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THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS
IN CANADA: to 1919.

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THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS IN CANADA: to 1919

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(ABSTRACT)

This study is concerned with the emergence in Canada of the International Association of Machinists, and with the actions of the union until 1919. The underlying themes are the growth of the I.A.M. in Canada and the degree of autonomy achieved by the Canadian branch. This study is limited on the one hand by the origins of the union (as far as documentary evidence permits examination) and on the other by the end of the union's first great organizing cycle.

The I.A.M. has been approached, first, by means of its developing structure, at the international and at the local level, in short and clearly discernible periods. The relation between the Grand Lodge and the local bodies has been dwelt upon for obvious reasons.

The second section is devoted to organizational expansion, of both membership and local bodies. Here, the general organizing structure has been described, but stress has been laid on the position and actions of the Second Vice President (the Canadian Vice President). The various stages of organizing activity have been explained by their periods of office.

The third section contains a discussion of the union's relations with management and its fellow unions. Strikes, strike costs, and government intervention comprise the first

- 4a -

part of this chapter, and are followed by passages on inter-union and organizing activities.

(A bibliographical essay will be found at the end of this study.)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the help which was generously extended to me by all to whom I went for advice, this study could never have been completed. Therefore, I should like to extend sincere thanks to the following individuals: to Dr. H. Blair Neatby for originally suggesting the topic of research and advising me throughout, and to Dr. E. A. Forsey for his encouragement and painstaking criticism and advice throughout the researching and writing of this paper.

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J.D.T.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	4
Acknowledgments	6
List of Figures	8
List of Abbreviations	9
Chapter I: Introduction	10
Chapter II: The Structure of the I.A.M. 1897-1904, 1904-1909, 1909-1911, 1911-1919.	16
Chapter III: The Organizing of the I.A.M. Mechanism and Personnel, The Canadian Vice Presidents and Organization.	43
Chapter IV: Labour Disputes Policies and Results, Strike Costs, Government Intervention, Inter-Union Activity, Organizing Activity.	72
Chapter V: Conclusions	112
Bibliographical Essay.	116
Bibliography.	125
Appendix.	128

LIST OF FIGURES

Membership figures for the I.A.M. as a whole (by fiscal period). p.43

Membership figures for the Canadian branch of the I.A.M.
p.44

Chart of Strike Benefits Paid by the I.A.M. from 4-1-97 to 5-31-8. p.91

Comparative chart for A.S.E. and I.A.M. by number of locals and membership in Canada. p.105

Comparative chart for A.S.E. and I.A.M. by geographical distribution in Canada. p.105

Membership of I.A.M. and Death and Strike Benefits Paid.
p.128

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.F. of L.	American Federation of Labor.
A.S.E.	Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
C.D.L.	Consolidated District Lodge. (I.A.M.)
C.L.C.	Canadian Labor Congress.
C.N.O.	Canadian Northern Ontario Railway.
C.N.Q.	Canadian Northern Quebec Railway
C.N.R.	Canadian Northern Railway.
C.P.R.	Canadian Pacific Railway.
D.L.	District Lodge. (I.A.M.)
G.E.B.	General Executive Board. (I.A.M.)
<u>GEB-Minutes</u>	<u>Minutes of the G.E.B.</u> (I.A.M.)
G.L.	Grand Lodge. (I.A.M.)
G.S.-T.	General Secretary-Treasurer. (I.A.M.)
G.T.P.	Grand Trunk Pacific Railway.
G.T.R.	Grand Trunk Railway.
I.A.A.M.M.	International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics.
I.A.M.	International Association of Machinists.
I.C.R.	Intercolonial Railway.
I.P.	International President.
<u>Journal</u>	<u>MMJ</u> , as used in the text of this paper.
<u>LG</u>	<u>Labour Gazette</u> , as used in the footnotes.
L.L.	Local Lodge. (I.A.M.)
<u>MMJ</u>	Monthly Journal of the International Association of Machinists.
P.A.C.	Public Archives of Canada.
<u>RLOC</u>	<u>Report on Labour Organization in Canada.</u>
T.H. & B.R.	Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway.
T.L.C.	Trades and Labor Congress.
<u>TLC-P</u>	<u>Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Report of the Proceedings.</u>
T.U.C.	Trades Union Congress.
W.F.M.	Western Federation of Miners.

(Abbreviations are used sparingly in the text. Most of the above will appear only once or twice, and will be preceded by a full spelling of the name. Nevertheless, this list has been prepared to avoid any possible confusion.)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The International Association of Machinists was founded in Atlanta, Georgia, on May 5, 1888, and saw its first expansion throughout the south and west of the United States along the major railway routes. In the first year of its existence the union already numbered 40 lodges, 26 being in the south and 12 in the mid-west. Within two years it numbered 101 lodges, 41 being in the south, 40 in the mid-west, 17 in the far west, and one in Canada. And from this point on (1890) the I.A.M. began to expand into the north-east, bringing itself more and more into contact with the shop crafts, and, thus, offsetting for the first time the railway dominance of the founding years.

The I.A.M.'s dynamic first president, T.W. Talbot, and his confreres were responsible for the union's first efforts at northern expansion, as a result of the desire to crush T. J. Morgan's rival organization which was growing up in the north-east, the International Machinists' Union. Most important, however, was the fact that the gradual growth of the union in this new area was bound to effect great changes in its basic attitudes. The dominant ideology, so far, had been traditionally 'Southern', stressing personal virtue, good

(1)
conduct, and Caucasian exclusiveness, as well as skill in the craft. In large part, this code of values had been raised up in reaction to the tactics and loss of face of the Knights of Labor in its declining years. The 'Northern' attitude, which gradually came to dominate in terms of numbers and Grand Lodge positions, was opposed to any sort of social distinction in unionism. This point of view grew out of an intense dislike for anything that smacked of the systems of privilege and social gradation which many of its adherents had happily left behind in Great Britain and Europe not so long before. The 'Southern' tradition also, of course, was seen as a liability in the coming age of large bargaining units.

The chief officers in the period before 1893 were predominantly southern. Indeed, James O'Connell himself, who did so much to bring about the new order of unionism, or 'open' unionism, (2) within the I.A.M. was early associated

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1. The rejection of the Negro is a little misleading, since the skilled Negro machinist was virtually non-existent. See M. Perlman, Democracy in the International Association of Machinists, (New York and London, 1962), p.14.
 2. By 'open' unionism is meant elimination of all barriers except skill in the craft, as qualifications for membership.

with the southern group. He was a close friend of J. J. Creamer (President of I.A.M. from 1892 to 1893), and had lived with him in Richmond at one point. Nevertheless, it was during O'Connell's presidency, 1893-1912, that a change occurred, the southern tradition declining in favour of craft inclusiveness for the sake of greater bargaining power and influence. O'Connell also managed to bring the I.A.M. into the A.F. of L., and thereby gave the union a chance for greater influence in national union politics.

After 1902 O'Connell's predominance began to decline. The 'Socialist' wing of the I.A.M., which had made its first appearance under his regime, began to challenge his authority. The Socialists, in this case, were little more than grass-roots democrats or Populists, insistent on the direct influence of the membership in executive selection and decisions. The growth of regional autonomy and the extensive use of the referendum in this period are illustrative of their growing-power. Eventually, O'Connell was forced out by the Socialist candidate, Wm. H. Johnston.

Johnston, who remained International President of I.A.M. from 1912 to 1926, attempted to establish the democratic nature of the Socialists' platform. He found, however, that there was a great deal of opposition from O'Connell's supporters (for he had won by only a slim majority). Later, he was

forced to increasingly adopt O'Connell's 'executive' unionism, and thus began to lose the support of his former followers. In addition, Johnston found himself opposed by O'Connell's friend, Gompers, in the A.F. of L., and by O'Connell, himself, who had been firmly entrenched in the A.F. of L.'s executive by Gompers. Then, after 1919, we see Johnston's regime going into a steady decline through a combination of the post-war decline in organization and membership, schism within the I.A.M., the need for strong executive leadership, and loss of personal prestige and support. (3)

The period is unified for the union as a whole by the theme of gradual rejection of the southern mantle, and the resultant emergence of the 'open' union principle making full-scale organization possible, thus making of the I.A.M. one of the most powerful unions in North America.

In a study of the Canadian branch of the I.A.M. we find some variation on this original theme, for the 'southern mantle' never seems to have been a source of debate. Indeed, after 1897, there is next to no real reference to matters of 'personal virtue', 'good conduct' or 'Caucasian exclusiveness', for either the United States or Canada. There is mention of

3. For this opening section I am much indebted to M. Perlman, The Machinists: A New Study in American Trade Unionism, (Cambridge, 1961), especially Chapters I-IV.

the fact that the occasional member has been expelled for drunkenness at lodge meetings or for starting a brawl. Usually, however, members were expelled for such crimes as strike-breaking or absconding with union funds. A desire for Caucasian exclusiveness might be read into the grand debate on the problem of "coolie labour" (debated hotly, as well, in both A.F. of L. and T.L.C. circles). This debate, however, can be properly put in perspective if it is considered as part of the union's effort at control of the labour force in its own jurisdictional field. Imported Chinese labour actually became a tool for management to bypass union demands, because of its low wage requirements. Indeed, any immigration was viewed with the same opposing motives by each party. Thus, in the period after 1896, we are really in an age of the gradual triumph of the 'open' union principle.

The problems which faced the I.A.M.'s officers in the years from 1896 to 1919 were four-fold: intra-union solidarity, organizational expansion of the union within its own jurisdictional territory, and disputes with management and with other unions. These problems were common to both the United States and Canada, but the emphasis of this study will be placed on the latter. In all of these matters, the Canadian branch of the I.A.M. depended to a certain extent on the international body, the Grand Lodge. The fact, however,

that Canadian-American disputes were avoided (by such acts as the concession of seats in positions of importance, and the treatment of Canada as a separate geographical area under entirely Canadian personnel) testifies to the willingness of the I.A.M. to accommodate its various components in the interests of solidarity. Thus, the union would be in a better position to deal with organization and labour disputes.

This study of the I.A.M. in Canada before 1919 will follow the outline presented by the above problems, under the headings of: Union Structure, the Organizing of the I.A.M., and Labour Disputes.

CHAPTER II

THE STRUCTURE OF THE I.A.M.

The Grand Lodge of the I.A.M. consisted of an International President, a General Secretary-Treasurer, and varying numbers of Vice Presidents. ⁽¹⁾ The Journal Editor had a separate existence throughout our period except as indicated in the 1897 Journal (for example, the April number) when he seems to have held a position in the Grand Lodge by virtue of a post called the "G.F." In the same year an "Organizer" held a Grand Lodge position, but this seems never to have happened again. ⁽²⁾

Another body, the General Executive Board, stood with the Grand Lodge in the centre of the I.A.M. organization, but had a separate existence. It consisted of five members throughout our period, except for 1915, when it is listed as having only four. The personnel of the two bodies did not overlap, but General Executive Board members sometimes became Vice Presidents.

All members of these central bodies were elected by the general membership. 'Seasonal' additions, usually in the form

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1. There were five from the beginning of 1902; seven, from 1904; and two, from 1917.
 2. From the beginning of 1919, the Ladies Auxiliaries had their own Grand Lodge, with their own International President, General Secretary-Treasurer, and three Vice Presidents, but we learn nothing of their activities.

of organizers, seem to have been appointed by the International President in collaboration with the rest of the Grand Lodge (sanction being obtained from the General Executive Board). The definite lines of such a procedure, however, are most difficult to determine.

The International President was the head of the executive in the true sense, for he was the virtual formulator of union policies, but he seems to have worked closely with the General Secretary-Treasurer and First Vice President. After the Toronto convention, in 1901, the International President became involved in strikes and negotiations at first hand only as a last resort. Henceforth, he gave his attention to the direction of administrative affairs and organizational expansion. The Vice Presidents took up the duties that he had dropped, and were given the further task of carrying out his organizing schemes. Between these two duties they were kept fully occupied. (A host of Business Agents and Organizers was later added to help the Vice Presidents in their mammoth duties.) The General Secretary-Treasurer handled all the financial affairs of the Grand Lodge, which meant that he became very involved in its politics. The treasury, after all, financed the various strikes and organizing schemes, and determined the amounts needed for the numerous social projects of the G.L. (eg. death benefits, old age pension and superannuation).

The legislature of the I.A.M. was a combination of elected biennial conventions and general referendum vote, but the latter made its fullest appearance after 1912 (at which time a Law Committee replaced the Conventions as a formulator of legislation). The judiciary of the I.A.M. consisted of the International President as a 'court of appeal' from local lodge jurisdiction, and the General Executive Board as a 'supreme court'.

The General Executive Board, itself, seems to have been designed as a popular check on the Grand Lodge. Although part of the Grand Lodge, its members received no salary until late in our period and were elected by the members. Thus, they owed their loyalty to the electors. They were called in in time of emergencies, as a supreme court, and to make pronouncements on executive decisions, not to mention the fact that the signature of one of their members was necessary for the withdrawal of funds from the treasury.

The Local Lodges seem to have been miniature versions of the Grand Lodge, with their executive, judiciary, and legislature of the assembled members. As the union developed, District Lodges, Consolidated District Lodges, and system and city Federations were added as intermediate bodies, and gradually took on the same structure.

The development of the I.A.M., however, is often only vaguely seen because of the nature of our source. An attempt,

nevertheless, will be made to reconstruct its various aspects as much as possible by means of the statements, recommendations, and debates found in the Journal.

1897-1904

An editorial in the June, 1897 Journal is our earliest record of convention proceedings. The writer, probably the editor, D. W. Wilson, praises the convention for putting an end to many of the primitive practices employed previously in the I.A.M.

He wrote:

The seventh convention will stand out pre-eminently as one at which there were no ward-heeling political tactics used nor any of the dark lantern methods which have characterized former meetings...(3)

Valuable time that on former occasions was wasted in discussing silly signs, words and symbols - which was the better way to 'hail' a fellow member; which was the correct way of telling a brother in the dark, and various other nonsensicalities - was saved and put to discussing questions of an economic nature, that will be of inestimable value to all who listened. (4)

The black-ball system was abolished (This is the only mention of black-balling we find. Presumably, up to this time, it had been possible for a single member, or a few members, of a local lodge to prevent the admission of any new member to whom the one or a few members objected. Abolishing this was a very big step towards an 'open' union.)⁽⁵⁾ Furthermore, the death

3. MMJ, 1897, editorial, June number, pp.203-4.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., pp.201-2.

benefit scheme was established. This effort is the first piece of social legislation enacted within our period, and very shortly became the second largest expense item (next to strike benefits). It provided for the donation of a lump sum to the bereaved. (For figures see Appendix on 'strike and death benefits'.) As a final point, we note that some sort of voting right was conceded to the membership.⁽⁷⁾ The meaning of this last point was undoubtedly obvious at the time, as may be judged by the lack of description, but remains vague to the present-day reader. The reference mentions that the membership would, henceforth, be required to "VOTE as they have been in the habit of passing resolutions".⁽⁸⁾ This may have been the beginning of the referendum system, but we cannot be absolutely certain.

Another excellent source of information is the reports and articles of the International President, which usually contained recommendations and, thus, hints of the needs of the union. The first list of recommendations found in our source appears in an article by President O'Connell. We find him complaining that the referendum system, as applied to legis-

6. Ibid., pp.203-4.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

lation, was too cumbersome to operate smoothly. (9) He went on to recommend that Grand Lodge officers be elected by referendum, to allow conference delegates to spend the whole of their time on legislative matters. (10) Thus, the difficulties of the referendum system were already being felt, at least as far as the International President was concerned. More was to be heard of this issue subsequently.

The convention of 1901 seems to have been remembered mainly for the fact that it added five Vice Presidents and Organizers to the central body of the I.A.M. This was done, it was claimed, so that the International President:

might be in a position to devote more of his time to the executive work at headquarters, and in order--- that he might be in a position to take advantage of the tendency of the times in bringing about a more thorough organization of our craftsmen. (11)

(Of course, it was also remembered because it increased dues, (12) but most members probably tried to forget that.)

O'Connell's hopes of 1897 were realized, in part, during

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9. Ibid., 1897, O'Connell's report, June number, pp.220-21.
 10. Ibid.
 11. Ibid., 1903, Report of the International President, in 1903, June number, pp.478-9.
 12. Ibid., 1909, Conlon's History of the IAM Movement, March number, pp.235-8.

the 1903 convention in Milwaukee, which provided for a referendum vote for election of the officers of the Grand Lodge.⁽¹³⁾ That year, as well, O'Connell's report showed that he had other things on his mind. He felt, for example, that the Grand Lodge should accept responsibility for a portion of the Business Agents' travel expenses,⁽¹⁴⁾ and he recommended that the Vice Presidents should have an increase in salary;⁽¹⁵⁾ both of which were subsequently obtained. He worried about the fact that the D.L.'s, then numbering 30, had no set of laws governing their actions⁽¹⁶⁾ (except what was judged inadequate in the form of Article 8 of the G.L. Constitution), and that the apprentice boys had no status in the union as yet.⁽¹⁷⁾ The former was still to be a sore point in years to come. Of the latter we learn little from the Journal, unless the apprentice boys were classed as machinists' helpers, to whom recognition⁽¹⁸⁾ was later given by both the I.A.M. and the A.F. of L.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., 1903, Report of the International President, in 1903, June number, pp.482-3.

15. Ibid., pp.480-1.

16. Ibid., 485.

17. Ibid., p.483.

18. The I.A.M. was making progress in other directions, he felt, for it had been granted another seat in the A.F. of L. and had succeeded in having a rival, the A.S.E., ousted from the A.F. of L.

1904-1909:

O'Connell's report of 1904 brought a vociferous attack (19)
on abuses of the referendum system as applied to legislation.
And by 1907 (the first election of Grand Lodge officers by (20)
referendum took place during the 1905 convention in Boston)
O'Connell argued that it should be abolished altogether, except (21)
for Grand Lodge elections.

