evidence that they may have existed. A copy of rules for engineers and firemen in 1881 on the Canada Central Railway assigns the responsibility to the men.[14] P.M. Arthur mentioned a Book of Rules when he was discussing his trip to Ottawa to see Edward Blake.[15] He stated that members of Parliament had told him that "a contract had always existed between the engineers and the Grand Trunk Company, embodied in the Book of Rules furnished to each engineer, whereby they agreed to give fourteen days' notice before leaving the service of the Company."[16] Portland, Maine, newspapers assigned the responsibility to the strikers as the result of a verbal promise. The Portland opinion is illustrated by a comment from the Daily Eastern Argus. The newspaper stated:

> A despatch from Montreal Saturday, stated that the company had the strongest promises of support from the men who started out with their engines Friday

> night, and moreover, the mere fact of their taking control of the engines at starting was a tacit agreement to run the trip; and hence, neither the company nor the traveling public had any reason to expect what has taken place.[17]

Violence was probably privately considered a necessary evil by the strikers because it would have been impossible for them to carry on a successful strike if others had been available to do their work.

Footnotes

[1] See Chapter 8.

[2] There must have been private correspondence between Tyler and Hickson regarding the strike, but the author has been unable to locate any such correspondence.

[3] Montreal Gazette, January 3, 1877.

[4] See Chapter 2.

[5] Monthly Journal, 1877, p.74-76.

[6] During his discourse to the council, Duffin also accused Grand Trunk officials of receiving thirty-five percent of any reduction of working expenses on the road including reduced salaries of enginemen and firemen. A department head, Blackwell, had told him that at one point in 1876 he had received $130 over his quarter's salary from savings in his department. This accusation was later denied by the company in the press. What Duffin was referring to was Potter's 1875 incentive plan to increase company efficiency. See page 48, footnote 52.

[7] Monthly Journal, 1877, p.73.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Montreal Gazette

[10] Monthly Journal, 1877, p.76.

[11] See page 168.

[12] Grand Trunk Reports, semi-annual meeting, April 30, 1877.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Regulation 8 in Section III of the Book of Rules and Regulations of the Canada Central Railway Company for

1881 reads: No engineman on duty must ever leave his engine, except in case of great necessity, when he must take care to put it in charge of his fireman; but on no account whatever shall both leave it, either on the main line or on any siding on the road, or until it be given up to the proper person appointed to receive it. These regulations were signed by Archer Baker, general manager, at Brockville on January 1, 1881. This railway connected with the Grand Trunk at Brockville. It extended northward to Smiths Falls and Perth, Carleton Place, Ottawa and Pembroke. It presently forms part of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

[15] See Chapter 10.

[16] Monthly Journal, 1877, p.217.

[17] January 1, 1877. See also page 158.

Chapter 7 Public Opinion Concerning the Strike

With both the engineers and the company vehemently defending their roles in the strike, it was not unusual for others to join the discussion. Businessmen and public officials found such a display of militant labor organization shocking. A few Dominion government officials, however, and the majority of that nebulous, the public, expressed sympathy with union aims. Press accounts, crown attorney reports, private correspondence, public statements by government officials, city councils and boards of trade attest to this mixed reaction.

Section 1 The Public and its Political Leaders

The press had little to say in its news columns about public opinion. Montreal papers did not even mention this aspect in their city. The Montreal Daily Witness carried one report that the preponderance of public sympathy in Toronto was in favor of the strikers.[1] The Toronto Globe disagreed. It printed the statement:

> When on Saturday the news got abroad that the passengers had been left out in the snow by the engineers a storm of indignation was aroused in the community, which continued to increase until in the course of yesterday the feeling against the men was very strong indeed.[2]

The only other mention of public sympathy by the Globe was in a short paragraph on events at Port Huron. The paper stated that public sympathy was on the side of the strikers at first. The use of violence, however, was changing peoples' opinion. The Montreal Gazette dismissed public opinion with one sentance. It stated that the conduct of the men employed in Canada had alienated all public sympathy from them.[3]

Because public opinion depends upon which section of the public is asked for its opinion, it was possible to find evidences of sentiment for and against the engineers. Travelers who had been stranded in the snow and merchants

transporting goods disliked the actions of the strikers. It is interesting, however, that five out of fifteen Ontario crown attorneys, and the commanding officer of the 15th Battalion at Belleville, commented upon public sympathy. They wrote that it was running in favor of the strikers. S.S. Lazier, Major of the 15th Battalion, reported on January 9, 1877, that he had difficulty getting men partly because of the strong sympathy expressed by many of them for the strikers.[4] County crown attorneys for Sarnia, Stratford, Belleville, Napanee and Brockville wrote that public opinion was in favor of the strikers.

At Point Edward, the crown attorney estimated about one hundred men on strike, and fifty to seventy-five other employees at the building and works in sympathy.[5] M. Hayes, crown attorney at Stratford, wrote on December 31, 1876, that "the engineers, firemen and those prepared to assist them in resisting the opening of the road, muster two hundred resolute men".[6] In his report on January 18, 1877, he added:

> On Saturday, it was extremely doubtful whether the two hundred engaged in these works (the Grand Trunk shops and round house) could be safely trusted to protect them, as it was feared the influence of the strikers had shaken their allegiance to the interests of the Company. As to the town's people, there was no doubt that their sympathies were strongly in favour of the engineers and under these circumstances it was deemed most prudent not to swear in special

> constables till the following day, when the feeling of the employes, outside the strikers, could be better ascertained.[7]

There was a great deal of sympathy for the strikers at Belleville.[8] Eyewitness reports of the Queen's Own arrival, and the crown attorney's estimate of the station crowd illustrate this sympathy. Commenting on his visit to the station on Sunday, December 31, 1876, Charles L. Coleman wrote:

> There were a great many men standing about, evidently sympathisers with the engineers, and went to swell the crowd, who could claim exemption as spectators, and yet in case of disturbance, were evidently prepared to act with the engineers.[9]

Citizens of Napanee, where no disturbance occurred, expressed sympathy with the strikers. When the mayor called a citizens meeting in the market square to enlist volunteers to quell Belleville disturbances, only two or three men volunteered.[10]

> Most present had strong sympathy in favor of the striking engineers...some persons (even persons of some position and intelligence) openly expressed opinions in approval of the action taken by the engineers, and the indications of sympathy with them, which came to the notice of the station master here, were sufficient to discourage him from taking any further steps to secure the assistance of the volunteer force.[11]

This meeting was composed mostly of workingmen, the crown attorney commented. He added that merchants and businessmen

later assured the mayor they would join the volunteers if necessary. The fact that the mayor found it necessary to consult public opinion points to a conclusion that sympathy for the strikers must have been considerable. E.J. Senkler, the crown attorney for Leeds and Grenville, stated that in Brockville "there was a good deal of sympathy felt and expressed for the employes who had struck".[12] To strengthen his opinion, he enclosed a clipping from the Brockville Monitor for January 5, 1877, expressing strong sympathy for the strikers.[13]

As was to be expected, most trade unionists were in sympathy with the striking engineers. The Montreal Daily Witness declared that the strikers had the sympathy of all trade unions in Toronto. A mass meeting of workingmen was to be held in Toronto the first week in January. It was cancelled when the strike ended Wednesday. Although engine drivers on other Canadian lines did not strike in sympathy, there were constant rumors that they were about to do so, particularly drivers on the Great Western.[14] Train conductors, some of whom belonged to a weak union formed in 1868, held an informal secret meeting on New Year's Day. At this meeting they agreed to refuse to work with drivers who were incompetent or strangers to the road.[15] No other mention is made of the conductors, however,

and the strike ended before they had an opportunity to actively express their sympathy.

Government officials expressed opinions on the strike for and against the engineers.[16] Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie, cautious publically about his sentiments, displayed no compromise privately. In a letter to Joseph Hickson dated January 2, 1877, Mackenzie stated a definite opinion against the strikers. He wrote:

> I received your telegram yesterday afternoon regarding the breaches of the peace at Belleville. I thought my first telegram on Saturday would have sufficed to show that I have no more power than you have, under such circumstances, to order out troops and to interfere for the preservation of the peace; and I cannot but express my regret that in spite of my repeated declarations you still seem to think I could do what the law says I shall not do.
>
> It does not require a lawyer, after reading the statute law on the subject, to show that the Federal authorities are strictly limited in their action to periods of war or insurrection.
>
> The entire Volunteer force of the Province is available for putting down such disturbances as now prevail on your railway, but it must be called out by the Magistrates and the Government of the Province, who alone are charged under the law, with the preservation of the peace. I entertain the strongest possible desire to aid you in resisting the monstrous usurpations of the engine-drivers, but can only give you moral assistance.
>
> I telegraphed Mr. Mowat on Sunday night asking him to use every possible effort, and to communicate by telegraph with the local authorities in every disturbed district, instructing them as to their powers and duties. This he informed me in reply that he had done.
>
> It would appear that yesterday the Mayor of Belleville made a requisition on the Commanding Officer at Toronto for 200 troops. This requisition,

> and all others of a similar kind, the officers have been instructed to obey immediately--I trust, therefore, that the difficulty will now be got over; especially as it is quite evident that the entire public sympathy is with the Company and against the strikers. The conduct of these men seems to every one to be infamous, and I trust it will not be necessary for the Company to make any arrangements at all with persons who have acted so badly.

The Prime Minister, however, did not include this letter in official correspondence on the strike. He explained this omission in a letter to Hickson in which he wrote that the January 2, 1877, letter was "intended simply to explain to you the action which I had taken".[17] The omission of this letter in the Sessional Paper suggests that Mackenzie may have been aware of the amount of public sympathy favorable to the engineers.

Section 2 City Councils and Boards of Trade

The Toronto and Montreal City Councils considered the strike an important affair worth investigation and comment.[18] The Toronto City Council asked the strikers to present their version of the strike before the Council on Tuesday evening, January 2, 1877. Encouraged by this willingness to hear their side of the story, one striker exclaimed, "we have the sympathy of a majority of the Council and of the Mayor also.[19] This would seem to have been a correct summation in view of opinions expressed by the mayor and several aldermen.

Before Duffin's speech, Mayor Angus Morrison, Q.C., stated that he and the council did not wish to defend either side but simply to receive an explanation of the men's grievances and to try to bring about a peaceful settlement. His statement at the conclusion of Duffin's speech was more predisposed toward the engineers. Their case had been well stated, he said, and the men had his sympathy to a great extent. He believed that the men had a right to do their work or to leave it as they thought best. Of the two aldermen who made public statements on the strike at the meeting, John Hallam spoke

against the strikers, and John Turner heartily endorced most of their claims. A third alderman, John J. Withrow, would seem to have been in sympathy with the engineers because he suggested the appointment of a committee of the mayor, Turner and Hallam to try to arbitrate the strike. A fourth alderman, Joseph Gearing, seconded the motion. The council decided, however, that it had no power to act in such capacity.

Alderman Hallam took the position that the strike was a great misfortune to the businessmen. Alderman Turner, although he agreed it was a calamity, stated the belief that the engineers and firemen wanted justice as much as the general public did. He further expressed the opinion that combinations of workingmen were a necessity as long as they used fair means to protect the men. He urged the strikers to refrain from violence. Turner was one of the few public figures to go so far as to state that responsibility for the abandoning of passengers in the snow lay with the company's officers because they had received advance warning of the strike. At the end of their hour-long consideration of the affair, the council agreed to try to do anything in their power to help settle the strike, but they did not make an official statement.[20]

Montreal city councilors, however, issued a statement on the strike, and their opinion was against the striking engineers and firemen. At the first regular meeting of the Montreal City Council on Monday, January 8, 1877, Alderman G.W. Stephens moved and Alderman T.D. Hood seconded the following motion.

> That this Council regrets that under our existing laws the entire trade of the country may at any time during the winter months be paralysed by a premptory order given by some magnate of the engine drivers' brotherhood having no responsibility and unknown to the authorities of this Dominion by which he can be reached and held personally liable.
>
> That this Council considers it as very dangerous that responsible, law-abiding citizens should be hindered by organized and armed mobs from pursuing their lawful avocations, and that the property of the country should be exposed to such eminent danger, without adequate protection from either Local or Federal authority.
>
> That this Council would respectfully call upon the Federal Government to take such steps as may be needed to prevent a recurrence of the violent and unlawful acts, which occurred in connection with the recent strike on the Grand Trunk Railroad.[21]

The statements of three aldermen and the mayor were also unfavorable to the strikers, with the possible exception of Stephens, who did not deny the men the right to strike although he did decry violence.

In the discussion which followed presentation of the motion, Alderman Stephens, sponsor of the motion, reprimanded the federal government for permitting any violence to take place. He also said:

> No one will deny the right of those men to get as much for their labor as they can get. Their labor is their capital. Their true course would have been to leave their engines quietly and go away. They had no right to interfere with other men who were supplied to take their places...Where is the security to those foreign investors in case they invest property in future.[22]

Alderman Nathan Mercer believed that militia should be ordered out at once in the case of future violent strikes. Alderman David expressed the opinion that the council should offer suggestions to the government for the well-being of the country. Mayor Wm. H. Hingston stated:

> Any corporation whose functions are commercial, must be accorded the privilege of employing and dismissing, and in so far as its acts do not violate the law, it has a right to expect that the law will at least guard its interests against violence and unlawful combinations.[23]

He believed that the lack of violence in Montreal was a credit to the local strikers. He stressed the point that the council was disapproving of acts of violence and unlawful proceedings not discussing the merits of the case, but he stated:

> The first thing which naturally occurs to the mind in regard to the law is that the law ought to so deal with such combinations as to render their organization on any favorable scale in Canada undesirable. The next, that there ought to be at the disposal of the Federal Government a sufficient force to at once deal with any unlawful proceedings, especially such as may paralyze the work of a necessary railway to us, and seriously embarrass every portion of the community...It is not in the interest of the workingmen, themselves, with whom

> we all deeply sympathise in these hard times, that they should set themselves in opposition to the laws of the country.[24]

It is interesting to note that the mayors and city councillors were members of the professional and commercial classes. The mayor of Toronto was a lawyer. Two of the aldermen, John Withrow and Joseph Gearing were builders. Alderman John Turner was a manufacturer and importer of shoes and boots.[25] The mayor of Montreal, William H. Hingston, was probably the most prominent medical doctor in Canada. Born into an Irish family at Hinchinbrook, Quebec, he held degrees from McGill University and several European universities. During his professional life he organized the first Board of Health in the Dominion and was professor of surgery at Bishop Medical College. A Conservative in politics, he served as mayor of Montreal from 1875-1876.[26]

Ferdinand David was a lawyer with the firm of David, Rivard, Laurent & Drolet, advocates. In addition to being alderman in 1877, he served as park commissioner. George Washington Stephens was also a lawyer. A graduate of McGill, Stephens was born in Montreal to Vermont parents. As a lawyer he received recognition by winning the Connolly case. This case established the validity of Indian

marriage performed according to the customs of the country. He stopped practising law in order to administer his father's estate. In 1868 he was elected alderman. He served in the municipal council for seventeen years. As an alderman he earned the title of "The Corporation Watch Dog".[27] In politics he was a liberal of the old school.

The other two Montreal councilors were businessmen. Nathan Mercer was a member of Evans, Mercer & Co., wholesale druggists and manufacturing chemists. T.D. Hood was a tradesman who had risen to the top of his profession. Born in St. John's, Newfoundland, he came to Montreal at the age of fifteen to learn the trade of cabinet maker. At the end of a strike he joined the firm of Meade Brothers. This company dealt in pianos, music and music makers. On the death of one member of the firm, Hood was able to buy all the interests in the company. He conducted a thriving business for years. During the 1837 rebellion he served in the Montreal Rifle Companies.[28] He worked for the St. George's Society.

As members of the professional and commercial classes of two of Canada's largest cities, the municipal leaders would have had little personal contact with members of the industrial class. They lived and worked in different sections of the cities. They attended

different churches and social functions. In Toronto and Montreal class distinction was undoubtedly greater than in the small towns.[29] It was to be expected that their attitude toward the strikers would be less sympathetic than that of similar officials in the Ontario towns. In communities like Stratford and Brockville the commercial and professional classes were less numerous. They attended the same church and some of the same social functions as did members of the industrial class. They often met the strikers on the streets and in the stores. They were dependent to some extent on the votes of the strikers in municipal elections.[30] It is interesting to note that the two mayors who declined to call the militia, mayors of Stratford and Brockville, had been honored guests at the strikers' social affairs.[31]

The two diverse reactions of the Montreal and Toronto city councils might be explained by social conditions in the cities. Toronto had seen more violent labor activity in the 1870s than Montreal. A center of the nine-hour movement, Toronto had not forgotten the hard fought printers strike in 1872. It is also important to the growth of the labor movement to note that more Toronto workingmen had the franchise.[32] The reactions also reflected the difference in population composition between

Montreal and Toronto. According to the Dominion Census of 1880-1881, Toronto, with a population of 86,415, had an industrial class of 13,646 or about one-sixth of her population and a commercial class of 6,618 or about one-fourteenth of her population. Montreal, with a population of 140,747, had an industrial class of 20,754 or about one-seventh of the population and a commercial class of 11,718 or about one-twelfth. There were 597 railroad employees in Toronto and 330 in Montreal. These same statistics in the 1870-1871 census show an even higher proportion of workingmen and railwaymen in Toronto. The Toronto City Council was bound to reflect these differences.

The boards of trade also reflected these two differences between the cities. A comparison of statements by the Montreal Board of Trade and the Toronto Board of Trade will show an awareness of the greater strength of labor in Toronto. Although both boards asked for federal intervention in future disturbances, the Montreal statement was the more vehement of the two.

The Montreal Board of Trade annual general meeting was held on Tuesday, January 9, 1877. The members unanimously passed the following resolution proposed by F.W. Henshaw and seconded by W. Ogilvie.

> Whereas,--The recent troubles on the Grand Trunk Railway, owing to a strike among the engine drivers, has caused an almost total suspension of the business of the country, as well as great inconvenience to the travelling public and interruption of the mail service, thereby causing by lawless acts of violence serious loss and damage; and
>
> Whereas,--It would appear that no adequate provision exists on the part of the municipal authorities to promptly and successfully meet such emergency; and
>
> Whereas,--It is possible that a similar outbreak may at any time take place, when, as in the present case, lives may be imperilled and valuable property destroyed, it becomes the duty of this Board, which is, in a sense, the guardian of the commercial interests, to mark in the strongest manner its appreciation of the position, and to respectfully urge upon the Government the necessity of enacting such laws and providing such available and effectual means for their enforcement as will prevent a recurrence of similar outrage.
>
> Be it therefore
>
> Resolved.--That this Board viewing with alarm the proceedings of the last few days, and looking to the possibility of a repetition of the same, desire to impress upon its delegates to the Dominion Board of Trade about to assemble at Ottawa, the necessity of bringing this important subject before that body.[33]

Henshaw, sponsor of the proposal, compared the Grand Trunk line to the St. Lawrence in summer and stated that the whole country had been inconvenienced. "A man had come across the line and created dissension and dissatisfaction among the employees of the road amounting to riot and violence--to bloodshed, and almost to murder," he commented.[34] Andrew Robertson, president of the Board, stated:

> My only object is...it might be well to consider whether in the event of such a calamity again occurring we have the proper means to meet the

> difficulty...It seems to me desirable that if the general Government have not sufficient power at present, no time should be lost in granting ample power to deal in the most summary and efficient manner over the length and breadth of the Dominion.[35]

The Toronto Board of Trade resolution also called for government legislation. It, however, granted the engineers the right to combine to improve their standard of living. Unanimously passed on January 2, 1877, the Toronto resolution was introduced by W.H. Howland and A.M. Smith and stated:

> That this Council (of the Board of Trade), while fully admitting the right of the engineers of the Grand Trunk Railway to combine or take any other course within the law for the purpose of improving their position, feel most strongly that the men have put themselves beyond the pale of sympathy by their illegal action in preventing the service of the railway from being carried on by violence and intimidation. They would also express the opinion that the Government should at the next session of Parliament procure such legislation as would effectually prevent any organization under alien control from continuing to injure private and public interests, as has been done by the action of the engineers of the Grand Trunk Railway. They also feel sure that the Government will be strongly supported by the merchants of this city and by the public in general in taking strong measures to prevent violence and intimidation on the part of the strikers. They express the hope that no merchant will attempt to exact damages from the railway on account of their inability to perform their service by reason of the strike.[36]

At a general meeting on January 17, 1877, the Dominion Board of Trade included a statement on the Grand Trunk strike in the annual report of the Executive Council

of the Board. The Dominion group stated:

> With reference to the disastrous consequences of the recent strike of Locomotive Engine Drivers on the Grand Trunk Railway to the mail service and commerce of the Dominion, your Executive Council would specially request attention to this additional circumstance that the public credit of the Dominion had been imperilled by it. They are of opinion that the occurrence referred to was one respecting which all powers of the Government should have been promptly exercised for the suppression of riot and outrage, and that the existing laws relating to riotous proceedings of trade, or other combinations are either ineffectual to protect persons and property, or the authority of the law has not been brought into operation in the interest of law and peace. Independently of the merits of any dispute between the railway company and its employees, it is beyond doubt the duty of the Government to make all possible provision for maintaining law and order, and if existing powers are not sufficient for that purpose to invoke further legislation by Parliament without delay, and it is suggested that the consideration of the Board be given to this vital question.[37]

There was no further mention of this statement in press reports of the meeting. Why the Board did not discuss this question at the meeting is not quite clear, but members undoubtedly had some private influence on Edward Blake. He spoke of discussions about the Breaches of Contract Act with both business and union leaders.[38]

By 1877 the boards of trade were accustomed to dealing with political matters. In 1845 the Toronto Board of Trade had written a memorial to the Queen objecting to a Canadian Act establishing a duty on all goods imported from inland or United States routes. The

act had been passed by the Montreal commercial and milling interests. The Torontonians were western merchants. The memorial also stated that the westerners did not trust the Canadian legislature to deal with commercial matters because the commercial interests were inadequately represented.[39] In 1853 the Montreal, Toronto, Kingston and Quebec Boards of Trade joined forces to agitate for abandonment of reciprocity with the United States. They also advocated tariff protection which gave rise to the National Policy.[40] The Montreal Board of Trade had been instrumental in the development of the port of Montreal and the extensive railway system leading to and from that city. In the opinion of an historian of the Montreal Board, "its influence extended far beyond mere business matters, however, and played an important part in shaping the public policy on many problems relating to the municipality and to the province".[41]

The membership of the boards of trade in 1877 was largely mercantile. William J. Patterson, secretary of both the Montreal and Dominion boards was a member of the corn exchange. F.W. Henshaw was a general commission merchant, an agent for Black Diamond Coal and consul for the Republica Oriental del Uruguay. William W. Ogilvie

was a member of A.W. Ogilvie and Co., flour mills. W.H. Howland was connected with Howland and Son, flour and grain commission merchants. A.M. Smith was a lumber merchant.[42] Although the mercantile interests may not have been as powerful as they were to become, they composed an influential part of Canadian public opinion.

