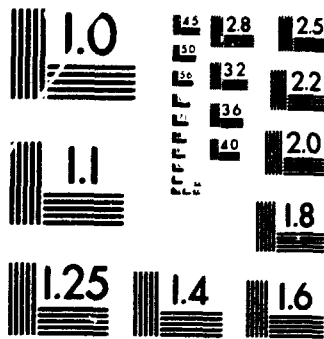


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**A HISTORY OF THE OTTAWA ALLIED TRADES AND LABOUR  
ASSOCIATION  
1897-1922**  
**A Study of Working-Class Resistance and Accommodation  
by the Craft Worker**

**by**

**Peggy J. Sykes, B.A.**

A thesis submitted to  
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

**Master of Arts**

**Department of History**

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"A HISTORY OF THE OTTAWA ALLIED TRADES AND LABOUR  
ASSOCIATION 1897-1922: A STUDY OF WORKING-CLASS  
RESISTANCE AND ACCOMMODATION BY THE CRAFT WORKER"

submitted by

Peggy J. Sykes, B.A. Honours, B.Ed.,

in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis is a history of the Ottawa Allied Trades and Labour Association in the years 1897 to 1922. The Association is a predecessor of the city's contemporary labour council, having merged with the CCL-chartered Ottawa-Hull National Labour Council in 1957 to form the Ottawa and District Trades and Labour Council, shortened soon thereafter to Ottawa and District Labour Council. In the years 1897 to 1922, the council derived its authority from its craft union membership, which was affiliated to the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress and the American Federation of Labor.

Trades and labour councils have been largely ignored in studies of Canadian labour history, particularly as a central theme. Nevertheless, because trades councils represent the collective voice of organized labour in a community, an examination of their histories provides valuable evidence to historians concerning working-class culture and ideology within Canada.

Recent studies have altered traditional interpretations of the events in Canadian labour history, particularly following World War I. It has been generally accepted that the radicalism of the working-class was confined primarily to the western regions. A re-interpretation postulates that the events of 1919 were nation-wide.

This thesis attempts to demonstrate that the Ottawa Allied Trades and Labour Association played a part in the working-class revolt of 1919, and that this radicalism was based upon prior experiences of collective bargaining and mobilization.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

What follows is a study of the Ottawa Allied Trades and Labour Association (ATLA) in the years 1897-1922. It has a two-fold purpose. Its first is functional in nature - it attempts to compile and organize the council's history in a systematic and chronological fashion, in relation to the community, Ottawa, in order to contribute to a growing body of literature in Canadian history. Its second purpose is to postulate that its craft workers were part of a nationwide revolt which developed in the early twentieth century to culminate in a "worker resistance movement" in 1919. Thus it is a study of working-class resistance and accommodation on the part of the ATLA and its affiliates. This involves a re-interpretation of theories prevalent in Canadian labour historiography.

Labour historiography essentially began with functional studies, which provided important documentation of the entire scope of the labour movement.<sup>1</sup> Logan, for example, provided a definition of trades and labour councils. He called these city centrals "municipal parliaments of labour". He outlined their major roles:

Purposely of loose organization, and supported by only a small *per capita* assessment, the trades [and labour] council deals with matters of the widest interest, ranging from politics to disputes between rival unions...On account of its impersonal nature,...it is the body which takes action in such matters as a violation of the Factories

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<sup>1</sup> Forsey, Trade-Unions in Canada, 1850-1902, (1982), and Logan, The History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada (1928) and Trade-Unions in Canada. Their Development and Functioning (1948). The second text is an update of the first one. Most of the material overlaps, but there are some distinctions.

Act, the securing of a fair wage schedule etc. It is the local rallying point for organization propagandising, its weight going against unaffiliated and other irregular or unrestrained forms of unionism. Broadly, the chief function is educative, in bringing together the leaders of labour who would otherwise be absorbed in the aims of their several crafts.<sup>2</sup>

Other historians such as Morton, Copp and Lipton produced interpretative narratives of the labour movement.<sup>3</sup> Both histories attested to the development of radicalism in the labour movement during the twentieth century. The Ottawa labour scene was scarcely mentioned.

However, examination of primary evidence indicates that the council developed an active labour movement in the city, and that the twentieth century was a period of strong growth for the Association.<sup>4</sup> It represented the international unions affiliated to the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress and the American Federation of Labor. In the early twentieth century, the DTLC represented only two per cent of the Canadian working population, but it was generally recognized as the strongest and most legitimate labour organization in the country. Nevertheless, its historic subordination to the American Federation of Labor subjected it to criticism from both members and historians.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Logan, The History of Trade Union Organization in Canada, (1928), p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> Morton with Copp, Working People, (1980) and Lipton, The Trade Union Movement of Canada 1827-1959 (1973).

<sup>4</sup> Ottawa and District Labour Council records were organized in 1986. Files of the Allied Trades and Association compile volumes 1-12. MG 28 I 236, PAC. For growth, see Table XX, "Number of Affiliations to the ATLA, with Size of Reported Membership and Number of Unions in Vicinity, 1911-1923", p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> See for example, Lipton, ibid, and Scott, Canadian Workers, American Unions (1978). In 1902 the Canadian Federation of Labour was formed "caused in part by the action of the Trades and Labour Congress, which, in amending its constitution, excluded from representation Knights of Labour branches, and national unions where internationals of the same craft existed; and in part by a desire on the part of its

The early twentieth century was a time of considerable labour unrest in Canada. The number of industrial conflicts peaked in 1919, with the Winnipeg General Strike the most documented of these.<sup>6</sup> Most literature has interpreted this postwar working-class revolt as a regional phenomenon, based on the frontier conditions of western Canada.<sup>7</sup> In recent years, newer studies which examined the historical experiences of labour in other parts of the country asserted that the 'radicalism' of Canadian labour was not confined primarily to the west, or to a class of workers known as frontier labourers.<sup>8</sup> This theory was spear-headed by labour historian Kealey in two studies, which asserted that in 1919 a nation-wide revolt occurred.<sup>9</sup>

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promoters to offer organized opposition to what they conceived to be an unwarranted attitude of the American Federation of Labor in maintaining a superior rather than a parallel jurisdiction to the Canadian Congress." Logan, *ibid.* p. 370.

<sup>6</sup> Examples are Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations, and the General Strike (1974) Bercuson, Fools and Wise Men: The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union (1978), Jamieson, Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-66 (1971) and McCormack, Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1889-1919 (1977).