From 1904 to 1907, a great number of problems beset the
I.A.M. The International Workers of the World appeared on the (22)
scene in the United States in 1906, 'proselytizing among
I.A.M. members'. A great number of strikes beset the union;
indeed, more than ever before except during the general nine- (23)
hour movement in 1902. The financial exigencies of the
situation can be grasped when it is realized that the first
three extraordinary assessments of \$1.00 per member were made

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19. Ibid., 1904, Report of the International President, in 1904,
September number, pp.791-2.
 20. Ibid., 1909, Conlon's History of the IAM Movement, March
number, pp.235-8.
 21. Ibid., 1907, Report of the International President, in 1907,
October number, p.964.
 22. Ibid., 1909, Conlon's History of the IAM Movement, March
number, pp.235-8.
 23. Ibid., April number, pp.341-2,
1907, Report of the International President, in 1907,
referring mainly to the 1907 period,
March number, p.964.

in 1904 and 1905 to meet current expenses. ⁽²⁴⁾ Again in 1905 and 1907 there were substantial increases in membership dues ⁽²⁵⁾ to the Grand Lodge.

The St. Louis convention, in 1907, was responsible for dividing the railway membership into five large consolidated ⁽²⁶⁾ districts to centralize the effort for improvement. As ⁽²⁷⁾ well, a superannuation fund was established. According to ⁽²⁸⁾ Conlon, the nine-hour day became a matter of official policy. But it is almost certain that this had been the case at the Toronto Convention in 1901, resulting in the general nine- ⁽²⁹⁾ hour movement in 1902 (cited above). In the same year the International President had proposed various measures, including ⁽³⁰⁾ a life insurance scheme and an additional increase for Vice ⁽³¹⁾ Presidents from \$1,200. to \$1,500. per annum. Strikes were so heavy that the Vice Presidents had been bogged down that

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid. For word on the 1902 movement.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., pp.962-3.

year, and a number of Special Organizers had had to be appointed.⁽³²⁾ At the same time O'Connell felt compelled to demand compliance with the constitution which was obviously being violated now through unsanctioned strikes among the membership.⁽³³⁾ This charge could be linked with an earlier one, regarding abusive local circulars, which flouted the officers of the Grand Lodge in various ways.⁽³⁴⁾

1909-1911:

In 1909, after writing an outline of the history of the I.A.M. since 1887, P. J. Conlon, the First Vice President, wrote an account of union issues of the moment and offered suggestions for the improvement of the I.A.M. for the future. It seems that there was some sort of challenge from the D.L.'s or L.L.'s concerning G.L. salaries. Thus, Conlon opened his remarks by saying that, of the \$6.60 dues levied from every member, only 2% went toward paying the salaries of all Grand Lodge officers.⁽³⁵⁾ He was careful to point the finger at strike and death benefits as the major items of expense of the I.A.M.⁽³⁶⁾

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., 1904, Report of the International President, in 1904, September number, p.792.

35. Ibid., 1909, Conlon's History of the IAM Movement, May number, pp.427-8.

36. Ibid.

Then he went on to suggest a number of reforms for future action. These included: a 'Machinists' Home',⁽³⁷⁾ an insurance plan,⁽³⁸⁾ strengthening the treasury,⁽³⁹⁾ a provisional old age pension,⁽⁴⁰⁾ exemption of Machinists over 50 from strike duty,⁽⁴¹⁾ the division of the I.A.M. into at least ten departments (with a Vice President or general officer over each),⁽⁴²⁾ and a law commission to establish a set of union laws.⁽⁴³⁾

At the same time, the General Secretary-Treasurer, George Preston, was formulating plans which he would develop into a set of proposals to be placed in the Journal from late 1909 to early 1911. Actually, his career of protest and recommendations was to continue until he was ousted from his official position by Davison in 1917 over a charge of falsifying the returns of the previous election. He had managed to antagonize a great number of people by that time, and this, more than the final charge, really defeated him. Yet his predictions were often true and his recommendations sound and often ultimately adopted.

37. Ibid.

38. To be advanced as a result of the St. Louis Convention.

39. Ibid., July number, p.627.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

Much of Preston's time was spent in educating the Local Lodges with regard to proper keeping and auditing of their books. And on this local lodge level he pushed the I.A.M. forward in such matters as reform of the reinstatement law, and the bonding of L.L. officers. On I.A.M. social policies he provided needed discussion through the Journal, for example on the superannuation scheme which was to be put into effect in 1913, and the important old age pension debate.

On the Grand Lodge policy level, Preston managed to touch on many vital topics, besides his own field of financial reform. He took upon himself to define G.L. jurisdiction in appeals, and to propose a reform of the then existing order of submitting evidence. He recommended a reform of the sessions of the General Executive Board, to have it meet regularly four times a year and familiarize itself thoroughly

44. Ibid., 1910, Article by Preston, July number, pp.635-7.

45. Ibid., 1912, Article by Preston, March number, pp.210-11.

46. Ibid., 1910, Article by Preston, February number, pp.153-4.

47. Ibid., March number, pp.270-1.

48. Ibid., June number, pp.533-5.

49. Ibid., September number, p.864.

At the moment, evidence was being submitted to the G.E.B., which was not permanently sitting. Thus, too much time was wasted in organizing and verifying evidence. Preston wanted it to be presented first to the I.P., to have him deal with the necessary preliminaries before presenting the material collected to the G.E.B.

with organizational business. He attacked the D.L.'s, C.D.L.'s, and system federations on their uncontrolled position in financial matters. (51) He argued the need to organize in order to win strikes before they started. (52) He proposed a reform of the referendum, arguing that it should be used as a last resort only. (53) And he was not averse to championing what he saw as the I.A.M.'s jurisdictional rights against outside forces. In the face of what he saw as the hostile action of the A.F. of L., in its decision on the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners, he determinedly upheld the I.A.M.'s position. (54)

In his report in 1911, International President O'Connell added his own list of vital suggestions. He felt that the biennial conventions should be abolished and replaced by biennial meetings of the general law committee, which would consider amendments sent in by Local Lodges, and later submit

50. Ibid., 1910, Article by Preston, September number, p.864.

51. Ibid., December number, pp.144-5.
At the moment, apparently, there were no proper constitutional provisions governing the actions and powers of these bodies, and they were not directly responsible to the membership.

52. Ibid., November number, p.1040.

53. Ibid., May number, pp.432-5.

54. Ibid., 1911, Article by Preston, March number, pp.248-50.

them to a general referendum vote. (55) The referendum system itself had, however, to be protected from employer and interest group influence. (56) Because only 15% were then voting, a certain percentage should be demanded to protect the union; (57) otherwise, the work of any convention was rendered useless. (58) O'Connell advised the acceptance of women into the I.A.M., (59) and felt that the ladies' auxiliaries should be encouraged as a factor in the unifying of the union. (60) Furthermore, he recommended the acceptance of an old age pension scheme, (61) and the adoption of a universal reinstatement fee. (62) (O'Connell also announced three vital achievements in the securing of the position of the Machinists' Helpers under a separate A.F. of L. charter, (63) the achievement of the nine-hour day, (64) and the settlement of the jurisdictional quarrel with the Western Federation of Miners.) (65)

When we turn to look over the proposals of Conlon,

55. Ibid., 1911, Report of the International President, October number, p.989.

56. Ibid., pp.985-6.

57. Ibid., p.986.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., p.990.

60. Ibid., 991.

61. Ibid., pp.987-8.

62. Ibid., p.990.

63. Ibid., pp.989-90.

64. Ibid., p.965.

65. Ibid., p.991. For further information on the Western Federation of Miners, see Chapter III.

Preston and O'Connell, we find a formidable study of what these men felt was wrong with their union, as well as what they thought it should have. This is not to say that these recommendations were entirely new. In fact, some of them were first proposed in the 1890's by the O'Connell administration. Nevertheless, the period from 1909 to 1911 seems to have taken on the proportions of a major era of criticism, and provides us with more vital information than any previous or subsequent period. The 1909-11 years were preceded by the rise of large-scale strikes and inter-union jurisdictional pressures, and followed by further mammoth strikes, the pre-War depression and the boom of the War years. The nine-hour day had been achieved, and the major railways of North America had been compelled to come to terms with the union. The membership and organs of the I.A.M. were expanding. Thus, new needs and changing circumstances forced demands for further union development.

A great deal of ground is covered, and when we come to consider these recommendations, we find that there is not too much overlapping. They do, however, coincide on a few vital points. All three voiced the need for an old age pension scheme. Conlon's demand for a Law Commission is complementary to O'Connell's demand for the institution of a general law committee to replace the biennial conventions. Preston and O'Connell have parallel arguments on the need for reform of the referendum, and both agree on the need for a

general reinstatement fee. There, however, the common points cease. Conlon puts the stress on social legislation, except for his recommendation to divide the I.A.M. into ten departments, while Preston is much more concerned about the machinery of the union---G.L. jurisdiction, the position of D.L.'s, C.D.L.'s, etc.---and the means to make it operate (namely, efficiency at the L.L. as well as the G.L. level, a sound treasury, and sound organizing work). O'Connell, by comparison, has little to add, except for the demand for the admission of women and the promotion of ladies' auxiliaries, in accordance with his 'open' union thesis of trade unionism.

Thanks to A. E. Holder's synopsis of the 1911 Convention, we can see how effective these recommendations were. The list of measures adopted by the Convention reads as follows:

1. Admission of females.
2. Federation of all machine-shop crafts.
3. Publication of all proposed amendments (referendum) in Journal at least one week previous to submission to the membership.
4. Provision for watchers over ballots on election of officers.
5. Organization of machine-shop helpers in separate locals.
6. Standardization of reinstatement fees.
7. Establishment of a Bonding and Fidelity Department at Headquarters to conduct the business of bonding local officers.
8. Mandatory retention of services of a competent legal adviser.
9. Endorsement of 100 lodges necessary to the holding of a convention---G.S.T. to make the final decision.
10. Establishment of biennial meetings of the Committee on Law at headquarters to revise, submit, and compile new laws enacted under the referendum system.

11. Restriction of members of the G.E.B. from holding any elective or appointive position in the movement while members of the Board. (Henceforth, as well, they were empowered to dispose of investments by negotiating loans.) (66)

Obviously, most of the above recommendations do not appear in this synopsis of measures passed by the 1911 Convention. O'Connell's demand for the abolition of conventions and institution of a general law committee was adopted, as were his plea for the admission of women and adoption of a uniform reinstatement fee. One of his crucial points, however, was ignored--the required minimum percentage on the referendum vote, now even more important in the absence of the convention. Of Preston's demands, only those concerning the reinstatement law and the bonding of L.L. officers were adopted. Conlon's accepted proposals for the establishment of a Law Commission which would establish a set of union laws, coincided with that of O'Connell. The social proposals seem to have been ignored, as were many of the more important of the constitutional proposals. These included: The division of the I.A.M. into various departments, clarification of G.L. jurisdiction in appeal cases, regular meetings of the G.E.B., the governing of D.L.'s, C.D.L.'s, etc. Some of these reform proposals later came in as we glean from Journal issues in

66. Ibid., 1911, Convention Synopsis by A. E. Holdér, November number, pp.1130-48.

later years, like the regular meeting of the G.E.B.,⁽⁶⁷⁾ and
the increasing emphasis on organization.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Of many, however,
we learn little or nothing, and can only guess at what
changes were likely to take place, as in the governing of the
D.L.'s, C.D.L.'s, and system federations. (Further problems
are dealt with in the following section.)⁽⁶⁹⁾

The convention, however, showed that there were other
issues, which the membership apparently considered more
pressing than a number of the above, since measures to deal
with them were adopted. These issues included: checks on
G.E.B. members' monopolizing of union offices, the admission
of machine-shop helpers in separate locals, the necessity of
federating all machine-shop crafts, checks on election mal-
practices, and the necessity of having competent legal advice
at the disposal of the I.A.M. Plainly, the recommendations
of the officers, cited above, did not cover the needs of the
I.A.M. Nevertheless, an excellent picture is obtained by
a combination of the two.

67. See GEB-Minutes for 1918, for example March 4-11, July 15-21,
and November 14-17. It will be noticed that the meetings
are roughly four months apart.

68. See Chapter III for further information on this point.

69. Of course, the period between 1909 and 1911 may have seen
the adoption of some of these measures without resorting to
the convention (especially the social recommendations.)
Once again, however, we cannot be certain.

1911-1919:

Since the referendum procedure became the method of revising the constitution from 1912 to 1920 (except for the 1916 convention in Baltimore, and even its proceedings had to be ratified by referendum), it became extremely difficult to determine to what extent the constitution was altered. Copies of the various constitutions are not available. Referendum legislation is listed in the Journal by number, the text apparently confined to circulars sent to the Local Lodges. Thus, our only real source can be proposals made by union officials and the International Presidents' reports. The former, are sparse compared to the 1909-12 period, but one of the most useful is once again supplied by Preston. The I.P.'s reports also tell us little in this respect, but for a different reason, for, although numerous, they are usually filled with data on organizing schemes, strike settlements, and negotiations. Perhaps there was not much to discuss. So much had been enacted by the time O'Connell was replaced by Johnston that the I.A.M. seemed to be less active in terms of constitutional reform. Of course, Johnston had come in on a pledge of renewed and larger organizing efforts. In addition, the increased activity of the War years was primarily concerned with organizing, strike settlements and negotiations. And, as if to make matters even more difficult, the Journal was neglected in these years.

Since our information is spotty, at best, any attempt at reconstruction will inevitably be sketchy. We must depend on the occasional criticism, commentary by the I.P., Minutes of the G.E.B. meetings, or even occasional articles from the membership. If we follow Preston's criticisms until his loss of position in 1917, we become aware of some of the issues being debated at the time. And we can guess their weight by the prominence of Preston's position in the Grand Lodge and his position in past controversy---always a leading one. In 1912, we find him commenting on the salaries of the financial and recording secretaries. ⁽⁷⁰⁾ In 1913, he wrote on irresponsible circulars, ⁽⁷¹⁾ and on the cost of mailing the Journal to the individual member's home. ⁽⁷²⁾ In 1914, he wrote of the old proposal for a Machinists' Home ⁽⁷³⁾ and in 1915 of a new system of 'unemployed stamps'. ⁽⁷⁴⁾ In the same year, Preston took it upon himself to defend the Grand Lodge decision to end the Harriman and Illinois strike, ⁽⁷⁵⁾ a matter that meant the championing of the G.L.'s discretionary power in local

70. MMJ, 1912, Article by Preston, December number, pp.1040-2.

71. Ibid., 1913, Article by Preston, March number, pp.246-9.

72. Ibid., December number, pp.1253-4.

73. Ibid., 1914, Article by Preston, March number, pp.292-3.

74. Ibid., 1915, Article by Preston, February number, pp.156-8.

75. Ibid., August number, pp.731-4.

affairs. It seems that the strike was totally moribund.⁽⁷⁶⁾
It was considered, furthermore, expensive and impossible to
win. The Grand Lodge liquidated the strike and encountered
unwarranted criticism from a District Lodge only vaguely
connected with it. In the consequent running battle in the
Journal, Preston emerged victorious but not unscathed.
Finally, in 1916, Preston launched an attack on the abuses of
the referendum system as applied to legislation.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Throughout
the period, the G.S.-T.'s column continued to expound and
emphasize, to local secretaries and treasurers, the importance
of accounts and records of the Local Lodge.

Conlon seems to have had virtually nothing to say after
his efforts in 1909, except for one powerful argument in favour
of changing the Journal into a newspaper in 1917.⁽⁷⁸⁾ It was
becoming, he felt, an organ of little use to the membership,
for it was not directed at the individual member, and was out
of date by the time of publication (being the news of the
previous month). Commentary from Canada, never very great,
ceased almost altogether in this period. The country was primarily
occupied by the pre-War depression and then, the Wartime boom

76. Most of the members who were directly involved had left the
scene of the strike to seek jobs elsewhere.

77. Ibid., 1916, Article by Preston, September number, pp.1019-20.

- 78. Ibid., 1917, Article by Conlon, February number, pp.220-1.

(and all the matters involved in the latter: organization, strikes, negotiations, etc.).⁽⁷⁹⁾

The International President's reports furnish information on grievances in 1914 and 1915, at least from the Grand Lodge's point of view. In 1914, we find Johnston recommending a change in the method of selection of the General Executive Board, so that the different branches of the trade could be properly represented.⁽⁸⁰⁾ The proposal sounds very similar to that made by Conlon in 1909. There is, however, no record of a change of this nature in our period. Indeed, it would be strange if there were, for the railway group was to dominate the I.A.M. until well into the 1930's. In 1915, Johnston was proposing a new fund structure to avoid such problems as those raised by the Harriman and Illinois strike.⁽⁸¹⁾ He went on to recommend discontinuation of the biennial review of the constitution, as he felt it was so poorly understood at the time.⁽⁸²⁾ Actually, however, the convention was not re-established until 1920.

The report of the Committee on Law in 1916⁷ gives us a

79. For example, the conscription problem in Canada, first military and then industrial. See McClelland's reports, eg. July number of 1917, pp.691-2; and October number of 1917, pp.927-8.

80. Ibid., Report of the International President for 1914, 1915 Journal, March number, pp.254-5.

81. Ibid., Report of the International President, 1916 Journal, August number, p.741.

82. Ibid., pp.743 et seq.

piece of valuable information in the appointment of a Canadian member to the General Executive Board. ⁽⁸³⁾ Gibbins, Toronto's Business Agent for a number of years, had first voiced a plea for such a concession in 1909, ⁽⁸⁴⁾ and Somerville had voiced a similar one about the same time. In 1916, as well, the number of Vice Presidents was drastically cut to two, one for the United States and one for Canada. ⁽⁸⁵⁾

Presumably, it was felt that an increase in organizers would make up the consequent deficiency in personnel, and would make administrators of the Vice Presidents. And there is no indication that either of these measures was changed before the end of our period.

Our last piece of information is on the topic of organizers, and provides us with some valuable insight into the position of the General Executive Board. During the War, the G.E.B. seemed to get a little out of touch with the number of organizers employed and the extent of organizing efforts. They ⁽⁸⁶⁾ complained to the International President of their position, and, as a result, were presented with a complete list of ⁽⁸⁷⁾ organizers. It may be that the G.E.B. was increasingly

83. Ibid., 1916, Report of the Committee on Law, August number, pp.778-86.

84. Ibid., 1909, Gibbins' report for April, p.339.

85. Ibid., 1916, Results of nominations for Grand Lodge Officers, April number, p.413.

86. GEB-Minutes, 1918, July 15-21, p.8.

87. Ibid., November 14-17, p.6.

finding itself out of touch with many I.A.M. matters because of the tremendous volume of work during the War. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note, by this example, that the G.E.B. was not content to be a rubber stamp; nor was the I.P. willing to ignore it.