Footnotes

[1] January 3, 1877.

[2] January 1, 1877.

[3] January 1, 1877.

[4] See Chapter 9.

[5] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.32. Many residents of Point Edward were Grand Trunk employees. See page 7.

[6] Ibid. p.19.

[7] Ibid. p.34.

[8] See pages 92-94.

[9] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.39.

[10] See pages 81-82.

[11] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.45.

[12] Ibid. p.42.

[13] This was mentioned, but not included, in the Sessional Paper.

[14] Montreal Daily Witness, January 2, 1877.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Opinions of some members of Parliament and Edward Blake are stated in Chapter 10 on the Breaches of Contract Act.

[17] Mackenzie Papers, Public Archives of Canada, vol.6, No.84, letter dated February 20, 1877, written to Joseph Hickson.

[18] Belleville, Brockville and Kingston councils made no comment on the strike. Records of the Stratford Council meetings for 1877 have been destroyed by fire.

[19] Monthly Journal, 1877, p.71.

[20] Ibid. pp.71-72.

[21] Montreal Gazette, January 9, 1877.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] These occupations were listed for these names in Lovell's Canadian Dominion Directory for 1871 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1871) pp.843,848,835,794.

[26] Histoire de la Corporation de la Cité de Montreal, J. Cleophas Lamothe et La Violette et Massé, editeurs, (Montreal: Montreal Printing and Publishing Company Ltd., 1903), pp.301-305. Hingston continued in office until March 12, 1877. This is the date of his valedictory address and the inaugural address of J.L. Beaudry. Reports on the Accounts of the Corporation of the City of Montreal and Reports of City Officials for the Year 1876, (Montreal: Louis Perrault & Co., 1877), pp.18-20.

[27] Histoire de la Corporation... pp.771-772. The word "corporation" here refers to the Montreal City Council.

[28] Ibid. pp.826-827.

[29] See Chapter 1.

[30] See Chapter 11. The Brockville situation was further complicated by the local election on New Year's Day.

[31] See page 37.

[32] See Chapter 11.

[33] Montreal Gazette, January 10, 1877.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Toronto Globe, January 3, 1877.

[37] Montreal Daily Witness, January 17, 1877.

[38] See Chapter 10.

[39] Canada and Its Provinces...vol.5, p.212.

[40] The Centenary of the Montreal Board of Trade, 1822-1922 (Montreal: The Herald Press Limited, 1922), p.23.

[41] Ibid. p.18.

[42] Patterson, Henshaw, Ogilvie and Howland are listed in Lovells Montreal Directory for 1877. A.M. Smith is listed in Lovells Dominion Directory, 1871.

Chapter 8 Newspaper Coverage of the Strike

One reason public officials and private citizens were able to express definite opinions about the cause, importance, and consequences of the Grand Trunk strike was because Canadian newspapers gave the four-day affair full coverage. The press reported strike activities in detail. As a result, no member of the newspaper reading public could say he was uninformed. The press of at least three American cities considered the event newsworthy. Portland, Maine, newspapers gave it a half column or so news coverage each day. The Detroit Free Press devoted a front page column and editorial space to strike news. In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, newspapers devoted a few lines on their front pages to strike details.

All Toronto and Montreal English newspapers covered strike activities at great length. There is evidence that most small town newspapers did the same. The Stratford Beacon reported the strike, editorializing on the use of the militia in that town. The weekly Sarnia Observer devoted about a half-column to a round-up of news at the end of the strike. Unfortunately, copies of Belleville and Brockville newspapers have not been located

for 1877. The Brockville crown attorney's enclosing of a clipping from the Brockville Monitor, and the use by other members of the press of items from the Belleville Intelligencer, attest to their coverage. The Canadian Illustrated News took notice of the affair in its issue of January 20, 1877. It commented on the strike in addition to running a cover cartoon of the Post Master General on a balky donkey.

The Canadian press gave adequate and impartial reports of strike details, including coverage of pre-strike negotiations. Newspapers used eye witness accounts by their reporters at Grand Trunk stations. They included interviews with both the striking men and company officials. They printed telegraphic reports from reporters along the line, or from other newspapers. The great majority of details mentioned coincided with reports by the company, the Monthly Journal and the Sessional Paper. On the whole, the press confined its opinions to their proper place, the editorial. There were only a few isolated editorial comments about abandonment of passengers and public sympathy for or against the strikers in the news columns.

Editorial comments came fast and furious during the first few weeks of January. At first the press tried

to pin a definite responsibility for the strike on either opponent. Later it commented upon the Ontario disturbances and the adequacy of the Canadian militia. This latter discussion became quite heated, if not alittle comical. Tory and Grit editors battled to decide whether the Mackenzie administration was capable of preserving peace within the nation.

The pursuit of the party line was not uncommon in the press of the 1870s. Canadian newspapers were usually politically biased. Some publications, such as the Toronto Mail and the Toronto Globe were owned and operated by politicians. Large cities had two or three daily newspapers with at least one on each side of the political fence. Operating as job printing companies, many newspapers were dependent financially on government printing contracts. The circulation of the press was comparatively small. There were few province-wide newspapers or national news publications. The editorial condemnations which were hurled back and forth among the press during the Grand Trunk strike were commonplace. They occurred during every election and often in-between-times. During the printers strike against the Toronto Globe in 1872, the Conservative Toronto Mail editorialized against George Brown. Brown, himself, was a staunch Liberal party man in the 1870s. In 1874 the Globe

printed harsh words against errant Liberals, such as Edward Blake, who supported the Canada First Party.

> The Globe's attacks upon the Canada First party also had the effect of fixing in the public mind a picture of George Brown as a dictator and a relentless wielder of the party whip...In 1874 the Liberals were in power both at Ottawa and at Toronto, and Mr. Brown may not have been free from the party man's delusion that when his party is in power all is well, and agitation for change is michievous.[1]

The Canadian press covered pre-strike negotiations from the beginning of December, 1876. Newspapers reported the threat of a strike days before it happened. The Toronto Globe commented upon the possibility of a strike on December 27, 1876. The paper stated that it would regret a strike which would only cause inconvenience to the public and intensify the economic conditions which led to the reduction of men in the first place. In this same editorial, the Globe took the position that the men would be responsible for a strike,if one occurred, because they did not except a reduction of wages in 1875. Regreting that the men were deprived of work during the winter, the Globe wrote that they must recognize the logic of the circumstances. The newspaper commented:

> If the employees of a firm or corporation insist upon high wages at periods of low profits or worse, the ultimate result is inevitable. All commercial undertakings must be conducted on commercial principles, and in proposing to reduce wages the managers of the Grand Trunk were only asking the engine drivers to

> share with the holders of Grand Trunk stock, or the contractors for Grand Trunk supplies, in the effects of a common depression.

The Globe also stated that "the right of any company or individual to employ just as few or as many persons as may be needed for the transaction of its business cannot be disputed".

The Montreal Daily Witness agreed with the Toronto Globe on these two points. The Witness stated that because the company directorate felt the necessity of economic measures and because wages for labor "have been cut down in all branches of manufacture throughout the Dominion, it seems that the Company took the least severe way of economizing by a reduction in the number of men".[2] The Witness was equally severe on the men when discussing other aspects of the strike. Although the paper stated that the men "may under ordinary circumstances stop work when they please, so long as they break no law and no contra ct, so long as themselves and their families are the only sufferers",[3] it commented the next day that "strikes never do any permanent good, except in the very opposite direction to that in which the strikers look for it".[4] The Witness condemned three actions of the strikers. It disliked their attempts to keep others from taking their places. It believed they were guilty of attempting to

destroy company property. It charged them with deserting their engines. The newspaper commented that this desertion should be declared a criminal offense so that it would not happen again. Stating on January 2, 1877, that the men were entitled to some public sympathy for their lot, the Witness wrote on January 3, 1877:

> The strikers would not appear to have been such sufferers as we were inclined to think them, as any amount of money seems to be forthcoming for offensive action.

Responsibility for the strike, the Witness believed, should be laid at the door of "a turbulent nest of fellows" in Toronto who refused to listen to any proposition,and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers who "desired to bring about a strike".[5] The men should have agreed to discuss their grievances with Hickson as he suggested, the paper declared. The Witness believed the Montreal men would have done this except for the meddling of "this foreign Brotherhood". Calling for legislative curtailment of the power of the Brotherhood in Canada, the Witness wrote, "the pernicious effects of these secret societies are evidenced in the large sums of money at command to effect their purposes".[6] Its condemnation of the Brotherhood led the Witness to relate the Grand Trunk strike to the labor movement as a whole, a view which was not taken by

any other Canadian newspaper. The Witness stated:

> The recent strike of the Grand Trunk engine-drivers was a financial event of great magnitude, and will remain one of serious significance in relation to the labor and capital question. It is desirable to consider the bearing of this event upon the future conditions of the service, which has been temporarily suspended, and of its meaning as a new phase of the labor organization movement. A very large outflow of indignation has occurred owing to this strike having been arranged outside our territory, which cannot but suggest the idea of a foreign enemy being at work...But that a portion of our own people should be controlled by the executive of an organization in another land is disquieting. It indicates a new danger in investing capital in local industrial enterprises, as hereafter the internationalizing of trades-unions will develop more and more, and disputes will become complicated by being mixed up with prejudices and customs and facts which are wholly irrelevant to their discussion...But the effort of the existing Brotherhood to form a sort of joint stock company of labor-suppliers, which suppliers must have no relation whatever to those they serve, over and above that of being the doers of so much work for so much pay, both being regulated by others, and to monopolize this supply...is an act of war against modern civilization. It commits the liberty and manhood of a vast class to the domination of a few demagogues in offices, and if unchecked will inflict even more disastrous financial mischief on the business world than the stoppage of the traffic over a thousand miles of road. The same spirit which was displayed in the attempt of the Commune to destroy Paris has been seen in our midst.[7]

Although it condemned the subsequent actions of the men, the Montreal Gazette admitted that they had a right to leave the company's service "if they considered they were being harshly treated".[8] The Gazette, however, did not believe that the men had exhausted every peaceful

means before striking. It attempted to defend Hickson for being slow in arranging for a meeting.[9] The Gazette considered interference with other workmen by the strikers a crime under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. It stated that they had no justification to leave passengers stranded in the snow.

The desertion of passengers was a sore point for even the newspapers who recognized the workers right to strike. The Montreal Herald commented that the men should have refused to take their engines out rather then to have abandoned them. Desertion of engines was inexcusable, the Herald believed, and in this respect the strikers, "would almost appear to have been guided by a studied malignity which was not even confined by the limits of the parties to their controversy".[10] The Herald recognized the wage demand of the strikers as legitimate. It believed, however, that they overeached themselves in asking "that no man be discharged except for a clearly proven fault" and suggesting the removal of two foremen.[11]

Stoppage of the mails was a rallying point for the Canadian Illustrated News which suggested that the men could stop work whenever they wanted to, but "they have no right to interrupt the public service and the passage of the mails by violence".[12] Violence irritated

the Montreal Star, although the Star was as predisposed toward the strikers as any of the press. The Star, which stated that the Grand Trunk was not blameless, also wrote that a reduction in wages should have been made from the resident director down. The first day of the strike the Star commented that:

> We have no doubt the engineers have gone into the strike with very great reluctance, and only after exhausting every means in their power to bring about a fair adjustment of their differences...We are still in hope that, with a little judicious management, the exercise of forbearance and some slight concession on both sides, an adjustment may be arrived at.[13]

The appearance of violence, however, caused the Star to take a harsher view toward the strikers. It commented on January 4, 1877:

> We do not hesitate to support labor organizations instituted for mutual assistance when their function is confined to the strictly legitimate objects of their combination. When they are made weapons of offence, and array themselves against capital with intimidatory views, they become dangerous factors against the well-being of society, and merit condemnation.

The Toronto Mail and the Stratford Beacon discussed another aspect of the strike when they queried whether or not the use of inferior or inexperienced engine drivers by the company might not also result in injury to the public.[14] The Toronto paper was generally predisposed toward the strikers although it disliked violence and

believed there must be some reason for Hickson's actions. On January 4, 1877, the Mail commented:

> We rejoice to have been able day after day to chronicle a line of action on behalf of the men which was creditable to them. There were a few isolated acts of rowdyism; and had a prolongation of the strike been marked by many more such incidents as those which occurred at Belleville, the engineers would have wholly alienated public sympathy from their side.

By the end of the strike, Toronto and Montreal newspapers had exhausted their funds of opinion concerning the labor-management battle. They next turned their attention to more politically profitable warfare. They tried to pin responsibility for the local disturbances on the opponent political party. The Montreal Daily Witness began the argument with a comparatively mild condemnation of the role of the militia and the Dominion government at Belleville. On January 2, 1877, the Witness declared:

> As for the volunteers who would not turn out or when turned out were no use...Such soldiers are not wanted; to trust them for the protection of life and property would evidently be unsafe... we almost think that an organization of national police would be a better arm for quelling internal disorders and keeping in check labor troubles, than local forces...There can be no doubt of the duty of the Government in the premises, and that is to see that force sufficient is brought to bear to secure the immediate and exemplary punishment of all offenders against law.

Because this was the final comment of the Witness upon the

military situation, it cannot really be said to have taken part in the editorial fray which followed.

The Montreal Gazette, a staunch Tory supporter, opened fire on the Liberal government the next day, stating:

> It is a startling fact to realize that the whole mail and traffic service of the country has been for five days at the mercy of lawless mobs, while the Government has been shielding itself by bundles of red tape in order to escape its responsibility in the premises... We do not believe that a case of this kind is to be dealt with under the clause of the act which throws the responsibility of quelling local riots upon municipal authority.

Two days later the Gazette clarified this opinion by suggesting that the Federal government had two alternatives. It could have issued an Order-In-Council to each municipality asking them to adopt means of suppressing the riots and offering to defray the cost. It also might have used the Dominion Police Act of 1868 which gave the Governor-in-Council power to authorize any Commissioner of Police to appoint special constables. During this editorial the Gazette wrote:

> The inaction of the Government was almost the most formal act of sympathy for the rioters that was possible under the circumstance...there is no defence possible for the Government in this case. They have been guilty of the most criminal neglect, and have shown an indifference to the public interests unparalleled in the history of this country.

On the day between these two editorials, the Gazette advocated prompt enactment of "other laws, and the

providing of other and more certain means of protection".[15]

By January 6, 1877, the Montreal Herald, supporter of Liberalism, could not let the Gazette remarks go unnoticed. As a result, the Herald found itself in the position of defending a legislative measure of Sir John A. Macdonald. Stating that it was clearly defined under the Militia Act of 1868 that the local magistrates must call out the volunteer militia, the Herald wrote that civic authorities were also responsible for swearing in extra police constables. The Herald argued that if the Dominion government took such action as the Gazette recommended sometime when it was against the wishes of the provincial authorities, the action would be called "brute force". The Herald stated that the Canadian law was adapted from English law and must be obeyed. Aware of the politics involved, the Herald wrote:

> We have never been much enamoured with our law respecting the Volunteers; but it was passed by that wonderful pattern of all constitutional knowledge, Sir John A. Macdonald, and while it continues to be the law must be observed in its spirit and its letter.

Undaunted, the Gazette continued its attack on January 9, 1877:

> It will be seen that these Ottawa magnates, who have been shielding themselves under an interpretation of the law which threw all responsibility for suppressing riots upon the municipal authorities, had not taken

> the slightest precaution to provide the militia with the means of being of use to those authorities...The position of volunteers, called out to aid the civil power, with neither overcoats nor ammunition...is a fitting sequel to the wretched imbecility of the Ottawa Government throughout this whole business.

The Herald answered this parting thrust by the Gazette with a statement that the Gazette was trying to prove two opposites; that it could not one day blame the government for not calling out the militia and then the next day say that the reason for the Belleville riots was that the militia was poorly equipped.

The Herald, which believed the local magistrates were at fault in not controlling violence, found one point of agreement with the Gazette. Both doubted the usefulness of the volunteer militia system and advocated the establishment of a police force similar to the Royal Irish Constabulary.[16] Finished with its own editorial fling, the Herald could not resist a final thrust, on January 16, 1877. Its front page carried in a prominent position an editorial from the Sherbrooke News which regretted the "promiscuous assaults on the Dominion Government", by a portion of the press who were discussing the militia question from "political motives rather than from an impartial desire to elicit the truth and place the blame on the proper shoulders".

The Toronto Globe was quick to come to the defense of the Liberal government. It hinted that the Gazette attack on the government was instigated by the Grand Trunk manager. The Herald mentioned this suggestion, but was careful to add that it had no evidence to support this conclusion. The Globe had a fight of its own to handle with the Toronto Mail, however, so this charge against the Gazette was quietly dropped. The editorial policy of the Toronto Globe which drew the fire of the Toronto Mail was that of first condemning the engineers as perpetrators of the strike and then suggesting that because Hickson gave into them he had been responsible for the strike. On three different occasions the Globe castigated Hickson for settling with the strikers. On January 4, 1877, the Globe stated:

> In effect he surrendered unconditionally to the men who stopped the traffic, cruelly beat those who looked to him for protection, and left women and children in the snow and the cold of a winter night. One thing is certain: either Mr. Hickson refused to make a just concession at the right time, or has now failed to exhibit firmness enough to resist unjust demands. He should have had no strike, or he should have fought it out to the end.

On January 11, 1877, the Globe stated:

> By the course he chose to take, he put a premium on 'striking', and gave the most complete recognition both of the right of the men to strike, and of the foreign authority that had controlled the strike.

By January 18, 1877, the paper commented:

> If it was right to consult with the men at all it was right to do so in the first instance, not arbitrarily to take a step that he could not defend or feared to take a firm attitude upon. It was the initial error that did all the mischief...And to show how completely they have him at their mercy and how little they trust him it is only necessary to point to the fact that, alleging he was not fulfilling his agreement, the men were lately on the point of again striking, when he once more capitulated, the terms of peace being now such as virtually to prohibit the employment of any but members of the Brotherhood on the engines of the Grand Trunk Company.

The Globe also condemned the local Ontario magistrates and the militia for ineffectualness. It stated that "the pitiful display of demoralization or worse presented by the militia was an incentive to lawlessness on the part of the strikers".[17] The Belleville magistrates who had "the whole militia force of the country...literally at their disposal", seemed to the Globe "to have been about as equal to the occasion as Mr. Hickson, who "displayed neither judgment, courage, nor firmness". From this position it was only a step to the next one of relieving the Dominion government of all responsibility.

> All the Government did or was asked to do was to facilitate by its orders the action of the military... It is sheer impudence...to attempt to throw blame on the Government at all...As matters stand it would appear that Mr. Hickson blundered into a situation to which he was utterly unequal; that he created an

emergency he could not face".[18]

The Conservative Toronto Mail had no intention of letting the Globe's vituperativeness pass unnoticed. It accused the Globe of first abusing the strikers and rushing to Hickson's defense, and then condemning Hickson in order to find a scrapegoat for the ineffectualness of the Liberal government. On January 12, 1877, the Mail stated:

> There was terrible blundering in the office of our Grit contemporary. In the exercise of that malignant spirit for the workingman and mechanic which the conductors of that journal have always manifested, they could not find a single redeeming feature in the action of the engineers, and small local disturbances, for which as a body it would not be easy to hold it responsible, were magnified into proportions far beyond their character.

The Mail looked upon the strike settlement as satisfactory and as a result of lack of government action. It wrote on January 8, 1877:

> A compromise in fact has been effected, which is creditable to all parties. In the absence of aid from the Government--in fact, in the presence of a refusal on their part to render efficient protection to carry on the service of the railway--with all traffic stopped, and likely to continue so for days, the Company had to make a compromise or suffer a loss of revenue which no corporation could possibly stand for any length of time.

The editorial conflicts between the Montreal Gazette and Montreal Herald, and the Toronto Globe and Toronto Mail did not go unnoticed by other members of

the press. The Stratford Beacon stated on January 12, 1877:

> We notice that the Montreal Gazette, and other Tory journals, for the sake of making political capital, no doubt, allege that "efforts to procure military assistance at Stratford and Brockville were altogether unsuccessful." On that score we have only to repeat what we said last week, that the conduct of the engine drivers at Stratford was such as not to require the interference of the military. They committed no overt act, and deprecated in the strongest manner any attempt at violence. Whatever may have happened in Brockville or Belleville, in Stratford no necessity was felt for calling out the troops, and the authorities knew better than to make a military display where none was necessary.