<sup>7</sup> Bercuson, *ibid.*, McCormack, *ibid.*, Morton with Copp, *ibid.* and Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, 1880-1930 (1968).

<sup>8</sup> McCormack, "The Western Working-Class Experience" in Cherwinski and Kealey, eds., Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History (1985) pp. 115-126, McKay, "Strikes in the Maritimes," Acadiensis, 13, 1 (1983) pp. 3-46, Naylor, "Toronto, 1919", Historical Papers (1986) pp. 33-55, Conley, "Frontier Labourers, Crafts in Crisis and the Western Labour Revolt", Labour/Le Travail, 23 (1989) pp. 9-37, Reilly, "The General Strike in Amherst, Nova Scotia, 1919", Acadiensis, 9 (1980) and Heron and de Zwaan, "Industrial Unionism in Eastern Ontario: Gananoque, 1918-21", Ontario History, 77 (1985) pp. 159-182.

<sup>9</sup> Kealey, "1919: Canadian Labour Revolt", Labour/Le Travail, 13 (1984) pp. 11-44. The first article addressed the issue of east versus west in terms of worker radicalism, based on comparisons of regional testimonies to the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations in 1919. The second article was a national study of strikes, which demonstrated, among other things, that the Winnipeg General Strike did not stand in isolation. The historians stated, "The most dramatic strike wave consisted of the labour revolt of 1917-20. In those four years workers struck more frequently and in larger numbers than ever before in Canadian history". Kealey and Cruikshank, "Strikes in Canada, 1891-1950", Labour/Le Travail, 20, (1987) p. 109. Conley defined radicalism as "the support for socialist objectives, whether reformist or revolutionary, and support for the mobilization and collective action of workers as a class." Conley,

Both past and present interpretations do, however, agree on the continuity of radicalism between the prewar and postwar periods.<sup>10</sup> This is a subtle, but significant historical fact, indicating that class resistance in Canada was not an exceptional aberration during the postwar period, but rather continuous and ongoing. For this reason, the Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations in 1919, which was a response by government to working-class discontent, needs to be carefully considered. It outlined ten major grievances:

1. Unemployment and fear of unemployment.
2. High cost of living in relation to wages and the desire of workers for a larger share of the product of his labour.
3. Desire for shorter hours of labour.
4. Denial of right to organize and refusal to recognize unions.
5. Denial of collective bargaining.
6. Lack of confidence in constitutional authority.
7. Insufficient and poor housing.
8. Restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press.
9. Ostentatious display of wealth.
10. Lack of equal educational opportunities.<sup>11</sup>

These grievances unified class action in ways single strike issues did not.<sup>12</sup> Many of them were pertinent to the Ottawa labour

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ibid., p. 10. It cannot be argued that the Ottawa craft worker became as radical as, for example, the western Canadian coal-miners. See Seager, "Socialists and Workers: The Western Canadian Coal Miners, 1900-1921", Labour/Le Travail, 16 (1985) pp. 23-59. Nevertheless, the evidence indicates that the ATLA affiliates increasingly became more militant and sympathetic to collective industrial and political action as industrial conflict intensified in Canada throughout the century.

<sup>10</sup> See McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1889-1919, Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour Industrial Relations and the General Strike, Morton with Copp, ibid., p. 102, Reilly, ibid., and Kealey, ibid., p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Majority Report of Industrial Commission", July 5, 1919, p.1.

<sup>12</sup> Makohonuk, "Class Conflict in a Prairie City: The Saskatoon Working-Class Response to Prairie Capitalism, 1906-19", Labour/Le Travail, 19 (spring 1987) pp. 89-124. He stated that the testimony of the Saskatoon workers to the Commission on Industrial Relations demonstrated that they shared "similar class experiences with other

scene and will serve as an underlying theme for documenting class discontent and radicalism in the ATLA. Kealey concluded:

.....These examples are intended to demonstrate that the revolt was national in character and that its seeds were not rooted in any unique regional fermentation. The "radical" west and the conservative east have become sorry shibboleths of Canadian historiography.<sup>13</sup>

An important aspect of this resistance involved the role of the craft worker. Much of the basis for the theory of 'eastern conservative' versus 'western radical' was derived from the fact that craft organizations predominated in the east. Traditionally, the craft worker was seen as a conservative force in the labour movement, since his privileged position separated him from the majority of the working poor. But Conley's recent study of the craft and "skilled urban worker" in Vancouver from 1900 - 1919 demonstrated that the craft worker played a role in militant class action "hitherto unrecognized".<sup>14</sup> He too concluded that eastern workers were not as conservative as once thought.<sup>15</sup> Other studies have verified this perspective.<sup>16</sup>

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workers". He argued that its working-class was not weak between 1912-19. "In fact, it issued both an economic and political response to prairie capitalism which culminated in a sympathy strike for Winnipeg workers in 1919", pp. 89 and 90.

<sup>13</sup> Kealey, *ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Conley, *ibid.* He asserted that craft workers played a more radical role because their crafts were under attack. "Beginning in the late nineteenth century, changes in the organization of capitalist production, such as systematic management, mechanization, and specialization, threatened craft workers' skills, control over the workplace, and culture. This "crisis of the craftsman" led craft workers into struggles over control of the workplace and labour market, and in sometimes and places led them to adopt more inclusive forms of working-class organization and strategy to replace a failing craft unionism, and to actively support labourist and socialist politics." p. 11. For a similar interpretation of class action based on the crafts, see Makahonuk, *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Conley, *ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Frank and Reilly, "The Emergence of the Socialist Movement in the Maritimes," *Labour/Le Travail*, 4 (1979) pp. 85-113; Reilly, *ibid.*; Heron and Palmer, "Through

The "crisis of the craftsman" originated from a transition in Canadian capitalism frequently referred to in labour historiography as the "second Industrial Revolution".<sup>17</sup> Heron and Storey defined transitions such as these as "social structures of accumulation", which shifted "configurations of economic activity, class formations and conflict, and state intervention."<sup>18</sup> They postulated that there were three stages of economic development in Canada. Early settlement and an agricultural society until 1850 was known as independent commodity production. From 1850 - 1890 there was the rise of industrial capitalism. The final stage was termed "the consolidation of monopoly capitalism" covering the years 1890 - 1940.<sup>19</sup>

The second industrial revolution, then, involved the development of monopoly capitalism. Many of the economic changes of this stage occurred in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Some characteristics of this period were the creation of new industries, such as meatpacking, steel, auto, chemicals, pulp and paper and electrical goods. This was accompanied by the centralization of capital, the period 1906 - 1913 being distinguished by an unprecedented number of mergers in Canadian manufacturing establishments.<sup>20</sup> These developments caused significant changes in

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the Prism of the Strike: Industrial Conflict in Southern Ontario, 1901-14," Canadian Historical Review, 58 (1977) pp. 423-58, Heron and de Zwaan, ibid; and Kealey, ibid. For an article that stresses the persistence of craft labour segmentation see Heron, "The Crisis of the Craftsman: Hamilton's Metal Workers in the Early Twentieth Century", Labour/Le Travail, 6 (1980) pp. 7-48.