These various stages in the development of the I.A.M., as far as we can trace them, are illustrative of the fact that the union was willing to experiment for the purpose of building a strong united union structure. The executive provided needed leadership in the formulation of policy and in carrying out decisions. There was, however, room for criticism of the executive through the system of democratic elections, the referendum and even recall of defaulting officers. The last of these was seldom resorted to, it seems, but the effect of elections and referendum votes can be readily seen---the former in the transition from the early 'closed' craft union, through O'Connell's 'open' union regime, to Johnston's extension of O'Connell's basic principles---the latter, in the election of G.L. officers by referendum (from 1905) and legislation (after 1911).

The referendum, however, was becoming a source of constant complaint, although more so in the case of legislation than in the election of Grand Lodge officers. The reason was that such a small group was voting (about 15%) that the I.A.M. was

constantly open to the influence of pressure groups of members and employers. The result of one such charge was the re-establishment of the convention in 1920. Until the present, however, convention results have continued to be ratified by referendum vote. The referendum, thus, is one potential flaw in the union structure.

A further vital point about the I.A.M. is the existence of the Machinists' Monthly Journal. Although an official publication, it allowed for a great deal of free debate and actual criticism of individual I.A.M. officials, as shown in the case of the running debate carried on by Preston and interested District Lodge officials over the Harriman and Illinois settlement. The absence of criticism of the International President and Grand Lodge as a whole tends to make us think that the Journal would not brook a wholesale denunciation of the executive. And our suspicions are confirmed by the existence of abusive circulars from time to time (especially at election time). Nevertheless, the ample space given to criticism of policies, settlements and individuals, not to mention the various articles submitted by writers of all shades of union opinion, gave a great deal of freedom of expression to the I.A.M., not available to other unions as a rule. In addition, accounts and other essential statistics were made available to the membership through G.L. policies. The excellent editorship of D. W. Wilson must be mentioned as

well. And the appreciation of his efforts by the I.A.M. can be best illustrated by the unqualified praise given by all members on his death.

One question remains to be answered. Was the separate existence of Canada evident in the union as a divisive factor? The answer, it appears, is 'No'. The type of protest voiced by Canadian members, of improper representation at the Grand Lodge level, was partially satisfied by the existence of the Second Vice President who was always a Canadian, in charge of the whole of Canada. Thus, there was a geographical recognition of the separate existence of Canada from the rest of North America. Canadian members, furthermore, were given a degree of autonomy in the settlement of local affairs, with general policy lines being set by the Grand Lodge. Clashes between G.L. interests and particular Canadian interests are not evident in the Journal, except in the occasional criticism of the G.E.B. for not representing Canada. Even this was changed, however, to accommodate Canadian wishes, first in the summoning of the Second Vice President to G.E.B. sessions on all matters concerning the Dominion, and secondly with the provision for election of one Canadian member to the G.E.B., from 1916 on. The same year saw the election of one Canadian and one American Vice President, as distinguished from the

former system of one Canadian among five or so Americans.

One final note must be added. Since union solidarity was the keynote of Grand Lodge policies, what might be called social legislation by the union itself took on a special importance. The 'open' union policy was the first step in creating a larger and still cohesive union through further bargaining power. It was the promotion of intra-union social legislation, however, which gave the I.A.M. member a real stake in his organization. Death benefits, strike benefits, old age pension, etc., gave him and his dependents security not yet conceded by the political state of the time. It was worth while belonging to such a union; loyalty was the result.

CHAPTER III

THE ORGANIZING OF THE I.A.M.

O'Connell mentioned at one point that when he had first become involved with the I.A.M. (he held his first post in 1891), the membership stood at 3,000. This is one of our earliest estimates of membership strength. And, unfortunately, even such vague approximations are rare. Indeed, accurate figures are scarce in the entire pre-1900 period, but we have them for the union as a whole from 1899 on, and for Canada, from 1911 on. But we know that the I.A.M. experienced an almost unbroken increase in its membership from the founding until 1919. Thereafter, it tapered off to its pre-war level until the renewed upsurge of the 1930's.

Our first accurate figures tell us that the membership stood at 18,000 in 1899, and rose to a high of 331,400 in 1919; the chart below tracing out the various stages:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AVERAGE MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>FISCAL PERIOD</u>
1899	18,000	4-1-98 to 3-31-99
1900	22,500	4-1-99 to 3-30-00
1901	32,500	4-1-00 to 3-31-01
1902	35,500	4-1-01 to 3-31-02
1903	48,800	4-1-02 to 3-31-03
1904	55,700	4-1-03 to 6-30-04
1905	48,500	7-1-04 to 6-30-05
1906	50,000	7-1-05 to 6-30-06
1907	69,361	7-1-06 to 6-30-07

1908	57,091	7-1-07 to 6-30-08
1909	48,220	7-1-08 to 6-30-09
1910	60,970	7-1-09 to 6-30-10
1911	67,411	7-1-10 to 6-30-11
1912	61,338	7-1-11 to 6-30-12
1913	73,957	7-1-12 to 6-30-13
1914	74,206	7-1-13 to 6-30-14
1915	75,157	7-1-14 to 6-30-15
1916	105,400	7-1-15 to 5-31-16 (1)
1917	127,500	
1918	229,500	
1919	331,400 (2)	

The corresponding Canadian figures range from 2,609, for 1908, to a high of 17,809, for 1919; once again the chart below traces the various stages:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MEMBERSHIP</u>
1908	2,609 (3)
1911	5,000 (4)
1912	4,523 (5)
1913	5,000 (6)
1914	4,654 (7)
1915	5,690 (8)
1916	7,108 (9)
1917	9,915 (10)
1918	15,421 (11)
1919	17,809 (12)

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1. MMJ, 1917, International President's Report for 1916, p.742.
 2. Perlman, Democracy-IAM, records of the Secretary-Treasurer, pp.4-5
 3. TLC-P, 1908, in T.L.C. for the first time, and listed as having 29 "unions" and 2,609 members. P.55.
 4. RLOC, 1911, p.91.
 5. Ibid., 1912, p.112.
 6. Ibid., 1913, p.136.

7. Ibid., 1914, p.192.
8. Ibid., 1915, p.185.
9. Ibid., 1916, p.168.
10. Ibid., 1917, p.187.
11. Ibid., 1918, p.193.
12. Ibid., 1919, p.247.

In Canada the I.A.M. got its start in the railway shops of Stratford, Ontario, and by 1897 (when our documentation approaches adequacy) they had lodges from Moncton to Vancouver. There were little more than a dozen lodges at that time; but they had managed to place themselves strategically in all the major railway centres across the Dominion: In Moncton, Fraserville, Montreal (2), Carleton Place, Hamilton, Ottawa, Peterborough, Stratford, Toronto, and Toronto Junction, Winnipeg and Vancouver. ⁽¹³⁾ And, by 1919, at the end of the boom during the First World War, the country was covered coast to coast, as the following list indicates:

Nova Scotia: Amherst, Bridgewater, Halifax, Kentville,
New Glasgow, Sydney, Yarmouth,

New Brunswick: Campbellton, Chatham, McAdam Junction,
McAdam, Moncton, St. John,

Quebec: Bienville, Joliette, Levis, Montreal (4), Pt.
St. Charles, Quebec (2), Riviere-du-Loup,
Sherbrooke, Sorel, St. Hyacinthe, Three Rivers,

Ontario: Allandale, Belleville, Brantford, Bridgeburg,
Brockville, Capreol, Carleton Place, Chapleau,
Cochrane, Collingwood, Dundas, Fort William,
Galt, Goderich, Hamilton (2), Iroquois Falls,
Kenora, Kingston, Lindsay, London (2), Midland,
Niagara Falls, North Bay (2), Oshawa, Ottawa (2),
Owen Sound, Palmerston, Peterborough, Port
Arthur, Sarnia, Sault Ste Marie, Schreiber,
Smith's Falls, St. Catharines, St. Thomas,
Stratford, Sudbury, Toronto (6), Trenton,
West Toronto, Walkerville, Welland, Windsor (2),

13. MMJ, 1897, Roster of Lodges for April, p.138.

Manitoba: Brandon, Rivers, Transcona, Winnipeg (5),
Saskatchewan: Moose Jaw (2), Regina (2), Saskatoon (2),
Sutherland,
Alberta: Calgary (2), Edmonton (3), Medicine Hat,
British Columbia: Nelson, New Westminster, Prince
Rupert, Revelstoke, Trail, Vancouver (2),
Victoria. (14)

That is, 111 lodges in all. The amount of organizing which had been done was tremendous, making the I.A.M. one of the most powerful unions in the entire Dominion.

Mechanism and Personnel:

This expansion of the I.A.M. was not brought about haphazardly, but rather as the result of a concerted effort of the growing personnel and mechanism of the organization.

Organizing work in Canada was handled by the International President, the Second Vice President (assigned to Canada), local Business Agents and Organizers, and the occasional T.L.C. or A.F. of L. organizer. The International President, of course, figured very prominently in the organizing drives (on the planning level), for we are continually reading accounts (by inference) of his orders to the Vice President for the Canadian region, and to the local Business Agents and Organizers. The central organization could be sure of having its wishes carried out by virtue of the fact that

14. Ibid., 1919, Roster of Lodges for December, p.1153.

all three types of agent were in its employ. The Vice Presidents and Organizers, for example, depended on the central organization for their salaries, while the Business Agents had 50% of their salary paid by the Grand Lodge. At the same time these men, except Organizers appointed from the ranks of the General Executive Board, were elected or requested by the Local Lodges in their area, and hence had a very vivid obligation to the local membership. (15) All actual detail was left to the men on the scene, as the most competent to judge local circumstances, being local men themselves and usually selected or approved by their fellows.

In the November number of the Journal for 1897, we find a note in the "Official Department" by President O'Connell declaring his personal intention to promote the expansion of the I.A.M.:

I wish to send printed matter to all machinists in Canada, Mexico and the United States who have not joined the International Association of Machinists. If our members will drop me a postal card with addresses of machinists, in localities where we have no organization, I will do the rest. (16)

This pledge seems quite ambitious, even for an organization of 15,000, and perhaps shows a lack of contact between the Grand Lodge and the Local Lodge. Needless to say, this

15. Ibid., Later action through referendum even checked the appointment of Organizers from the body of the General Executive Board. The result of the 1911 convention; see Holder's synopsis, November, 1911, pp.1130-48.

16. Ibid., 1897, p.600.

earlier approach naturally gave way to more complex methods as the I.A.M. continued to grow and as information services became more perfect. The result was the structure mentioned above, seen at its best during the War years.

With the growth of the movement the International President naturally became mainly absorbed by the whole of the I.A.M., and consequently had to leave regional affairs increasingly to the Vice Presidents. Thus, most of our attention becomes focussed on these individuals. In Canada there were five in our period:

A. W. Holmes: 1895-1904,
A. H. Champion: 1904-1907,
Jas. Somerville: 1907-1909,
L. Beuloin: 1909-1913, and
J. A. McClelland: 1913---on.

Holmes and Champion were Toronto men (Champion formerly of Galt), and Somerville was a westerner from Moose Jaw, while Beuloin and McClelland were Montrealers. The Toronto-Montreal, region, thus, held the predominance in our period in supplying administrative personnel---the reason obviously being that these centres were in the heart of the most organized part of the Dominion. Each of these men seems to have been dedicated to his office, taking his duties as arbitrator, negotiator, liaison man, and union organizer very seriously.

The office of the Vice President was soon overtaxed, for the Second Vice President was responsible for all of Canada, a task quite impossible for one man even in the early period.

As a result, he tended to spend the bulk of his time in Ontario and the Montreal region of Quebec, because of the immense task of organizing there, made possible by the industrial and railway complex in these areas. But, of course, there remained the bulk of the west, the Maritimes and Quebec. The last two became the last frontier of the I.A.M., while the west began to develop on its own under the auspices of its regional councils.

The subsequent organizing pressure forced the creation of new agencies, as has been mentioned above. First, more Business Agents were appointed, and were compelled to take on the duties of the Vice President in their local spheres. To W. Boland of Toronto, who is present when our documentation begins, were added S. L. Clark of Galt,⁽¹⁷⁾ and Chas. McLean of Montreal⁽¹⁸⁾ (later Arthur Hill). And they were followed later by Richard Riley of Hamilton.⁽¹⁹⁾ Galt, meanwhile, had faded from the picture, but Toronto, Montreal and Hamilton maintained their Business Agents once established. And because of the energy these men invariably displayed, they were an immense help to the Second Vice President in his duties.

17. Ibid., 1903, August number, p.710.

18. Ibid., 1903, November number, p.715.

19. Ibid., 1913, June number, pp.222 et seq.

Secondly, special Organizers had increasingly to be appointed, and assigned or reassigned to special problem areas of the craft. The membership and its representatives were quite vociferous about the need for Organizers. In 1903, for example, pleas were voiced in the Journal for an Organizer for Quebec province by a Carleton Place correspondent, (20) and, similarly in 1906 and 1907, for one for Ontario, by Business Agent Gibbins of Toronto. (21) The latter, for example, when coupled with the pleas of the Vice President, was largely responsible for Boland's appointment as Special Organizer for Ontario in 1907. (22) The list of such appointments is quite long, indeed too long to reproduce, but the following examples will give some idea of their extent:

In 1911, Somerville on the G.T.R., (23)
in 1914, McCallum on the western railways,
later coming east to do the same
thing on the G.T.R., (24)
--McDonald in Halifax, Sydney and
New Glasgow, (25)
--McEntee as general Organizer, (26)
in 1916, Harper for Ontario (27)
in 1917, McCallum for British Columbia,
--Ward on the G.T.R., (28)
--and Ducharme on the G.T.R. (29)

20. Ibid., 1903, letter dated January 6, 1903, pp.655-58.

21. Ibid., 1906, May; and 1907, March, respectively.

22. Ibid., 1907, June number, p.576.

23. Ibid., 1911, May number, p.457.

24. Ibid., 1914, January number, p.48.

25. Ibid., 1914, March number, pp.270-71.
26. Ibid., 1914, June number, p.602.
27. Ibid., 1916, March number, pp.302-3.
28. Ibid., 1917, March number, p.438.
29. Ibid., 1917, August number, p.757.

And once again, as in the case of the Business Agents, these men seemed to be very capable and energetic; thus lessening the immense load of work on the Vice President.

It should be mentioned at this point that the I.A.M. owed a debt of gratitude to the T.L.C. and A.F. of L. Organizers. An exact estimate of their efforts would be difficult to form because of the vague nature of all of our source materials on the subject; but there are many allusions and a few direct references to be found, for example, in the Journal and the TLC-Proceedings. In the former, we find many instances like the following: the organizing of an I.A.M. lodge in Brockville by A.F. of L. Organizer, John Flett, in 1908;⁽³⁰⁾ and the organizing of another in St. John, N. B., through the joint efforts of T.L.C. and A.F. of L. Organizers, in 1911.⁽³¹⁾ And in the latter, we similarly find examples like the vague reference to the forming of I.A.M. lodges in British Columbia, in the Report of the B. C. Federation of Labour for 1917,⁽³²⁾ and the specific note on the problems of forming the I.A.M. lodge in Amherst, N. S., contained in the Organizers' Reports for 1913.⁽³³⁾

30. Ibid., 1908, Beuloin's report for October, p.909.

31. Ibid., 1911, Beuloin's report for July, pp.678-9.

32. TLC-P, 1917, p.69.

33. Ibid., 1913, p.95.

Thus, the mechanism and personnel of the I.A.M. in the organizational sphere, were to undergo a tremendous change in our period, one that took the union far from the rather simplistic approach of the pre-1900 era.

The Canadian Vice Presidents and Organization:

In spite of any changes in the political structure of the Grand Lodge, and the actual size of the union, it seems that there was little change in the general direction of organizing efforts in Canada. We see, however, a natural trend away from the one-man efforts of Holmes to the dependence on active Business Agents and Organizers, which was necessitated by the sheer size of the task in later years, as shown above. This, of course, is not to say that later Vice Presidents worked any less, but that they needed more help in their efforts. Subsequently, also, we find that the stress came to be placed as much on regional and system groupings, as on the expansion of individual lodges, in later years.

It was Holmes who laid the real foundations of the union in Canada. His first experience at union work seems to have been with the Knights of Labor, as he appears as a delegate for "DA#125" (Toronto) at the T.L.C. Annual Conferences in

1888,⁽³⁴⁾ 1889,⁽³⁵⁾ and 1891⁽³⁶⁾ and for "LA 9005" (Toronto) in 1890.⁽³⁷⁾ In 1892, he makes his first appearance as delegate for the I.A.M. of Toronto,⁽³⁸⁾ appearing again in 1894 in the same capacity,⁽³⁹⁾ and in 1895 as delegate for IAM#235 in Toronto.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Holmes became Second Vice President of the I.A.M. in 1895, and held that position until 1904, when he was succeeded by Champion. During his tenure of office, he had the help of Boland of Toronto, later McLean⁽⁴¹⁾ (subsequently, Hill)⁽⁴²⁾ of Montreal, and, for a brief period in 1903, S. L. Clark of Galt.⁽⁴³⁾ On the whole, however, he seems to have been very much on his own.