The militia question did not receive comment in the Detroit Free Press or the three Portland newspapers. In their editorials on the responsibility for the strike, however, the American newspapers generally followed the opinions of the Canadian press. They agreed that the men could combine lawfully to raise wages. They expressed the opinion that by disturbing the peace and refusing to let others take their places, the strikers had forfietted public sympathy. The Detroit Free Press placed the blame for riots on the Brotherhood. The paper stated that if the Brotherhood had the power to secure a strike it should have had the control of violence.[19] The Portland Daily Press wrote that the company had a right to reduce both men and wages during depression.[20] The paper added that the ringleaders of the strike should be prosecuted.[21]

The three Portland newspapers held the engineers responsible for the stranding of passengers. The Daily Eastern Argus wrote that because the men started their day's work they were under a tacit agreement to complete it.[22] The Portland Daily Press printed:

> When the engineers started out on their engines last Friday night, they gave to the railroad company an implied promise to carry them through and this promise was just as binding in law and in morals as if it had been an express one.[23]

The Portland Advertiser commented:

> There is no doubt whatever that these men could be held legally for non-fulfilment of their contract.[24]

Footnotes

[1] W.L. Grant, editor-in-chief, The Makers of Canada Series, (London and Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1926), vol.VII, p.242.

[2] January 2, 1877.

[3] Ibid.

[4] January 3, 1877.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] January 9, 1877.

[8] January 1, 1877.

[9] January 3, 1877.

[10] January 1, 1877.

[11] January 4, 1877.

[12] January 20, 1877.

[13] December 30, 1876.

[14] Toronto Mail, January 4, 1877; Stratford Beacon, December 29, 1876.

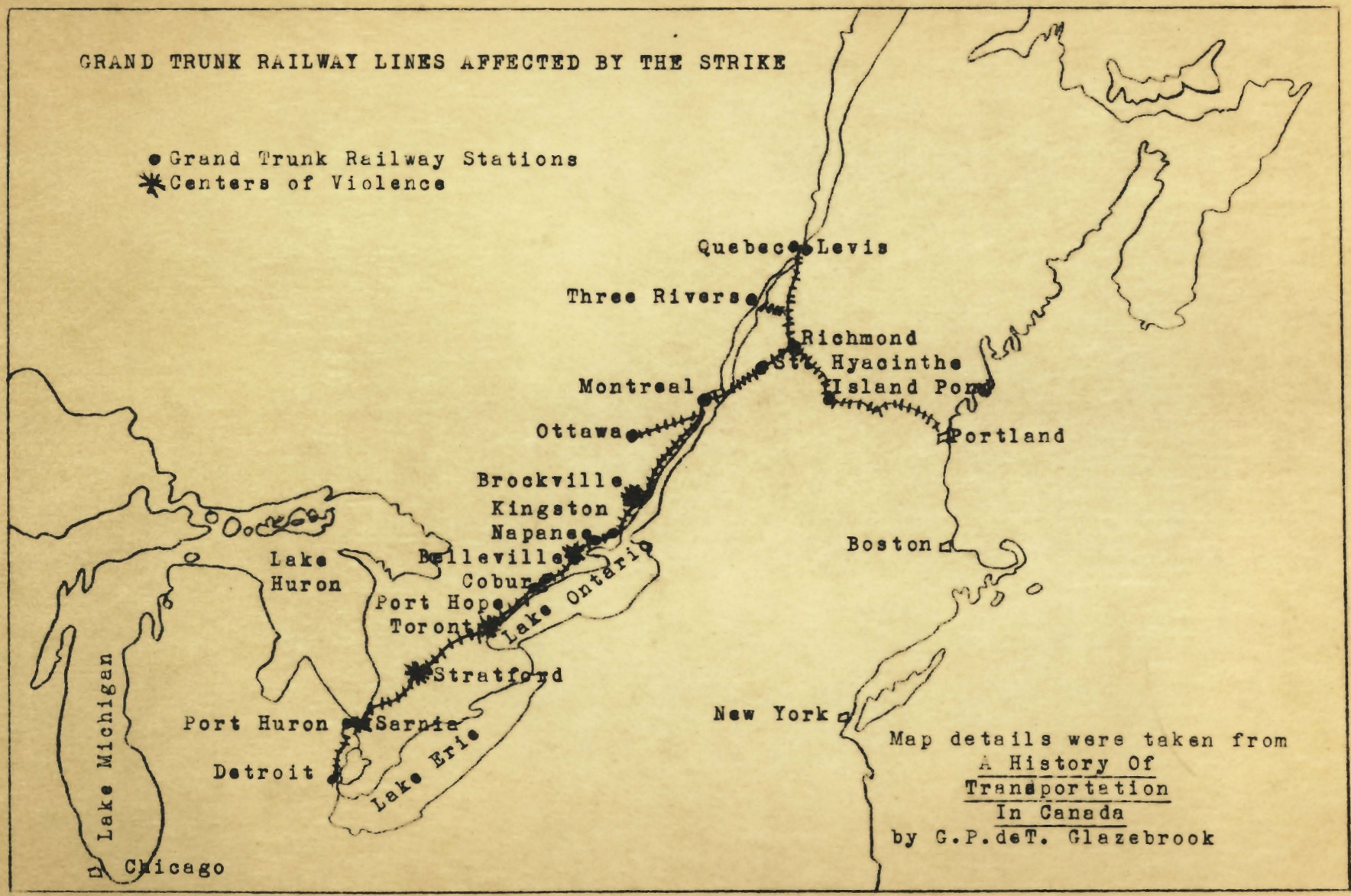
[15] January 4, 1877.

[16] The Royal Irish Constabulary was a permanent general police force which could be used anywhere in Ireland.

[17] January 5, 1877.

[18] January 6, 1877.

19 January 4, 1877.
20 January 1, 1877.
21 Ibid.
22 January 3, 1877.
23 January 1, 1877.
24 December 30, 1876.


GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY LINES AFFECTED BY THE STRIKE
Grand Trunk Railway Stations
Centers of Violence
Quebec
Levis
Three Rivers
Richmond
St. Hyacinthe
Montreal
Island Pond
Ottawa
Portland
Brockville
Kingston
Napanee
Belleville
Cobur
Port Hope
Toront
Lake Ontario
Boston
Lake Huron
Stratford
Port Huron
Sarnia
Detroit
Lake Erie
Lake Michigan
Chicago
New York
Map details were taken from
A History Of
Transportation
In Canada
by C.P.deT. Glazebrook

Chapter 9 The Military and the Strike

As the Grand Trunk Railway Company, public bodies and the press clamored for greater government military activity in the event of another strike, the Dominion government requested reports from military and civic authorities on the Grand Trunk affair. These comments were made public in a Sessional Paper printed the same year. The Sessional Paper includes reports of Ontario crown attorneys requested by Attorney General Oliver Mowat, copies of correspondence between Hickson, federal authorities and civic authorities, and military reports. This information throws light on behind the scenes activities during the strike. It also offers a key to the actions of local leaders who were accused of bungling, but in reality seemed to develop the only peaceful solution.

According to the Militia Act of 1868, the local magistrates were entrusted with the calling of military aid "in case of riot or other emergency".[1] The act specifically states that the military may be called out only "when thereunto required in writing by the Mayor, Warden or other Head of the Municipality in which such riot takes place, or by any two Magistrates therein".

The act does not mention any federal responsibility for quelling local riots. Presumably, this power was given only to local officials because they could best ascertain the necessity of calling military aid.[2] Granting this power to the local officials, members of the press and military personnel questioned their use of it.[3] Joseph Hickson, who would not concede that the federal government was powerless to intervene, criticized the local officials harshly. These critics of the magistrates maintained that they should have acted quicker and brought more strength against the strikers than they did. Because of the amount of public sympathy expressed for the strikers, it seems, in retrospect, that the local officials correctly estimated the situation. The bringing of troops against an unarmed opponent often incites more anger than it suppresses.

Violence during the strike, moreover, was the exception, not the rule, according to the reports of Ontario crown attorneys. In most cases these men were eye witnesses at such scenes of disturbance as Belleville and Stratford. Out of the fifteen crown attorneys who reported, only four stated that violence had taken place in their counties. These reports concerned Brockville,

Belleville, Stratford and Sarnia. The other eleven crown attorneys not only strongly emphasized the lack of disturbance in their localities, but stated that it was not necessary to call out the militia. J.D. Armour, writing from Cobourg for the counties of Northumberland and Durham declared:

> There were no 'rioters' in these counties or elsewhere, so far as I have been able to ascertain, and I was travelling, or trying to travel on the Grand Trunk at the time; that I do not believe that there was any resistance to lawful authority...I do not know of, nor do I believe there was any necessity for calling out the militia. I believe that if any information had been laid against the 'strikers' for any infraction of the law of the land, and a warrant had been issued thereon and delivered to any constable, he would have had no difficulty in arresting the offenders.[4]

At other undisturbed Grand Trunk stations, such as Brantford and Guelph, local police arranged for the swearing in of special constables in case of emergency. Their services were not needed. At Berlin, the station master considered it a "farce" to send volunteers to the station because there were only about a dozen engineers and firemen on strike, and they were peaceful. Both regular and special constables were considered loyal to the civic authorities.

Although crown attorneys for districts including the towns of Stratford, Sarnia, Belleville and Brockville, admitted violence in these centers, three of the four

believed that accounts of violence had been exaggerated. E.J. Senkler, writing from Brockville, blamed much of the excitement New Year's Day on the holiday and the fact that municipal elections were being held. He stated that it was impossible for the mayor to get a quorum of the town council to meet on January 1, 1877, in order to consider calling out the militia. When the council met the following morning, it passed a resolution declaring that military force was not necessary. Senkler agreed with this opinion. The mayor would have called the militia if he had thought it necessary, Senkler stated.[5] Reports of actual violence in Belleville were much exaggerated according to Charles L. Coleman, crown attorney for Hastings, who wrote from Belleville.[6] He mentioned that trains did not start Saturday because the Grand Trunk Company did not have drivers. Stating that no breach of the peace had taken place up to Sunday morning when he visited the station, Coleman described the scene he observed.

> I saw many men standing around and upon the cars who had bolts and iron instruments which could be used effectively in case the parties commenced a disturbance, which, however, did not take place, the men remaining simply as spectators.[7]

Violence in Stratford occurred only on Friday night, the crown attorney for Perth County, M. Hayes, declared.

When discussing the assault on the engineer and fireman from the Toronto train,[8] Hayes commented:

> The leader of the attack and one or two others might have been arrested, but as any arrest would have undoubtedly precipitated a crisis, and been a serious obstacle in the way of an immediate settlement and opening of the road, it was thought most prudent, for the moment, to pass it over. The parties are known, and can, if desirable, in the public interest, be arrested and prosecuted.[9]

Hayes stated that the mayor did not call the militia because of the expense involved, and because he had the "solemn pledge" of the strikers that no violence would be done to arriving trains. At the end of his report Hayes commented:

> The occasion for a display of a military force here did not arise, because no attempt was made in the absence of the engineers to run the trains east or west from Stratford; and it is due to the great respect in which Messrs. Larmon and Roberts (Grand Trunk superintendents in Stratford) are held by all the employes of the road, and the cordial co-operation of the civil authorities with these gentlemen, that with but one slight exception, on Friday night, the strike passed off in Stratford so peacefully.[10]

In Sarnia, after the one incident on Saturday night,[11] the crown attorney, Julius P. Bucke, thought it sufficient deterient to violence to police all licensed premises in Point Edward, location of the Grand Trunk station. On Tuesday, however, the Grand Trunk station agent asked the mayor for enough constables to resume Grand Trunk business.

Thirty-four men were sworn in until Wednesday. The mayor later asked for troops from London. The strike was over, however, before action could be taken.

In addition to the crown attorneys, mayors and police magistrates were present at Ontario stations during the strike. Because they arranged for the swearing in of special constables and sometimes for an outside force, the mayors were not unaware of the near emergency the strike presented. Police magistrates usually tried to keep order by issuing verbal warnings. In Stratford on Monday and in Sarnia on Tuesday, the mayors, crown attorneys and police magistrates tried to verbally discourage strikers and station crowds from breaches of peace. These towns remained quiet so they must have been somewhat successful.

Joseph Hickson, however, did not share the opinion of crown attorneys with regard to the absence of violence at Grand Trunk centers. Alarmed by the incidents of Friday night and Saturday morning,[12] he telegraphed to Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie on Saturday afternoon to request federal intervention. He repeated the request seven times during the next three days.[13] Although Mackenzie privately agreed that the strikers were at fault, he believed that he could not intervene. He told

Hickson in a telegram on January 1, 1877:

> If your solicitor will look at the law he will inform you that the Dominion Government has no power to interfere for preservation of order. The magistrates and local authorities alone can lawfully act. You are simply asking us to violate the law. I have communicated with Attorney-General Mowat our desire that he should do all he can.[14]

Legally, Edward Blake, author of the Breaches of Contract Bill, supported Mackenzie's firm stand.[15] On Sunday, Hickson attempted to obtain direct intervention from Oliver Mowat. He also requested militia from W.S. Williams, the mayor of Napanee. He asked for the support of militia from the mayors of Stratford and Belleville. On Tuesday he went so far as to ask Colonel P.W. Worsley of Kingston if he could send fifty or sixty armed men to Brockville without a requisition from civic authorities. He also asked Mackenzie to call out the regular troops at Quebec City and Kingston. The only positive action which came from these attempts was the sending of the Queen's Own Rifles from Toronto to Belleville. Whether Hickson liked it or not, this was the only correct request for military aid. It was made by the mayor and other magistrates in Belleville. Hickson was exasperated, and his correspondence with Mackenzie became heated. Published communication between the Prime Minister and

the general manager of the Grand Trunk Railway Company concerning the engineers' strike ended with the following letter written by Hickson to Mackenzie on January 3, 1877.

> After the receipt of your telegraphic message, last night, to the effect that you were advised that the Dominion Government had no power under existing legislation to interfere for the purpose of putting an end to the riotous proceedings taking place in different parts of the Dominion, whereby the business of the Grand Trunk Railway was interrupted to the great inconvenience of the public, and the conveyance of mail matter over the railway practically put a stop to, I came to the conclusion that there was no other course for the Company to pursue but to make some compromise with the mutinous men who were openly violating the law in various parts of the country.
>
> My several requests involking the interference of the Dominion Government have been made on general grounds, and I shall not venture to call in question the advice which you have received in regard to the powers of the Government further than to say that that which we have received is to an opposite effect. I take the liberty of asking if the Government did not, and does not possess, under the law creating a Dominion Police force, power to call out any number of men which might be considered necessary to resist such unlawful proceedings as have taken place along the line of the road during the last few days.
>
> At the moment of writing, I am unable to say how many different municipal jurisdictions the Grand Trunk Railway touches or traverses, but they are certainly so numerous that to have to wait until the constituted authorities in each could be induced to provide either a sufficient civil force, or make requisitions for the aid of the militia, must necessarily give opportunities for such a destruction of property and loss of revenue to the railway company, as to endanger the financial stability of any corporation however strong, not to mention the inconvenience and loss inflicted upon the country at large by the stoppage of its principal means of intercommunication.

> The terms which have been made with the men I do not consider by any means satisfactory and law and order, and that discipline necessary amongst the staff of a great railway company, in order to secure the maximum of safety to the public using the railway, have received a rude shock by the proceedings of the last few days, for which I hope I may be pardoned saying, it seems to me the Government of the country is responsible.[16]

If the Dominion government's responsibility for quelling labor riots was immediately clear to Hickson, it was not to federal and municipal authorities. Judging by correspondence between Mackenzie, Mowat and various civic officials, no one at first knew exactly where responsibility lay for calling out the militia. The widespread disturbances accompanying the strike had created a unique situation. By Sunday, December 31, 1876, however, Mackenzie had decided that responsibility lay solely with civic authorities. He believed that his only course of action was to spur Mowat to instruct the civic authorities "as to their powers and duties in the emergency".[17] This was done on Sunday evening by J.G. Scott, clerk of the Executive Council of Ontario. Acting upon Mowat's orders, he sent telegrams to Ontario crown attorneys. Upon receipt of these telegrams, crown attorneys attempted to ascertain the situation. They offered help to Grand Trunk station masters and superintendents if they believed it was needed. The inter-

pretation of the use of militia which the Dominion government acted upon was expressed in the Sessional Paper by Major General E. Selby Smyth, General Officer Commanding the Militia of Canada.[18] He wrote:

> The Militia Act forbids the Government from calling out troops in aid of the civil power, which can only be done by a magistrate upon sworn information that a breach of the peace is apprehended.[19]

At this particular period in Canadian history, the maintenance of internal order in the Dominion was intrusted to a volunteer militia force. The same force was charged with defending the country from external enemies.[20] Incorporated under the Militia Act of 1868, this force was raised by volunteer enlistment for a period of three years. In the 1870s the authorized strength of the force was 45,000 men. The act divided the volunteer or "active" militia into nine military districts. Each district was under the command of a Deputy Adjutant-General holding the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. The military districts were sub-divided into brigade and regimental districts. The regimental areas were composed of company areas. By law the men were required to drill from eight to sixteen days a year. Clothing, ammunition and accroutements were to be supplied by the government. The act also authorized the maintenance of a reserve militia. This force was to

include all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and sixty. Previous practise had been to muster the reserves annually. Because the muster had meant a day away from work and was often accompanied by hard drinking, it had gained the opprobrium of many citizens. In the early 1870s, Parliament postponed the muster each year as it came due.[21]

During the late 1870s, the volunteer militia was composed of men from all economic classes. In small towns such as Belleville and Brockville, many of the volunteers were likely friends and neighbors of the strikers. According to the crown attorney's report from Napanee only the volunteers from the business community offered to take action against the Belleville strikers.[22] The way in which the militia was called out was indicative of the "horse and buggy" atmosphere of the period. Upon receipt of the proper orders, usually by telegram, the company commanders or their representatives were obliged to personally call out each man. They either had to visit the men in their homes or ring the town bell for a public meeting.[23]

It was not uncommon for the Canadian military to be called upon to maintain internal peace. Barnard states that in the 1840s and 1850s the militia was often called to maintain law and order especially on election days. He

commented:

> There isn't anything more distasteful to a Militia unit than to be called out in Aid of the Civil Power. Initially, it is known that a large proportion of the men will be acting because of discipline alone and that their secret sympathies are elsewhere. The point is well illustrated in the Belleville Riots where difficulties were experienced in calling out any local battalions. For the commander, the whole thing is a nightmare. The law governing such matters places the full onus on the officers; the magistrates advise but can make no final decision.[24]

Canada was not a militaristic nation in the 1870s. Her citizens were primarily concerned with the economic and political development of the Dominion. Accustomed to relying on British regular forces for protection, Canadians at Confederation had little idea of correct military preparations or procedures. Before the 1850s, internal order was kept by the British regular troops stationed in Canada.[25] In the event of an outside threat, Canadians were subject to universal service. They were mobilized and placed under the command of English trained officers. The administration of the Canadian military was carried out by the British at their own expense. The withdrawal of British forces from Canada began during the Crimean War and ended in 1871. Because of their former reliance upon British organization, the Canadians ignored the administrative end of the military.[26] Although there was legislation authorizing departmental corps, none had

been created.[27] Until 1866 the rank and file had received no military training.

In 1871 the Washington Treaty resolved Anglo-American differences, and Canada was relieved of any official American invasion threat. The Fenian menace disolved during the beginning of the decade. As a result of these two events, Canadians were left with a sense of security which was reflected in their official military policies. At Confederation the Dominion had decided to spend at least a million dollars a year training militia until Confederation was accomplished. Great Britain was to complete fortifications at Quebec and loan Canada money for other fortifications. The fortifications were not completed. In 1872 a British military loan of 300,000,000 pounds was exchanged for a guarantee of loan of 1,000,000 pounds for construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. During the 1870s the Canadian military was in constant decline.

> Collapse came in the early seventies. By 1871 deficiencies in numbers were beginning to appear. Then came the financial depression and the reduction of expenditure. The money spent on the militia from 1868 to 1876 ran from $1,000,000 to about $1,250,000; in 1877 it was cut down to $550,000, and it stayed at $600,000 or $700,000 for years; not until 1885 did it reach the million mark again. Until 1885 the number of militia trained ranged from 30,000 to 35,000; in 1876 it dropped to 23,000, and from that year until

> 1897 it was about 20,000. The drill period fell from 16 to 8 or 12 days; establishments were reduced, the company being cut down from 55 to 42; camps were almost abolished. The urban corps reverted to the old volunteer practise of evening drill at their armouries; the rural regiments were allowed to attend camp only in alternate years...Owing to the long intervals between camps and to the disappearance of the understanding that a man who engaged to serve for three years should be oblidged to hold to his contract, the rural corps when they did attend training were mere assemblages of raw men.[28]

George F.G. Stanley states that in 1876 no training camps were held because of lack of funds. All training was confined to battalion or company headquarters.[29] In his history of the Queen's Own Rifles, Barnard wrote:

> The number of men whom the government would pay varied from year to year. In 1876 it was 25 officers and 300 other ranks. Thus a good many volunteers received no pay at all.[30]

The condition of the Canadian militia rose to prominence during the strike. Charging that the militia was disorganized and inefficient, the press pointed to a lack of ammunition and greatcoats on the part of the 49th Battalion, a lack of proper clothing for the Queen's Own Rifles, and the failure of some men to turn up. The charge of lack of ammunition arose from a company commander's report. Captain Harrison, in charge of No.1 Company of the 49th Battalion, stated that before he could lead his men to the station at Belleville on Saturday, "being without as much as a single ball cartridge in store, I was oblidged to

resort to soliciting the same from a private citizen of the town".[31] By the time the men arrived at the station, they had two rounds of ammunition apiece. The lack of proper clothing for the Queen's Own also was mentioned in a military report. Lt. Col. W.D. Otter,[32] commander of the Queen's Own, complained that the men had no boots or gloves and that their winter uniforms were made of serge. Many of the soldiers had their fingers frozen. Three men on the engine guard had their feet frozen, he reported. Lt. Col. W.S. Durie,[33] who accompanied the Queen's Own, stated that without authorization he had thought it necessary to buy the men mufflers in Toronto before they left for Belleville.[34] There is ample evidence that many men did not turn out. The number of participants from the Belleville battalions is listed in the Sessional Paper. According to this report, there were six companies with an authorized strength of forty-two men each in the 15th Battalion. One company did not turn out at all. In the other five companies the maximum turn out per company was seventeen men.