<sup>17</sup> Cruikshank and Kealey, ibid, p. 88, Roberts, "Toronto Metal Workers and the II Industrial Revolution", Labour/Le Travail, 6 (1980) and Heron, The Canadian Labour Movement, (1989), p. 31.

<sup>18</sup> Heron and Storey, "Introduction" On the Job in Canada: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada, (1986) p.4.

<sup>19</sup> ibid, pp. 5-6.

<sup>20</sup> Naylor, The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914, Volume II: Industrial Development, (1975).



labour processes.<sup>21</sup> The new processes destroyed old craft occupations, resulting in a "homogenization" of the workforce, where greater numbers of unskilled occupations were created.<sup>22</sup>

The transition to monopoly capitalism affected Ottawa's economy in two ways. The first involved transportation and trading markets. In 1892, Ottawa industrialists had hoped to control the railway link to the Great Lakes. Control of this line would have meant the city was the centre of trunk lines leading eastwards to Montreal and the Atlantic, and southwards to the United States. A manufacturing industry would have grown around the repair and car shops of the railways. This prospect of development was dependent upon the Canada Central Railway. Its control, however, fell into the hands of Montreal interests, which "patched" Ottawa into the Brockville and Ottawa system. Thus, while Ottawa was still a rail centre, its trade continued to be siphoned off through Brockville, and a manufacturing core failed to emerge.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Edwards, Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century, (1979), Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (1974), Rinehart, The Tyranny of Work, Alienation and the Work Process (1987), Roberts, "Artisans, Aristocrats and Handyman: Politics and Trade Unionism among Toronto Skilled Building Trades Workers, 1896-1914", Labour/Le Travail, 1 (1976) pp. 92-121, and Palmer, "Class, Conception and Conflict: The Thrust for Efficiency, Managerial Views of Labour and the Working-Class Rebellion, 1903-22", in Review of Radical Economics, 7, 2, (1975) pp. 31-49.

<sup>22</sup> The term "homogenization" is from an economic theory devised by three American economists who contended that the development of capitalism resulted in three phases and types of working-classes. The first was initial proletarianization, the second was homogenization and the third was segmentation of the work-force. Homogenization covered the period from 1890 -1930 correlating to Heron and Storey's stage of monopoly capitalism. Homogenization described is "the result of mechanization, greater use of foremen to supervise workers and decreasing reliance on skilled labour. Mechanization involved as much, or more, a social as a technical dynamic...Where they (employers) had previously relied on the coordinative as well as technical skills of craft workers, employers now had to provide new systems of effecting coordination in order to reduce their dependence on craft workers' technical skills." Gordon, Edwards and Reich, Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States, (1982) p. 114. The theory addressed the persistent divisions existing among American working-classes and is illuminating in its historical account of the objective interplay between capitalist and labour processes.

<sup>23</sup> Taylor, Ottawa, An Illustrated History, (1986) pp. 77 and 79.

Ottawa's major private industry was the timber trade. Declining quality of timber in the late nineteenth century had a negative effect on the local economy. However, the development of the pulp and paper process helped to provide a transition to new markets. This change was marked by a concentration in mill ownership and by a declining work-force in the mills over the course of the twentieth century. Most "spin-off" industries depended either upon the rail or timber industry, and thus Ottawa's economy failed to come to terms with industrial development. Over the course of twenty years, a new "class formation" emerged; craft occupations declined while a new class of workers emerged from the civil service industry.

During the same period of history, an ideology known as "labourism" spread across Canada. Heron viewed this as an expression of working-class insurgency. He defined it as a "resistance movement", not a "revolutionary challenge".<sup>24</sup> Craft workers opposed to the re-shaping of society formed a political movement that spawned workers as "labour candidates" in electoral campaigns sporadically throughout the country between 1880 and 1920. He saw labourism as "a distinct ideological form in Canadian politics, differing from agrarian populism, contemporary liberalism and socialism, and the brand of social democracy which emerged after 1930".<sup>25</sup> The social composition of the movement was "thoroughly proletarian" consisting, nevertheless, of one working-class sub-culture, the crafts.

The leadership and active membership of the labourist cause came almost entirely from this group of printers, carpenters, plumbers, cigarmakers, moulders, coal miners and so on. In fact, there was usually a great overlap in personnel between the local craft-

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<sup>24</sup> Heron, "Labourism and the Canadian Working Class", in Labour/Le Travail, 13 (spring 1984), pp. 45-76.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p. 45.

dominated trades and labour council ... and the same community's Labour Party.<sup>26</sup>

What particularly distinguished this labourist ideology were the methods it advocated in state-craft. In a sense, these reforms defined its ideology more than its political theory, which was both "ideologically woolly" and "practical".

Not surprisingly, then, these people, like the artisans and *sans-culottes* of the more distant past, were the bearers of the natural rights traditions which flowed from the great democratic revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries...Political life, they believed, should be thoroughly re-invigorated with proportional representation, referenda, a more democratic franchise which included women, the abolition of that house of "privilege" the Senate (and its provincial counterparts the legislative councils) and the sweeping away of all property qualifications and election deposits. In their idealized, liberal view of the state, they argued that all citizens should have full access to a neutral apparatus which could serve an undefined common good. Here was the purest legacy of Jacobin democracy.<sup>27</sup>

These current theories are upheld by the results of the study on the Ottawa ATLA. A strong undercurrent of radicalism emerged in the council, originating from the building and metal crafts. In the prewar period, the denial of the right to organize, and the refusal by employers to recognize unions and procedures of collective bargaining, led to a militancy which spilled over into the political arena in support for the labourist movement. The effects of war

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

mobilization and conscription directed labour's grievances toward the state. The result was the more complete political organization of the eastern labour movement - the west having previously been the focus of political action.<sup>28</sup>

Increased political activity created schisms in the ranks of labour. Factions differed on the role the labour organizations should play in politics. But an even more radical perspective emerged when workers attempted to politicize the trade-union movement by general strikes.<sup>29</sup> A "clarion cry for change" was led in many cases by the rank-and-file, who challenged their traditional leadership.<sup>30</sup> Toronto Trades and Labour Council, for example, led their workers out on a general strike in 1919. But it took the election of a left-wing faction on the council for the strike to be called. Since many striking workers belonged to the crafts, whose organizations opposed sympathy strikes, the strike took on a political aspect involving trade-union leadership and strategy.