We cannot be sure how many of the lodges listed in the April number of the Journal for 1897 were the result of his efforts, but probably, in view of his subsequent work, he could claim the largest part. The list stood at thirteen local lodges:

34. Ibid., 1888, p.8.

35. Ibid., 1889, p.7.

36. Ibid., 1891, p.4.

37. Ibid., 1890, p.36

38. Ibid., 1892, pp.4 & 37.

39. Ibid., 1894, p.4.

40. Ibid., 1895, p.31.

41. MMJ, 1903, November number, p.1008.

42. Ibid., 1904, June number, p.738.

43. Ibid., 1903, August to November, pp.762, 849, and 930,
respectively.

British Columbia: Vancouver #182,
Manitoba: Winnipeg 122,
New Brunswick: Moncton 266,
Ontario: Carleton Place 364, Hamilton 414, Ottawa 412,
Peterborough 286, Stratford 103, Toronto 235,
Toronto Junction 411.
Quebec: Fraserville 417, Montreal 111, Montreal 224. (44)

At the beginning of 1900 there were 14 lodges listed (four former ones being disbanded and five new ones begun), and the net increase for that year is eleven lodges. (45) In the 1902-04 period, the following lodges can be directly credited to Holmes' efforts:

McAdam Junction (by correspondence), 1902,	(46)
Hamilton (re-organized), 1902,	(47)
Guelph, 1902,	(48)
Brantford, 1903,	(49)
Quebec City, 1903,	(50)
Collingwood, 1903,	(51)
Levis, 1903	(52)
Ottawa, (re-organized), 1904,	(53)
Toronto, (?), 1904.	(54)

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44. Ibid., 1897, April number, p.138.
45. Ibid., 1900, January and December numbers, respectively.
46. Ibid., 1902, Holmes' report for May, p.273.
47. Ibid., November number, p.740.
48. Ibid., December number, pp.859-60.
49. Ibid., 1903, Holmes' report for April, pp.283-5.
50. Ibid., August number, pp.734-5.
51. Ibid., October number, pp.893-4.
52. Ibid., December number, pp.1051-3.
53. Ibid., 1904, Holmes' report for June, pp.507-9.
54. Ibid., May number, pp.418-20.

It may very well be that he founded other of the lodges, but we cannot be entirely certain because of the often vague and incomplete nature of the reports in the Journal.

It has already been mentioned that the west tended to develop on its own, and this is especially true in the earliest part of our period, for Holmes was hardly ever in a position to survey accurately the needs of the region. He was very absorbed in the task of organizing central Canada. As a result, we learn little about the west (or the east, for that matter) from official correspondence in the Holmes years. We do have some information, however, thanks to a letter written by Samuel Macdonald, Secretary-Treasurer of the General Committee of the C.P.R. in Winnipeg. He stated that only two years before (the letter was written in December, 1901) there were only three lodges in the west: Fort William, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, and that at present there were:

"...eight lodges between the two points mentioned above (i.e. Fort William and Vancouver), mostly along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway," (55)

According to the lodge rosters for January and February of 1902, he must have meant eight including Fort William and

55. Ibid., 1902, Letter of February, pp.81-2 (Dated December 21, 1901) from the Secretary-Treasurer of the General Committee to the Grand Lodge.

(56)
Vancouver. He mentioned, as well, that a Grand Lodge Organizer had been sent out to help them with the task.

Thus, at the end of Holmes' period of office we see a solid basis for future I.A.M. expansion, some 40 lodges stretching from one end of the country to the other, with 30 of the 40 in Ontario and Quebec. (57) We learn of the existence of a western Organizer. And we see the first appearance (unmentioned so far) of a District Lodge, of which more will be said below.

Second Vice President Champion took over in 1904, and, under instructions from the Grand Lodge, began to expand the movement further into the west, Quebec, and to a lesser extent the Maritimes, with no little success. In June, 1906, we read that he set out for Winnipeg for general talks on the G.T.R. problem and related issues, and became involved in the Vulcan Iron Works lock-out, a purely local affair. (58) In his October report of the same year, Champion tells us that he is out west again after a short visit to the Ontario lodges, attending conferences (often, indeed, causing them to be called), organizing for the I.A.M. and the T.L.C., and generally helping

56. Ibid., 1902, pp.54-5, 110-11, respectively.

57. Ibid., 1904, Roster of Lodges for August, p.762.

58. Ibid., 1906, Champion's reports for June and July, pp.525-6, and 629-30, respectively.

(59)
the boys to hold together on the G.T.R. system. In addition to visiting every major western lodge, he somehow managed to get to Moncton in December to do some work on the Inter-Colonial Railway, which was called off temporarily because of his father's death. But in the January report for 1907, we find him back east, this time in Halifax, slowly working his way back through Moncton and Riviere-du-Loup, and the surrounding areas. The pattern continues through Champion's tenure of office, he even managed, at one time, to get to isolated P.E.I. (60)
The organizing drive, for the most part, however, took the form of expansion through already existing lodges; it was an expansion of numbers rather than of lodges.

At the end of Holmes' period of office, as mentioned above, there were 40 I.A.M. locals in Canada. And at the end of Champion's, there were only 43. A net increase of three. Ten had been disbanded, as follows:

Brampton 557, Guelph 129, Kingston 368, Pt. Edward 271, Sault Ste Marie 285, Smith's Falls 376, Levis 655, Montreal 225, Quebec 608, and Grand'Mere 662. (61)

59. Ibid., 1906, Champion's reports, October through December, pp.920-21, 1020-22, and 1124-5, respectively.

60. Ibid., 1907, Champion's report for September, pp.878-9.

61. Ibid., 1908, Roster of Lodges for January, pp.91-2.

Most, incidentally, were in Ontario and Quebec. Thirteen new lodges had been formed, as follows:

Alberta: Lethbridge 805, Medicine Hat 160,
Manitoba: Winnipeg 189, Winnipeg 723,
New Brunswick: Campbellton 448,
Nova Scotia: Halifax 266,
Quebec: Levis 597, Montreal 711, Quebec 604,
Sorel 617, St. John's 809.

Here, as well, we have testimony to the east-west expansion in these years.

In his reports, nevertheless, to the Boston Convention in 1905, and the Toronto Convention in 1907, Champion listed his efforts as follows:

(a) 1905: Number of miles travelled...22,000 miles
Number of cities visited....35
Number of lodges visited....30
Number of meetings held.....95 (62)

(b) 1907: Have travelled.....33,600 miles
Number of cities visited....60
Number of lodges visited....50
Increase in members.....800 (63)

In the former, the membership increase is not listed and, consequently, the latter figure stands only for the two previous years. Champion's mileage estimates compare most favourably with the best of the I.A.M.'s Vice Presidents' efforts, while

62. Ibid., 1905, October number, pp.932-3.

63. Ibid., 1907, October number, pp.972-3.

the figures on membership increase show the extent of his work, and testify to the above statement on expansion within the already established lodges. It must be realized, however, that a fair proportion of these new members would be members of the new lodges.

Champion was fortunate to have two very able Business Agents under him. They were Gibbins of Toronto, and Beuloin of Montreal. Indeed, there often seemed to be no difference between the positions of Champion, Gibbins and Beuloin, as they were all ordered off by the Grand Lodge to do organizational work. The efforts of Gibbins and Beuloin, of course, were generally confined to their local areas, Ontario and Quebec, respectively, while Champion handled this and more.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The organizing effort in Ontario, however, became so heavy that Gibbins alone was unable to handle it, as seen in the persistent pleas for the appointment of a special organizer by the Grand Lodge. Finally, he obtained the services of Boland, a former union officer in the Toronto area.⁽⁶⁶⁾ This made operations a little smoother, and freed everyone for further work.

Before leaving Champion, it should be noted that it was

64. Ibid., 1906, An example of Beuloin's efforts can be found in his report of the December number, pp.1139-40.

65. Ibid., 1907, See Gibbins' words in his report for March, p.269.

66. Ibid., 1907, June number, Champion's Report, p.576.

under his guiding hand that a new form of unionism really penetrated the structure of the I.A.M. in Canada, the regional or system groupings, better known as the District Lodge. These D.L.'s contained all the I.A.M. locals working on a particular railway system, or working in a small geographical area which gave the locals very similar grievances or aims. By the end of Holmes' period of office one such had appeared, D.L. 34 of the "CPRR Eastern Division", under R. S. Drewett and Jas. Somerville, with its headquarters in Toronto Junction.⁽⁶⁷⁾ But, by the Journal number of January, 1908, we see in existence D.L. 34, plus D.L. 13 of the G.T.R. System, D.L. 46 of the Toronto area, and D.L. 52 of the Inter-Colonial Railway System. By this time, also, D.L. 34 had been extended to take in both the eastern and western branches of the C.P.R. System. (D.L. 34 was now under J. H. McVety in Vancouver; D.L. 13, under J. V. French in Port Huron, Michigan; D.L. 46, under H. Bryston in Toronto; and D.L. 52, under J. W. Parker in Moncton.)⁽⁶⁸⁾ And we know that Champion played a great part in the organizing of every one of these D.L.'s.

Champion's work on the District Lodges and successful efforts at substantially increasing the membership of the I.A.M.

67. Ibid., 1904, August number, Roster of Lodges, p.749.

68. Ibid., 1908, January number, Roster of Lodges, pp.77-78.

in Canada, when combined with his energetic execution of his duties, are quite sufficient to establish his reputation as an excellent Vice President. Indeed, only the controversial G.T.R. strike settlement (of which more will be said in the next chapter) seemed to mar his record.

Somerville, the next Vice President, was a westerner and a politically active individual who was to play an important role in the later organizing drives in the Canadian west. After a short visit to Washington for orientation, he launched himself whole-heartedly into the thick of the I.A.M.'s plans for Canada. The first part of his tenure of office was typical, with its organizational efforts (this time on the G.T.R.), its lodge visits, and settlement of minor disputes.⁽⁶⁹⁾ But the real difficulties began with the failure of the C.P.R. negotiations, Somerville being on the Board of Conciliation⁽⁷⁰⁾ at the time. A full-scale strike broke out, and was badly settled as a result of the exigencies of union financial difficulties.⁽⁷¹⁾ Somerville damned the settlement as a defeat for both management and labour,⁽⁷²⁾ and consequently resigned

69. Ibid., 1908, For example, Somerville's Report for May, pp.422-4.

70. Ibid., 1908, July number, p.612.

71. Ibid., 1908, November number, Editorial from the Winnipeg area, pp.966-7.

72. Ibid., 1908, December number, pp.1102-04.

in protest. Later, he was stoutly defended by Gibbins of Toronto for his attitude and resignation. (73)

In terms of organization, Somerville was unable to do much, both because of the brevity of his tenure of office, and because of his involvement with the C.P.R. problems. Organizing activities shortly came to be one of his primary preoccupations, however, once back in the west and working with the regional branches of the I.A.M. Thereafter, as mentioned above, we are continually hearing of his excellent accomplishments through others' despatches. (74) This, however, was not the end of his career in labour politics, for Somerville's name turns up again and again in the TLC-Proceedings, as representative for IAM#639 in Moose Jaw, (75) or for the Moose Jaw Trades and Labor Council, (76) or for the Grand Lodge of the I.A.M. (77) or as Vice President of the Saskatchewan Executive Committee of the T.L.C. (78) He was present at the annual T.L.C. Conventions in 1909, 1910, 1911,

73. Ibid., 1909, Gibbins' Report for January, p.56.

74. Ibid., 1911, Beuloin's Report for May, pp.457 et seq.

75. TLC-P, 1911, p.9.

76. Ibid., 1909, pp.5-8; 1910, p.5.

77. Ibid., 1914, p.6.

78. Ibid., 1909, p.2; 1919, p.2, as Chairman; 1912, p.2, in another capacity on the Committee.

1912 and 1914. Then, he served on the General Executive Board of the I.A.M.; subsequently returning to the T.L.C. Convention in 1919.⁽⁷⁹⁾ He was quite an energetic and enterprising man, by any standard.

Nevertheless, it must be realized that the I.A.M. progressed very little during his short Vice Presidency. When he was elected the lodge roster stood at 43 locals, and on his defeat, it had increased by only 3, standing at 46. Two lodges, Sorel and St. John's in Quebec, had been disbanded, and five had been formed: Edmonton 817, Glace Bay 469, Chapleau 535, Port Arthur 820, and Point St. Charles 631.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Indeed, it is very uncertain how much he had had to do with the organizing of the latter. Somerville had taken office on a bright note of hope, and was filled with reforming zeal, but his brief effort ended in anti-climax.

Beuloin succeeded Somerville, and managed to achieve what the latter would probably have liked to in organizing work, with the entire period from 1909 to 1913 to show his determination and skill. Foster and Gibbins were there in Montreal and Toronto, respectively, to perform the service for him that he and Gibbins had performed for Champion, and with the

79. TLC-P, 1919, pp.2 & 15.

80. MMJ, 1909, Roster of Lodges for May, p.474.

same degree of responsibility. And his task was further facilitated by Somerville's efforts as Special Organizer on the G.T.R. in 1991, and by the establishment of a District Lodge under Brother Riley, centering on Hamilton, and for which Beuloin had earlier pressed.⁽⁸¹⁾ Riley, fortunately, turned out to be a truly dynamic Business Agent after the style of Beuloin himself.

Beuloin's efforts were almost superhuman, for he seemed to be able to be everywhere at once. In fact, he managed to carry the I.A.M. into many areas which had been barely touched by his predecessors. French Canada, the Maritimes and the west were thoroughly explored by him, and new lodges and increased membership were everywhere the result. Of the six lodges disbanded during his Vice Presidency, only two were outside Ontario, that is Glace Bay and Halifax. And of the 27 lodges added, 14 were outside the Ontario-Quebec region, as follows: Alberta 2, British Columbia one, Manitoba 3, New Brunswick one, Nova Scotia 4, and Saskatchewan 3.⁽⁸²⁾ Yet Beuloin did not neglect the Ontario-Quebec region, for Ontario,⁽⁸³⁾ losing 4, gained 11, and Quebec, losing none, gained 2. One of his greatest accomplishments in the period, however,

81. Ibid., 1913, (consisting of lodges 414, 607, 120, 268 and 131), pp.255-56.

82. Ibid., 1913, Roster of Lodges for November, p.1189.

83. Ibid.

was undoubtedly his efforts toward the creation of D.L. 2 (actually a C.D.L. or Consolidated District Lodge). D.L. 2's creation meant the elimination of the older D.L.'s 64 and 34, in favour of a newer comprehensive railway federation, like the Federation of Federations in the United States. It was composed of five sections, including the C.P.R., C.N.R., C.N.Q., C.N.O., G.T.P., G.T.R., O.C.R. (?ICR), and the T.H. & B.R., under the charge of President D. McCallum (of Calgary) and Secretary-Treasurer R. S. Ward (of Winnipeg).⁽⁸⁴⁾ The existence of D.L. 2 meant an immense step forward in railway bargaining power. Indeed, when defeated, Beuloin claimed that he had actually received a majority of 99 Canadian votes,⁽⁸⁵⁾ as if to say that his efforts had been truly appreciated only by his compatriots, to whom he was chiefly responsible.

Beuloin was an energetic individual as can be seen in the amount of ground he managed to cover. On his first assignment from President O'Connell, for example, he visited (according to his June report for 1909); Montreal, Quebec, Riviere-du-Loup, Sorel, Sherbrooke, Ottawa, Moncton, New Glasgow, Glace Bay, Sydney, and Halifax.⁽⁸⁶⁾ In similar

84. Ibid., 1913, Roster of Lodges for November, pp.1171-72.

85. Ibid., 1913, Beuloin's Report for November, p.1139.
Vote list by lodges, pp.990-97, and errata, p.1061.

86. Ibid., 1909, Beuloin's Report for June, pp.510-13.

fashion, in the 1910-11 period, he managed to cover 39,241 miles.⁽⁸⁷⁾
And such action is typical of his whole tenure of office.
Indeed, he tried to transfer his organizing fervour to every-
one, almost from the start, for in the August report of 1909
we find him urging all individual lodge members to aid their
officers in recruiting men for the organization, as had not
been done in the past.⁽⁸⁸⁾ And, as if to reveal his thinking
process, Beuloin testified in great detail at one point why
he felt all attention should be devoted to organizing efforts---
the same reasons to be advanced by Preston and, later,
Johnston. He argued that a great number of the I.A.M.'s strike
problems were the result of partial organization and the con-
sequent availability of "scab" labour.⁽⁸⁹⁾

Second Vice President McClelland inherited from his pre-
decessor a well organized network of lodges, but he also
found a severe obstacle to organizing efforts in the first
year or so in the pre-War depression. He had the services of
Riley, Gibbins (as of 1915), and Foster, as had his predecessor,
and they served McClelland and the Grand Lodge every bit as
faithfully and thoroughly as they had Beuloin, and in the same
capacity. He even had the help of Special Organizers appointed

87. Ibid., 1911, Reports of the Vice Presidents of the Inter-
national Association of Machinists, Beuloin's
Report, p.996.

88. Ibid., 1909, Beuloin's report for August, pp.714-15.

89. Ibid., 1911, Beuloin's report for October, p.996.

by the Grand Lodge, like McEntee,⁽⁹⁰⁾ McCallum⁽⁹¹⁾ and Harper,⁽⁹²⁾ who were progressively assigned to various trouble spots during the War years, once the Wartime organizational boom was under way. In addition we find local or short-term Organizers like McDonald,⁽⁹³⁾ Ward,⁽⁹⁴⁾ and Ducharme⁽⁹⁵⁾ appearing from time to time, to complete the organizational picture. Almost to the end of 1914, however, trade was very slow in all centres.

With the coming of the War, the I.A.M. gradually was revived through the numerous munitions contracts taken on by Canadian manufacturing companies, and, toward the end of the War, through the scarcely less numerous shipbuilding contracts. Paralleling this the membership of the movement quadrupled between 1914 and 1919, as jobs were plentiful and organization strong. The boom in industry made for an eastern balance in the union's expansion programme at first, thus opening up the

90. Ibid., Appearing first in 1914, June number, pp.600-01.

91. Ibid., Appearing first in 1915, November number, pp.1012-13.

92. Ibid., Appearing first in 1916, January number, pp.74-5.

93. Ibid., 1914, March number, pp.270-71.

94. Ibid., 1917, March number, p.438.

95. Ibid., 1917, August number, p.757.

Maritimes, St. Lawrence, and Great Lakes regions because of their accessibility by water to western Europe. Consequently, McClelland spent a great deal of 1914 and 1915 in these areas, (96) and when he could not be on hand himself, he left a competent Organizer in his place. (97) As the War wore on, however, western companies tried to obtain contracts as well, and the I.A.M. appealed to the Dominion Government on behalf of its western members, both with some success. Thus, toward the end of 1915, we see McClelland starting to make very frequent trips to western Canada for organizational purposes, and to settle the various disputes arising. (98)

In spite of his efforts in the eastern and western parts of Canada, the greatest increase in Local Lodges under McClelland was in the Ontario-Quebec region. There was a net increase in these years of 45 locals, over the high of 66 under Beuloin. Thirteen had been disbanded, and 58 new locals had been formed. The lodge roster for Ontario had more than doubled, from 27 to 53; while that on Quebec had gone from 9 to 15 (actual losses and gains: Ontario, 4 out and 30 in; Quebec, 2 out and 8 in). Nova Scotia had had a net increase

96. Ibid., 1914, Take the Maritimes, for example; i.e. the reports of McClelland for March, August, and December of 1914.