Lt. Col. Brown Van Straubenzie, Deputy Adjutant-General for Military District No.3, answered these charges in an official communication on February 7, 1877.[35] According to Van Straubenzie, Harrison's company did not have ammunition because it had used the fifteen rounds

alloted for target practice during 1876-1877. Military authorities did not recommend reserves.[36] Many of the men of the 49th were without greatcoats because the former commander of No.1 Company, a Major Hambly, had lost them. Van Straubenzie did not mention the lack of winter hats and clothing for the Queen's Own. According to Van Straubenzie, the authorized strength of the companies was forty-two men and two officers. The one company of the 15th failed to turn out because its captain did not receive the message until late Sunday evening.[37] The other companies did not have a better turn out because not all the men were called. Van Straubenzie reported that out of all the men called, only two did not come out. One of these volunteers had been excused by his officer because he was tending a dying horse. Major S.S. Lazier of the 15th stated that he had difficulty getting men because many were absent, due to the holiday and some avoided the call. He added that because the regiment had not been out for drill that year, the officers did not know where to find all the men. Major General Selby Smyth, however, considered the turn out of the Queen's Own a good one. He commented, "It is astonishing so many men were present on such short notice at night on New Year's Eve".[38]

Taking into account its lack of training, clothing and ammunition, it would seem that the Canadian military force was unprepared for such disturbances as occurred during the Grand Trunk strike. Even when it arrived on the scene in Belleville, it proved to be ineffective. The Belleville battalions were unable to give the Grand Trunk Company adequate assistance to run trains. Even the Queen's Own was unable to prevent rioting and had difficulty maintaining control over the train it was escorting. Ludicrous though these events may seem at first glance, they had a providential character. The volunteers used only bayonets. No shots were fired at the station crowds. When the name-calling, stone-throwing and fist-fighting finished, the anger of the rioters abated. Judging by reporters versions of the Queen's Own campaign, many Ontario citizens regarded the presence of the military as somewhat of a festivity. A better prepared military force might not have evoked such a mild response from the small town citizens.

Footnotes

[1] Appendix O.

[2] This interpretation was given by Edward Blake, Attorney General of Canada. According to the Encyclopedia of Canada, Blake was "one of the foremost authorities on the Canadian constitution". Vol. I, pp.113-115.

[3] Lt. Col. Brown Van Straubenzie, Deputy Adjutant Genera l for Military District 3, claimed that fifty men from A battery at Kingston were ready to go to Brockville or Belleville but were not called. The only reason the author ca n discover for the Belleville magistrates not calling on the near-by Kingston regulars is in a report by Oliver Mowat. He states that he suggested Belleville officials call the Queen's Own. Why he made this suggestion is not clear. Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p. 19. In his history of the Queen's Own, Barnard writes that Kingston shifted the responsibility to Toronto, but he does not give particulars.

[4] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.31.

[5] Ibid. pp.42-43.

[6] During debate on the Breaches of Contract Bill, Mackenzie Bowell took exception to this statement. He commented: "He admitted that the County Attorney said in the report that the actual violence was much exaggerated. But, when he informed the House that that gentleman was not at the station during the time when the worst outrages were committed, he might be excused for saying that he did not know what he was writing about. He might say more about that gentleman, but he would not do so." Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 40 Victoria, 1877,(Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1877), vol. II., p.865.

[7] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.39.

[8] See page 70.

[9] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.34.

[10] Ibid. p.35.

[11] See page 77.

[12] See pages 68-76.

[13] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, pp.26-30.

[14] Ibid. p.28.

[15] See page 187.

[16] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.30.

[17] Ibid. p.27.

[18] The rank of Major General was the highest in the Canadian military. It was created in 1871. Selby Smyth held this position from 1874-1880.

[19] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.16.

[20] The author can find no evidence of a provincial or Dominion police force to preserve order in the 1870s. It was customary, however, to appoint special constables to supplement the local police force. The Canadian military force was used from 1865 to 1885 only during the Fenian Raids in the late 1860s and early 1870s, the Red River Expedition in 1870, and the Riel Rebellion in 1885.

[21] C.F. Hamilton, "Defence", Canada and Its Provinces, vol. VII, p.404.

[22] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.45.

[23] During the Fenian troubles in 1866, the Queen's Own was called out by buglars marching along residential streets sounding the Assembly and NCOs trudging from door to door. Lt. Col. W.T. Barnard, The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada 1860-1960 (Don Mills, Ontario: The Ontario Publishing Company Limited, 1960), p.17.

[24] Ibid. p.41

[25] In the early nineteenth century more than one-fourth of the men in the British garrisons were raised locally. C.F. Hamilton, p.382.

[26] Ibid. p.398.

[27] Ibid. p.413.

[28] Ibid. pp.424-425.

[29] George F.G. Stanley, Canada's Soldiers 1604-1954, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1954), p.241.

[30] Barnard, p.40.

[31] Sessional Paper No.55,1877, pp.4-5.

[32] The author of Otters Guide to military procedures published in 1881, W.D. Otter was "one of Canada's foremost soldiers". Barnard, p.11. He commanded the Queen's Own from 1875 to 1883.

[33] As a major, Durie commanded the Volunteer Militia Rifle Company of Barrie in the 1850s. This was one of the original six rifle companies that formed the Queen's Own in 1860. Promoted to Lt. Col., Durie was the first commanding officer of the Queen's Own. Born in Gibraltar, he graduated from the Royal Military College at Sandhurst and served in several British regiments before coming to Canada in 1835. He commanded the Queen's Own until 1865 when he became adjutant of the 2nd Military District. Barnard, p.6.

[34] According to Barnard, Belleville refused to pay the Queen's Own for its services. The Commanding Officer sued the municipality and won his case in October, 1877. As a result the men then received three dollars each. Previously they had been allowed to keep the woolen mufflers in recognition of the Militia Department's "satisfaction at the manner in which the arduous duty was performed". The Grand Trunk Company had given them a souvenir medal each and a silver cup to the regiment as a whole. The medals were made from one of the rails of the road. Altogether, the payment received by each of the two hundred men who endured the sticks and stones of Belleville, was one woolen muffler, three dollars and a steel medal. p.42.

[35] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, pp.21-23.

[36] Van Straubenzie commented that reserves of ammunition were impractical because there were no proper magazines and many armories were in private homes. He believed the ammunition would be used improperly if it were kept in barrels at headquarters. Major General Selby Smyth stated that a reserve of ammunition was not recommended because it would "become useless or stolen". Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.22, p.14.

[37] The militia was disbanded early Monday morning. See page 83.

[38] Sessional Paper No.55, 1877, p.46.

Chapter 10 A Breaches of Contract Act

Agitation by many prominent citizens for federal legislation to prevent a recurrance of the engineers' strike resulted in a Breaches of Contract Act.[1] Passed on April 28, 1877, the act was introduced by Edward Blake on March 7, 1877. One section of the act made it a criminal offense for anyone to wilfully and maliciously break a contract with a railway company, knowing that the result would be to delay or prevent the running of a train or locomotive. Employees of municipal corporations or of companies supplying gas or water to municipalities were placed under the same restrictions. According to Edward Blake, the act did not deny the engineers the right to strike. It did deny them the right to leave trains between stations and engines on main tracks.[2] The preamble and other sections of the act had no relation to the strike. They made other breaches of contract civil instead of criminal offenses.

Taken as a whole, the Breaches of Contract Act of 1877 must be considered as an attempt to prevent railway strikes and other stoppages of work which would inconvenience the general public. It also should be considered

as remedial labor legislation, designed to improve the position of the workingman. In this respect it repealed previous legislation which made a breach of contract between a master and servant a criminal offense.[3] These two characteristics of the act were mentioned by Edward Blake when he introduced the legislation and later when he tried to defend it. It is interesting to note that Blake consulted P.M. Arthur about the legislation before its passage, and that Arthur approved of it.

Pressure for legislation against a future railway strike had been applied to the Dominion government since the strike occurred. Particularly vehement were the members of the press, the Montreal City Council, and boards of trade discussed in former chapters. The Grand Trunk Railway Company did not let any grass grow under its feet in this matter, either. In addition to Hickson's appeals to Mackenzie for severe legislation, the company used a less direct, but more effective approach. At the company's semi-annual stockholder's meeting in April, President Tyler stated that the company solicitor, John Bell, had been conferring with Blake about the "constitutional change" in Dominion and provincial relations in respect to keeping law and order in future disturbances. Tyler commented:

> It appears only right, that in such a case as that of the engine-drivers' strike, which was, in fact, a matter of national importance, the Dominion Government should assume the cost of quelling disturbance in the event of the Militia being called out by the municipalities, as local authorities; and if this had been the law, there would not have been the difficulty which was experienced in obtaining the assistance of the Volunteers for quelling the late strike.
>
> It is clearly necessary, in order to cope with such difficulties, if they should in future unhappily occur, that there should be some more available and ready means of providing a sufficient force under proper authority for the preservation of law and order, and for the secutiry of life and property; and it would appear to be desirable that the desertion by the engine-drivers of their engines in the course of their journeys, with the object of interrupting the traffic, and inconveniencing the public using the railway, as well as the company working it, should be made a penal offence...We must take means to prevent the risk of such an intolerable interruption to our business in future. The Canadian Government has a Bill before the Legislature, with the object of providing greater protection to public interests so attacked, in a constitutional way; and we must be prepared, in the event of any chance of the renewal of such lawless proceedings, to oppose, in the last resort, force to force, and effectively to guard our loyal servants, our property, our passengers, and our freight, on any possible failure of the constitutional authority, against acts of criminal violence.

There can be little doubt that Edward Blake, author of the Breaches of Contract Act, agreed with much of this sentiment. During debate on the bill in the House of Commons on March 20, 1877, Blake stated:

> In these modern times, the enormous inconvenience of stopping the whole system of communication between one part of the country and the other was very apparent, and he was justified in holding that any man who

> produced that result by wilfully breaking his contract was guilty of a crime.[4]

During the committee discussion on the bill, he voiced the opinion that:

> Those persons who had broken contracts during the recent strike were amenable to the Masters and Servants Act all through the Province of Ontario although the special consequences which made their acts criminal under this Bill had not arisen from the breach of contract.[5]

Additional motives to that of preventing a future railway strike, however, were behind the introduction of the Breaches of Contract Act. Blake wished to revise the laws in Ontario, Quebec, and Prince Edward Island by making breaches of contract a civil offence. The criminal aspects of the 1877 bill applied only to railway workers and employees in public utilities or cases where the breach endangered life, person or property. Other workingmen such as printers, carpenters, laborers, bakers, cigarmakers, etc. would not be held criminally responsible for striking. During debate on the bill Blake stated:

> He saw no justification for holding ordinary breaches of contract on the part of servants to be criminal any more than any other breaches of contract...it was, in great measure, to remove well-founded doubts throughout the country, as to whether certain breaches of contract were crimes, that the present Bill was introduced.[6]

He even went so far as to state that he did not believe the measure would prevent such events as the Grand Trunk strike,

although he hoped "the result would be mitigated".[7] When speaking of the Breaches of Contract Act to his constitutents at Teeswater in September, 1877, Blake discussed both motives for his introduction of the bill. He stated:

> There are some cases, however, of breaches of contract, whether of service or otherwise, which do obviously partake of the character of crimes, as where a man wilfully breaks a contract knowing that the consequence will be great public loss or inconvenience, or the destruction of valuable property...Those of contractors with railway companies carrying mails who wilfully break their contracts, knowing that the consequence will be to delay or prevent the progress of trains and so cause loss and inconvenience to large numbers of passengers, besides stopping the arteries of commerce and the despatch of the mails...but it is not criminal for any person, whether an employer or a workman, to combine with others for the accomplishment by lawful means of such objects as the raising or depressing of the rate of wages.[7a]

Three aspects of the Breaches of Contract Act make it difficult to assume that Blake was motivated entirely by a desire to condemn the striking engineers. He believed the use of military force should be carefully considered by local authorities. He inserted the paragraph penalizing a railway company that broke a contract. He wanted to make most breaches of contract civil instead of criminal offenses.

It is interesting to note that the Act provided for a penalty not exceeding one hundred dollars for any railway company carrying mail to break a contract which it

believed would prevent the running of a train or locomotive. Presumably this paragraph could be applied to contracts made with labor unions as well as those made with the Dominion government. The size of the fines to be levied against the men and the companies breaking this act are indicative of the character of the labor movement of this period. The fine was one hundred dollars in each case. One hundred dollars would be an extreme amount to an engineer earning $2.50 a day. It would be a pittance to a company earning hundreds of dollars a day.

When commenting on the act at Teeswater, Blake discussed the calling of the militia during the strike and its use in future similar occurrances. Although he asked the local citizenry to "disregard all appeals for misplaced sympathy" for workers who add violence to their strikes, he did this in reference to the possible spread of the American riots.[8] His view of the Grand Trunk affair and the Breaches of Contract Act was more impartial. He stressed the importance of local authorities for action in such cases. Commenting on the act, he stated:

> Great interest has been aroused on this subject by the strike on the Grand Trunk Railway, when Mr. Mackenzie was blamed for not ordering the troops to various points which the men on strike were collected in considerable numbers with riotous intent. I am responsible for this action of the Government, for as its law officer I was called upon to advise, and I

> advised that we had no power to send the troops as proposed...the old law as well as the new one was founded on the view that the local authorities were and ought to be responsible for the preservation of the public peace, so long as the breach of the peace did not assume the character and proportions of a rebellious or insurrectionary movement...But there was this difficulty in the case of a railway riot--that the cause of disturbance might be a general one, extending all along the line, not originating in any particular municipality, while the expense of quelling it would fall upon the municipality, perhaps a weak one, within which the rioters might choose to gather, and naturally those in authority there would be reluctant to call out 200 or 300 militia, when their own small municipality would be called on to pay the cost of what was not in reality a local difficulty. We remedied this to some extent by providing that in certain cases of riots, causing obstruction to mail trains, the Government of Canada might pay the whole or part of the reasonable expenses of calling out the troops; but we left the responsibility and power where they were before, with the loca l authorities, both on the constitutional principle which forbids our trusting the Executive Government with the calling out of the troops, and also on the view that in a country such as ours it would be impossible for the Executive Government, with the necessary promptitude and exactness, to ascertain whether the case were one requiring the calling out of the militia, or to act upon their information.[9]

In committee discussion, and at Teeswater, Blake stated that representatives of both employers and workingmen approved of the Breaches of Contract Act. That he talked with at least one employee respresentative about the bill is apparent from P.M. Arthur's account in the Monthly Journal. At the request of W. Robinson, second grand engineer in the international Brotherhood, and a member of the Toronto division, Arthur traveled to Ottawa

to discuss the bill with members of Parliament. He talked with David Blain and Aemilius Irving.[10] On March 24, 1877, he discussed the bill with Blake. During his interview with Blake, Arthur was accompanied by John Cardell of the Montreal division. Arthur's report of his discussion with Blake stated:

> He assured us that his only motive in introducing the bill was to protect the public interest, and punish for a wilful and malicious breach of contract, by whomsoever committed, which no reasonable man would object to, and we felt satisfied that it would be preferable to the law known as the Masters and Servants Act, which punishes any violation of a contract by a fine of twenty dollars or one month's imprisonment. The Blake bill repeals that act, and only punishes for a willful and malicious breach of contract; consequently we do not apprehend any trouble, as we have never willfully or maliciously broken any contract made, and if the officers of the Grand Trunk road had adhered as faithfully to the contract made with the engineers as we have done, there would have been no strike...In regard to the laws that have been enacted in a number of the States, and the one in Canada, personally we have no objections to, nor do we think they will in the slightest degree impair the efficiency of our Association.[11]

Perhaps this was a false sense of bravado on Arthur's part, or an indirect way of admitting that the workingmen had little control over legislation. It seems more likely, however, that both Blake and Arthur were sincere in thinking that the measure would aid the workingman and punish only those guilty of malicious actions and of causing inconvenience to the public, both of which Arthur

was eager to avoid.[12]

There is evidence in the House of Commons debates and the committee discussion of the bill that it was designed both to prevent public inconvenience and also to improve the lot of the workingman. Fourteen members of Parliament, including Blake, spoke about the bill during a debate on its second reading on March 20, 1877. Opinions of the speakers ranged from wholehearted sanction of the bill to condemnation of it. Members of Parliament disliked the bill either because they thought it was a retaliatory measure against the striking engineers or because they thought it was not severe enough to handle future disturbances. Interestingly enough, the speakers did not divide on strict party lines. In some cases their business connections and the nature of their constitutencies should be considered. The first speaker was E.T. Brooks of Sherbrooke, a director of the Waterloo and Magog Railway. He stated that the bill was "one of the highest importance and would be approved by the House, especially after the occurrences of the past winter". Brooks was a Conservative and followed the policies of Sir John A. Macdonald.

Aemilus Irving, Q.C., Liberal member for Hamilton, who in 1874 badgered the House into amending the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1872,[13] spoke at great

length against the bill. He regarded it as a measure aimed solely against the engineers as a result of the strike. His motion that the bill be read for the second time in three months was defeated by 120 to 46 votes. While arguing for a tabling of the bill, Irving stated that there were ample provisions for punishment of such occurrances as the Grand Trunk disturbances already on the statute books. He mentioned the General Railway Act and the Master and Servants Acts.[14] He stated that because men had been arrested during the strike, and the company later refused to prosecute them, he believed that the company was guilty in starting the strike. Describing the work and responsibility of an engineer, Irving asked the members of the House to remember how much they owed to this class of citizens. He believed the Breaches of Contract Bill unsatisfactory because it was initiated under the influence of panic, was unnecessary, and did not provide some kind of conciliatory tribunal.

The great champion of the engineers, however, was David Blain, independent Liberal from West York, Ontario. A lawyer and son of a Justice of the Peace, Blain was educated in Scotland and in Toronto. He received his law degree from the University of Toronto in 1870 and entered Parliament in 1872. Stating that a deputation of the

engineers had requested him to state their case in the Commons, Blain said that if the strike had not occurred, the bill would not have been introduced. He stated that the bill was a direct attempt to break up the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, an organization which he believed had elevated the men. When discussing the strike, he said that the company was at fault for having violated a contract with the engineers and then making it difficult for them to settle. He also thought Hickson was at fault for sending out trains ten minutes from the announced hour of the strike. Although an advocate for the engineers, Blain stated that he did not have one engineer in his riding.

The third and last speaker for the engineers was John Beverly Robinson, Conservative member and protectionist, from Toronto West. Former president of the Northern Railway, and one of its present directors, Robinson's support of the men was unusual from a railway executive. He praised the Brotherhood and its members. He said he thought the strikers had acted as spirited men would under such circumstances. He commented that they had the sympathy of the Toronto Council and most of the people of Toronto. Both the company and the men were to blame for the strike, he added.

Charles Tupper, liberal Conservative for Cumberland, Nova Scotia, stated that he was not in favor of the bill because it did not give any stronger force than the old bills which had proved ineffective.[15] Lt. Col. Walter Ross, Liberal supporter of Mackenzie from Prince Edward County, Ontario, and director of the Prince Edward County Railway, also asked for more strength in the law. He wanted to send strikers to the penitenitary for five or ten years. He stated that the honorable members who encouraged them also should be jailed. This same view was stated by John Rochester during the committee discussion. He was Conservative member for Carlton, Ontario, and a lumber manufacturer. He stated that men who refused to allow other men to work should be sent to penitenitary for one to three years.

Newton L. Mackay suggested that the bill include both written and verbal contracts and all mail contracts. Member of Parliament from Cape Breton, Mackay was a lawyer. He supported the Reform party. Samuel MacDonnell, a supporter of the Mackenzie administration although he was a Conservative, and Liberals William Kerr and Colin MacDougall, supported the bill on general principles. Julius Scriver, an independent Liberal for Huntingdon, and president of the Quebec Frontier Railway, believed that the

men's worst fault was that they were members of the Brotherhood.

One of the most vehement speakers against the strikers was Mackenzie Bowell. In 1877 Bowell was a director of the Grand Junction Railway and president of the Farren Manufacturing Company, Hastings Mutual Fire Insurance Company, and Dominion Safety Gas Company. A Conservative opposed to the present government, Bowell was a former editor and owner of the Belleville Intelligencer.[16] He later became Prime Minister of Canada. He stated:

> What punishment could be too great for a man in charge of an engine and cars, who at the most inclement season, stopped the train in a snow-storm, and ran away with the engine, leaving men, women and children without fuel, and without the means of reaching the nearest station, 12 or 24 hours in the storm...he had yet to learn that in this or any other civilized country men had the right to band together and demand from their employer such wages as they chose to ask, and, when their demands were refused, to stand at his door with pistols and prevent his work proceeding, their places being filled by other workmen.[17]

Despite Edward Blake's statement that the bill was primarily designed to alleviate conditions under the Master and Servants Acts, House of Commons speakers considered it mainly in regard to the Grand Trunk strike. The fact that some members could consider it too strong a measure and others consider it a weak one poses a question as to the act's effectiveness. Judging by Arthur's comments,

the engineers were not concerned about the act. The Grand Trunk Company may have considered it as a weak measure. Company officials, however, appeared to make no effort to have it strengthened. It is doubtful, however, that the act was as ineffectual as Sir John A. Macdonald predicted in committee discussion. His remarks, moreover, illustrated his regard for the politics of the case. He stated:

> No doubt the measure would irritate the workingmen, locomotive engineers especially...The Bill was... utterly defective for the purpose of preventing strikes...He thought the Hon. the Minister of Justice had received a communication from the Grand Trunk Railway Company stating that the Bill would be inoperative, and could not cure the evil complained of...As a general law, without reference to that particular evil which had arisen, there were strong reasons why the Bill should be adopted. But it would irritate the men on one hand, and, on the other, not satisfy the railway company, which desired to have the means of preventing strikes, as well as of subsequently punishing the strikers.[18]

Footnotes

[1] Appendix P.