Defeats tend to obscure historic possibilities and the fact that events in Toronto lacked the dramatic climax that was seen in Winnipeg has distorted our understanding of the postwar crisis in Canadian class relations. While questions of working-class strategy and leadership were widely debated before 1914, the war posed these problems in sharp

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<sup>28</sup> Robin, "Registration, Conscription and Independent Labour Politics, 1916-1917" in Conscription 1917, eds., Cook, Brown and Berger, n.d., p. 71. Kealey contradicts Robin in one aspect. He argued that during the 1917 DTLC convention only nine delegates fully supported the executive's decision not to resist conscription, while the nineteen speakers who opposed "included eleven eastern delegates and eight westerners." Kealey, ibid, p. 35. The resistance to conscription traditionally was seen as a radical west versus a conservative east.

<sup>29</sup> see McCormack, ibid, Makahonuk, ibid, Reilly, ibid, Kealey, ibid and Naylor, "Toronto, 1919", Historical Papers (1986) pp. 33-55.

<sup>30</sup> Rank-and-file revolt at this point concerns an overlap between economics and politics. Kealey is referring to strikes when he states that the "1919 insurgency was a rank-and-file revolt. In many cases, workers simply ignored their leaders". Kealey and Cruikshank, ibid, pp. 112-113.

relief. The deep schisms which have come to be seen as regional in nature - between a radical West and a conservative East - were no less apparent within the Toronto labour movement.<sup>31</sup>

Ottawa played a still less dramatic role, but these divisions also surfaced in its labour movement, and the postwar period proved fraught with change and conflict. Labourism across Canada, however, died out as a significant force by 1925 when declining craft employment affected trade-union treasuries.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the frustration expressed by some Ottawa workers caused by this decline demonstrates how deeply committed craft workers were to their alternative politics.

Kealey noted that more studies of the "eastern situation" were required to shed light on this new perspective of labour history.<sup>33</sup> This thesis is such a study, and it confirms this revision in labour historiographical theory. Over the course of twenty-five years, the ATLA broadened its mandate to encompass workers from other sectors of the economy, but market constraints curtailed this expansion. Its small size did not detract from the validity of its class resistance and radicalism. In the prewar period, much of this resistance was centred on local industrial conflicts and politics, while in the reconstruction period the skilled worker directed his resistance towards the state.

Trades and labour councils pursued programs orienting around organization, strike support and political action. The format of this thesis is based on this program.

The purpose of Chapter One, "The Economic Conditions of Culture", is to place the ATLA in relation to the local economy in order to provide a macro-economic context for discussing the council's

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<sup>31</sup> Naylor, *ibid.* p. 55.

<sup>32</sup> Heron, *ibid.* p. 70.

<sup>33</sup> Kealey, *ibid.* p. 15.

history. Ottawa's industrial sector declined over the course of twenty years; this decline was offset by growth in the federal civil service. The first decade was economically prosperous because the lumber industry began a last period of expansion based on the new industry of pulp and paper. Development of this product was characterized by a concentration in mill ownership. Entrepreneurs also responded to changes in the timber trade with an emphasis on production efficiency. These factors threatened the livelihood of craft occupations. The chapter also assesses living conditions, particularly points two and five of the Industrial Commission's report concerning the high cost of living and insufficient housing, in order to determine if there was a basis for working-class discontent. The chapter attempts to demonstrate that there were indeed conditions of oppression that unified the working-class.

Chapter Two, "Ottawa Workers Respond to Capitalism", is a detailed exploration of membership and internal administration with material drawn from the ATLA records and constitution. Examples are given of the service provided by the council for its members, outside of strike support and political action. Other material shows that the council communicated with labour groups across the country, illustrating the development of class consciousness. The political legislation determining trade-union rights are briefly outlined to show that worker responses to capitalism were legally constrained. General patterns in membership are discussed in relation to changes in the council's mandate. Local economic conditions are also an integral part of the chapter, detailing the crises the skilled workers faced, as well as the increasing responsibility they assumed for the unskilled. Evidence demonstrates that the building and metal trades locals expressed dissatisfaction with procedures and leadership in the postwar years which proves that the debate over strategy and leadership reached

Ottawa.<sup>34</sup> What is particularly significant about this internal revolt was that it originated in the metal and building trades locals, which were founding members of the ATLA. This democratic dissent lasted until 1922. Tremendous organizing efforts were made in the reconstruction period but were virtually wiped away by the postwar depression of 1921.

Chapter Three, "The Strike Weapon", attempts to measure the relative radicalism of the Ottawa skilled worker by comparing Labour Gazette strike data with two other Canadian cities, Quebec City, Quebec and Victoria, British Columbia, which had similar occupational groupings as well as being provincial capital cities with a civil service. These findings are then compared to Kealey and Cruikshank's national study, in order to test and correlate the results of both the local and national studies. The strike data are interpreted to determine what caused conflict. Four key aspects of the Report on Industrial Relations surfaced in Ottawa - desire for shorter hours of labour; denial of the right to organize and the refusal to recognize unions; denial of collective bargaining; and lack of confidence in constituted authority. The findings indicate that employers were also resistant to changes that affected shop-floor control and pay-roll. Wages increases granted by the employer were often later followed by wage reductions. The result of this frustration of union and worker rights was an intensified militancy on the part of the building and metal trades, where bitter industrial disputes often arose. In the postwar period, the building trades developed a more inclusive form of bargaining in the construction business, while the Ottawa Electric Railway workers almost

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<sup>34</sup> The records of the ATLA have gaps in its early history. For example, Minutes began at 1907. Labour columns in the newspapers were sporadic and summarized. In 1918, the ATLA established a labour newspaper, which reported on local affairs and council meetings. Therefore, there was much more data available in the years 1919-1921. The author has attempted to counter-balance both periods, but at times there is more emphasis on the postwar period than the prewar period. Nevertheless, issues like the internal revolt were recorded in the Minutes, while records before this time were clear of this type of dissension.

precipitated a general strike by challenging the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. The chapter attempts to prove that many Ottawa skilled workers developed a militant, collectively-based perspective and that the experiences of strike activity revitalized an impetus for political action.