97. Ibid., 1914, for example, McClelland's report for March... McDonald, pp.270-71.

98. Ibid., From the October number on. See McClelland's report, pp.911-12.

of 3 locals (with 3 disbanded and 6 formed), New Brunswick of 2 (with one disbanded and 3 formed), British Columbia of 2 (with 2 disbanded and 4 formed), and Manitoba of 2 (with one disbanded and 3 formed). Alberta and Saskatchewan lost none and formed one and 3 new lodges, respectively. (99) On the whole, the major eastern increases had been along the sea-coast, as in the case of Yarmouth, Bridgewater, and Sydney in Nova Scotia; (100) while eastern increases tended to be along the railway routes, as in the case of Regina, Edmonton, and Trail. (101) In addition, this expansion in Local Lodges was paralleled by an equally great expansion in D.L.'s, but of the Toronto type (i.e. D.L. 46). D.L.'s 2, 46 and 52 were still in existence, but to them were added: D.L. 24 of the Hamilton area, D.L. 78 of the Vancouver area, and D.L. 82 of the Montreal area. (102) The Report on Labour Organization in Canada mentions, as well, an Ontario Provincial Council, (103) and the Labour Gazette, an Ontario Provincial Convention, (104) but neither appears in the Journal.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid., (TLC-P figures often differ slightly because of the different period of compilation of material, but this presents us with no real problem.)

102. Ibid., 1919, Roster of Lodges for December, pp.1149-50. Incidentally, there is mention of Business Agents in the Quebec and Vancouver areas, but no actual names appear. See MMJ, Roster of Lodges, p.1148.

103. RLOC, 1918, Table 5;
1919, Table 5.

104. LG, 1919, A note on the "Second Provincial Convention of Ontario", January number, Vol.XIX, pp.51-2.

McClelland's period of office, thus, realized the greatest boom the I.A.M. had yet seen. All union agencies were geared to the expansion programme, and there were more Business Agents and Organizers than ever before. All had been made possible by the perseverance of the union's officials and Grand Lodge, plus the Wartime economic boom. As a result, the I.A.M. reached a new peak of power through organization.

The expansion of the I.A.M. up to the beginning of the War was based on the tremendous expansion of railways in the Dominion, which was the end result of Macdonald's and Laurier's railway policies. Thereafter, the I.A.M. was given impetus by the increase in industrialization which resulted from the need for Wartime manufactures. The I.A.M. had grown enormously by 1919, the membership having gone from 18,000 to 331,400 in toto and having reached a high of 17,809 in Canada itself. And this growth had been paralleled by the expansion of the personnel and mechanism of the union for organizational purposes. A host of Business Agents, Organizers, and Special Organizers appeared to facilitate the efforts of the Vice Presidents in an age of rapid expansion. The net result, of course, was a great increase in the number of Local and District Lodges.

Holmes had given a basis of operations to the expansion programme in the Ontario-Quebec region, while Champion and Beuloin fortified it here and extended it to the eastern and

western portions of the Dominion. (In terms of area, nevertheless, the emphasis throughout our whole period was on the Ontario-Quebec region.) Meanwhile, the District Lodge had begun to appear on the scene, first under Holmes, but more substantially under Champion. While Beuloin's Vice Presidency saw the creation of the first real I.A.M. 'federation' in Canada, D.L. 2, McClelland's period of office seems a catch-all because it contained a little of each type of organization. Early efforts in the east were extended to take in western Canada, as a result of the shell contracts. City D.L.'s sprang up across the Dominion. In addition, 1918 and 1919 saw great efforts toward the creation of a "Marine Federation".

The personnel and mechanism of organization were, thus, complete by the end of the War, as a result of the combination of tremendous determination and energy on the part of the I.A.M.'s officers, and propitious economic conditions.

CHAPTER IV

LABOUR DISPUTES

The Canadian railway boom which had begun under Sir John A. Macdonald's governments, continued under those of Laurier until the pressures of Wartime and straitened funds forced the capitulation of all but the C.P.R. Periodic financial difficulties had plagued the railways under Macdonald, as under Laurier, but the slump of 1913-1916 made operations even more difficult. Thereafter, the Government was no longer willing to float loans as readily as previously. As a result, the railways, except the C.P.R. ⁽¹⁾ were unable to regain a footing during the remainder of the War, and consequently were bought out by the Canadian government, and eventually operated in conjunction with the I.C.R. by an 'independent' board of commissioners.

The great pre-War railway expansion made it possible for the growth of unions which were organized around railway personnel. The growth of the I.A.M. is typical, a steady climb except for minor slumps in 1905, ⁽²⁾ 1909 ⁽³⁾ 1912 ⁽⁴⁾

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1. The CPR, of course, had already gone through its expansionist state by the outbreak of the War, while the other railways were still in the throes of full-scale expansion.
 2. MMJ, 1917, the International President's Report, for 1916, p.742, (See below).
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

(5)
and 1914. In all other years the union experienced a large
increase in members. (6) The War years saw the railways at a
virtual standstill. Consequently, the I.A.M. began to turn
its attention to the Wartime production industries, which
became major employers as a result of the numerous contracts
given out by the Canadian and foreign governments. The
industrial and financial boom caused by these contracts, once
again, made possible further union organizing because of full
employment.

There is another factor to consider, however, in the
growth of the I.A.M. besides economically and financially
propitious circumstances. This can be found in the determina-
tion of the union's officers to increase their bargaining
power through increasing their hold over the working force.
We find this argument, indeed, over and over again in the
Journal of the I.A.M. It was a reaction to what was seen as
the repeated frustration of the union's attempts to better
wage and hour conditions for their members.

5. Ibid., 1914, p.192.

6. Ibid., 1917, p.742;
Perlman, Democracy in the International Association of
Machinists, records of the GS-T, pp.4-5;

RLOC, 1911, p.91;
Ibid., 1912, p.112;
Ibid., 1913, p.136;
Ibid., 1914, p.192;
Ibid., 1915, p.185;
Ibid., 1916, p.168;
Ibid., 1917, p.187;
Ibid., 1918, p.193;
Ibid., 1919, p.247.

The passing of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act in 1907 seemed to offer new hope to the unions as can be seen in its favourable reception by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada convention in that year. Early objections, however, by Somerville of the I.A.M. proved to be the forerunners of hostility on the part of many of the T.L.C.'s member unions. The first full use of the Act, indeed, was on the G.T.R. strike of the I.A.M. in 1907, and the subsequent reaction of the I.A.M. showed that it viewed unfavourably the results obtained. Intervention by government officials was much more resorted to in subsequent years, but there exist many examples of cases in which one or the other party was displeased enough to totally reject the government decision. The extension of the use of the Act in Wartime production industries caused opposition by the unions in Canada, as seen in the TLC-Proceedings. Later the unions again resorted to the strike as a policy changer, and in greater proportions, culminating in the general strike. Greater union organization and more inter-union co-operation, however, were seen as the only certain way to ensure the enforcement of proper working conditions.

Policies and Results (Before 1907):

All local bodies of the I.A.M. were obliged by their constitution to submit grievances of strike proportions to the General Executive Board before taking direct action themselves. Offenders against the rule were usually cut off from

strike benefits, which meant their almost automatic defeat. In the period before 1919, however, cases of offenses against the rule are very rare in Canada; and, indeed, only a few occur in the history of the American part of the movement. Thus, in some cases, the Grand Lodge refused local demands for a strike; but, in most, this restriction meant that every means of negotiation was essayed before a strike was permitted to take place. Grand Lodge financial control, plus the fact of the hierarchical structure of the union, kept the local lodges in line.⁽⁷⁾

Canada seems to have been allowed to develop on her own as far as negotiations were concerned. Early charges of American interference, by Canadian business and Government, forced the Grand Lodge to allow the Canadian Vice President to conduct all but the most vital of union affairs on his own, in consultation with the affected union local bodies. This ensured that the Canadian Vice President would be able to

7. The D.L.'s and C.D.L.'s never seem to have caused much trouble in Canada; and, when there were differences, they usually took the form of an election protest. The first real schism came with the development of the O.B.U. That, however, must remain the subject of further research, lying as it does beyond the scope of this study.

maintain a certain degree of autonomy in the settlement of domestic matters. Nevertheless, Grand Lodge policy can be seen directing his overall actions, as seen, by inference, in his periodic instructions from the International President and First Vice President.

There were few large I.A.M. strikes in North America before 1901, if we can judge by the charts given us by the Grand Lodge under President Johnston. ⁽⁸⁾ And, in Canada, the first major strike seems to have broken out in Kingston, Ontario, in 1902. Most disputes being of small proportions, or checked before they became strikes, the Second Vice President's task was at first uncomplicated by the trials of a long drawn-out confrontation between the union and management.

As the Journal is very sparse in its reporting in the earliest period, we have no real indication of the success or failure of Canadian efforts, let alone of the way settlements were viewed by the Canadian officers and membership. Only the large strikes, which usually became the subject of much debate, give us any indication of what was going on. And, with them, it is easier to trace the various stages and the attitudes of the affected parties. In the case of these large efforts, it

8. In spite of evidence to the contrary in the 1915 Journal, the 1916 and 1917 Journal estimates are consistent in placing the period before 1901 in the 'under \$40,000' category.

See MMJ, 1915, Report of the International President, for 1914, pp.247-8, (1888-1914);

MMJ, 1916, Report of the International President,
for 1916, p.742 (1899-1916);
MMJ, 1917, Report of the International President,
for 1917, p.3, (1898-1917).

Discrepancies in the 1916-1917 Journals in dates stem from the designation of the fiscal period. (See the 1916 Journal chart, page 742.)

Discrepancies in estimates in the 1916-1917 Journals appear only in these for 1899-1900 and 1914-1915. (See the 1916 Journal chart, page 742.)

soon becomes evident that the union, more often than not, felt frustrated rather than pleased by the settlement. The successes of the early War years, religiously recorded in the Journal by President Johnston, stand in sharp contrast to most pre-War efforts.

In the pre-War period, 1907 became a sort of watershed in union attitudes toward government intervention in the settlement of disputes. Early frustrations led to hopes for government help. It was shortly to be questioned as an alternative, however, as we shall see below. In the pre-1907 period, the Kingston strike furnishes us with an excellent view of the inability of the I.A.M. to reach what it considered an adequate settlement.

The Kingston Strike:

The Kingston Locomotive Works strike, which lasted from 1902 to 1905, is probably one of the best examples of the more important of the pre-1907 strikes of the I.A.M. Mention of the strike is first found in Second Vice President Holmes' report for June, 1902,⁽⁹⁾ but the Labour Gazette assures us⁽¹⁰⁾ that it started in April, 1902. The grounds for the strike are given as the extensive use of handimen and apprentices by the Company where skilled machinists should have been used.⁽¹¹⁾

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9. MMJ, 1902, Holmes' report for June, pp.364-8.
 10. LG, July 1905 to June 1906, Vol. VI, December number, p.627.
 11. MMJ, 1902, Holmes' report for June, pp.346-8.

A preliminary effort at arbitration by Mr. Robert Glockling, a government representative who was Secretary of the Ontario Labour Bureau, failed to affect a settlement⁽¹²⁾ and a strike⁽¹³⁾ was called which continued until November, 1905.

Inter-union problems included clashes with the Iron Workers Helpers' Association in Kingston and the shop's Amalgamated Society of Engineers' local.⁽¹⁴⁾ The former was solved through the intervention of the district A.F. of L. Organizer, John A. Flett, who recalled the local Iron Workers charter because of their refusal to join the strike.⁽¹⁵⁾ The latter was not so easily solved, as it was but one aspect of a vendetta fostered by the fact that both unions hoped to control the same working group. In 1903, the I.A.M. combined with the pattern makers and blacksmiths to have the A.S.E. ousted from the A.F. of L., on grounds of overlapping jurisdiction, and overt interference (as seen in the Kingston strike).⁽¹⁶⁾ The subsequent battle lasted until the end of 1904, when we discover that there had been a meeting between

12. Ibid.

13. LG, July 1905 to June 1906, Vol. VI, December number, p.627.

14. MMJ, 1902, Holmes' report for June, pp.346-8.

15. Ibid., 1902, Holmes' report for July, pp.414-15.

16. Ibid., 1903, Report of the International President for 1903, pp.487-88.

the two unions, resulting in the presentation of a joint agreement to the company. (17)

Additional problems resulted from the distribution of what the I.A.M. saw as faulty information on jobs for potential immigrants, namely machinists in the Glasgow area. A departmental crackdown checked the guilty officials, (18) for the moment at least. (19) Nevertheless, company efforts resulted in the importation of numerous German and Scottish machinists. (20)

The dramatic walk-outs by a number of the Scots and Germans in Kingston in 1903 seemed to hint of success for the I.A.M. (21) Somehow, however, the strike petered out. In

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17. Ibid., 1904, Boland's report for December, p.1,100.
 18. Ibid., 1902, Holmes' report for November, p.740.
 19. T.L.C. approval was sought at the conference in Berlin, Ontario, in 1902, by Holmes and was obtained. As a result, a note was passed on to the Dominion Government in favour of the I.A.M.'s stand. (Ibid.) (Oddly enough no I.A.M. delegate seems to have appeared at the 1902 T.L.C. Convention.)
 20. Ibid., 1903, Holmes' report for January, pp.11-12.
 21. Ibid., 1903, Article on the Kingston strike, March, pp.189-90;
Article on the Kingston strike, April, pp.278-9;
Holmes' report for April, pp.283-5.

Apparently, a number of Scottish and German machinists had been brought in by the company to replace the striking I.A.M. members. They had been brought in, however, under false pretences. They were led to believe that there was no strike on. Thus, they had a right to break their contract, which many of them subsequently (and dramatically) did.

December, 1905, the Labour Gazette's post mortem read:

The company placed notices throughout the works to the effect that the strike had not been called off at its request, that no concessions had been made, and that no man taking the place of strikers whose services had been satisfactory would be discharged to make room, whether he belonged to the union or not. The statement was signed by the managing director of the company. (22)

The truth of this statement is probably best testified to by the telling silence of the Journal on the subject, and by the fact that the I.A.M.'s next serious attempt to organize Kingston came many years later, in 1912, through Beuloin's (23) efforts. A devastatingly unsuccessful strike of long duration had virtually destroyed the I.A.M. in Kingston for many years to come.

The Kingston Locomotive Works strike was small by comparison with some of the subsequent strikes of the I.A.M. in Canada. The fact that so much commotion was raised by it in the Canadian reports must be attributed to the novelty of such disputes in the Dominion, at least as far as the I.A.M. was concerned. The impact of defeat, however, must have been keenly felt. Nevertheless, even before the death of the Kingston strike, a new problem, of larger proportions, faced the union on the G.T.R.

22. LG, July 1905 to June 1906, Vol. VI, December number, p.627.

23. MMJ, 1912, Beuloin's report for January, p.36.

The G.T.R. Strike:

In studying the Grand Trunk Railway strike of 1905 to 1907, we are jumping ahead to a glimpse of a subsequent section on government intervention, for it was reputed to be the first strike in which the Lemieux Act was brought fully to bear. The strike had begun in Montreal when 40 machinists struck for wage increases. (24) It became a wage-hour dispute (25) of two years' duration which tied up the leading G.T.R. depots in central Canada. The Labour Gazette tells us, in May of 1907, that some 400 men were affected in the following (26) centres: Montreal, Turcot, Ottawa, Toronto and Stratford. (27) The Journal tells us that Port Huron was likewise tied up, but, as was subsequently seen, it could not be affected by (28) any Canadian settlement.

To say the least it seems to have been a difficult and hard-fought strike. The necessity of paying strike benefits to a large number of men over a long period weighed heavily

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24. LG, July 1904 to June 1905, Vol. V, June number, p.1313.
25. LG, July 1906 to June 1907, Vol. VII, May number, pp.1244-8.
26. Ibid., p.1243.
27. MMJ, 1905, Boland's report for August, p.722;
Champion's report for August, pp.711-12;
Champion's report for July, pp.611-12.
28. Ibid., 1907, Champion's report for July, p.669.

on the funds of the Grand Lodge and the Canadian locals. The Grand Trunk Railway Company itself suffered in terms of poorly maintained equipment, and the lack of properly skilled help. Nevertheless, both contestants fought steadily over a period of two years.