[2] During committee discussion, Blake stated: "the Bill, of course, did not seek to impose penalties on any operative leaving his work or employment at the termination of his engagement. If an engineer made a trip contract and left at the end of his trip without notice he could not be touched by the law; but if he left at the middle of the trip, knowing what the results might be, then he would come within it". Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 40 Victoria, 1877, vol. II, p.1016.

[3] Appendix Q.

[4] Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 40 Victoria, 1877, vol. I, p.856.

[5] Ibid. vol. II, p.1015.

[6] Ibid. vol. I, p.855.

[7] Ibid. vol. II, p.1017.

[7a] Reform Government in the Dominion, Hon. Edward Blake before his constituents of the South Riding of Bruce at Teeswater, September 24, 1877, (Toronto: The Globe, 1878).

[8] Chapter 12.

[9] Appendix R.

[10] During debate on the bill, Blain and Irving supported the strikers. See pages 190-192.

[11] Monthly Journal, 1877, pp.217-218.

[12] See pages 31, 33-34.

[13] Bernard Ostry, pp.122-123. Hamilton was one of the most industrialized cities in Canada. It was the home of the nine-hour movement in the early 1870s.

[14] Appendix S.

[15] A medical doctor, Tupper was Canadian Prime Minister for six months in 1896. He was one of the Fathers of Confederation. From 1873 to 1878 he was the right-hand man of Sir John A. Macdonald while in opposition. A champion of the National Policy, Tupper was hailed as a friend of Canadian manufacturers. He was minister of railways and canals from 1879 to 1884.

[16] A grand master of the Orange Association of British America for many years, Bowell must have been particularly impressed by the fate of the party-bound Orangemen. (See page 68) Born in Suffolk, England, Bowell came to Canada at the age of ten. Starting as a printers apprentice in the office of the Belleville Intelligencer, he became its editor and proprietor. He was Conservative MP for North Hastings from 1867 to 1892 when he was appointed a senator. He was Prime Minister of Canada from 1894 to 1896.

[17] Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, vol. I, pp.866-867.

[18] Ibid. vol II, pp.1015-1016.

Chapter 11 The Labor Vote in the Election of 1878

The Grand Trunk strike did not have a direct affect upon the federal election of 1878, nor was there a significant labor vote at this time.[1] Both the strike and the workingmen, however, were not without political influence. In the light of public speeches by Liberals and Conservatives from 1877 to 1881, and Alexander Mackenzie's private opinion on the reason for his defeat, it would appear that Canadian politicians assigned some significance to the vote of the workingman. It is also significant that Edward Blake thought it necessary to give a spirited defence of the Breaches of Contract Act to his constituents in September, 1877, during Macdonald's extremely successful second round of picnic speeches.[2] This revival of the strike and its attending legislation can only point to a continuing public interest in labor conditions.

The numerical vote of the laboring population in 1878 is difficult to assess because there are no statistics available. Voting requirements, moreover, were provincial at this time even for Dominion elections. Although none of the provinces had full manhood suffrage, the majority of evidence seems to point to the conclusion that many work-

ingmen had the franchise. In 1874, Ontario adopted a low income franchise, giving the vote to men earning $400 or more per year.[3] Quebec and other provinces had householder requirements, but this may not have hindered workingmen from voting.[4] A recent student of the Canadian franchise, John Garner, states:

> From the inception of representative government in Nova Scotia in 1758 until the entrance of Prince Edward Isla nd to Confederation in 1873, the franchise and its extension never became a political issue of any magnitude in the British North American colonies... If the franchise did not become...the centre of disputation it was because no numerous and important segment of the population was excluded from its exercise...[5]

From 1870 to 1884, John A. Macdonald introduced and withdrew three Dominion franchise bills. He did not succeed in having one passed until 1885. The Liberals had been extending the franchise in the provinces, and they disliked a Dominion bill. Extended suffrage, therefore, was viewed as part of the power struggle between the Liberal provincial governments, especially Ontario, and the Conservative Dominion government.[6] If politicians were not as aware of the labor vote as they are today, it does not necessarily follow that they ignored it. The speeches of Irving and Blain in the House of Commons certainly show a regard for whatever percentage the workers' vote might carry.[7] Macdonald and Mackenzie could not have forgotten

1872 so easily.[8]

The public speeches of key politicians and snatches of their private correspondence throw considerable light on this subject. During the debates on the National Policy, which raged in 1877 and 1878, Sir John A. Macdonald, the Toronto Daily Mail, Alexander Mackenzie, Edward Blake, other Liberal ministers, and even Wilfrid Laurier, discussed advantages or disadvantages of protection to the working people. As early as March 22, 1877, Laurier stated in the House that if the National Policy had any basis at all, "it was that the bread of the people should be taxed... and was an inhuman policy, in that it would make fuel and food dearer".[9] Liberal MPs, Richard Cartwright and John Charlton, both spoke of protection as taxation of the many to enrich the few.[10]

Alexander Mackenzie expressed the same opinion on May 30, 1878, at a workingmen's demonstration in Toronto when he said,

> It is...impossible to protect any particular interest, unless it be at the expense of other interests...What does it matter to you workingmen whether you are in subjection to some tyrant who doles out to you what he pleases as wages, or whether you are under the tyranny of laws which prevent you buying where you please and selling where you like.[11]

He also stated that the protectionist wanted a tax to put

in the pocket of the agriculturist or manufacturer. Both Mackenzie and Lt. Col. Jas. A. Skinner, MP, declared that part of the economic plight of the United States' workingmen was due to the American policy of protection.[12] Mackenzie favored protection in one area, however, and that pertained directly to the workingman. At Newmarket on July 2, 1877, he stated:

> If everything else is to be protected labour must have its share, and I will be obliged to nail up a notice at every frontier town and every seaport, and say I am bound to protect the workingmen by preventing immigrants from coming in and competing with them and thus reduce the wages. According to those who are so loud in their cry for protection, everybody is to be protected but the workingman, and he is to pay for the protection of the rest.[13]

At Galt on September 20, 1877, he again advocated a decrease in immigration to aid the laborer in depression. He said: "We have not hesitated at all to inform our agents in London to send no artisans and labourers to this country."[14]

Conservatives argued that protection would aid the workingman. The Toronto Daily Mail stated:

> All our manufacturers have suffered and through them the mechanics whom they employ...Meanwhile the surplus products of the American loom, mine, and workshop are pouring into the country to the despair of the Canadian manufacturer and mechanic, while our products... are debarred.[15]

John McLennan viewed protection for the sugar industry as an interest "that represents most fully the whole question of

the Industrial and trade interests of the Dominion--embracing as it does the question of home employment of labor in manufacture".[16] When speaking of the sugar industry on March 4, 1878, Charles Tupper, criticised the liberals for not re-adjusting sugar duties "to build up a great industry in Canada at a time when the country is suffering for want of employment and the mass of the people are ready to take any wages if they can obtain work". He later added: "The policy the Government has pursued, has had the effect of depopulating the country. It has sent away the most skilled and intelligent labour, the finest sons of Canada, to a foreign country to obtain employment which their own country denies them".[17] This speech was made in the House on the budget, and the last sentance quoted was accompanied by cheers.

In his notes on campaign speeches, Macdonald reminded himself to include both workmen and manufacturers when discussing the National Policy. He also jotted down the opinion that a cheap country to live in means low prices and low wages. Taking note of Charlton's speech, Macdonald commented:

> Canada where duties are levied for revenue only, without any regard to protecting its labor, is unable to supply its natural wants, but is supplied from these 'protected' countries...if we can employ operatives and artisans they would buy more imports

of things we don't manufacture".[18]

There are other evidences of the influence of the labor vote. Macdonald was concerned enough about this vote to forward to Hickson a letter from Dr. John Young Brown. Brown complained that Grand Trunk employees were timid in allegiance to Conservatives because they thought their employers were in favor of the Grits, and they were afraid to work against company officials. Hickson replied tersely: "I desire the employees of every grade to abstain from taking an active part in political matters and to vote as they like".[19] Goldwin Smith wrote Macdonald on October 4, 1878, that he had been approached by Toronto West workingmen of both parties to run on a separate ticket. He refused. Commenting that this alarmed the Grits and they nominated in a "great hurry", he added that "the Canadian people are beginning to think about their own interests".[20]

In addition to decrying the National Policy as an enemy to workingmen, the Liberals showed other evidence of their awareness of the labor influence on the election. Mackenzie gave an address to between 6,000 and 8,000 people on behalf of mechanics and workingmen of Kingston on June 27, 1877.[21] His speech to workingmen at Toronto on May 30, 1878, drew loud cheers as he concluded: "I appeal

to the workingmen of this city, who after all, will control the franchise in the city, to vindicate their position by supporting those who gave the workingmen the practical and social status which at the present time they hold in Canada".[22] Previously, he had stated:

> I assure you that I receive this token of the friendship and the political adherence of the workingmen of Toronto with greater pleasure than any event of my life has ever given me. It has been represented that I failed in my duty as a member of the Administration in not giving effect to enactments which would have for their object the benefit of the workingman. Now, sir, I look upon this address, coming as it does from the workingmen, as emanating from the true source of political power, and as being a complete vindication of the Government in the course pursued in this country...I hold it is the workingman who has made the country. It is the workingman who is to give the country power for the future, and to make it great in the eyes of the world...You have alluded, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that there have been workingmen's gatherings in other parts of the country as well as in this city, with a view to manifesting their approval of the conduct in public life of the leader of the Opposition. Far be it from me to find any fault with this indication of the political opinions of certain sections of the workingmen...In our own day efforts are made by strong Conservatives to induce the workingman to believe that they, and they alone, are his true friends, although it is impossible that any substantial sympathy can exist between a Conservative and the real workingman who subsists by the labour of his hands.[23]

There is evidence that the labor vote played some part in the defeat of the Liberals in the 1878 election. In a private letter written on September 24, 1878, Alexander Mackenzie stated:

> The conduct of Ontario, Nova Scotia, and the Island, is utterly inexplicable. I can give no explanation of it. The only theory...is that the protection idea had ta ken deeper root amongst the people than we had any reason to believe, while the working classes generally were ready to go for any change.[24]

The Montreal Herald commented:

> Conservative gains have been especially made in the cities, where the depression of so many industries has had the effect of creating a feeling of malaise, which must have told heavily upon any Government which happened to be in power during the period in which it occurred.[25]

Further evidence of the part played by the labor vote in the 1878 election was given by Sir John A. Macdonald on May 30, 1881, when he spoke under the auspices of the National Workingmen's Union of Canada to Toronto workingmen. At the opening of his speech, Macdonald stated: "I now come to find the same place, the same crowd, the same friends, the same enthusiasm, the same supporters as I had on this same ground in 1878". Referring to the depression and the success of the National Policy from 1878 to 1881, Macdonald continued:

> I owe much, and those who act with me owe much, to the people of Toronto, to the workingmen of Toronto. (loud cheers) It was here on this platform that the first spark wa s lighted. (applause) It was here that the wave of enthusiasm which spread over the whole Dominion originated. (cheers) It was here that the foundations of the National Policy were laid. (cheers) And I ask you if there has not been a noble, magnificent superstructure raised on the foundation

which you, the workingmen of Toronto, so successfully prepared in 1878. (applause).[26]

Although the role played by the labor vote in the 1878 election was not as determining a one as it was in 1872 or has been in twentieth century history, it was significant. The Grand Trunk strike, moreover, with its attendant public furor and Dominion legislation could not have been forgotten in a year.

Footnotes

[1] On page 27 in his article for the Canadian Historical Review, Bernard Ostry declared: "Labor played no role to speak of in the elections of 1878." In The Old Chieftain, Donald Creighton made no reference to labor or any attempt to influence a labor vote in this election.

[2] Donald Creighton, John A. Macdonald, The Old Chieftain (Toronto: Macmillan, 1955) vol. II, pp.233-235.

[3] At a rate of even $1.50 a day for a six-day week, Grand Trunk engineers and firemen earned the required amount.

[4] Some locomotive engineers may have been householders. There are references in the Monthly Journal to the engineer's cottage or house. Also see pages 9-10.

[5] John Garner, "The Franchise and Politics", University of Toronto Phd thesis, 1958, p.531.

[6] W.L. Morton, "The Extension of the Franchise in Canada", Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1943). From 1873 to 1878, the Liberal government in Ontario passed several provincial acts designed to aid the workingman. They included a Mechanics Lien Act in 1873 with additions in 1875 and 1878; An Act to Facilitate the Adjustment of Disputes Between Master and Workman in 1873; An Act to Facilitate Agreements Between Master and Workman for Participation of Profits in 1873; and An Act Making Directors of Companies Liable for Payment of Wages in 1874. J.R. Marshall, "Labor Legislation in Ontario", M.A. thesis, 1903, University of Toronto. It is also interesting to note that Edward Blake believed the basis of the franchise should be widened, whereas John A. Macdonald did not. The Canadian Parliamentary Companion and Annual Register, 1877, (Ottawa: Citizen Printing and Publishing Company, 1877) p. 119. Also see Bernard Ostry's article.

[7] See pages 190-192.

[8] Bernard Ostry, pp.106-108.

[9] "Wilfrid Laurier on the Platform", compiled by Ulric Barthe (Quebec: Turcotte & Menard's, 1890) p.46.

[10] "Reform Government in the Dominion, Pic-nic Speeches Delivered in the Province of Ontario During the Summer of 1877", (Toronto: Globe Printing and Publishing Company, 1878). Also Macdonald Papers, Public Archives of Canada, vol.65, No.99.

[11] "Workingmen's Demonstration at Toronto, May 30, 1878, Speech of Hon. Mr. Mackenzie", Pamphlet Collection, Public Archives of Canada.

[12] "Address to His Constituents by Lt. Col. J.A. Skinner, MP, for South Riding of Oxford at Dunelg, August 12, 1878", Pamphlet Collection, Public Archives of Canada.

[13] Pic-nic Speeches. A town of about 3,000 population, Newmarket had a "large mercantile business trade". Grain buying, milling and manufacturing were important commercial activities. Although it may have seemed an odd locale for a pro-labor speech, Newmarket had its share of coopers, laborers and machinists. There was at least one foundry and machine shop in town. Many of its citizens were small tradesmen such as tailors and blacksmiths. Dominion Directory, 1871, p.556.

[14] Pic-nic Speeches.

[15] "A Summary of the Public Records of the Past Five Years for the Use of the People", (Toronto: The Daily Mail, 1878).

[16] John McLennan Papers, Public Archives of Canada, vol.I, letter from George G. Dunstan, November 19, 1878.

[17] Macdonald Papers, Public Archives of Canada, vol.65.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid. vol.223, letter from Hickson to Macdonald, April 18, 1878. The letter does not mention the locale of Dr. Brown's canvassing of Grand Trunk employees. There is a John Brown, M.D., listed at 321 Queen Street West, Toronto, in the Dominion Directory for 1871.

[20] Macdonald Papers, vol.226.

[21] Pic-nic Speeches.

[22] Workingmen's Demonstration at Toronto.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Mackenzie Papers, vol.2, letter to John Richard.

[25] Macdonald Papers, vol.65., No.102.

[26] "Sir John Macdonald on the Questions at Issue Before the People, The Premier's Great Speech Before the Workingmen of Toronto", Pamphlet Collection, Public Archives of Canada.

Chapter 12 The Great Strikes in the United States

A picture of the Grand Trunk strike of 1877 would not be complete without placing it within a setting of the North American labor movement of the late 1870s. The years 1876 and 1877 were two of the most violent in United States labor history. They culminated in the "great strikes" in July, 1877. During the Grand Trunk strike, the Montreal press reported four local strikes of ice cutters, miners, and potters in Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey.[1] In his April report to stockholders, Tyler stated that since the Grand Trunk strike, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers had attempted "similar proceedings" on American railroads. He added that one company was refusing to employ members of the union. This company was the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, whose president, Franklin B. Gowen, issued a circular on March 27, 1877, instructing every engineer to leave the Brotherhood within a few days or be discharged.[2] Throughout the spring of 1877, Gowen and Arthur engaged in a battle through letters and in the press which even the great strikes of the summer could not settle.

In attempting to connect the Grand Trunk and

American strikes, it is interesting to compare their course and public opinion toward them. The great strikes began the middle of July on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad when firemen at Martinsburg, West Virginia; Cumberland, Maryland; Camden, Maryland, and several other towns refused to work on freight trains unless a ten percent wage cut was restored. Their action on July 16, 1877, was followed by a general strike of workingmen in Martinsburg and Baltimore the same day. By July 18, 1877, strikers had possession of Baltimore and Ohio lines at many points and refused to allow freight trains to leave. Company officials requested militia from Governor Matthews of West Virginia. He tried to obtain the services of two West Virginia companies, one stationed in Martinsburg. As in the case of the Grand Trunk strike, the local militia failed to put down the strikers. The Martinsburg militia refused to "fire upon their fellows" and were removed from the scene.[3] Meanwhile the strike was spreading along the line. Colonel Thomas R. Sharp of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company wired Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, for federal troops. Part of a regiment of regulars arrived in Martinsburg on July 19, 1877. The strikers acquiesced. "They could not fight the government of the United States."[4] Governor John Carroll of Maryland sent one company of

Maryland militia to Cumberland, and paraded another through Baltimore to Camden Junction on its outskirts. Followed by a hostile mob which threw stones and fired revolvers, the soldiers fired at the crowd. They killed at least nine and wounded more than one hundred.[5] As a result, the strike on the Baltimore and Ohio was broken by August 1, 1877. Previously, the strikers had called on Governor Carroll on July 26, 1877, with an offer to arbitrate. The company had refused.

At the same time, disturbances were taking place in Pennsylvania. Encouraged by the stand of the Baltimore and Ohio men, Pittsburgh employees of the Pennsylvania Railroa d struck on July 19, 1877. Their most recent grievance was that the company wanted to reduce the number of men and increase the work load. Wages had been reduced ten percent on June 1, 1877, without opposition. The company requested armed aid. The mayor and sherriff asked for state militia from the governor. He sent the Pittsburgh militia and ordered six hundred troops from Philadelphia. The Pittsburgh militia looked on while strikers stopped trains.[6] Although strikers and the company conferred, no settlement could be reached. By July 21, 1877, the Philadelphians arrived. As the six hundred attempted to clear tracks they were accosted by an angry mob which began

throwing stones. The soldiers fired into the mob killing at least seven persons and injuring many others. Pittsburgh citizens were enraged. Train movements were stopped, and the Philadelphia troops were ordered into the roundhouse. On the advice of influential citizens who believed the presence of troops aggravated the situation, the Pittsburgh militia was disbanded. The mob began a siege of the roundhouse and set fire to surrounding cars and shops. The troops were burned out of the roundhouse at dawn on July 22, 1877, a Sunday. They retreated to Sharpsburg, and the mob was master of the city for a day.[7]

Apparently nothing was done by local Pittsburgh authorities until Sunday evening when the mob started looting private businesses near the station. It was not until Monday that vigilantes combed the streets to put an end to lawlessness and disorder. By that time the anger of the mob had abated as spontaneously as it had arisen.[8] Violence flared sporadically in other Pennsylvania railroad centers. It was only with the aid of federal troops that the line was opened by July 30, 1877. Strikes and riots spread throughout the country during the end of July. There were disturbances in such industrial centers as Buffalo, Chicago, St. Louis, Columbus, Ohio; San Francisco, and Louisville. Coal miners, rolling mill and steel mill

men, and other workingmen took part. All great eastern railway lines were affected, if not by the strikes, by an inability to move through traffic.

The strikes did not spread very far in Canada. Grand Trunk employees did not strike.[9] Great Western employees threatened trouble, but decided to settle with the company instead of striking. Terms of the settlement included a reduction of two and one-half percent of wages from $30 to $45 per month and a reduction of five percent for wages over $45 per month. This reduction was to be carried only for three months. The company wanted reduced wages for six months, but the men argued that in three months crops would be shipped and the company would be receiving more money. The company conceded.[10] Some employees of the Canada Southern at Detroit struck on July 24, 1877, but were back to work by July 26, 1877.[11]

In comparing the Grand Trunk strike with its summer successors, it is interesting to note that local citizens were in sympathy with the strikers in both cases.[12] It is also noteworthy that contrary to the opinion of many Canadians and influential Americans, a show of force on the part of the government did not deter riot and violence. In Martinsburg, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh the military simply enraged the mob by attempting to suppress it.[13]

Undoubtedly, the differences in locale of the Canadian and American centers of violence played a part in the differences between the two strikes. Although composed of approximately the same ethnic population--Scotish, Irish and German--the American cities differed from the Canadian towns in size, history and industrial development.[14] West Virginia and Pennsylvania were coal mining and steel producing states. The working class of Martinsburg and Pittsburgh were accustomed to low wages, severe working conditions and continuous agitation for a higher standard of living. Center of the Molly Maguire movement, Pennsylvania saw many strikes and much rowdyism from 1873 to 1877. The Pittsburgh railwaymen were reportedly a small percentage of the crowd that acted violently during the strike. Most disturbances occurred late Saturday and Sunday, a time when steel workers were free to join the station crowd. Baltimore had seen much violence during the Civil War.

> The latent fighting spirit of the old town found chance for expression in the trainmen's strike. As to the right or wrong of that strike, the mob spirit did not take the time to ask. It did not care.[15]

Because the American cities were larger than the Canadian towns there would not have been the neighborliness among the citizens which undoubtedly helped to prevent further Grand Trunk disturbances.

Press opinion of the great strikes in the United States was similar to press opinion of the Grand Trunk strike in Canada. The Cincinnati Times, the New York Herald, the Philadelphia Press, the Pittsburgh Telegraph and the Louisville Courier-Journal expressed sympathy for the strikers and their reason for striking. Like the Canadians, however, they condemned the accompanying violence. One of the best expressions of this attitude was written in the Pittsburgh Telegraph on July 18, 1877.