The final chapter, "Trials and Tribulations of Political Action", is an exploration of the council's activities from the perspective of the labourist ideology. The Association had little success at the polls, although an avid interest in politics existed in the Ottawa craft labour scene from its earliest days. During the Great War the ATLA, like most eastern trades and labour councils, limited itself to calling for a conscription of wealth before manpower. Only once did the records refer to a discussion about national registration. The council supported the war effort by investing in war bonds, and many craft workers enlisted. The relation of conscription to Ontario labour's political mobilization after the war is discussed. A debate evenly divided the council over the direction of political action, which tended to nullify the impact of political work. The decline of economic sectors creating employment for the Ottawa craft worker shrank by 1921, and the radicalism and class consciousness of the council died away. Lack of resources curtailed any attempt to run provincial or federal labour candidates. However, some long-term success was achieved with various council delegates being elected to municipal office in the 1920s.

The conclusion reiterates the major findings of the chapters and relates these to the current theory that postulates that the working-class of the entire country faced similar conditions created by the transition to monopoly capitalism. Despite regional variations and isolation, Canada's workers developed a class perspective which became part of their value system, and which was not merely a temporary aberration of expression in the reconstruction years. It reinforces the perspective that the craft worker played a major, and "hitherto unrecognized", role in the militancy of working-class protest in the twentieth century.



## CHAPTER ONE

### The Economic Conditions of Culture

This chapter is a macro-economic analysis of Ottawa between 1890 and 1922. Ottawa's economic structure is reviewed by examining the decline and centralization of its industrial sector and the growth of its service sector. An overview of the Ottawa worker's material culture is provided in order to substantiate causes for working-class radicalism in the ATLA in the twentieth century. This establishes valuable background for understanding the history of the council. Founded in 1897, the Association was the dominant labour organization in Ottawa, representing approximately one in fifteen working people in 1911, and one in nine by 1921, if the civil service sector is excluded from the estimate.<sup>1</sup> Its membership originated from four areas of Ottawa's economy - the building trades, the printing trades, trades in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, and the transportation sector, with a small number of unions from the personal and domestic sector.<sup>2</sup> During the same period, Ottawa's population grew from approximately sixty thousand in 1901 to one hundred and eight thousand by 1921.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ratios are based on Table VII, "Workers by Age Periods and Sex, Ottawa, 1911", p. 135, Table VIII, "Workers by Age Periods and Sex, Ottawa, 1921", p. 136 and Table XX, "Number of Affiliations to the Ottawa ATLA, with Size of Reported Membership and Number of Unions in Vicinity, 1911-1923", p. 150. The civil service was excluded because few unions were organized in this sector. However, the personal and domestic sector (in which many women worked) was included. If it was excluded, the ratio would be one in eleven workers in 1911 and one in five by 1921.

<sup>2</sup> See Table III, "Occupational Graph, Ottawa, 1911-1931", p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Table I, "Population Growth in Ottawa, 1891-1931", p. 129.

Between 1870 and 1900, Ottawa was a major lumber centre in Canada.<sup>4</sup> Most businesses in the area grew directly from the lumber industry. Factories manufactured finished wood products such as furniture, sashes, doors and laths. Grist mills and abbatoirs were common in the area, and a small service industry grew around the wholesale grocery trade.

At this point in time, Ottawa was very much a working-man's town, with its work-force centred around the mills. Urban historian Taylor described this life:

In the Ottawa mills, men were apparently engaged at a weekly salary (\$7 to \$9.50 per week in 1890). The usual work day was eleven-and-a-half hours, with forty-five minutes for lunch; the work week (1890) averaged close to sixty hours, with varying arrangements for full or half-days on Saturday. But the work was seasonal. From the arrival of the first booms and barges, following the opening of navigation, the mills, drying yards, and loading docks operated virtually non-stop through the daylight hours of summer and autumn until ice closed navigation. Through the winter, the mills were largely quiescent, and the bulk of workers dismissed. The new season could begin, from management's point of view, with a virtually clean slate. The mill workers, however, unlike the woods workers, were sedentary, usually living in nearby LeBreton Flats or in Hull, and propinquity at least gave them the potential of organizing. This sense of community seems to have been an

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<sup>4</sup> Gillis, "Ottawa and Hull 1870-1930: A Description and Analysis of Their Industrial Structure", pp. 13-14 in Ottawa-Hull. Spatial Perspectives and Planning, edited by Wesche and Kugler-Gagnon (1978).

important element in the Chaudière Strike of September and October of 1891.<sup>5</sup>

The economy, however, was overly dependent on the timber trade, and a major cause for the local depression of 1893 was over-production. Ottawa lumber barons turned to production efficiency and diversification as a cure for this problem. Some moved into the area of transportation. The outcome was the Canadian Atlantic Railway which, along with the C.P.R., established Ottawa as a rail centre "of some importance".<sup>6</sup> This development was accompanied by increased investment in Ottawa's thirteen foundries and machine shops, such as the Ottawa Car Company. Between 1901 and 1911, these thirteen manufactories increased capital from \$453,303 to \$1,841,755.<sup>7</sup> While the number of managers increased from twenty-seven to fifty-five, the actual work force grew from three hundred and forty to four hundred and eighty-five, changing the ratio of one manager for every twelve workers in 1901 to one manager for every nine workers in 1911.<sup>8</sup> These foundries and machine shops were a major area of unionization for the metal trades. Over the course of the twentieth century, the moulder and machinist found his labour increasingly specialized and fragmented. New machinery took over the repetitive parts of his former task, and machine operators

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<sup>5</sup> Taylor, Ottawa. An Illustrated History (1986) p. 84. The Chaudière strike was one of the largest strikes to occur in Canada at this time. Twenty-four hundred men struck the lumber mills of Ottawa and Hull at the region known as *Chaudière*. The demands were for the rescission of a wage cut and a shorter work day. The strike was undertaken without trade-union organization and lasted five weeks. It attracted the support of both craft and industrial unionists. Its most significant feature was that it won the support of the community despite language, religion and political differences. McKenna, "Unorganized Labour versus Management: The Strike at the Chaudière Lumber Mills, 1891", Social History/Histoire Sociale, V, 10, (November 1972) p. 186.