The I.A.M. managed to obtain the support of the A.S.E. in this strike, ⁽²⁹⁾ which considerably lessened inter-union friction and went a long way toward ending the long-standing vendetta between the two. Indeed, they seem to have worked very closely together with joint organizing campaigns ⁽³⁰⁾ and joint meetings. ⁽³¹⁾ In addition, the G.T.R. strike had the support of local Trades and Labor Councils and the Dominion T.L.C., ⁽³²⁾ and the general population of some towns like Stratford. ⁽³³⁾

By the end of the strike, however, in the summer of 1907, the union seemed to be clutching at straws. As Beuloin stated, the settlement of the G.T.R. strike was not acceptable to everyone, but he went on to say that it was quite acceptable

29. For example, MMJ, 1905, Champion's report for July, pp.611-12.

30. Ibid., 1905, Beuloin's report for July, p.621.

31. Ibid., 1905, Beuloin's report for June, pp.525-6.

32. Ibid., 1905, Boland's report for August, p.722;
Beuloin's report for June, pp.525-6, respectively.

33. Ibid., 1905, Champion's report for July, pp.611-12.

on the whole. ⁽³⁴⁾ Beuloin felt that the most important thing about the strike was that it drew the eastern and western G.T.R. lodges together. ⁽³⁵⁾ Champion, too, was optimistic, feeling that much had been obtained and more could, subsequently, be easily added. He argued:

If we could have forced a settlement in two or three months we might have got more, but think that when we are ready to request an interview again with the company what was not attained now can then be added, for it is easy to add to what has already been attained. ⁽³⁶⁾

The resultant controversy which was fostered by D.L. 34, ⁽³⁷⁾ however, better revealed the reaction of the I.A.M. The convention of D.L. 34 demanded Champion's resignation for not upholding the interests of the I.A.M. in the G.T.R. settlement. Furthermore, they laid their plea directly before the International President, James O'Connell. ⁽³⁸⁾ It seems, moreover, that this was instrumental in bringing about Champion's defeat at the hands of Somerville, who promised the members more control in settlements, henceforth. During the strike's final stages, the Grand Lodge had judged it serious enough to warrant, not merely its attention, but the very presence of

34. Ibid., 1907, Beuloin's report for July, pp.681-2.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., 1907, Champion's report for July, p.669

37. Ibid., 1907, Article by John Russell for the CPR District Convention at Winnipeg, September number, pp.902-03.

38. Ibid.

First Vice President Conlon, and International President
(40)
O'Connell.

The Labour Gazette's report was all froth and foam when compared to the real facts of the strike. It argued that:

In this case, a complex labour dispute existing in part for some years was satisfactorily disposed of without the loss of a day's work to the men or a dollar to the company, and without any embarrassment or loss being occasioned to the business interests of the country or to the public. (41)

This tone, of course, was at least partly determined by the fact that the Department of Labour was trying to prove the effectiveness of the Lemieux Act, which they felt was fully
(42)
used for the first time on the G.T.R. strike of 1905-1907
(43)

Similar G.T.R. negotiations in subsequent years broke
(44)
the back of the I.A.M. on that railway and meant the necessity of total reorganization by 1914.

39. Ibid., 1907, Champion's report for May, p.467.

40. Ibid., 1907, Champion's report for June, p.576.

41. LG, July 1906 to June 1907, Vol. VII, June number, p.1406.

42. Ibid.

43. See reaction to 1910 GTR settlement, MMJ, Gibbins' report for September, p.861.

See also reaction to 1911 GTR settlement, MMJ, Gibbins' report for December, p.1247.

44. Ibid., 1914, McClelland's report for January, p.48.

From the above study, we can see that the reaction of the Canadian branch of the I.A.M. to the larger strike settlements of the period was, at best, one of mixed feelings. There were several reasons for this, but the most important were the cost of carrying on such protracted disputes, and the almost inevitable inadequacy of settlements because of the divergent points of view of the interested parties. In times as tempestuous as these, the Grand Lodge's coffers had to be continually replenished by higher dues and emergency levies on the local lodges. In addition, pleas from struck lodges in financial trouble often necessitated further contributions from the surrounding areas. Thus, the cost was high; but it was made more irksome by the necessary compromise solutions resulting from strike negotiations.

The C.P.R. Strike:

Later strikes, like that on the C.P.R. in 1908, were no more successful. This conflict, one of the most important of our period, is most poorly recorded. Strange as it may seem, we cannot be definitely certain of the grounds on which it was fought. An editorial in the Winnipeg Saturday Post claimed vaguely that the railway company was being fought in an attempt to maintain former rights rather than establish

new ones, but none are mentioned. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ Beuloin called it a fight to maintain the "union principle" (whatever that may be) against what he felt to be the machinations of the C.P.R. ⁽⁴⁶⁾ To confuse the matter even further, Somerville, at one point, makes an oblique reference to economic arguments, but neglects to say what they were. We can only presume that the grounds were common knowledge, and likely involved 'wage and hour' demands.

The strike, which lasted from August, 1908, ⁽⁴⁷⁾ to October of the same year, ⁽⁴⁸⁾ assumed enormous proportions throughout the C.P.R. system, and took in a number of unions. It was, indeed, the forerunner of the mammoth strikes of the 'federation' era. An editorial in the September Journal estimated that 6,010 men had gone out on strike and mentioned that the strike was being managed from the main union centres on the C.P.R. line, namely Winnipeg and Montreal. ⁽⁴⁹⁾ The Labour Gazette ⁽⁵⁰⁾ estimated that 8,000 men were out, while Somerville

45. Quoted in MMJ, 1908, September number, pp.833-4.

46. Ibid., 1908, Beuloin's report for October, p.909.

47. LG, July 1908 to June 1909, Vol. IX, September number, p.337.

48. Ibid., 1909, January number, Vol. IX, p.726.

49. MMJ, 1908, September number, pp.775-6.

50. LG, 1909, January number, Vol. IX, p.726.

claimed that there were 3,500 men out in the Montreal area alone ⁽⁵¹⁾ and probably 9,000 or 10,000 altogether. ⁽⁵²⁾ All, of course, were not I.A.M. members, but the proportion of the latter was very great.

A Board of Conciliation was appointed, and its decision (unexplained) was adopted. This decision, in turn, brought on Somerville's resignation as Vice President over what he felt to be a defeat for both union and management. ⁽⁵³⁾ It was argued that the financial problems of the union (straitened strike funds) had actually brought about its defeat. This argument we find both in an editorial in the November number of the Journal from the Winnipeg strike executive, ⁽⁵⁴⁾ and in Somerville's report for December. ⁽⁵⁵⁾

The position taken up by the opponents of the strike settlement (a charge of irresponsible central control) was quite similar to that of the opponents of the Harriman and Illinois Railway strike settlement in the United States. The strike had reached proportions serious enough to require the

51. MMJ, 1908, Somerville's report for September, pp.806-8.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., 1908, Somerville's report for December, pp.1102-4.

54. Ibid., 1908, Editorial, November number, pp.966-7.

55. Ibid., 1908, Somerville's report for December, pp.1093-6.

presence of the International President, O'Connell,⁽⁵⁶⁾ and his chief lieutenants, and was deliberated upon behind closed doors. The fact that it quickly, and without comment, disappeared from notice in the Journal is probably the best indication of the union's acceptance of the strike settlement. The I.A.M. was apathetic about it at best.

The Toronto Nine-Hour Strike:

There were, however, some exceptions to the general rule of strike defeats. The Toronto Nine-Hour Strike is one such. It took place from June 8, 1907⁽⁵⁷⁾ to May 19, 1909,⁽⁵⁸⁾ and involved the application in the entire Toronto area of demands for a nine-hour day with ten-hours' pay. It was, in addition, a joint effort by the I.A.M. and A.S.E. By July, 1907, Champion was able to report that 21 firms, albeit the smaller ones, had already signed the agreement. Some thirty remained to be won over.⁽⁵⁹⁾ By August, 1907, Champion stated that 37⁽⁶⁰⁾ firms were now in line and about half the men working.

56. Ibid., 1908, Beuloin's report for October, p.909.

57. LG, 1907, August number, Vol. VIII, p.231.

58. Ibid., 1909, June number, Vol. IX, p.1374.

59. MMJ, 1907, Champion's report for July, p.669.

60. Ibid., 1907, Champion's report for August, p.763.

Boland, in the same month, said that 36 firms had been signed,
involving 300 men.⁽⁶¹⁾ Thus, we may calculate that about 600
men were involved and that the larger firms were still not
giving in. In the December number of 1907, we learn from
Gibbins that the Mayor of Toronto, apparently a labour sym-
pathizer, was forcing the calling of a conference to settle
the dispute.

The dispute, nevertheless, dragged on until the summer
of 1909, when some sort of climax was reached with the capi-
tulation of the Polson Iron Works.⁽⁶²⁾ It is mentioned, how-
ever, merely that the firm had given way to the nine-hour
demand. Thus, as in so many of the later settlements, it
remains doubtful to what extent the ten-hour pay scale was
obtained. Indeed, the I.A.M. itself seems to have lost interest
in the strike in the turmoil caused by the nation-wide C.P.R.
strike (above). The Labour Gazette gave the strike a half-
hearted post mortem, in the words:

61. Ibid., 1907, Boland's report for August, pp.791-92.

62. Ibid., 1909, Gibbins' report for May, pp.443-4.

It was announced in Toronto on May 19, that the strike which had begun two years before, by the machinists and amalgamated engineers of that city for a nine-hour working day had been called off, and that permission had been given to members of the Association to work in any of the shops in the city. (63)

The words of the Labour Gazette are non-committal, but it seems that the I.A.M. and A.S.E. did fairly well as a result of the strike.

Strike Costs:

All responsible union officials were dismayed by the proportions of their strike costs, and resolved to cut them down where possible. Indeed, this was the largest expenditure of the union, being, for example, usually from 700 to 1,000 % higher than the amount used up by death benefits (the second highest expenditure). The following chart will give some indication of the amount laid out annually by the I.A.M. throughout North America.

63. LG, 1909, June number, Vol.IX, p.1374.

Chart of Strike Benefits Paid by IAM from 4-1-97 to 5-31-18

<u>FISCAL PERIOD</u>	<u>STRIKE BENEFITS</u>
4-1-97 to 3-31-99	\$ 14,544.50
4-1-99 to 3-31-00	31,883.89
4-1-00 to 3-31-01	35,892.24
4-1-01 to 3-31-02	168,639.36
4-1-02 to 3-31-03	126,346.77
4-1-03 to 6-30-04	192,642.43
7-1-04 to 6-30-05	275,212.23
7-1-05 to 6-30-06	143,069.58
7-1-06 to 6-30-07	193,411.00
7-1-07 to 6-30-08	389,094.50
7-1-08 to 6-30-09	233,802.00
7-1-09 to 6-30-10	195,925.29
7-1-10 to 6-30-11	397,940.00
7-1-11 to 6-30-12	470,445.50
7-1-12 to 6-30-13	253,499.50
7-1-13 to 6-30-14	201,836.00
7-1-14 to 6-30-15	140,388.69 (64)
7-1-15 to 5-31-16	180,687.00
7-1-16 to 5-31-17	231,696.40
7-1-17 to 5-31-18	186,918.80 (65)
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64. Ibid., 1916, Report of the International President for 1916, p.742.

65. Ibid., 1917, Report of the International President for 1917, p.3.

Temporal bounds for last two periods estimated on basis of the preceding.

Conflicting estimates for 4-1-99 to 3-31-00 of \$ 33,883.89 and for 7-1-14 to 6-30-15 of \$183,005.00

See MMJ, 1917, Report of the International President for 1917, p.3.

Thus, strike benefit payments were very high from 1901 to 1919, reaching peaks in the years: 1904, 1907, 1910, 1911, 1912. They were over \$190,000. per annum in the years: 1903, 1904, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913 and 1916. These estimates, of course, are for the United States and Canada. In view of the similarity in problem periods, the Canadian estimates were probably in proportion until the outbreak of the War. At this point, however, government intervention became the rule, at least until the last year or so of the War.

As a result of such a drain on union finances, the I.A.M. and many of its fellow members of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada tried all possible alternatives to the strike. This is the reason that government intervention was at first welcomed whole-heartedly by them. The Canadian Government, moreover, was by now quite willing to intervene actively in labour-management disputes.

Government Intervention:

About the turn of the century the federal government began to place a great deal of emphasis on the necessity of government intervention in the settlement of labour-management problems. The Conciliation Act of 1900 created machinery to deal with such disputes, and a Department of Labour was established to administer it. In 1903 the Railway Labour Disputes Act was passed in view of the increasing railway expansion under Laurier's government, and the consequent increases in

union strength and demands for concessions. A stronger measure, the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act (or Lemieux Act, as it was popularly known) was passed in 1907, and was followed later by the Order-in-Council in 1916, extending the terms of the Act, by way of the War Measures Act of 1914, to cover Wartime production. The Lemieux Act forbade strikes or lock-outs until disputes had been referred to a mediation board and the resultant decision reported to both parties. It could also be applied, however, to existing strikes, if necessary to help bring about a settlement. The Act provided for a waiting period of one month before the board was required to act, perhaps in hopes that labour and management could reach an adequate settlement on their own without resorting to a strike or lock-out, as the case may be. The investigation period often took a month or two, and, thus, meant a total delay of from two to three months in the settlement of disputes. Organized labour usually found it frustrating to be forced to wait so long for a decision which might after all prove inadequate, but this problem was only fully realized later. For the moment, the unions on the whole seemed to be in favour of an act which would help them avoid the costs and delays of strikes. They were soon, however, to become very disenchanted with the Act and its administration.

The Winnipeg T.L.C. Convention of 1907 endorsed the bill (suggesting, however, several amendments) as a step toward

the amelioration of labour's position in the settlement of disputes between labour and management. ⁽⁶⁶⁾ The only real dis-
sention aroused was, interestingly enough, led by James
Somerville, ⁽⁶⁷⁾ who subsequently became Second Vice President
of the I.A.M. He demanded amendment of the Lemieux Act to
allow unions to strike when they felt it to be absolutely
necessary. His plea, however, was rejected both by the legis-
lative committee of the session and by the assembled
delegates. ⁽⁶⁸⁾

Somerville also tried to get the Convention to condemn
the G.T.R. settlement and the part the Lemieux Act had played
in it. The Executive Officers' Report had said: "The Act
has been tested already in the case of the Machinists and The
Grand Trunk Railway Co., and no better tribute could be paid
to it than the settlement arrived at in that case, which
proved to be highly satisfactory to all concerned". Somerville
moved:

That this Congress disapprove of that part
of the Executive's Report which state that
the settlement between the Grand Trunk
Railway and its Machinists proved to be
highly satisfactory to all concerned.

But this attempt also failed, though only by the narrowest
of margins. The Congress' Secretary-Treasurer, P. M. Draper,

66. TLC-P, 1907, Winnipeg, p.56.

67. Ibid., p.74.

68. Ibid.

moved in amendment that the words "which proved to be highly satisfactory to all concerned" be replaced by "which was reported to your Executive at the time of writing this report as being satisfactory to both parties;" and this was carried,⁽⁶⁹⁾
45-44.

Later, at the Quebec Convention in 1909, Somerville was the only delegate who proposed any amendments.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The I.A.M. at the time had just gone through the C.P.R. strike, which had brought Somerville's resignation as Second Vice President. He proved, thus, to be entirely consistent and firm in his opposition.

The support given to the Lemieux Act was to begin to change with the 1910 Convention, which took place in Fort William and Port Arthur where it was reported that Parliament had passed a number of amendments to the Act.⁽⁷¹⁾ By the time of the 1911 Convention in Calgary, however, it seemed that the T.L.C. would completely reverse its former position with

69. Ibid., pp.10, 69.

The compilers of the Convention Proceedings incorporated the Draper amendment in the original text, at p.10; so our only knowledge of what the Report originally said comes from Somerville's proposed amendment.

70. Ibid., 1909, Quebec, p.12.

71. Ibid., 1910, Fort William and Port Arthur, p.53.

the resolution:

That this Congress instructs its Executive Officers to press for the repeal of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. (72)

This was lost, however, by a vote of 70-65.

Congress Parliamentary solicitor O'Donoghue's Special Resolution 'A' showed that the T.L.C. agreed with the principle of government intervention but protected what it felt to be the failing of present legislation. It was carried unanimously. (73)

The text reads:

While this Congress still believes in the principle of investigation and conciliation and while recognizing that benefits have accrued at times to various bodies of workmen under the operation of the Lemieux Act, yet in view of decisions and rulings and delays of the Department of Labor in connection with the administration of the Act, and in consequence of judicial decisions like that of Judge Townsend, in the Province of Nova Scotia, determining that feeding a starving man, on strike, contrary to the Act, is an offence under the Act:-Be it resolved, that this Congress ask for repeal of the Act. (74)

72. Ibid., 1911, Calgary, p.88.

We find the name of J. H. McVety of the I.A.M., in Vancouver, on the committee of six for the formulation of the resolution. (TLC-P, 1911, Calgary, p.88)

A Calgary local of the I.A.M., #357, passed a similar motion in 1916. (TLC-P, 1916, Toronto, p.181).

73. TLC-P, 1911, Calgary, p.89.

74. Ibid.

In 1915, Hon. T. W. Crothers, Minister of Labour, told the T.L.C. Convention he proposed to introduce no less than sixteen amendments. They included shortening to ten days the time within which a Board of Conciliation could be constituted. The Minister assured the delegates that the Act was not intended to prevent international officers of unions from entering Canada to take part in matters affecting the welfare of local unions. He was also careful to stress the success the Act had achieved:

In the past four years ninety per cent of the awards under the... Act have been accepted and carried out. There have been only two awards entirely against the contentions of the men. (75)

Other amendments included: prevention of certain uses of injunctions, preserving the rights of employees for thirty days after a lockout, strike or dismissal in which the parties were entitled to a Board, requiring a notice of thirty days before working conditions could be changed, prohibiting changes before application for a Board, and providing for a secret strike vote. (Several of these, however, arose out of court decisions which must have aroused union ire.)

The decision taken in 1916 to extend the use of the Lemieux Act to cover all aspects of Wartime production put the final nail in the coffin of labour's former attitude toward

75. TLC-P, 1915, Vancouver, p.92.

the Act. It was, henceforth, to cover:

the construction, production, repairing, manufacture, transportation or delivery of ships, vessels, works, buildings, munitions, ordnance, guns, explosives and materials and supplies of every nature and description whatsoever, intended for the use of His Majesty's military or naval forces or militia, or for the forces of the nations allied with the United Kingdom in the present war, (76)

This extension of the Act may have been caused by disputes in the munitions industry (mainly over the absence of the 'Fair Wage' clause from the British contracts). Labour generally and the I.A.M. in particular, however, wanted the British government to include this clause in its shell contracts apparently to guard against unwarranted intrusions by the Lemieux Act. The Order-in-Council could frustrate such a purpose.