> While we sincerely sympathize with all classes of labor, and ardently wish for the day when the present inadequate renumeration may be raised to its proper standard, it is impossible to sympathize with the menacing demonstrations which now paralyse trade in and through the city, and place additional burdens upon the shoulders of other scantily-paid laboring men in every department of industry.

The Baltimore Gazette and the Pittsburgh Commercial and Gazette had an even more sympathetic attitude toward the strikers. The Pittsburgh Commercial and Gazette held bad management and extravagance on the part of the railroads as responsible for the strike. It advocated a general railroad reform. The Baltimore poper commented:

> Is it cheaper to pay an employe such a wage as will make him a loyal and devoted servant of the company, or to cut him down to the point of desperation and then hire a soldier to keep him in order.[16]

The New York Times and New York Tribune approached the

strike from an opposite point of view. Calling the strike "a crime against the laborers...a crime against society", the Tribune stated that it was an offence against the whole country and "ought to be dealt with by the General Government".[17] The Times commented tersely:

> The corporation for which they have worked, though it may be ill managed, and even dishonestly managed, is under no obligation to employ them at any rate of compensation which is not acceptable to both parties. But a strange hallucination seems to have seized the men, who fancy, because they have worked for the corporation, that they have a standing claim for employment at wages which they may dictate. The hallucination, unhappily, extends to many unthinking people outside of the ranks of the employed.[18]

The militia question appeared in the great strikes as it did in the Grand Trunk strike. The press questioned the inability of the local and federal governments to suppress riot. States passed laws similar to the Breaches of Contract Act. Even the Pittsburgh Commercial and Gazette was disturbed that the military were incapable of control in Pittsburgh and elsewhere. The paper commented on July 23, 1877:

> The inefficient condition of the militia of the several states is due in a great measure to the failure of Congress to make sufficient appropriations for their arming and equipment, defects in the militia laws, and the failure of States to comply with the provisions of the statutes, which make it the duty of the Adjutant General of each state to make returns of militia, arms accoutrements and ammunition annually to the President in January, and making it the duty of the Secretary of War to give such directions to the

> Adjutant Generals of militia as to produce uniformity in such returns.

The great strikes provided a violent climax to several years of economic frustration. According to American historians of the late 1870s, the depression hit hardest in 1877.

> Indeed, the year 1877 may rank as one of the blackest in the nation's annals. It had opened with the country in the throes of a disputed presidential election, threatening civil war; it had brought disastrous labor revolts and a hot discussion of the silver question, producing a fear of rash currency legislation. When the year ended a trained economist, Horace White, wrote that the industries of the nation were never, in the memory of living men, so smitten with paralysis. The farmers almost alone held up their heads. 'All else is a weary and aching mass of unemployed or half employed capital, misdirected talent, and underpaid labor, to which commerce gives the generic name of glut'.19

Long bread lines had been common in cities like New York, Boston and Chicago since the winter of 1874-1875.[20] Unemployment grew steadily. During 1874-1875 the jobless outnumbered those working in most lines of business and industry.[21] In 1877 almost three million people were idle.[22] Tens of thousands of families were in want.[23] Strikes were prevalent and easily defeated. There was a great deal of bitterness toward the trade unions, and men were readily blacklisted. It is interesting to note that McNeill believed the difficulty in settlement of disputes at this period was not so much an objection on the part of

the companies to pay the wages asked as a refusal to recognize the labor organizations.[24] This attitude on the part of management was one of the contributing causes to the Grand Trunk strike.[25] Railway men stated that they could average only four days work a week, and sometimes only fifteen days a month. They said they had to spend some of their wages on board at distant stations. The New York Central had cut wages below what even Vanderbilt admitted was a fair standard. Baltimore railwaymen said they had submitted to three wage reductions in three years. They also stated that their wages were attached if they could not meet their debts, and in that case the company usually dismissed them.[26] On the New York Central a fireman received $1.58 a day and an average of $41 monthly. Wages for engineers were higher, averaging $67 to $90 a month.

Not everyone agreed, however, that the plight of all workingmen was so serious. The Springfield Republican, a Massachuessetts newspaper, stated that wages of skilled labor, including engineers and firemen were from thirty percent to fifty percent higher than in 1860, while the cost of living had fallen nearly to the rate of 1860.[27] Because 1860 was also a year of depression, workingmen were more prone to compare their present standard of living

with that of the late 1860s and early 1870s, a period of inflation.

In addition to their own declining standard of living, the workingmen were not pleased with the economic environment they saw around them. There had been exposures of corruption in the spring and summer of 1876 including the Tweed scandal. Railroad monopolies were hated by farmers and workers. Stock watering and high dividends increased this dislike. The New York Central had a nominal capital of about $90 million, or twice its real capital. The company maintained a dividend of eight percent. The Pennsylvania Railroad and the Central Pacific Railroad also returned high dividends. Professor Allan Nevins questioned why the Central could not have reduced its dividend rate to six percent, easing $1,780,000 annually, which was more than it was getting in wage cuts.[28]

American economic conditions were more depressed than Canadian conditions in 1877, and a general revolt of the working population is not surprising. Although labor organization was more developed in the United States than in Canada, the American unions disintigrated as rapidly as the Canadian unions during the depression. Being one of the few international organizations to survive, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was under constant

railway and press attack. It managed to survive, however, and even conducted successful strikes. In addition to the Grand Trunk affair, the Brotherhood had been successful in striking against the New Jersey Central Railroad in 1875. As a result it enjoyed a great deal of prestige in the early months of 1877. Historian Allan Nevins commented: "the union proved able to dictate terms in matters ranging from the reinstatement of a workman to the raising of wages".[29]

How much the Grand Trunk strike influenced the American strikes is difficult to ascertain. All Brothers knew details of the affair because they were published in the February, 1877, Journal. It's success definitely influenced subsequent actions of the Brotherhood and P.M. Arthur, but both disclaimed responsibility for the summer strikes. Denying any connection with instigating, as the press charged, or taking part in the strikes, as the railways charged, Arthur stated: "no action by myself, by the General Grievance Committee, or by any of the different divisions, tending in any way to support or assist, or even express resolution of sympathy was taken".[30] Arthur even went a step further by discouraging engineers in Newark, New Jersey, from joining the general strike on July 21, 1877. There is no information in American

histories or the Monthly Journal to support contemporary accusations that the Brotherhood was even partly responsible for the great strikes.[32]

Some evidence, however, points to a closer connection with the strikes than the Brotherhood liked to admit. During the six months before the great strikes, the Brotherhood sponsored small, unsuccessful strikes on the Boston and Maine Railroad and the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad to protest wage cuts.[33] Arthur carried his argument with Gowan to the people of Philadelphia, Norristown, Pottsville, and Reading, Pennsylvania.[34] Ten people were killed and ten wounded in Reading during the strikes, and Pennsylvania was the center of strike violence. These two activities of the Brotherhood could not have been without influence. T.V. Powderly, moreover, attributes a July 20, 1877, ultimatum of a strikers committee to the Pittsburgh division of the Brotherhood.[35] With the memory of the Grand Trunk success still fresh in their minds, it seems highly improbable that the American Brothers would not have taken an active interest in the great strikes, if only to attempt to organize them.[36] The engineers had taken an active part in May when they sponsored a committee that met with Thomas A. Scott, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and accepted his

explanation of a need for the June reduction of wages.[37]

It is interesting that the Pittsburgh newspapers reported the Grand Trunk strike in January. Although this report can in no way be construed as a direct influence on the Pittsburgh rioters, they did know about the Canadian incident, and it undoubtedly left an impression of further railway oppression. There was no mention of the Breaches of Contract Act or the many Canadian comments on the strike in the Pittsburgh press. A logical conclusion would be that these two facets of the strike were not unusual for the times. They, therefore, deserved little public attention.

The Grand Trunk strike probably heightened feeling against the engineers in New Jersey where the Brotherhood had promoted a strike on the Central Railroad a few months before. The state of New Jersey passed a bill on March 8, 1877, making it a criminal offense for locomotive engineers or other railroad employees to abandon engines, to refuse to move engines of other companies, to obstruct other employees or to damage property in connection with a strike.[38] The first three offenses were punishable by a fine of from $100 to $500 and six months imprisonment. The fourth offense was to be punished by a $1,000 fine and a year's imprisonment. On March 22, 1877, Pennsylvania

passed a similar law.[39] The New Jersey and Pennsylvania legislation, the pattern of Brotherhood organized strikes, and the Pittsburgh ultimatum show a subtle influence of the Grand Trunk strike upon American labor activities of the time.

The great strikes and the Grand Trunk affair were alike in some of their details and in press reactions. Despite these similarities, however, the outcome of the two events was opposite. The Grand Trunk strike ended in a victory for the strikers. The great strikes ended in defeat.

> The property losses have to be made good by the taxpayers. The strikers have gone to work at wages they refused. The dead are the only lucky ones in the entire affair.[40]

Footnotes

[1] Montreal Daily Witness, January 4, 1877; January 8, 1877. Montreal Gazette, January 6, 1877.

[2] Monthly Journal, 1877, p.269.

[3] Edward Hungerford, The Story of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, 1827-1927 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1928) vol.II, p.140.

[4] Edward Hungerford, vol.II, p.141.

[5] Allan Nevins, "The Emergence of Modern America", A History of American Life, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Dixon Ryan Fox, editors, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), vol, VIII, p.388.

[6] Commons and associates, vol.II, p.189.

[7] "In the afternoon of Sunday there were hundreds of persons that could be seen on the streets rolling barrels of flour, carrying hams, dry goods, and articles of every description, taken from the freight cars." Pittsburgh Commercial&Gazette, July 23, 1877.

[8] Commons and associates, vol,II, p.190.

[9] Grand Trunk Reports, June, 1877. Tyler commented that the engineers and firemen had accepted a ten percent reduction of wages. There is no mention of this in the Monthly Journal or the Canadian Press.

[10] Montreal Star, July 26, 1877.

[11] Ibid. July 24, 1877. Pittsburgh Telegram, July 26, 1877.

[12] On July 21, 1877, the Pittsburgh Commercial and Gazette declared: "Public opinion in this city is more favorable to the strikers than any former trouble we have had, and...our people think they have grievances that ought to be remedied."

[13] The Pittsburgh Commercial and Gazette commented on the weekend riots: "The immediate causes of this were the presence and conduct of the military, who, upon provocation of very slight nature, fired upon the citizens, on Saturday afternoon, killing seven. This inflamed the passions of the people, and led to plans for determined resistance." July 23, 1877. A Pittsburgh Grand Jury which investigated the riots came to the same conclusion. In a report issued on November 19, 1877, the Jury commented: "The soldiers fired on the crowd without orders from their commanding officers, an act which they considered murder." Complimenting law abiding citizens on their putting a stop to the rioting, the Jury decided that: "first, by cool judgement and practical good sense, the mob could have been controlled and bloodshed prevented; second, that the riots followed inevitably the conduct of the military, too largely controlled by railroad officials and culminating in a frightful massacre; third, that there was not enough sufficient authority for the presence of the Philadelphia troops, nor...fourth, if the civil authorities of the State had been present or the conservative advice of citizens listened to by the soldiers the calamity might have been averted." Monthly Journal, 1877, p.559.

[14] See pages 6-8.

[15] Edward Hungerford, vol.II, p.141.

[16] Reprinted in the Pittsburgh Telegram, July 24, 1877.

[17] Reprinted in the Pittsburgh Commerical and Gazette, July 24, 1877.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Allan Nevins, p.304.

[20] Ibid. p.299.

[21] Stewart Holbrook, p.245.

[22] Allan Nevins, p.380.

[23] George McNeill, p.153.

[24] Ibid. p.154.

[25] Chapter 6.

[26] Commons and associates, vol.II, p.10.

[27] Montreal Star, July 28, 1877.

[28] Allan Nevins, p.391.

[29] Ibid. p.386.

[30] Monthly Journal, 1877, p.462.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Nevins stated that the strikes were spontaneous, and the Brotherhood had no part in their direction. Commons does not assign the Brotherhood an active role. An organization called the Trainmen's Union was formed by the men in Pittsburgh during the strike, but historians believe this had no connection with the Brotherhood.

[33] The Boston and Maine strike occurred on February 12, 1877; the Philadelphia and Reading strike in April. Proceedings of the Boston and Maine strike were similar to those of the Grand Trunk, a month earlier. Negotiations were attempted between the local engineers and the railroad. Arthur was called, and after attempting arbitration gave his agreement to a strike which lasted for only a day. Massachusetts Railroad Commissioners held an investigation which resulted in a condemnation of the engineers and a request for penal statutes to cover abandonment of locomotives, obstruction of a railroad or injury of its property, and interference with a railroad employee trying to perform his job. The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad strike occurred at noon on April 14, 1877. It was called by the Brotherhood in defiance of the March 27, 1877, circular issued by Gowan. Neither strike was successful except in calling public attention to the Brotherhood and to railway abuses. Both strikes were organized and accompanied by almost no violence. From October, 1876, to April, 1877, the Brotherhood organized six strikes in the United States and Canada. Although the Grand Trunk was the only Canadian effort, it followed the pattern of the others, and must be considered as one of a

series of problems which confronted the American organization at this time.

[34] Monthly Journal, 1877, p.267. Arthur made public speeches in these cities attacking Gowan.

[35] Appendix T.

[36] Powderly stated that the Knights of Labor attempted to do this in Pittsburgh. T.V. Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, (Columbus, Ohio: Excelsior Publishing House, 1889), p.201.

[37] Commons and associates, vol.II, p.186.

[38] The Canadian Breaches of Contract Bill was introduced on March 7, 1877, and became law on April 28, 1877.

[39] The preamble and first section of the Pennsylvania law stated: "Whereas, Strikes by locomotive engineers and other railroad employes, and the abandonment by them of their engines and trains at points other than their schedule destination, endangers the safety of passengers, and subjects shippers of freights to great inconvenience, delay, and loss; therefore, Section 1. Be it enacted, etc., that if any locomotive engineer, or other railroad employe upon any railroad within this State, engaged in any strike, or in furtherance of any combination or preconcerted arrangement with any other person to bring about a strike, shall abandon the locomotive engine in his charge, when attached either to a passenger or freight train, at any place other then the schedule or otherwise appointed destination of such train, or shall refuse or neglect to continue to discharge his duty, or to proceed with said train to the place of destination, as aforesaid, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred dollars, and may be imprisoned for a term not exceeding six months, at the discretion of the court." T.V. Powderly, pp.204-205.

[40] Iowa City Daily Press, July 30, 1877. Quoted by A. Nevins in Emergence of Modern America, p.390.

Appendices

Appendix A

In an editorial on April 18, 1872, the editors of the Ontario Workman listed six purposes for the publication of their newspaper. These included the following goals:

1. A shortening of hours of labor.

2. "A good sound apprenticeship system" to insure a master the services of a pupil for a reasonable length of time and a boy "a finished workman, conversant with every branch of the calling he professes to understand".

3. No formation of a political party. To advance political reforms, however, such as reformation of the conspiracy law against workingmen's combinations and extension of the franchise to every intelligent male of twenty-one years. In this section the editors also stated: "Government founded on the untrammeled exercise of the liberties of a living and intelligent people, shall protect property in all its natural rights".

4. "Advocated the more general adoption of the system of arbitration in trade disputes--seeing that it has worked so well in many instances in Great Britain--instead of strikes, as heretofore; but we feel fully alive to the fact that the employers of Great Britain have been learning the lesson of arbitration for the past century in the unpleasant school of strikes...This lesson, to a great extent, has yet to be learned by the employer of labor in this Canada of ours, and that they will have ample time to learn the bitter lesson we have no doubt; and when they have found the "stamping out" system unprofitable, and having an opposite tendency to their wishes, our employers will then be equally ready to submit to the arbitration of grievances with organized workingmen."

5. A thorough and general system of education.

6. "Organization we hold to be an all-important question with all producers under the present system of society: and we shall warmly support the principle of Union among workingmen, if for no other purpose than fraternity and mutual improvement associations."

Appendix B

Excerpts from the Constitution and By-Laws of the Grand International Division of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, revised in 1875 and in effect in 1876-1877.

Constitution

Article I

Section 1. This organization shall be known under the name and title of the "GRAND INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS," and its purpose shall be more effectually to combine the interests of Locomotive Engineers, to elevate their standing as such, and their character as men.

Section 2. The organization of the G.I.D. shall be effected in the following manner. Each sub-division shall elect--annually--one delegate to represent them in the G.I.D., and shall meet at such time and place as shall from time to time be designated.

Article II

Section 1. The officers of the G.I.D. shall consist of a Grand Chief Engineer, First Grand Engineer, Second Grand Engineer, First Grand Assistant Engineer, Second Grand Assistant Engineer, Third Grand Assistant Engineer, Grand Guide, Grand Chaplain, and a Board of Five Trustees.

Section 2. It shall be the duty of the G.C.E. to devote his whole time to the interests of the Brotherhood, and shall have full control of the G.I.D. office. He shall preside at all sessions of the G.I.D., and shall have the casting vote in case of a tie; shall grant and sign all Charters, decide all controversies which may be appealed from subdivisions; after a careful examination of which, he shall make out and forward to the Division appealing, his written decision in the case; such decision shall be final and conclusive until the annual meeting of the G.I.D., at which time it shall be submitted to the action of that body, and a two-thirds vote shall also have power, with the will and consent of a

majority of the Grand Officers of the G.I.D. to call a special session at any time during his official term; and he shall receive for his services such compensation as the G.I.D. may determine.

Special Rules for the Government of the G.I.D. and Other Purposes

Article III

Section 1. The headquarters of the G.I.D. shall be located in the City of Cleveland, Ohio, for ten years from January 1st, 1870, and the G.C.E., F.G.E. and F.G.A.E., shall during their term of their office, reside and transact the business of the G.I.D. in said place, and shall devote their whole time to the business of the Brotherhood, and shall have control of all the funds of the G.I.D., except such as is under the control of the Board of Trustees, and shall be held responsible for the safe keeping of the same, allowing no order to be drawn upon such said funds except it is signed by the F.G.A.E. and countersigned by the G.C.E.

Section 4. The Grand Dues shall be such sum per year as the G.I.D. may determine, and all moneys received for dues or from any other source that may remain in the treasury, after paying the necessary expenses of the G.I.D., shall constitute a general fund.

Section 8. It shall be the duty of all subdivisions to elect a delegate to represent them at each annual or special session of the G.I.D., but each subdivision shall have the right to elect any delegate that has already been elected by any other Division. They shall provide said delegate with proper credentials, as well as a list of the names of members, together with all moneys due the G.I.D. from said subdivision which he represents; also a statement of the general condition of the Division; the same to be signed by the C.E. and F.A.E., and underseal of the Division; and said delegate shall remain a member of the G.I.D. until the end of the fiscal year.

Section 12. The Grand International Division of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, shall have power to grant Charters for the purpose of organizing subdivisions in any State in the United States of America, or in any other country; and the G.I.D. and all subdivisions organized under the authority of the G.I.D. of the B.L.E. shall have

power to purchase and hold real estate that may be used for the purpose of carrying on their business as provided in this Constitution and By-Laws; and the G.I.D. and all subdivisions shall have power to require and execute bonds for all officers that occupy places of trust.

For Obtaining Charters and Organizing Subdivisions

Article IV

Section 1. The Engineers on any Railroad wishing to organize a subdivision, shall apply to the Chief Engineer of the nearest Division, whose duty it shall be to apply to the G.C.E. under seal of his Division and signed by the F.A.E., for a blank Charter and the necessary books and papers to organize the same, and upon receipt of which he shall proceed to initiate (if there are not a sufficient number of members to join by card) five or more members and fill out the Charter, organize and instruct said members, and appoint officers pro tem; and when eight members have been initiated in regular form, or joined by card, they shall elect permanent officers, and the F.A.E. shall immediately furnish the names of the officers and their special address to the F.G.A.E., with the date of their organization.

Section 2. All members thus initiated shall pay into their Division fund the initiation fee of ten dollars each, previous to a permanent organization; and said Division thus instituted, shall pay all expenses accruing therefrom.

Article V.

Section 1. All funds necessary to defray the expenses of the G.I.D., except such as may be received for Charter fees, etc., shall be raised by an equal assessment upon all the members of each and every subdivision, such assessment to be paid annually in advance.

Constitution to Govern Subordinate Divisions

Article I

Section 1. The officers of each subdivision shall consist of a Chief Engineer, First Engineer, Second Engineer, First Assistant Engineer, Second Assistant Engineer, Third Assistant Engineer, Guide and Chaplain.

Section 2. Any member of the Division in good standing shall be eligible to any of these offices.

Article II

Section 1. The officers of subdivisions shall be elected annually at the first meeting in August, and be installed and take their seats on the first meeting in September, except in case of new Divisions, who shall elect their officers for the remainder of the fiscal year.

Article III

Section 1. No person shall become a member of the Brotherhood, except he is a white man, twenty-one years of age, and can read and write, and is a man of good moral character, temperate habits, and a Locomotive Engineer in good standing, and has had experience as such at least one year; each Division to be the judge of what constitutes one year's experience. All proposals for membership shall be made to the Division nearest to where the applicant is located.

Section 2. No Engineer shall become a candidate for admission as a member of the Brotherhood (excepting in cases of organizing a new Division), until he has been proposed by three Engineers of the Division where he wishes to become a member, who shall certify that he is a man of good moral character, temperate habits, and to the best of their belief he will be, if admitted, a worthy member of the Brotherhood.

Section 3. All proposals for membership shall lay over one regular meeting, and the Chief Engineer shall appoint a Committee of three to investigate the character, ability, habits, and standing of the applicant; said Committee to report at the next regular meeting; all applications must be accompanied by an initiation fee of ten dollars.

Article IV

Section 1. The influence or sympathy of the Brotherhood as a body shall never be enlisted or used in favor of any political or religious organization whatever, and no political or religious discussion shall ever be permitted at any meeting of any Division.