<sup>6</sup> Gillis, ibid., p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Table IV, "Type of Manufactories, Ottawa, 1901" and Table V, "Type of Manufactories, Ottawa, 1911", pp. 132 and 133.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

acquired a proficiency and speed made possible by the repetition of the machinery.<sup>9</sup>

Another area of diversification was hydro-electric power. At the turn of the century, the Bronson family divested most of their interest in lumber and turned to this area in the hope of attracting industry to Ottawa on the promise of cheap power-sources. But most companies turned down offers to locate because they did not trust a rival industrial interest as a supplier.<sup>10</sup>

The essential problem in the woods industry was the decline of first-class timber. In 1888, however, E.B. Eddy made a breakthrough by manufacturing mechanical and chemical pulp. This process was the first step in deriving paper from wood, and it used low quality logs. It led to a last great expansion in the lumber industry, which was characterized a concentration in mill ownership.<sup>11</sup>

By 1908, pulp mills were in abundance, and some paper plants were built as well. This indirectly, along with federal government expansion, created employment in the printing industry. In 1901, six printing and bookbinding businesses employed two hundred and seventy-seven wage-earners. By 1911, ten firms employed around one thousand and three hundred wage-earners.<sup>12</sup> One example was the Rollo Crain Company, which manufactured paperprinting and supplies. In 1908, it merged with Copeland and Chatterson Companies. Cited as one of the city's largest acquisitions, the new firm, with offices in Ottawa, Toronto and Brantford, was capitalized at one million dollars.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, printing and publishing

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<sup>9</sup> Heron, "The Crisis of the Craftsman: Hamilton's Metal Workers in the Early Twentieth Century", Labour/Le Travail 6 (1980) p.20.

<sup>10</sup> Gillis, ibid. p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> ibid. After 1890, a number of mills closed down and few new entrepreneurs entered the business. The fire of 1900 which started in Hull and swept over to Chaudière and LeBreton Flats emphasized this still more. Only Eddy and Booth Companies rebuilt plants there, primarily for pulp and paper production. So, while production increased, the number of mills decreased and the industry shrank to three or four large manufacturing complexes.

<sup>12</sup> Tables IV and V, pp. 132 and 133.

<sup>13</sup> The Ottawa Citizen, "Ottawa Concern in Big Merger", April 7, 1908, p.1.

firms declined between 1901 and 1911, from thirteen to six. While the number of salaried employees increased from seventy-two to one hundred and forty-five, the number of wage-earners decreased from six hundred and fifty-eight to two hundred and eighty-six.<sup>14</sup> These industries and the Government Printing Bureau were a major area of unionization for the printing trades.

Following the Eddy Company's trend, many of Ottawa's saw-mills changed to production processes that used lower-quality timber. Larger factories produced sashes and doors, furniture boxes and fibre-ware. Hence lumber product firms increased capital from \$390,500 in 1901 to \$972,560 in 1911, and increased the number of wage-earners from two hundred people to three hundred and seventy-seven people.<sup>15</sup> The ratio of management staff to worker actually declined from approximately one for seven in 1901 to one for every twenty-two workers in 1911. However, the salaries of this staff in 1911 represented almost double the salary received by the larger staff in 1901.<sup>16</sup> The lumber product firms and saw-mills were also an area from which the ATLA gained membership. These "inside wood-workers" were organized by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

As a result, Ottawa enjoyed an economic prosperity in the first decade of the twentieth century. Employment rose, and a modest real estate boom occurred, with much subsequent building. The building trades sector employed thirty-two hundred workers; this dropped to twenty-one hundred by 1921.<sup>17</sup> Manufactures of plumbing and steamfitting increased their capital as well, the number of wage-earners changing from ninety-four to two hundred and sixty-

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<sup>14</sup> Tables IV and V, pp. 132 and 133.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* From approximately \$800.00 a year to around \$1500.00. For a comparative example, printers made \$14.00 a week in 1901, and \$16.50 in 1911. Table XVII, "Weekly Wages and Hours in the Ottawa Printing Trades, 1901-1920", p. 145.

<sup>17</sup> Table III, p. 131. Unlike other sectors, the building trades recovered to its prewar figure by 1931.

seven.<sup>18</sup> One industry which declined was textiles, reduced to half its size by 1911, with a work-force reduction of around five hundred people.<sup>19</sup>

This apparently healthy economic situation masked a serious structural weakness. The lumber industry made no serious investment in tree regeneration, and after 1902 production in lumber had dropped sharply.<sup>20</sup> By 1920, the saw-mill industry left the city and moved to the edge of the timberlines.

Ottawa's failure to become a major industrial centre produced a characteristic that differed from other Canadian cities during this period. While many experienced 'boom and bust' cycles, Ottawa enjoyed a slower, more stable growth. Although the city was affected by the frequent depressions of capitalism, its non-existent industrial sector meant the city attracted fewer transients to work as unskilled labour in its factories. The Report of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment in 1916 concluded:

Ottawa fills so small a place in the manufactures and merchandising of the Province, that industrial depression does not swell the number of her vagrants as it does in Hamilton and Toronto. The distinction of Ottawa lies in an abnormal absence of vagrants in the prime of life.<sup>21</sup>

A declining industrial sector was offset by the growth in federal and other government services. In 1911, fifty-nine hundred people were employed in the civil and municipal governments.<sup>22</sup> By 1921, the number almost doubled with eleven thousand and five hundred

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<sup>18</sup> Tables IV and V, pp. 132 and 133.

<sup>19</sup> ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Gillis, ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Report of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment, (1916) p. 107.

<sup>22</sup> Table III, p. 131.

people employed.<sup>23</sup> The growth of this service sector created an opportunity for working women. In 1911, approximately two thousand women worked in the civil service. Ten years later, there were around six thousand women working in this area.<sup>24</sup> These were the elite of working women. Only teachers and telegraph (not telephone) operators made a higher wage. In 1921, the federal and provincial government offices in Ottawa paid \$18.44 a week. The municipal government paid \$18.03 a week, while other office clerks could make \$17.44 a week.<sup>25</sup> With these wages, young single women established a new life-style, many insisting on their own apartments.<sup>26</sup> They faced strong patriarchal values that ghettoized them in terms of mobility. Promotions were saved for the family man. Other evidence indicated that the civil servant was on a fixed income that barely kept up with the cost of living. For example, in 1920, approximately three hundred federal postal employees affiliated to the ATLA. One of its first moves was to ask all civil servants who moonlighted as musicians or waitresses to join the union.<sup>27</sup>

Most women worked within a secondary labour market, where wages were low, hours long and formal contractual relations non-existent. Many worked in the personal and domestic sector. In 1911, of forty-seven hundred workers employed in this industry, around

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid.* This increased by only a thousand by 1931. Canada financed the First World War by loans. By 1930, she had paid only \$71,000,000 on the War debt, still owing \$2,177,764,000. Brown, The History of Canadian War Finance, 1914-1920, (1940) p. 21.