If government intervention was more suspect, it nevertheless became a fact of existence; for the Canadian government was, henceforth, extremely active in labour-management disputes. The I.A.M. provides a good example of this. From 1907 to 1911, for example, government investigators or arbitration boards were involved in all the major I.A.M. strikes, as the following

76. Quoted in LG, 1916, Vol. XVI, April number, p.1059,
Text of the Order-in-Council on the extension of
the Lemieux Act as a result of the exigencies of the
War Measures Act of 1914.

list will indicate:

1907, the G.T.R.,	(77)
1908, the C.P.R.,	(78)
1909, the I.C.R.,	(79)
1910, the C.P.R. and G.T.R.,	(80)
1911, the G.T.R.	(81)

The government was even more active in the early War years, as these examples in 1915-16 show:

1915, the Pere Marquette,	(82)
munitions plants (throughout Canada),	(83)
the Hudson Bay Construction Company,	(84)
the Ottawa Car Company,	(85)
1916, the British shell contracts,	(86)
the T.H. & B. Railway,	(87)
Toronto hour and wage strike,	(88)
Medicine Hat shell contract dispute,	(89)
the Canada Foundry Company (Ottawa),	(90)
the Canadian General Electric Company.	(91)

77. LG, July 1906 to June 1907, Vol. VII, June number, p.1406.

78. Ibid., July 1908 to June 1909, Vol. IX, January number, p726.

79. MMJ, 1909, Beuloin's report for November, pp.1082-3.

80. Ibid., 1910, Foster's report for September, pp.853-4.

81. Ibid., 1911, Beuloin's report for September, pp.877-8.

82. Ibid., 1915, McClelland's report for March, pp.262-3.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid., 1915, McClelland's report for April, p.340.

85. Ibid., 1915, McClelland's report for July, pp.621-2.

86. Ibid., 1916, McClelland's report for February, pp. 182-3.

87. Ibid., 1916, McCallum's report for March, pp.288-9.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid., 1916, McClelland's report for April, pp.382-3.

90. Ibid., 1916, McClelland's report for May, pp.483-4.
91. Ibid., 1916, Hagen's report for June, p.608.

Sometimes, as in the case of the T.H. & B.R. dispute in 1916, the threat of resorting to the Lemieux Act was used to gain concessions from the employer. ⁽⁹²⁾ (In this case, however, the threat was not too successful, as a board had eventually to be resorted to.) Usually though, as in the case of the Ottawa Car Company dispute of 1915, the men themselves were very reluctant to see the Lemieux Act enforced. ⁽⁹³⁾ The only possible answer was to make the union big and influential enough to be able to force settlements favourable to itself without having to resort to the strike, except in the greatest emergency. Numerical expansion and inter-union cohesion were the means to this end.

Inter-Union Activity:

One of the first steps taken by the I.A.M., in the direction of achieving greater bargaining power, was its successful application for membership in the A.F. of L. in 1895, under O'Connell's guiding hand. This brought the I.A.M. out of its isolation as a regional contender for control of the machinists of the United States. By 1908, the Union went a step further by affiliating its whole Canadian membership to the Trades

92. Ibid., 1916, McCallum's report for March, pp.288-9.

93. Ibid., 1915, McClelland's report for July, pp.621-2.

and Labor Congress of Canada. Some Canadian locals had previously been members of the T.L.C., but, as the International office accepted its responsibilities toward the T.L.C., more I.A.M. locals took an active part. In 1911, the I.A.M. succeeded in having the 'Machinists' Helpers' enrolled in the A.F. of L. under a separate charter. This brought in an additional 71 locals to support the I.A.M.'s voice. Later, in 1915, President Johnston managed to bring the I.A.M. into the International Metal Workers Federation, in order to give the union:

1. a check on foreign workmen in case of strike,
2. a check on unfair manufactured machinery and tools,
3. ready recruits from the ranks of immigrant machinists,
4. the possibility of exchange of valuable information,
5. the hope of gaining foreign recognition for the I.A.M. as having sole jurisdiction over machine shop workers in North America. (99)

94. TLC-P, 1908, Halifax convention, p.55.

95. Ibid., 1892 through 1908 (1900 signalling a definite increase in IAM representation).

96. MMJ, 1911, the International President's Biennial Report, October number, pp.989-90.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid., 1915, Article by President Johnston, July number, pp.650-51.

99. Ibid.

(Indeed, these same reasons might be advanced for any of the above, with slight alteration of #5.) Within the A.F. of L. and T.L.C., I.A.M. members distinguished themselves time and again through participation in vital debates and schemes, and through the holding of executive office. Thus, we can see a steady progression toward involvement in pan-union affairs for the sake of increasing the influence of the I.A.M.

Greater attention was, henceforth, given to definition of the machinist, and the jurisdiction of the I.A.M. In 1904, the machinist came to be defined by President O'Connell in the following way:

'The word machinist as applied to our trade... represents skill among the men who deal with machinery. In our sense, the machinist is the man who makes, erects and repairs all descriptions of machines and machine tools. He is not the man who runs the machine to produce another product after they are made. Our men design and make machines with the aid of drawings. They operate machines to make machines and machine tools, and they have to be able to do all kinds of work and repairs on any kind of machine from patterns, and that within a reasonable time.' (100)

In the same year, at a conference with the International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics under A.F..of L. auspices, the jurisdiction of the I.A.M. was defined as follows:

100. Ibid., 1904, Quotation of O'Connell in an article from the Chicago Record-Herald, "The Work of Two Unions", May number, p.402.

- (1) General hands, (2) erecting hands, (3) floor hands, (4) vise hands, (5) assemblers, (6) adjusters and repairers of metal working parts of all classes of machinery, (7) men operating all classes of lathes, (8) men operating all classes of planers, (9) milling machine men, (10) men operating all classes of shapers, (11) men operating all classes of slotters, (12) men operating all classes of boring mills, (13) men operating all classes of gear cutters, (14) tool grinders, (15) men operating Jones and Lamson, Gisholt and American turret lathes, (16) drill press hands, (17) screw machine hands, (18) men operating all machines of a similar character as heretofore mentioned, (19) tool makers, (20) die sinkers, (21) jig workers, (22) mold makers in glass factories or elsewhere, (23) all men engaged in the manufacture of metal model novelties where skilled hand labor or machines are used, (24) all surgical instrument makers, (25) all metal pattern makers employed in machine shop. (101)

In subsequent years, the craft rigidity of the founding years was forced to give somewhat to allow for the recognition of machinists' helpers, as shown above. (102) And, later still, in view of agitation by leading union officials, (103) machinist specialists were brought into the union.

As a result of such extensive jurisdictional claims, the I.A.M. naturally found itself involved in various conflicts with rival unions. Among those with which it became involved, (104) we find the Typographical Union, the Elevator Construc-

101. Ibid., 1904, Report of the International President, September number, p.790.

102. Ibid., 1911, International President's Biennial Report, October number, pp.989-90.

103. For example, Preston, MMJ, 1912, June number, pp.535-7.

104. Ibid., 1911, Article by Preston, February number, pp.194-50.

tors, ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ the Western Federation of Miners, ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ the Carpenters, ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾
⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ the Autoworkers, ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ the Boilermakers, ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ the I.A.A.M.M.,
⁽¹¹¹⁾ and the A.S.E. Many disputes were settled by the A.F. of L. ⁽¹¹²⁾
or T.L.C. intervention, as in the case of the Autoworkers.
Others were settled by amalgamation under A.F. of L. auspices,
as in the case of the I.A.A.M.M. ⁽¹¹³⁾ With some unions, like
the Western Federation of Miners, there could merely be the
acceptance of a modus vivendi, ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ since the A.F. of L. was
opposed to the I.A.M.'s stand in the matter.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid., 1911, Articles by Preston, February and March numbers, pp.148-50 and 248-50, respectively.

107. Ibid., 1913, Report of the Delegates to the AF of L Convention, January number, pp.38-9.

108. Ibid., 1915, Article by President Johnston, June number, pp.548-9.

109. Ibid., 1917, Riley's report for April, pp.438-9.

110. Ibid., 1904, Report of the International President, September number, pp.789-90.

111. From the Kingston strike continuously until 1919.

112. Ibid., 1915, Article by President Johnston, June number, pp.548-9.

113. Ibid., 1904, Report of the International President, September number, pp.789-90.

114. Ibid., 1911, Articles by Preston, February and March numbers, pp.148-50 and 248-50, respectively. The W.F.M. was a special case. Because of powerful employer opposition, the mines were extremely difficult to organize. As a result, the A.F. of L. tended to favour the W.F.M. in the face of other unions, to avoid energy wasting jurisdictional quarrels.

The A.S.E.:

The union with which the Canadian branch of the I.A.M. came most often into jurisdictional conflict was the A.S.E. Based in Great Britain, the A.S.E. had parallel jurisdiction with the I.A.M., and, although it was quite a bit smaller, its membership was concentrated in the central Canadian area as was that of the I.A.M. (115) An early conflict over the Kingston Locomotive Works strike, (116) as already mentioned, fostered a feeling of bitterness. In 1903, the I.A.M. collaborated with the pattern makers and blacksmiths to have the A.S.E. ousted from the A.F. of L. (117) (The A.S.E. seems never to have joined the T.L.C. in the early years, and the 1902 change in the T.L.C. Constitution, barring unions which were 'dual' to A.F. of L. unions, made it ineligible.) There was trouble again over the London strike, in 1903, according to Holmes. (118) For some time after that, however, the two unions seemed willing to co-operate, as we can see in the joint monthly meetings in Toronto in 1904, (119) and the joint agree-

115. (See page 105a)

116. MMJ, 1902, Holmes' report for June, pp.346-8.

117. Ibid., 1903, Report of the International President for 1903, pp.487-8.

118. Ibid., 1903, Editorial, December number, pp.1029-30.

119. Ibid., 1904, Boland's report for September, p.820.

115. The following are the charts for membership and geographical location of the A.S.E and the I.A.M. as found in the RLOC:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NO. OF UNIONS</u>	<u>MEMBERSHIP IN CANADA</u>	
1911	ASE 13 IAM 49	752 5,000	(pp.90-2)
1912	ASE 13 IAM 58	927 4,523	(pp.111-12)
1913	ASE 15 IAM 66	1,163 5,000	(p.136)
1914	ASE 18 IAM 64	955 4,654	(pp.191-2)
1915	ASE 18 IAM 64	1,500 5,690	(pp.185-6)
1916	ASE 19 IAM 69	1,147 7,108	(pp.168-9)
1917	ASE 21 IAM 78	2,003 9,915	(p.187)
1918	ASE 24 IAM 86	2,318 15,421	(pp.192-3)
1919	ASE 24 IAM 111	3,000 17,809	(p.247)

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

<u>Year</u>	<u>Union</u>	<u>NS</u>	<u>NB</u>	<u>PEI</u>	<u>Que</u>	<u>Ont</u>	<u>Man</u>	<u>Sask</u>	<u>Alta</u>	<u>BC</u>	<u>Total</u>
1911	ASE IAM	-- --	-- 4	-- --	2 8	10 20	-- 6	-- 2	-- 4	1 5	13 49 (pp.92-4)
1912	ASE IAM	-- --	-- 4	-- --	2 9	10 25	-- 6	-- 4	-- 5	1 5	13 58 (pp.114-5)
1913	ASE IAM	-- 4	-- 4	-- --	2 9	12 27	-- 6	-- 4	-- 6	1 6	15 66 (pp.139-40)
1914	ASE IAM	-- 3	-- 3	-- --	3 9	14 26	-- 7	-- 5	-- 6	1 6	18 64 (pp.194-5)

1915	ASE	--	--	--	3	14	--	--	--	1	18
	IAM	3	3	--	9	25	8	5	6	5	64 (pp.188-9)
1916	ASE	--	--	--	4	14	--	--	--	1	19
	IAM	3	3	--	9	29	8	5	6	6	69 (pp.172-3)
1917	ASE	--	--	--	4	16	--	--	--	1	21
	IAM	2	3	--	9	35	8	5	6	10	78 (pp.190-1)
1918	ASE	--	--	--	7	16	--	--	--	1	24
	IAM	3	3	--	11	39	9	5	6	10	86 (pp.195-6)
1919	ASE	--	--	--	7	16	--	--	--	1	24
	IAM	7	7	--	16	55	6	8	6	8	111 (pp.250-52)

ments in the Kingston,⁽¹²⁰⁾ and Toronto Nine-Hour,⁽¹²¹⁾ strikes, in 1904 and 1907 respectively. Indeed, when Foster launched a tirade against the A.S.E. over the suspected conflict in Montreal, in 1911,⁽¹²²⁾ he was virtually ordered by I.A.M.⁽¹²³⁾ 'officialdom' to keep his ideas to himself. He was disturbing the modus vivendi which had been precariously built up over a period of years.

By 1913, we find in the Journal⁽¹²⁴⁾ a desire for some sort of amalgamation of the two unions. 1914 and 1915 brought joint conferences and pledges of co-operation.⁽¹²⁵⁾ More important, however, 1915 brought Johnston's direct pressure for conciliation of the A.S.E. He urged that the I.A.M. members who were going to Great Britain to help in Wartime production should line up with the A.S.E. over there in case of disputes.⁽¹²⁶⁾ In 1917, we learn that Johnston proposed to hold a top-level conference with the A.S.E. in Great Britain, to take place during

120. Ibid., 1904, Boland's report for December, p.1100.

121. Ibid., 1907, Champion's report for August, p.763.

122. Ibid., 1911, Foster's report for March, pp.271-2.

123. Ibid., 1911, Foster's report for May, p.481.

124. Ibid., 1913, Gibbins' report for July, pp.692-3.

125. Ibid., 1914, Gibbins' report for December, pp.1177-8.

126. Ibid., 1915, McClelland's report for July, pp.621-2, GEB-Minutes, March 29 - April 5, 1915, pp.3-5.

the impending Labor Wartime Mission.⁽¹²⁷⁾ Tensions must have
been increased by the clash over the Hamilton strike (1916)⁽¹²⁸⁾
and the T.H. & B.R. strike (1917)⁽¹²⁹⁾ as well as the conflict
over the assimilation of the renegade Brassworkers in Montreal
(1917).⁽¹³⁰⁾ Nevertheless, the 1918 conference was successful,
and an amalgamation was affected by the end of 1919.

Thus, union energies were bent to eliminating all possible competition in the bid for power, and, in the case of many of the inter-union conflicts which arose, the I.A.M. was successful. The merger with the A.S.E. is an example of the best and most determined of these efforts.

A study of inter-union work would be incomplete without some mention, however, brief, of the federation activities in Canada at the end of the First World War. For it is very important to note that in the later War years a new dimension was added to the level of inter-union co-operation with the attempts made at establishing workable federations of all unions on the Canadian railways and in the Canadian shipyards.

127. MMJ, 1917, McClelland's report for January, p.39.

128. Ibid., 1916, McClelland's report for September, pp.898-9,
Riley's report for September, pp.918-19.

129. Ibid., 1917, McClelland's report for April, pp.420-1.

130. Ibid., 1917, McClelland's report for November, pp.1015-16.

The 1911 convention of the I.A.M. had proposed a federation of all machine shop crafts, ⁽¹³¹⁾ but its fellow A.F. of L. affiliates were leery of the idea because of the dominant position the I.A.M. assumed in any organization in which it took part. Later efforts met a similar response. ⁽¹³²⁾ Only in the formation of the Federation of Federations (which modified the older Railway Employees Department) did the I.A.M. have any great measure of success, before the War. ⁽¹³³⁾

The Canadian Railways Federation, formed in 1918 and subsequently becoming Division 4 of the R.E.D., ⁽¹³⁴⁾ proved to be a very powerful body. It is of the Canadian Marine Federation, however, that we find most mention in the Journal. And by 1919 we learn that it had expanded rapidly, taking in the west and east coastal regions, as well as the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes systems, and was conducting successful strikes and negotiations in various centres.

Organizing Activity:

The other staple of the I.A.M., organizing within its own

131. Ibid., 1911, Convention synopsis by A. E. Holder, November number, pp.1137-8.

132. Ibid., 1915, Report of the Delegates to the AF of L Convention, January number, p.73.

133. Ibid., 1912, Report of the International President, August number, p.716.

134. Ibid., 1918, McClelland's report for March, pp.353-4.

jurisdictional territory, provides a constant theme throughout the period under consideration. And, since this has already been discussed above, it will be dealt with, here only in the most cursory manner.

The study of organizing work in the period is really the study of greater and lesser waves of union expansion, made possible by propitious economic circumstances and the 'constant' of determination of union officials to secure a strong bargaining position. The power of the union in the various bodies through which it worked depended, in large part, on its numerical strength.

Vice President Conlon began to argue, in 1903,⁽¹³⁵⁾ that what the I.A.M. really needed was shop control, if strikes were to be won at all. He was, however, merely continuing the argument advanced first by O'Connell in the early 1890's that the 'open' union principle was the only one which would make the I.A.M. truly strong. In 1910 and 1911, Preston⁽¹³⁶⁾ and Beuloin⁽¹³⁷⁾ took the same basic position, in protest against the failure of I.A.M. strikes during the preceding years.

135. Ibid., 1903, Article by P. J. Conlon, April number, pp.276-7.

136. Ibid., 1910, Article by G.S.-T Preston, December number, pp.1144-5.

137. Ibid., 1911, Beuloin's report for October, p.996.

Indeed, Johnston's regime came in, to a great extent, on a pledge of greater attention to organizing efforts. Nevertheless, the only actual organizing cut-backs that can be found in our entire period occurred in 1912⁽¹³⁸⁾ and 1917⁽¹³⁹⁾ and both were⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ the results of the union's temporary financial problems.

At various times during the 1897-1919 period the organic nature of the union increased in complexity with the growth of the District Lodges and Consolidated District Lodges, but the basic purpose remained membership expansion. And, as mentioned in the opening remarks of this chapter, the membership of the I.A.M. climbed steadily throughout our period except for minor set-backs in 1905,⁽¹⁴¹⁾ 1909,⁽¹⁴²⁾ 1912⁽¹⁴³⁾ and 1914,⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ the War years of course seeing the largest boom.

138. Ibid., 1912, Report of the International President, August number, p.714.

139. Ibid., 1917, Article called "Meeting of the G.E.B.", February number, pp.261-4.

140. Ibid., See footnotes 117 and 118.

141. Ibid., 1917, International President's Report for 1916, p.742.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid., 1914, p.192.