Section 3. Hereafter any subdivision, wilfully violating

any rule or regulation of the Grand International Division, shall be liable to have their Charter suspended until the next meeting of the G.I.D., and after such suspension all members of said subdivision so suspended that are in any way implicated in violating such rules and regulations shall forfeit the right of all fellowship and benefits of this Brotherhood until the G.I.D. relieves the Charter of said subdivision from suspension.

Section 4. The G.C.E., F.G.E and F.G.A.E., shall have full power to inflict such suspension when, in their judgment, any subdivision has been guilty of wilfully violating said rules and regulations.

Article V

Section 1. Every member of the Brotherhood shall hold himself in duty bound to recognize any other member in good standing as a Brother, and shall not traduce or slander his character or wilfully or maliciously injure him in any way whatever, on penalty of being suspended or expelled from the Division.

Section 2. Should it come to the knowledge of any member of the Brotherhood that a Brother has conducted himself in a manner unbecoming a man, and which may be calculated to bring disgrace to the Brotherhood, or is guilty of drunkenness, or keeping a saloon where intoxicating liquors are sold, or being engaged in the traffic of intoxicating liquors, or should it be known to him that a Brother is guilty of any of the above acts, it shall be his duty to bring the matter before the Division at a regular or special meeting, and the charge against him shall be made in writing.

Section 5. Should any Brother neglect his duty or injure the property of his employer, or endanger the lives of persons, wilfully, while under the influence of liquor, or otherwise, it shall be included in the investigation as laid down above, and be subject to the penalty of the same.

Article VI

Section 1. Any Brother who shall have been expelled for non-payment of dues and assessments, or for other causes, shall not be eligible as a candidate for re-admission in less time than six months after which time he must apply

to the Division from which he was expelled for reinstatement, and may be admitted by the will and consent of a two-thirds majority of all members present--each Division using their own discretion in regard to collecting back dues and assessments.

Section 3. Should any member of the B. of L.E., while out of the jurisdiction of his own Division, conduct himself in a manner unbecoming a Brother, it shall be the duty of the Division nearest to where he resides to investigate the matter, and if the charges are sustained, the F.A.E. shall notify the Division to which the offending Brother belongs, and said notice shall be sufficient evidence for his expulsion, suspension or otherwise, as the Division may determine.

Article VII

Section 1. Should any member of the Brotherhood conduct himself in an unbecoming manner toward any member or members of the same, he shall subject himself to the following penalties: 1st, expulsion; 2nd, suspension for a specified time; 3d, reprimand; 4th, censure. The ballot shall be cast for the severest penalty first, and so on down, until the penalty is fixed on the offending Brother.

Section 2. It shall only require a majority vote of all the members present to suspend for a specified time, to reprimand; or to censure a Brother.

Section 4. The G.I.D. dues are due and payable on or before January 1st, of each year; and each subdivision shall be required to pay G.I.D. dues for all the members (including honorary) they report on their annual report at the commencement of each year; and they must collect Grand Dues from every new member when he is initiated; also from every new member when he is initiated; also from every reinstated member when he is reinstated, if he has not previously paid the same.

Section 5. No Withdrawal or Traveling Cards shall be granted at any time, unless the member applying for the same is square on the books of his Division, including Grand Dues, and all local dues and assessments.

Section 6. Any Brother failing or refusing to pay his dues or assessments for the space of six months, shall be

expelled from the Division of which he is a member, except excused by a majority vote of his Division.

Section 7. Any member while in the locality of his own Division, who does not attend the meetings once in three months, shall be expelled unless excused by his Division.

Article VIII

Section 1. In case of the death of any Brother in good standing, it shall be the duty of the C.E. to appoint a committee, whose duty it shall be to inquire as to the pecuniary situation of the family of the deceased Brother; and should the committee report that they are in want of assistance, it shall be the duty of every member of the Division to see that they are assisted by all honorable and reasonable means; that the children (if there are any) are not allowed to suffer or be neglected, and they shall extend over them their protection and care so long as they may stand in need of it.

Section 2. The widow of any deceased Brother shall be assisted in every way and manner which may be deemed proper, and it shall be the duty of every individual member of the Division to use every effort consistent with the rules of propriety to prevent her from coming to destitution or disgrace, and they shall treat her with respect and consideration so long as she may prove herself worthy.

Section 3. Should any Division determine to assist a sick or disabled Brother, the necessary means may be taken from the funds of the Division, or by assessment or voluntary contributions, as the Division may determine.

Article IX

Section 1. In case of any question arising in any subdivision which is liable to give rise to serious difficulty, and which cannot be amicably settled by the members of such Division, a motion made and carried by a two-thirds majority of all the members present of such Division, may appeal the question in dispute to the G.C.E.

Section 2. Should a subdivision thus determine to appeal to the G.C.E., the F.A.E. shall make out a true statement of the matter, with outlines of the argument pro and con, signed by himself and the C.E., and immediately forward it

to the G.C.E., who shall render his decision as herein provided.

Section 3. Should a member feel that injustice has been done him by any decision of his Division, he may appeal to the Grand Chief Engineer, making a written statement of his case; and upon receiving such statement the G.C.E. should procure a written statement from the Division, and, after duly considering each, render his decision; such decision to be final unless reversed by action of the next G.I.D. Convention thereon.

By-laws

Article V

Section 1. The regular meetings of the Brotherhood shall take place not less than twice each month, and on any day which each Division may determine. Five members shall constitute a quorum to do any business that may legally come before the Division, except in cases where a dispensation is obtained from the G.C.E. to transact business with a less number. Should only three members be present at any regular meeting of a Division, the offices of C.E.F.A.E. and T.A.E. shall be filled by election or appointment; they shall read the minutes of the previous meeting, keep a record of their proceedings and adjourn.

Section 4. On a member obtaining a Withdrawal Card, and locating elsewhere, should there be a Division of the Brotherhood in his vicinity, he shall deposit his card with such Division within one month on penalty of being expelled by the Division granting said card for non-compliance; and should there be no Division of the Brotherhood on the railroad where he locates, he shall consider himself in duty bound to use every effort to establish one.

Article VI

Section 1. There shall be a Traveling Card for the use and benefit of members in good standing, that are engaged in railroad business, which cards may be granted by the C.E. and F.A.E.; such card shall not be granted for the space of more than three months; the Brother obtaining such card shall sign the same in his own handwriting and return it at the expiration of that time, or give satisfactory reasons for not producing the same, before he can obtain another

card; and all Traveling Cards shall be endorsed on the back, with the date of issue, and the words "to be returned in three months," and signed by the C.E. and F.A.E., stating number of years the Brother has run a locomotive engine. The subdivision seal must be used upon Traveling Cards.

Standing Rules of the G.I.D. of B. of L.E.

1. That in order to prevent any trouble between Brothers of subdivisions and their employers, it shall be the imperative duty of the General Standing Committees of the several roads, before sending for the Grand Chief Engineer, to first exhaust their own efforts to effect a settlement of all difficulties, and failing to obtain satisfaction, they shall then notify the Grand Chief Engineer of the facts, in detail, as soon as possible, and farther,

That when the Grand Chief Engineer receives such notification he shall give it the precedence of all other business, to visit such subdivision or divisions, as the case may be, and use all honorable and just measure to prevent trouble between the Brothers and their employers.

8. That this organization shall use all honorable means in its power to prevent the hiring of men for firemen who will not make respectable, competent and intelligent engineers.

Appendix C

Copies of the two papers found in the possession of John Eaton when he was arrested by Toronto police on December 30, 1876.

General Manager's Office
Montreal
Dec. 22nd, 1876

Mr. P.M. Arthur
Albion Hotel
Montreal

Dear Sir:

I have a telegram from Mr. Hickson this morning, in which he says that any matters which cannot be dealt with by Mr. Wallis will receive his attention at once on his return to Montreal.

Yours truly,
(signed) C. Drinkwater

December 26, 1876

I enclose letter received this a.m. from Mr. Hickson. Tell all the men for me to be loyal to the end and they will be right. I have written Portland and Detroit, and we have the best of them if the men will only strike. It is a life and death struggle with us. It is important for the men and firemen as well as enginemen to be loyal. I have received a call to come to Kansas, but till your case is settled I will stand by you till the last.

Yours to the end,
Arthur

Montreal Gazette, January 1, 1877

Appendix D

The 1875 agreement between the locomotive engineers and the Grand Trunk Railway Company.

At a conference held in the General Manager's office, with a deputation representing the enginemen and firemen of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, the following propositions, as a basis of payment of wages, were agreed upon:

First. That the rate of wages paid per trip and per day remain as at present, except in the cases referred to below.

Second. That a list of names of first and second class engineers and firemen be made up at once, and those found eligible for promotion on the Ist of April should be advanced at the proportion of one-fourth each, on the Ist of April, Ist of May, Ist of June, and Ist of July, according to seniority. Also, that all first and second class engineers and firemen not having completed their 12,000 miles on the Ist of April, to date the commencement of such mileage from the Ist of February, the 12,000 miles to be computed on the usual basis of trip mileage.

Third. That one quarter day be allowed to engineers and firemen coming on duty for a train which is cancelled after coming on duty.

Fourth. That all way freight trains be paid at the rate of one trip and a quarter per trip no allowance being made for detentions.

Fifth. All special trains to be paid at the rate averaging between the time of the longest and shortest through freight trains, on a list to be made out from time to time.

Sixth. All construction trains to be paid at the rate of $2.50 for third class engineers, $2.20 for second class, and $2.00 for first class, per day of twelve hours. (This is the only source which catagorized the third class of engineers as the highest paid class.) An allowance at the agreed detention rate being made per hour for all over twelve hours. All wood trains to be paid at the usual daily rate of twelve hours, with the pro rata allowance for overtime.

Seventh. That trip tickets be signed on coming on duty, and all detention time be paid less one hour as usual,

but the rate per hour for detention time to be, for third class engineers, 10 cents; for second class, nine cents; for first class, 8 cents; second class firemen, 7 cents; first class, 6 cents; all claims for detention time at the end of the trip to be made on a separate form for that purpose, to the foreman, who will consider and allow them on satisfactory evidence of their correctness.

Eighth. That in case of engineers running to the Don, or Immigrant Shed, with stock or freight, one quarter day extra be allowed.

Ninth. That $2.00 be allowed per day for third class, $1.90 for second class, and $1.80 for first class engineers, for going to Stratford or Montreal, for engines which have been under repairs, and that no other shop time be allowed.

Tenth. That the third class trip rates be altered, as follows: Montreal to Cornwall and back, passenger, $2.80; Stratford to Fort Erie, freight, $3.15; Toronto to Galt and back, mixed, including all extras, $4.00; Montreal to Richmond and back, freight, $.80.

First and second class engineers and firemen, rates in proportion.

Signed on behalf of the whole staff of Engineers and Firemen employed on the Grand Trunk Road.

P.M. Arthur,
J. Birse,
S. Phipps,
R. Liddell,
J. Germain,
J. Farnsworth.

Herbert Wallis,
Mechanical Superintendent

Monthly Journal, 1877, p.65.

Appendix E

December, 1876, reduction notices.

1. General notice.

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY OF CANADA,
General Manager's Office,
Montreal, Dec. 7, 1876.

General Order.
No. 254.

In consequence of the great depression in trade and the falling off in the Company's business, it has been determined to discontinue a large number of trains on and after the 23rd instant.

The reduction will, as far as I am able to estimate, amount to twenty per cent of the train service. This, I very much regret, will necessitate a large reduction in the number of engine-drivers, firemen, train-hands, and others employed by the Company.

The heads of the several departments of the service will take the necessary steps to prepare for this change, forced upon the Company by a continued stagnation in business and the competition resulting from the construction of rival lines.

In reducing the staff employed, care must be taken to give every consideration to the claims of old employees, and that the reductions are spread over the various grades in equitable proportions.

Joseph Hickson,
General Manager

2. The following is a copy of the personal reduction notice sent to John Eaton of Toronto.

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY OF CANADA,
Office of Mechanical Superintendent,
Montreal, Dec. 9, 1876.

To Mr. J. Eaton,
Toronto:

In consequence of a reduction in the train service, caused by the depression in trade and the falling off in traffic, I have to advise you that your services will not be required by this Company after December 23rd.

On the satisfactory completion of your work during the time covered by this notice, your wages will be paid, and a proper certificate of character supplied.

Herbert Wallis,
Mechanical Superintendent.

Monthly Journal, 1877, p.66.

Appendix F

Copies of December, 1876, correspondence between P.M. Arthur and Grand Trunk Railway Company officials.

1. On Tuesday, December 18, P.M. Arthur sent the following letter to Joseph Hickson.

Joseph Hickson, Esq.,
General Manager G.T.R.R.:

Dear Sir:

The laws and rules of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, to which the engineers in your employ belong, require them, when a question arises between them and their employers that they cannot settle satisfactorily, to send for the Grand Chief Engineer of the organization. It is his duty to come and use all honorable means in his power to prevent any difficulty occurring between the engineers and the Company. Your engineers have sent for me, and I have come, not in the spirit of coercion or dictation, but as mediator, and would be pleased to have an interview with you and a Committee of your engineers. If you will be kind enough to grant the favor, please inform the bearer of time and place.

Yours respectfully,
P.M. Arthur, G.C.E.

2. He received the following reply.

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY OF CANADA
General Manager's Office
Montreal, December 21, 1876

Mr. P.M. Arthur
Montreal

Sir:

I have received your letter of this date. I communicated with Mr. Hickson yesterday, and the following is the substance of his reply:

"I know of no grievances which the men have. The company desires to reduce its train service, and surely has a perfect right to do so. It the engineers have any thing to say, why do they not put their case before the Mechanical Superintendent. I shall probably not be able to leave here (New York) before Saturday or Sunday."

Yours truly,
C. Drinkwater,
Assistant

3. Arthur stated that he also addressed a letter to Wallis similar to the one sent to Hickson. He received the following reply:

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY OF CANADA
Office of Mechanical Superintendent
Montreal, Dec. 19, 1876.

P.M. Arthur, Esq.,
Albion Hotel,
Montreal:

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of to-day, and, in reply, would say that I am not aware of any question having arisen between this Company and its employes which has not been disposed of to the entire satisfaction of all.

I am, therefore, at a loss to understand the object of your visit as a mediator, which requires an explanation before I can reply to your letter.

Yours truly,
Herbert Wallis,
Mech. Sup't.

4. Arthur sent another letter to Drinkwater informing him of his correspondence with Wallis. He received the following reply.

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY OF CANADA
General Manager's Office
Montreal, Dec. 20, 1876

Mr. P.M. Arthur
Albion Hotel, Montreal

Sir:

I received your letter yesterday. As I have already explained, Mr. Hickson is out of town; he may be back on Friday or Saturday.

I have this morning seen Mr. Wallis, who tells me that he has not been made aware of any unadjusted grievances between the engineers and the Company, and that he has informed you to this effect. It remains therefore with the engineers to lay any grievances they may have before Mr. Wallis in the usual way.

A deputation of enginemen recently had an interview with the General Manager, and the grievances they then complained of were adjusted to their satisfaction. It is for the enginemen to consider whether they will on Mr. Hickson's return, seek to lay before him any new grievances which they may consider they have.

Yours truly,
C. Drinkwater
Assistant

Monthly Journal, 1877, pp.67-68.

Appendix G

The engineers' December, 1876, propositions for settlement of their grievances.

Joseph Hickson, Esq.,
General Manager G.T.R.R.:

Dear Sir:

We, the undersigned, a committee representing the Locomotive Engineers in your employ, do, most respectfully, submit the following propositions for your consideration as a basis of settlement of our grievances:
First: That the agreement of 1875, made between the Engineers and Company be faithfully adhered to.
Second: That the fourth class of engineers and third class of firemen recently introduced be abolished, and all engineers and firemen who have been served with notices that their services would not be required after December 23d, be re-instated and the work be divided equally among all.
Third: That all questions of dispute or differences that may arise between the Company and the engineers be arbitrated by a committee of engineers and officers of the road, selected by the General Manager. Failing to effect a peaceable settlement with them, the case shall then be referred to the General Manager for his decision.

Monthly Journal, 1877, p.68.

Appendix H

The official notice given by Joseph Hickson to the men the morning of December 29, 1876.

No.29 Locomotive Foreman,
A.D.F.E.S.D.C.F. and C.

Information reached me from various sources that the engineers employed on the line, or a portion of them, intend to strike work tonight. I sincerely hope that on this point I am misinformed. An improvement in the through traffic and rates will, I hope, enable the Company to employ almost immediately a considerable number of men who left the service, but the course which it is said the men intend to take would frustrate that object and compel the Company to engage new men. I desire for the information of the staff in the mechanical department to say that I have expressed my willingness to see the committee appointed by the men, and have offered to give them facilities to come here for the purpose, but hitherto they have refused to meet me. If any attempt at a strike is made you will carefully carry out the instructions you have already received from the Superintendent of the department. If the men are so ill-advised to take a step which will do damage to the Company, cause inconvenience to the public, and injure themselves, they must take the responsibility of it.

Joseph Hickson,
General Manager

Montreal, 29th December, 1876

Re-rinted in the Toronto Mail, December 30, 1876.

Appendix I

The engineers' ultimatum issued to the company on December 29, 1876.

Montreal, Dec. 29, 1876.

Joseph Hickson, Esq.,
General Manager Grand Trunk R.R.

Dear Sir:

We, the undersigned, a committee appointed to represent the Locomotive Engineers in your employ, do hereby notify you unless the following propositions are acceded to, the engineers in your employ will stop work at nine o'clock this evening:

First: That all classification of engineers and firemen be abolished, and the present rate of wages paid for first-class engineers be paid all engineers running on the road.

Second: All engineers employed shunting, be paid $1.75 per day.

Third: In case of an overplus of engineers, the oldest in the service of the Company to have the preference of work.

Fourth: That no engineer or fireman be discharged on any charge without having a fair and impartial investigation and his guilt established beyond a doubt.

Fifth: All road engineers employed shunting at terminal points be paid twenty cents per hour for such service.

Sixth: All engineers running freight trains and doing way-freight work, whether train is designated on time card as way-freight or otherwise, shall receive one day and one-fourth per trip, providing the division does not exceed eighty miles; all over eighty miles one day and one-half be allowed.

Seventh: All engineers and firemen who received notice that their services would not be required after December 23, 1876, be reinstated.

Monthly Journal, 1877, p.69

Copies of the ultimatum which appeared in the press differed from the Journal version. The following text appeared in the Montreal Daily Witness on January 2, 1877.

Montreal, Dec. 29, 1876

Joseph Hickson Esq., General Manager G.T.R.R.

Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned, a committee appointed to represent the locomotive engineers in your employ, do hereby notify you, unless the following propositions are acceded to, the engineers in your employ will stop work on Friday, the 29th instant, at 9 p.m.

First- That all firemen promoted to engineers shall receive for the first year second-class rates of wages paid on the division they are employed upon. After that they shall receive full rates, or that known as first-class rates.

Second- All engineers employed shunting shall receive two dollars per day, and, if transferred to the road at the expiration of one year, they shall receive first class rates.

Third- In case of an overplus of engineers and firemen and the company desires to reduce the number, they shall give the oldest in the service of the Company the preference of work.

Fourth- No engineer or fireman to be discharged for any cause without a fair and impartial trial and his guilt established beyond a doubt.

Fifth- All road engineers employed shunting at terminal points be paid twenty cents per hour for such service; all detentions to be paid at same rate, less one hour.

Sixth- All engineers running freight trains and doing way freight work, whether train is designated on time card as way freight or otherwise, shall receive one day and one-fourth per day for division of eighty miles or less: all over eighty miles they shall receive one day and one-half.

Seventh- All engineers and firemen who were notified that their services would not be required after the 23rd December 1876, and those that have been stopped since, be reinstated, and the work equally divided among all.

(Signed,) J. Eaton, J. Cardell, F. Taylor, J. O'Brien, C. Pickering, J. Ferguson, J. Fitzpatrick, A. McNaughton, T. Hollinrake, T. Rennick

Eighth- We also recommend the removal of William Welch, foreman at Point St. Charles, and Adolphus Davis, foreman at Belleville, as it is impossible to work under them on account of their domineering and arbitrary conduct towards the men.

Approved by Committee.

John Eaton,
Chairman

Appendix J

Telegram from Wallis to Portland, Maine, locomotive foreman, Joseph N. Martin.

Montreal, Dec. 30, 1876

Martin,

I congratulate you, and your engineers and firemen, on their lawabiding disposition. The Atlantic section has set a bright example to the rest of the line, which I felt sure they would, and which will not be forgotten by the company.

Yours respectfully,
H. Wallis
Mechanical Superintendent

Portland Advertiser, January 1, 1877

Appendix K

Telegram from Joseph Hickson to P.M. Arthur on the morning of December 30, 1876.

To P.M. Arthur
Chief Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers
Cleveland, Ohio

The committee which was appointed when you were here have declined to wait upon me, sent three of their number to me last night at half-past seven, with a paper entirely at variance with all previous proposals, and intimated they would strike at nine. They have not only done so, but have proceeded to acts of wanton outrage, which demand the interference of the civil authorities.

I advise you of this strong state of things in order that you may exercise any power you possess in the interest of the men and public order.

J. Hickson

Montreal Gazette, January 1, 1877

Appendix L

Copies of official telegrams exchanged between Joseph Hickson, Alexander Mackenzie and Oliver Mowat during the strike.

December 30, 1876

2:10 J. Hickson to A. Mackenzie

I regret that there will be some delay to the mails, the very severe storm of last night has blocked the line with snow to a serious extent. We have large numbers of men ready to work, but they are being intimidated by the violence of society men both here and at Brockville, Belleville, Toronto and Stratford, the greatest difficulty being at the latter place, where the civil power is too weak to keep the peace. These remarks also apply to Richmond, P.Q. Can you do anything to assist the authorities at those points.

2:20 J. Hickson to A. Mackenzie

Since telegraphing you, I have a message saying that mob law prevails at Belleville, the men refuse to let our solicitor, Mr. Bell, speak to them. The more our loyal men succeed in opening the road, the more exasperated their opponents become. They are calling for additional protection. I respectfully ask that the volunteer force be employed to protect loyal men in our service.