<sup>24</sup> Table VII, "Workers by Age Periods and Sex, Ottawa, 1911" and Table VIII, "Workers by Age Period and Sex, 1921", pp. 135 and 136.

<sup>25</sup> Table XVIII, "Average Weekly Earnings of Females, and Hours Worked, 1921, Ottawa, Quebec City and Victoria", p. 146.

<sup>26</sup> Young Women's Christian Association, Annual Report, 1921-1922, Ottawa. The Ottawa YWCA kept a registry of appropriate living establishments for young working women in the city. These were usually boarding houses. The organization also maintained a permanent residence of its own. In its annual report, the Board of Directors noted that the number of permanent girls in Residence had declined, for there was now a "tendency for increased apartment living", p. 19.

<sup>27</sup> ATLA, Minutes, October 15, 1920.

three thousand and thirty were women.<sup>28</sup> In 1921, this declined to around twenty-eight hundred women.<sup>29</sup> Housekeepers made \$7.87 a week; those in domestic and personal service made \$6.70 a week.<sup>30</sup> In 1911 there were sixteen hundred women employed in the manufacturing sector, and over two-thirds of this number (one thousand sixty-four) worked in textiles, one of the poorest areas for unionization.<sup>31</sup> By 1921, half of this number working in textiles shifted to the woods industry.<sup>32</sup>

In 1921, around two hundred and fifty women worked in the printing-trades, employed as compositors, bookbinders, engravers, presswomen and plate-printers.<sup>33</sup> A female printer's average weekly wage was \$12.45 compared to \$35.00 - \$38.00 a week for men.<sup>34</sup> By 1919, most of the printing trades unions had equal wages for women inserted as part of their demands.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, when the Bookbinders' Union received a wage increase from \$22.00 to \$30.00 a week in June 1919, the women received only \$13.50 a week.<sup>36</sup> In the leather crafts, women also earned about half of a man's wage. Men made \$18.00 a week working fifty-three to sixty hours a week. Women made \$9.00 to \$14.00 a week working forty-eight to fifty-nine hours a week.<sup>37</sup>

The ATLA steadily added to its membership over the first two decades of the twentieth century. In its early years, membership was drawn almost exclusively from the crafts. Then "urban skilled workers", such as tailors, electric street railway men and theatrical

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<sup>28</sup> Table VII, p. 135.

<sup>29</sup> Table VIII, p. 136.

<sup>30</sup> Table XVIII, p. 146.

<sup>31</sup> Table VII, p. 135.

<sup>32</sup> Table VIII, p.136.

<sup>33</sup> Table XIX, "Occupations and Earnings of Females, Ottawa, 1921", pp. 147-149.

<sup>34</sup> Tables XVII and XVIII, pp. 145 and 146.

<sup>35</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "local reports", Printing Pressmen's demands to employer included equal wages for women. June 7, 1919, p.3.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., "local reports", June 28, 1919, p.3.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., "local reports", April 17, 1920, p.3.



stage employees were encompassed. By 1912, membership included municipal workers and mill workers. By the end of World War I, the ATLA organized sectors involving women, such as the retail trade, telephone operators and the restaurant trade. Large unions comprised of male unskilled workers were also formed.<sup>38</sup>

Two sociological barriers that retarded the unity of the Ottawa labour movement were the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism, and the conflict between an indigenous French population (centred in the Ottawa and By Wards) and the Anglo population that quickly gained dominance in the rest of the city. The ATLA was an organization that conducted large union meetings in a bilingual format, and the craft unions of Hull and Ottawa were fraternally joined. Nevertheless, the great majority of the French-speaking population was employed in a secondary labour market, where the rate of unionization was extremely low.

To sample the ethnic and residential composition of the ATLA membership, two hundred and sixty-four addresses of trade-union secretaries were selected from the Directory of Labour Organization and the Ottawa City Directory from 1906 to 1923, and located onto a city map.<sup>39</sup> The great majority of secretaries, ninety-one, resided in the working-class district of Dalhousie Ward. Combined with eleven secretaries who lived in the smaller, adjoining ward, Victoria, this indicated that a little less than half (one hundred and two) lived in this area.<sup>40</sup> Urban historian Taylor referred to Dalhousie as "the most complex in its development".<sup>41</sup> Dalhousie was an extension of LeBreton Flats and was centred on the Chaudière mills. It was initially dominated by Anglo-Protestants, who were

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<sup>38</sup> Table XXI, "Ottawa Allied Trades and Labour Association, Membership by Union Locals, 1897-1923", pp. 151-158. Membership will be explored in more detail in chapter two.

<sup>39</sup> Table IX, "Ward Distribution of Selected Trade-Union Secretaries, Ottawa Map, 1911", p. 137.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Taylor, *ibid.*, p. 126.

displaced by French and Irish Catholics in the twentieth century. Despite sharing a religion, these two groups never attended the same church. English and Scotch ethnicities were in a minority. Taylor concluded that while these wards offered the "potential of class-based activity", a "stagnant industrial sector seemed to vitiate them."<sup>42</sup> Sixty-seven addresses fell in Wellington Ward and twelve in Central Ward. The more recently annexed Capital Ward had thirty-two resident union men. The English, Scotch and Anglo-Irish tended to congregate in these areas. The wards were "characterized by high educational levels and superior living standards."<sup>43</sup> The Irish-Catholics, on the other hand, were scattered throughout the city.<sup>44</sup> There were twenty-two trade-union secretaries located in Ottawa Ward and twelve in By Ward. These wards were heavily populated by French residents, with a smaller proportion of Irish and even fewer English. St. George's Ward, a newer, more diversified area, contained thirteen of the addresses sampled. It essentially became populated with government and civil service workers. Four of the addresses were in Rideau Ward, another newer, middle-class ward. The evidence indicated that the majority of trade-union membership in the ATLA was predominantly of Irish and Anglo origin. A fairly significant number of secretaries resided within the Ottawa and By Wards, where most French-Canadians lived. While the vast majority was concentrated in decidedly working-class districts, a sizeable figure resided in middle-class areas, which perhaps led to a dissipation and diversity of local class interests.