Mounting strike costs, and the frustration of many of the I.A.M. efforts at negotiations, combined with dissatisfaction with government intervention as an alternative to force the union to look within to discover the means to a stronger bargaining position. Inter-union co-operation was one of the vital means to this end, and the I.A.M. used it to strengthen herself through membership in various national and international bodies. This union solidarity itself, however, depended upon the numerical strength and cohesiveness of the I.A.M. Ultimately, the union had to be numerically strong in order to secure a proper voice in inter-union affairs and, indeed, to secure its own jurisdiction.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The extent of O'Connell's (and Johnston's success at promoting the principle of 'open' unionism with the I.A.M. is the single most important factor in the union's solidarity, growth, and increase in power. Originally formed as a protest, in part, against the debasement of the old Knights of Labor, the I.A.M. started as a narrow-minded, exclusive craft union. The admission of helpers, specialists and women, and the submerging of the racial clause were key steps in a departure from this sort of ideal to a more 'open' union. The trappings of the 'lodge' and 'private club' gave way to a more inclusive union for the purpose of greater bargaining potential. As the machinery and membership of the union grew, its central organs were perfected, and the member was given a stake in it through the advances in the union's internal social legislation. The Local Lodge and the Journal gave the member a vital link with Grand Lodge, and the formulation of policy, which was increased as the use of the referendum grew.

The sound central organization brought two results. Union solidarity and popularly elected officers were combined to win the confidence of the membership and make further expansion possible. As a result, the union's bargaining power increased, both with management and with other unions. Expansion plus solidarity gave the I.A.M. a powerful voice in the A.F. of L.

and the T.L.C. With its increasing voice in these, the I.A.M. became a more formidable foe to management.

The amazing thing in all this is that the Canadian branch of the I.A.M. did not become a mere appendage to the American parent movement. Treated as a separate geographical area, however, and ultimately given increased representation on the General Executive Board and at the level of the Vice Presidents, the Canadian locals were given a type of separate status. Indeed, Canada seems to have been kept as a separate geographical area in spite of the physical difficulty of handling as one entity, under one Vice President, an area far larger than any of the American districts. In addition, most union matters in Canada were settled locally by Canadian officers. Only in the largest and most difficult of strikes did the Grand Lodge intervene (and, even then, to a limited extent after 1916). General policy was, of course, determined by the Grand Lodge, but it is important to note that there is no record of a single clash along national lines, in the sources available. It may be said that this reveals the bias of the sources; but such a reply is too facile. It seems, especially with the emergence of the District Lodges and Consolidated District Lodges, that the Canadian section of the I.A.M. was able to maintain enough control over its own affairs to satisfy the membership. The intermediate bodies, especially the system and city federations, may have caused consternation at the Grand Lodge level in these

years, especially as they emerged without adequate constitutional checks, and there are instances in which they challenged Grand Lodge jurisdiction (as during the Harriman and Illinois strike); but they brought together groups which had similar interests, and took a great deal of the workload off the much overworked Vice Presidents, Business Agents and Organizers. Furthermore, as the Canadian I.A.M. merged with other unions to create a Canadian railway federation and Canadian marine federation, it became a formidable bargaining agent in its own right, and added to the overall self-sufficiency of the union's Canadian section.

The prosperity of this age of railway and Wartime production expansion, with the exception of the 1907 depression and the 1913-16 slump, made possible the expansion in membership and number of lodges which made the I.A.M. one of the largest and most powerful unions in the Dominion, with over 17,000 members by 1919. Union Vice Presidents, Organizers, and Business Agents, with the help of the A.F. of L. and T.L.C. Organizers, pushed the I.A.M. from its stronghold in central Canada to all parts of the Dominion. They even managed to establish a branch in the colony of Newfoundland, at one time. In addition, after the I.A.M. affiliated with the T.L.C. as an 'International', in 1907, Canadian I.A.M. participation being regular and increasingly representative, with the union's members involved in all major debates and on the various

committees. The economic advances of the time, when combined with the dynamism and sense of purpose of the union's officers, created the I.A.M. in Canada. The overall aim was international, but local peculiarities, in so far as they became Grand Lodge matters, were respected and even encouraged.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

A. Primary Sources:

The Machinists' Monthly Journal (also called the Official Organ of the International Association of Machinists) is the most direct source we have for information regarding the internal actions and motives of the I.A.M., and for this reason it shall be described in detail. Certain limitations in our source, however, must be noted. Our documentation in the very early period is quite weak, having only the copies of the Journal for 1897 and 1900. The series is regular only from 1902 on. Thus, we are lacking in information on the real origins of the I.A.M. in Canada, and find ourselves dependent on the later 'historical' writings in the Journal like P. J. Conlon's articles in the issues of 1909,⁽¹⁾ and A. E. Holder's series on "Railroad Strikes since 1877", commencing in the 1914 issues.⁽²⁾ Sometimes we can learn something of specialised aspects of the past as in President

1. MMJ, 1909, from February, pp.164-6.

2. Ibid., 1914, from January, pp.29-35.

Johnston's statements on strike and death benefits,⁽³⁾ and
A. O. Wharton's "Evolution and Development of the Railroad
Employees' Department of the A.F. of L.", in the 1915
Journal.⁽⁴⁾

We find, however, that the emphasis is always placed,
naturally enough, on the American part of the movement, and
rarely gives a complete picture. Holder writes only of
the major rail strikes and issues involved, while Johnston
merely gives us a bare financial statement of strike and
death benefits. Even Conlon's effort proves inadequate
for it devotes a mere three pages, in barest outline to
the entire period from 1887 to 1900. As a result of
enquiries so far, therefore, we find that research has to
be confined to the post-1897, and really the post-1900,
period.

Turning to the Journal as a record of the I.A.M. it
is seen that like most publications it grew continually
as its public grew, and altered its form by force of cir-
cumstance. The tiny monthly Journal issues of 1897, for

3. Ibid., Contained in the "Report of the International
President" for 1914, March number, pp.246-55.

Contained in the "Report of the International
President to the Fifteenth Convention I.A. of
M.", in Baltimore, Md., 1916, pp.738-45
(N.B. - 742).

4. Ibid., (Wharton was President of the R.E.D.)
April, pp.362-70.

example, were increased many times to assume the mammoth proportions of the 1919 issues. In the later copies, novels, educational articles, women's sections, reform platforms, debates, correspondence, and editorial and columnists' comments come to be balanced by International Presidents' reports, General Secretary-Treasurers' reports, convention proceedings, Vice Presidents', Organizers' and Business Agents' reports to make for a large and informative publication. Nevertheless, there are problems of communication, as, for example, at the beginning of our period when we find Holmes urging the Canadian membership to contribute in the space allotted to them on local affairs. The short-lived "Maples" column,⁽⁵⁾ or rather its short-lived revival (as it had existed previously), was the result. Near the end of our period, in the February issue for 1917, we find an article by Conlon called "A Message from Mars", in which the author claims that the Journal is alienating the ordinary member because of the predominance of official material and almost total absence of writing on matters of local interest.⁽⁶⁾

Any examination of the Canadian part of the union

5. This was a space devoted in the Journal to local Canadian news, from Canadian contributors.

6. MMJ, 1917, February number, pp.220-21.

must depend very heavily upon the reports of the Second Vice President (whose territory covered all of Canada and sometimes the adjacent New York and New England area),⁽⁷⁾ Business Agents and Organizers. We find, unfortunately, that at the beginning and end of our period these sources are only partial. In fact, in both we find ourselves entirely dependent on the reports of the Second Vice President. This is harmful even to a study of Holmes' period of office (1895-1904) even though the number of Canadian lodges was still quite small, but during the late War years it is a great handicap, the Business Agents' columns gradually fading out of existence (perhaps on instructions from the Grand Lodge),⁽⁸⁾ leaving all reporting to the Second Vice President. As if to make things even more difficult, the entire period in between frequently lacks full accounts of events. Organizers, for example, rarely report with any consistency (of some we learn of their

7. Especially before 1904. Later Pt. Huron came to be under his jurisdiction because of the railroad connection with Canada.

8. Ibid., May, 1914, Gibbins' words (B. A. for Toronto):
"The business agents have been warned that the sword has become mightier than the pen, and we must confine our report to half a page, so I humbly submit."
p.494;
Further examples of the effect of this demand:
pp.828-9, August, 1916, and p.466, April, 1918.

existence only through other correspondence),⁽⁹⁾ and consequently we have gaps in our knowledge of what was organized, where, and by whom.

This is a problem which becomes particularly acute, for example, when we try to find out anything about the Canadian west. Granted, the Second Vice Presidents' reports (whenever these individuals happened to go there, which was seldom)⁽¹⁰⁾ are useful, as is the odd letter from the Winnipeg region.⁽¹¹⁾ For the most part, however, the west seems to expand on its own with the occasional individual Second Vice President or Organizer McCallum giving us a bit of insight into its operation. Indeed, the west very early has its own district organization,⁽¹²⁾ and seems to have functioned quite independently of the east. Of

9. Ducharme is an excellent example. See, for example, Second Vice President McClelland's reports for August, September, and October of 1917, (pp.757, 837-8, and October of 1917, (pp.757, 837-8, and 927-8, respectively).

10. Ibid., For example, Champion's report of June, 1906, in which he declared that it had been a year and a half since he had been in Winnipeg. And he did not return with any great frequency afterward.

11. Ibid., Letter of February, 1902, pp.81-2 (Dated December 21, 1901) from Secretary-Treasurer of the General Committee to the Grand Lodge, on organizing efforts.

12. Ibid.

the Maritimes, by contrast, we know little because there was little activity out there until the War years, with the exception of the railway depots in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The limitations of the Journal, thus, are many. Furthermore, its point of view is obvious and must be balanced against information provided by other sources.

Other primary sources are not as relevant to a study of the I.A.M. as the Journal, but provide information on various specialized topics. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Report of the Proceedings is an excellent source for discovering what type of legislation I.A.M. delegates favoured, what official positions they held, and in what activities they took part. The Report of the Proceedings, The American Federation of Labor provides the same type of information on the union as a whole, but, as the American part of the movement lies outside the scope of this study, this source is of limited use. The Report of Labour Organization in Canada is an important statistical source of numbers of members and local bodies, as well as geographical distribution of these bodies. Thus, it provides us with a gauge with which to test the accuracy of statistics found in the Journal. The Labour Gazette is primarily

useful for a description of strikes and negotiations. Its accounts can be compared to those of the Journal and T.L.C. Proceedings. The Minutes of the General Executive Board are useful in the War years, occasionally, as a source for Canadian controversies which reached the Grand Lodge level.

The Census(es) of Canada are mainly useful for a description of the occupations and distribution of the Labour force. Their definitions of trades, however, are vague in this period and, thus, the volumes are of very limited use. The Statistical Year Book(s) of Canada are mainly useful for railway statistics, which they contain in abundance.

(Availability):

MMJ, I.A.M., Ottawa.

TLC-P, C.L.C., Ottawa.

AFL-P, C.L.C., Ottawa.

RLOC, C.L.C., Ottawa.

LG, C.L.C., Ottawa.

Census(es), P.A.C.

Statistical Year Book(s), P.A.C.

GEB-Minutes, I.A.M., Ottawa.

B. Bibliographies:

Labor History in the United States, General Bibliog-

raphy of American Labor History furnish some information on the I.A.M., but, of course, are concerned with the American part of the union. Primarily they are useful for background information on the labour movement in the United States.

Industrial and Labour Relations in Canada, a Selected Bibliography is primarily useful for background information on the trade union movement in Canada.

C. Secondary Sources:

Secondary sources, with the exception of the Perlman studies, are primarily useful for background information. The Machinists: A New Study in American Trade Unionism is the single most valuable book for a description of I.A.M. as a whole. The approach is historical, rather than 'present-centred', but the book has little direct information on the Dominion. Democracy in the International Association of Machinists is primarily concerned with the union in the present, but provides a thumb-nail sketch of the history of the I.A.M., and throws a great deal of light on the problems associated with the operation of the referendum.

A History of Transportation in Canada (Two Volumes) is an essential background work on the development of the railways in the Dominion and gives needed perspective to the

primary materials described above.

Canadian National Railways (Two Volumes) provides information on the political and economic aspects of railroad development (as does the above), but is inferior to the Glazebrook study for purposes of this study, because of its lack of detail and footnotes.

Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier (Two Volumes) provides an excellent background of the political activities of the period, but, it must be noticed, from a very sympathetic point of view.

Laurier, A Study in Canadian Politics, similarly, provides the political background of the period. It is reputedly a summary of the Skelton study (but sheds much light on Dafoe's opinions as well).

William Lyon Mackenzie King (Volume 1) is valuable primarily for the information it provides on King's role in early labour activities of the Canadian government.

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Fifth Census of Canada, 1911 (Ottawa, 1912, 1913,
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Sixth Census of Canada, 1921 (Ottawa, 1924, 1925,
1927, 1929).

2. Constitution of the International Association of
Machinists and Aerospace Workers
(Washington, D. C., 1965).

3. Minutes of the General Executive Board:

Mar. 10 to Mar. 17, 1914,
Dec. 28, 1914, to Jan. 3, 1915,
Mar. 29 to Apr. 5, 1915,
Aug. 16 to Aug. 24, 1915,
Feb. 14, 1916,
May 9, 1916,
July 10 to July 20, 1916,
May 28 to June 28, 1917,
Sept. 14 to Sept. 22, 1917,
Nov. 12 to Nov. 27, 1917,
Mar. 4 to Mar. 11, 1918,
July 15 to July 21, 1918,
Nov. 14 to Nov. 17, 1918,
Jan. 28 to Feb. 2, 1919,
Apr. 22 to Apr. 25, 1919,
Oct. 13 to Oct. 23, 1919,
Nov. 29 to Dec. 15, 1919.

(Found in the MMJ volume for the appropriate year.)

4. Monthly Journal of the International Association of
Machinists (Washington, D. C.)

Journals for: 1897, 1910,
1900, 1911,
1902, 1912,
1903, 1913,
1904, 1914,
1905, 1915,
1906, 1916,
1907, 1917,
1908, 1918, and
1909, 1919.

5. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Report of the Proceedings

Volumes for: 1883, 1896, 1907, 1918, and
1886, 1897, 1908, 1919.
1887, 1898, 1909,
1888, 1899, 1910,
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1890, 1901, 1912,
1891, 1902, 1913,
1892, 1903, 1914,
1893, 1904, 1915,
1894, 1905, 1916,
1895, 1906, 1917,

6. Report of the Proceedings, The American Federation of Labor

Volumes for: 1903, 1917,
1908, 1918, and
1910, 1919.
1912,

7. Report on Labour Organization in Canada

Volumes for: 1911, 1916,
1912, 1917,
1913, 1918, and
1914, 1919.
1915,

8. The Labour Gazette, "The Journal of the Department of Labour"

Volumes for:

1: Sept. 1900 - June 1901,	11: July 1910-June 1911,
2: July 1901 - June 1902,	12: July 1911-June 1912,
3: July 1902 - June 1903,	13: July 1912-June 1913,
4: July 1903 - June 1904,	14: July 1914-June 1915,
5: July 1904 - June 1905,	15: July 1914-June 1915,
6: July 1905 - June 1906,	16: July 1915-Dec. 1916,
7: July 1906 - June 1907,	17: Jan. - Dec. 1917,
8: July 1907 - June 1908,	18: 1918, and
9: July 1908 - June 1909,	19: 1919.
10: July 1909 - June 1910,	

9. The Statistical Yearbook of Canada,

(Ottawa, printed in year following in each case)

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1898, 1904, 1910, 1916,
1899, 1905, 1911, 1917,
1900, 1906, 1912, 1918, and
1901, 1907, 1913, 1919.
1902, 1908, 1914,

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 - (c) Neufeld, Maurice F., A Representative Bibliography of American Labor History (Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 1964).
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APPENDIX

MEMBERSHIP OF I. A. of M. AND DEATH & STRIKE BENEFITS PAID

<u>Year</u>	<u>Average Membership</u>	<u>Fiscal Period</u>	<u>Death Benefits</u>	<u>Fiscal Period</u>	<u>Strike Benefits</u>
1899	18,000	4-1-98 to 3-31-99	\$ 1,775.00	4-1-97 to 3-31-99	\$ 14,544.50
1900	22,500	4-1-99 to 3-30-00	2,725.00	4-1-99 to 3-31-00	31,883.89
1901	32,500	4-1-00 to 3-31-01	5,650.00	4-1-00 to 3-31-01	35,892.24
1902	35,500	4-1-01 to 3-31-02	7,650.00	4-1-01 to 3-31-02	168,639.36
1903	48,800	4-1-02 to 3-31-03	11,450.00	4-1-02 to 3-31-03	126,346.77
1904	55,700	4-1-03 to 6-30-04	25,776.00	4-1-03 to 6-30-04	192,642.43
1905	48,500	7-1-04 to 6-30-05	26,575.00	7-1-04 to 6-30-05	275,212.23
1906	50,000	7-1-05 to 6-30-06	29,375.00	7-1-05 to 6-30-06	143,069.58
1907	69,361	7-1-06 to 6-30-07	39,800.00	7-1-07 to 6-30-07	193,411.00
1908	57,091	7-1-07 to 6-30-08	51,900.00	7-1-07 to 6-30-08	389,094.50
1909	48,220	7-1-08 to 6-30-09	44,263.00	7-1-08 to 6-30-09	233,802.00
1910	60,970	7-1-09 to 6-30-10	44,710.00	7-1-09 to 6-30-10	195,925.29
1911	67,411	7-1-10 to 6-30-11	54,350.00	7-1-10 to 6-30-11	397,940.00
1912	61,338	7-1-11 to 6-30-12	55,300.00	7-1-11 to 6-30-12	470,445.50
1913	73,957	7-1-12 to 6-30-13	54,100.00	7-1-12 to 6-30-13	253,499.50
1914	74,206	7-1-13 to 6-30-14	63,591.08	7-1-13 to 6-30-14	201,836.00
1915	75,157	7-1-14 to 6-30-15	58,549.85	7-1-14 to 6-30-15	140,388.69
1916	105,400	7-1-15 to 5-31-16	62,831.52	7-1-15 to 5-31-16	-----
	TOTAL		\$640,371.56		\$3,626,890.58

Reference: MMJ, 1916, August number, p. 742.