3:55 J. Hickson to A. Mackenzie

I hope you will order immediate aid to be given to the civil authorities at Belleville, where mob law prevails.

A. Mackenzie to J. Hickson

We have no power to interfere. I refer you to the first section of Chap. 46, Act of 1873, as indicating your proper course. (Appendix O)

December 31, 1876

4:15 J. Hickson to A. Mackenzie

The Civil Force Volunteers at Belleville are unable to control the mob at that point; and I ask on behalf of the Company, that Volunteers be at once sent from other

districts to protect life and property. The force in the neighborhood had been called out by the local authorities, and is insufficient. Will you kindly reply.

6:10 O. Mowat to A. Mackenzie

Mr. Hickson telegraphs me urgently to protect property and men at Belleville and Stratford, local authorities not being sufficient, partly from local sympathy with strikers. He asks for the Active Militia from here. I have telegram from Mayors of Belleville and Stratford, also County Attorney, Stratford, to like effect. Col. Gzowski has called on me with message to him from Hickson to same effect, and represents that the case is as stated and most urgent. All communications cut off. Please telegraph what you determine upon as to Active Militia.

A. Mackenzie to O. Mowat

I think your duty to instruct the civil authorities in as many quarters as are necessary by telegraph as to their powers and duties in the emergency. See Section 27 of Chapter 46, Statutes of 1873. We seem to have no power, as the case does not come within Section 61 of Chapter 40, Statutes of 1868. If you conceive we have power, refer me to law. (Appendix O, 2.)

7:35 J. Hickson to A. Mackenzie

The Company have power and men ready to work all trains carrying passengers and mails, but in the absence of sufficient force to protect loyal employes against violence at Toronto, Stratford, Belleville, Brockville and Sarnia, I have been compelled to give orders to make no further effort to do so, until the Government can supply a protecting force.

A train was started from Toronto this morning, another from Montreal, neither will be permitted to pass Belleville, if they are allowed to go so far.

I earnestly ask that immediate protection be afforded.

January 1, 1877

12:15 O. Mowat to A. Mackenzie

I telegraphed last night to the local authorities at every point, and received since the telegrams mentioned. I now telegraph again to them more specifically.

11:56 J. Hickson to A. Mackenzie

I regret to find no adequate force has been provided at

Belleville to keep the peace there and protect property; the delay is inflicting upon the Company a most serious loss of revenue, and I need not say on the public the utmost inconvenience.

A. Mackenzie to J. Hickson

If your solicitor will look at the law he will inform you that the Dominion Government has no power to interfere for preservation of order. The magistrates and local authorities alone can lawfully act. You are simply asking us to violate the law. I have communicated with Attorney-General Mowat our desire that he should do all he can.

January 2, 1877

J. Hickson to A. Mackenzie

About three weeks ago, the Grand Trunk Company thought it necessary, looking at the depressed state of its business, to dismiss a number of men from its employment; they were notified in the usual way. They have since combined and induced others in the service to strike work, interrupting the whole business of the Railway and the proper conveyance of mail matter from one point to another, by acts of violence and intimidation. I have applied to the Dominion Government of Ontario, through the Lieutenant Governor in Council; to the Municipal Authorities at various points, and although this riotous state of things has prevailed since early on Saturday morning, at no point upon the line where these proceedings have taken, or are taking place, has an adequate force been supplied to keep the peace and protect the loyal employes of the Company. The municipal authorities at Stratford and Brockville have failed to make requisition for military assistance, on the ground that it would entail a heavy expenditure upon the municipalities. We are asked to supply accommodation and meals for troops which are being sent from Toronto to Belleville, today, to quell a public disturbance. I venture again to call your attention to this state of matters, and to say that I am advised it is competent for the Dominion Government to employ the military force at its command, at Quebec and Kingston, if the Government of the country is unable to preserve the peace and protect life and property. The Company has only this alternative presented to it, that it must give up the control of its affairs to a body of lawless men, thus relaxing all discipline, and in the end

seriously endangering the public safety. I respectfully request to be advised whether the Government will exercise its authority to preserve the peace and assist the Company to protect its property and the lives of its servants.

A. Mackenzie to J. Hickson
Will you send me a reference to the law which you say you are advised authorizes the Government to call out troops.

A. Mackenzie to O. Mowat
Mr. Hickson complains magistrates at Brockville and Stratford refuse to make requisition for force required to preserve order. I think you ought to represent their duty strongly and see that order is enforced by some means.

8:10 J. Hickson to A. Mackenzie
I am advised that the power exists under Section 61 of 31st Victoria, Chapter forty; year six. I refer to the batteries at Quebec and Kingston, in as much as they are regularly enlisted troops under the immediate control of the Governor in Council. (Appendix O, 2.)

9:40 A. Mackenzie to J. Hickson
I am advised that section of Act referred to applies only to case of war, invasion or insurrection, or danger thereof, and not to present case.

Appendix M

Copies of the telegrams of January 3, 1877, which stated the conditions under which the men resumed work on January 4, 1877.

Toronto, Jan. 3, 1877

J. Hickson
Montreal:

We now ask you to reinstate all men discharged by the Company, also to overlook the conduct of all men who left their work in accordance with general orders issued relative to the strike, and to withdraw all warrants issued against the latter men except in case of personal violence. We also to have only two classes of rates maintained, viz: the present first and second, and on condition of this being done, it is agreed upon for men to work on second-rate for one year before being eligible for promotion to the first-class. Also, we want train-engines at terminal stations doing extra shunting, to be paid at the rate of twenty cents an hour; detentions paid at the same rate, less one hour. We also wish you to receive P.M. Arthur when we meet you again; also, the first propositions being conceded, which you say you have agreed to. The following reply was made:

J. Eaton

The men must resume work at once; that being done, I accept, and will carry out their proposals wherever it shall not be satisfactorily shown to be impracticable or unfair to do so. When I meet them it is a condition of my acceptance, that work be resumed at once, this morning. You can give the men a copy of this message if they wish it.

J. Hickson,
General Manager

Monthly Journal, 1877, p.69.

Appendix N

The final agreement.

At a conference, held in the Reading Rooms, Point St. Charles, Montreal, Jan. 6, 1877, between HERBERT WALLIS, Mechanical Superintendent, P.M. ARTHUR, G.C.E., and the following delegation, representing the engineers and firemen on the Grand Trunk Railway:

John Eaton, Toronto,
J. Fitzpatrick, Toronto,
Edwin Taylor, Belleville,
J. O'Brien, Brockville,
J. Cardell, Montreal,
J. Germain, Montreal,
C. Pickering, Montreal,
T. Hollirake, Brantford,
A. McNaughton, Sarnia,
J. Waterworth, Port Huron,
J. Ferguson, Richmond,
T. Renwick, Stratford,

That the agreement of March, 1875, be considered binding, with the following modifications:

First. That all engineers and firemen respectively be divided into two grades, the rates of pay of each of the grades being the same as the present first and second grades in the service, as already agreed upon in March, 1875.

Second. That all shunting engineers be paid at the rate of one dollar and seventy-five cents ($1.75) per day for the first year; after which, there being no serious report against them, they shall be advanced to two dollars ($2) per day if they remain on shunting engines, and if they be put out on the main line, the rate of pay shall be first class.

Third. That all engineers and firemen be advanced from second class rate to first class after they have worked in service one year.

Fourth. That all men entitled to promotion from December 1, 1876, date their promotion from the commencement of that month.

Fifth. That all general cases of dispute, not decided by the Mechanical Superintendent, be arbitrated by a Committee of engineers, before the General Manager, whose decision

shall be final.
Sixth. That all men discharged by the Company be reinstated; also that the conduct of all men who left their work in accordance with general orders issued relative to the strike be overlooked, and all warrants issued against the latter men be withdrawn. This does not, however, refer to men having been guilty of personal violence.
Seventh. That all road engineers doing shunting at terminal stations be paid at the rate of twenty cents per hour.

HERBERT WALLIS,
Mechanical Sup't.

Approved:

J. HICKSON,
General Manager.

Montreal, Jan. 6, 1877

Monthly Journal, 1877, pp.69-70.

Appendix O

Statutes outlining the use of the military in aid of civil power.

1. The Militia Act of 1868. Originally Section 27 of the Militia Act of 1868, the section was revised in 1873.

Chapter 46, 1873

Section 1. New provision for part of Section 27 of 31 Victoria Chapter 40.
(27.) The Active Militia, or any corps thereof, shall be liable to be called out for active service with their arms and ammunition, in aid of the civil power in any case in which a riot, disturbance of the peace or other emergency requiring such service occurs, or is, in the opinion of the civil authorities hereinafter mentioned, anticipated as likely to occur, and, (in either case) to be beyond the powers of the civil authorities to suppress, or to prevent or deal with, whether such riot, disturbance or other emergency occurs, or is so anticipated within or without the municipality in which such corps is raised or organized: and it shall be the duty of the Senior Officer of the Active Militia present at any locality to call out the same or any portion thereof as he considers necessary for the purpose of preventing or suppressing any such actual or anticipated riot or disturbance, or for the purpose of meeting and dealing with any such emergency as aforesaid, where thereunto required in writing by the Chairman or Custos of the Quarter Sessions of the Peace, or by any three magistrates, of whom the Warden, Mayor or other head of the municipality or county in which such riot, disturbance or other emergency occurs, or is anticipated as aforesaid, may be one; and to obey such instructions as may be lawfully given him by any magistrate in regard to the suppression of any such actual riot or disturbance, or in regard to the anticipation of such riot, disturbance or other emergency, or to the suppression of the same, or to the aid to be given to the civil power in case of any such riot, disturbance or other emergency; and every such requisition in writing as aforesaid shall express on the face thereof, the actual occurrence of a riot, disturbance, or emergency, or the anticipation thereof, requiring such service of the Active

Militia in aid of the civil power for the suppression thereof: and every Officer, non-commissioned officer and man of such Active Militia or any portion thereof, shall on every such occasion, obey the orders of his Commanding Officer: and the officers and men, when so called out, shall without any further or other appointment, and without taking any oath of office, be special constables, and shall be considered to act as such so long as they remain so called out; but they shall act only as a military body, and shall be individually liable to obey the orders of their Military Commanding Officer only.

Statutes of Canada (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1873), 37 Victoria, 1873, Chapter 46, pp.130-131.

2. Section 61 of Chapter 40, Statutes of 1868, to which Alexander Mackenzie referred in Appendix L.

Chapter 40, 1868

Section 61. Her Majesty may call out the Militia or any part thereof for actual service, either within or without the Dominion, at any time, whenever it appears advisable so to do by reason of war, invasion or insurrection, or danger of any of them; and the Militiamen, when so called out for actual service, shall continue to serve for at least one year from the date of their being called out for actual service, if required so to do, or for any longer period which Her Majesty may appoint:

Statutes of Canada (Ottawa: Malcolm Cameron, 1868), 31 Victoria, 1868, Part Second, Chapter 40, p.80.

Appendix P

The 1877 Breaches of Contract Act

An Act to repeal certain laws making Breaches of Contracts of Service criminal, and to provide for the punishment of certain Breaches of Contract.

Preamble. Whereas breaches of contract, whether of service, or otherwise, are in general civil wrongs only, and not criminal in their nature; and it is just that breaches of contract of service should in general be treated like other breaches of contract, as civil wrongs, and not as crimes; and that the law should be amended accordingly; And whereas certain wilful and malicious breaches of contract, involving danger to persons or property, or grave public inconvenience, should be punished as crimes: Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:--
1. All those parts of sections four, five, seven, nine, ten and eleven of the Act chapter seventy-five of the Consolidated Statutes for Upper Canada, intituled "An Act respecting Master and Servant," and all those parts of sections five and seven of the Act chapter twenty-seven of the Consolidated Statutes for Lower Canada, intituled "An Act respecting Masters and Servants in the Country Parts,"... and all those parts of section three of the Act of the legislature of the Province of Prince Edward Island, second William the Fourth, chapter twenty-six, intituled "An Act for repealing an Act of the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King George the Third, intituled 'An Act for regulating Servants,' and for substituting other provisions in lieu thereof," which make a violation of any of the provisions of any of the said sections criminal, shall be and stand repealed from and after the first day of May in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight.
(2.) All those parts of sections two and three of the said chapter twenty-seven of the Consolidated Statutes for Lower Canada, as amended as aforesaid, which make a violation of any of the provisions of either of the said sections criminal, and which sections have been repealed by the act of the Legislature of Quebec, thirty-third Victoria, chapter twenty, intituled "An Act further to amend chapter twenty-seven of the Consolidated Statutes for Lower Canada

respecting Masters and Servants in the country parts" are hereby repealed.

2. Any person who wilfully and maliciously breaks any contract made by him, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the probable consequences of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to endanger human life, or to cause serious bodily injury, or to expose valuable property, whether real or personal, to destruction or serious injury; and

(2.) Any person who, being under any contract made by him with any municipal corporation or authority, or with any company bound, agreeing or assuming to supply any city or any other place, or any part thereof, with gas or water, wilfully and maliciously breaks such contract, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe, that the probable consequences of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to deprive the inhabitants of that city or place, or part thereof, wholly, or to a great extent of their supply of gas or water; and

(3.) Any person who, being under any contract made by him--

(a.) With a railway company, bound, agreeing or assuming to carry Her Majesty's mails, or passengers or freight; or--

(b.) With Her Majesty, or any one on behalf of Her Majesty, or of the Government, in connection with a Government railway on which Her Majesty's mails, or passengers or freight are carried,--

Wilfully and maliciously breaks such contract, knowing, or having reason to believe that the probable consequences of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to delay or prevent the running of any locomotive engine, or tender, or freight or passenger train or car on the railway,--

Shall, on conviction thereof, be liable to be punished by fine not exceeding one hundred dollars, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, with or without hard labor.

3. Any municipal corporation or authority or any company, which, being bound, agreeing or assuming to supply any city, or any other place, or any part thereof, with gas or water, wilfully and maliciously breaks any contract made by such municipal corporation, authority, or company, knowing or having reason to believe that the probable consequences of its so doing will be to deprive the inhabitants of that city or place or part thereof, wholly or to a great extent, of their supply of gas and water; and--

(2.) Any railway company which, being bound, agreeing or assuming to carry Her Majesty's mails or passengers or freight, wilfully and maliciously breaks any contract made by such railway company, knowing or having reason to believe that the probable consequences of its so doing will be to delay or prevent the running of any locomotive engine or tender or freight or passenger train or car on the railway, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding one hundred dollars.

Statutes of Canada (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1877), 40 Victoria, 1877, Chapter 35, pp.168-171.

Appendix Q

Sections from the Ontario and Quebec Master and Servants Acts

Ontario

An Act respecting Master and Servants...

3. All agreements or bargains, verbal or written, between Masters and Journeymen, or skilled Labourers, in any Trade, Calling or Craft, or between Masters and Servants or Labourers, for the performance of any duties or service of whatsoever nature, shall, whether the performance has been entered upon or not, be binding on each party for the due fulfillment thereof; but a verbal agreement shall not exceed the term of one year.

4. If after any such engagement has been entered into, and during the period of such engagement, whether such employment has been commenced or not, the person who thereby undertook to perform any service or work, refuses to go to work, or (without permission or discharge) leaves the employ of the party whom he has engaged to serve, or refuses to obey the lawful commands of the person under whose direction such services are to be performed, or neglects the service, or injures the property of his employer, the offender shall (upon the complaint of such employer, or any person in charge under him) be liable to punishment for such offence as hereinafter provided...

7. Any one or more of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace may receive the complaints upon oath of parties complaining of any contravention of the preceding provisions of this Act, and may cause all parties concerned to appear before him or them, and shall hear and determine the complaint in a summary and expeditious manner, and punish parties found guilty of the offence alleged by fine or imprisonment, allowing such costs as may be legal and just...

9. No Justice or Justices shall impose any fine exceeding twenty dollars, and no imprisonment shall exceed one month, nor be less than one day.

10. In every case of a summary conviction under this Act where the sum forfeited, or imposed as a penalty by the Justice, is not paid either immediately after the conviction or within such period as the Justice at the time of conviction appoints, the convicting Justice may commit the offender to the Common Jail of the County where such conviction has been had, there to be imprisoned for the time

limited by such conviction.

The Consolidated Statutes for Upper Canada 1859, (Toronto: Stewart Derbishire & George Desbarats), Cap LXXV.

Quebec

An Act respecting Masters and Servants in the Country Parts (The Act states that it does not apply to Montreal, Quebec City, Three Rivers or other cities having their own regulations)...

2. Any apprentice or servant, or journeyman or labourer bound by Act of Indenture or written contract or agreement, and any servant, or journeyman or labourer verbally engaged before one or more witnesses for one month or for any longer or shorter period, who is guilty of ill behaviour, refractory conduct, or idleness or of deserting from his service or duties, or of absenting himself by day or night without leave, from his said service, or from the house or residence of his employer, or who refuses or neglects to perform his just duties, or to obey the lawful commands which may be given him by his master or mistress, or who is guilty of dissipating his master's or mistress' property or effects, or of any unlawful act that may affect the interest of his master or mistress, shall be liable, upon conviction before any Justice of the Peace, to a penalty not exceeding twenty dollars, or to an imprisonment not exceeding thirty days, for each and every offence, or both.
3. Any domestic servant, journeyman or labourer, engaged by the month or longer space of time, or by the piece or job, who deserts or abandons the service or job for which he was engaged, before the time agreed upon, shall for each offence be liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty dollars, or to an imprisonment not exceeding thirty days, or to both.

The Consolidated Statutes for Lower Canada 1861, (Quebec: Stewart Derbishire and George Desbarats), Cap XXVII.

Appendix R

The 1877 act enabling the Canadian government to pay certain expenses of the Active Militia when called out in aid of the civil power.

Chapter 40

An Act to make further provision for the payment of the Active Militia when called out in certain cases in aid of the Civil Power.

Preamble. Whereas by the Act thirty-first Victoria, chapter forty, intituled "An Act respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada," as amended by the Act thirty-sixth Victoria, chapter forty-six, intituled "An Act to amend An Act respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada," it is provided that the Active Militia or any corps thereof may be called out for active service in aid of the civil power in any case in which a riot, disturbance of the peace, or other emergency requiring such service, and beyond the power of the civil authorities to deal with, occurs or is anticipated; and that officers and men so called out shall receive from the municipality in which their services are required, pay and allowances;
(2.) And whereas it is necessary to provide for the payment of the cost of transport of officers and men so called out, and not residing within the municipality in which their services are required;
(3.) And whereas in the case of a municipality within which passes a railway whereon Her Majesty's mails are conveyed, the conveyance of such mails may be obstructed by a riot or disturbance of the peace beyond the power of the civil authorities to deal with, and not local or provincial in its origin;

And whereas it may be unjust that the municipality should bear the whole expense of preventing or repressing such a riot or disturbance of the peace;

And whereas the circumstance that the whole of such expense must be borne by the municipality is calculated to hinder the local civil authorities from taking proper action;

And whereas it may be just and expedient that some part of such expense should be borne by Canada:

Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:--

1. In any such case as is referred to in the second clause of the preamble, the officers and men called out shall receive from the municipality the reasonable cost of transport in going and returning from and to the place where they reside, to and from the place where their services are required, and such cost may be recovered in like manner as the sums payable by the municipality under the first recited Act.

2. In any such case as is referred to in the third clause of the preamble, it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to pay or reimburse out of any moneys which may be provided by Parliament for the purpose, such part as may seem just of the proper expenses incurred by any municipality, by reason of any part of the Active Militia being called out in aid of the civil power under the provisions of the Acts hereinbefore recited.

(2.) An account of any expenditure made under this Section shall be laid before Parliament as soon as may be thereafter.

Statutes of Canada (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1877), 40 Victoria, 1877, Chapter 40, pp.180-181.

Appendix S

General Railway Act of 1868

Chapter 68

Section 78: If any officer or servant of, or person employed by any Railway Company, wilfully or negligently contravenes any By-Law or regulation of the Company lawfully made and in force, or any Order or Notice of the Railway Committee, or of the Inspecting Engineer or Engineers, of which a copy has been delivered to him, or has been posted up or open to his inspection in some place where his work or his duties, or any of them, are to be performed, then if such contravention causes injury to any property or to any person, or exposes any property or any person to the risk of injury, or renders such risk greater than it would have been without such contravention, although no actual injury occurs, such contravention shall be a misdemeanor, and the person convicted thereof shall in the discretion of the Court before whom the conviction is had, and according as such Court considers the offence proved to be more or less grave, or the injury or risk of injury to person or property to be more or less great, be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both, so as no such fine exceeds four hundred dollars, nor any such imprisonment the term of five years; and such imprisonment, if for over two years shall be in the Penitentiary.

Statutes of Canada (Ottawa: Malcolm Cameron, 1868), 31 Victoria, Chapter 68, section 78, p. 280.

Appendix T

The Pittsburgh engineers' ultimatum delivered on July 20, 1877, to the Superintendent of the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers
Pittsburgh Division No.50
Pittsburgh, Pa. July 20, 1877

To the Superintendent Western Division, Pennsylvania Railroad:

First. We, the undersigned committee appointed by the employees of the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, do hereby demand from said company, through the proper officers of said company, the wages as per department of engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen, and flagmen as received prior to June 1, 1877.

Second. That each and every employe that has been dismissed for taking part or parts in said strikes to be restored to their respective positions.

Third. That the classification of each of said departments be abolished now and forever hereafter.

Fourth. That engineers and conductors receive the wages as received by the said engineers and conductors of the highest class prior to June 1, 1877.

Fifth. That the running of double trains be abolished, excepting coal trains.

Sixth. That each and every engine, whether road or shifting, shall have its own fireman.

Respectfully submitted to you for your immediate consideration.

J.S. McCauley, D.H. Newhart, John Shana, G. Harris, J.P. Kessler, Committee.

T.V. Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor

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