Throughout the twentieth century, working-class discontent manifestly increased. "The incredible price stability of the nineteenth century gradually vanished" to be replaced with inflation.<sup>45</sup> In 1919 the federal government responded with an

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Morton with Copp, *Working People*, (1980) p. 102.

Industrial Commission. After conducting hearings across the country, the commission published its report.

A few of its points concerning living conditions will be discussed in terms of Ottawa. When Census reports on the number of employed are broken down by age, it becomes readily apparent that the social unit of Ottawa reflected the family-wage ideology. Employment was concentrated among males from ages of twenty to forty years.<sup>46</sup> When the 1921 Census report on family earnings was broken down and examples selected from bookbinders, carpenters, railway conductors and mill employees, it appeared that the average household consisted of husband, wife and three to four dependents.<sup>47</sup>

The living conditions of the general working-class were precarious at best. The steady rise in the cost of living in this twenty-five year period haunted the worker. The average weekly wage of a factory labourer was constantly below the cost of an average weekly budget that accounted for food, fuel and lighting, and rent.<sup>48</sup> The Ottawa Electric Railway Company paid its conductors and motormen a weekly wage in 1905 that just covered a weekly budget.<sup>49</sup>

When the wages of bricklayers and hand-compositors are compared, one can understand why these crafts were an elite among workers.<sup>50</sup> Even so, these workers earned just \$3.00 - \$5.00 more a week above the basic cost of food, fuel and lighting, and rent, except the bricklayer, who enjoyed an especially high wage. Many of the manual craft workers faced seasonal unemployment and worked in an injury-prone industry. Most importantly, statements of standard

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<sup>46</sup> see Tables VII and VIII, pp. 135 and 136.

<sup>47</sup> Census of Canada, Table 41. Statistics of families of wage-earners, showing family population, earnings and education, classified according to occupation of male-head. Volume V, 6th Census, 1921, pp. 488-498.

<sup>48</sup> Table XII, "Comparison of Ottawa Weekly Budget with Weekly Wages and Hours of Selected Ottawa Workers, 1900-1920", p. 140.

<sup>49</sup> ibid.

<sup>50</sup> ibid.

wage-rates looked well on paper, but in reality, it was the trade-unions that fought to see that employers paid the "going rate".

Another source of discontent among the working-class was the major shortage of adequate housing. In 1901 a house with four rooms in Ottawa cost between \$6.00 to \$8.00 a month in rent.<sup>51</sup> In 1908 a city newspaper carried an article discussing the lack of comfortable, affordable housing in Ottawa. In comparison, Hull offered much better housing conditions.

The rents which are now in order in Ottawa for any kind of a decent house at all are in most cases beyond the means of the average factory toiler whose family depends upon an income of from \$1.00 to \$1.50 daily. In Ottawa houses which are not of the tumble-down class and have most improvements can rarely be secured for much less than \$12.00 per month. In Hull there are any amount, in fact the city is full of neat little frame cottages which rent all the way from \$5.00 to \$10.00 per month. Another striking feature is that a large percentage of the Hull working men own their own houses, there being a system in vogue in that city whereby a man can lease a lot for say 99 years, build a house....and the land only costs him the taxes and a very little more each year.<sup>52</sup>

Although steady building occurred from 1900 to the depression of 1913, the buildings were intended for the growing professional classes, which effectively squeezed the working-class to the outer enclaves of Victoria and Dalhousie Wards. After the war, the shortage of housing reached epidemic proportions, a six-roomed house with little or no modern conveniences costing between \$21.00

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<sup>51</sup> Table XI, "Retail Prices of Rent in Ottawa, 1901, 1910, 1922 and 1924", p. 139.

<sup>52</sup> The Ottawa Citizen, "Hull Hits Ottawa", April 4, 1908, p.1.

to \$27.00 a month. City Council formed a local Housing Commission, on which the labour council had representation, but civic (municipal) workers later complained that the payment plans were simply too expensive.<sup>53</sup>

Testimony to the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations in 1919 demonstrated clearly that poverty was a way of life for the Ottawa working-class. Reverend Hugh Dobson, a western Methodist minister, gathered the following facts when he visited Ottawa that year. While in Rideau Ward the death rate of children was forty-six per thousand, Ottawa Ward had three hundred of every thousand children die before they were a year old. Victoria Ward had two hundred and twenty children die before a year old of every thousand born and in Dalhousie two hundred and twenty-six infants died.<sup>54</sup> Reverend Dobson stated:

Men receiving wages are acquainted with these facts and their lives and families are limited owing to the conditions that exist of having the ordinary expenses of mankind. They have the expenses of sickness and funeral expenses, and the high cost of living is only exceeded by the high cost of dying. Ill health and accident and non-employment are the three great evils.<sup>55</sup>

World War I marked the final collapse of the woods industry in Ottawa. During the war trade was sluggish until late 1916, when it flourished for a time because of war contracts. But by 1918, all mills were in poor economic shape. Only Eddy and Booth Companies survived the war, and a postwar depression in 1921 seriously

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<sup>53</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Housing Scheme for Rich", April 12, 1919, p. 2

<sup>54</sup> "Three Days from Starvation: The Urban Poor in 1919", Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, in Canadian Worker in the Twentieth Century, edited by Abella and Millar, (1978) p.121.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

affected their businesses. A Montreal company bought out all other mills, but declared bankruptcy in 1920. A year later, an American conglomerate, International Paper, bought the remnants. It moved its base to Gatineau. By late 1920, only two mills were left in the area, employing fifteen hundred men in contrast to the twenty-five hundred employed in 1870.<sup>56</sup> Yet the combined populations of the two cities had increased from thirty thousand to one hundred and twenty-five thousand.<sup>57</sup> The manufacturing and mechanical industries employed fewer people by 1921, declining to fifty-eight hundred people from sixty-nine hundred a decade earlier.<sup>58</sup>

By 1921, private industry supplied only thirteen per cent of the jobs in the city, with the wood and paper industries accounting for less than five per cent. The federal government, on the other hand, provided for almost twenty-five per cent of the employment in the city.<sup>59</sup>

While the membership and radicalism of the council dramatically increased in the second decade of the twentieth century, the economic statistics indicate that the Ottawa craft worker's resistance was carried on in the midst of a serious occupational crisis.<sup>60</sup> This resistance was partly made possible by the support of

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<sup>56</sup> Gillis, *ibid.* p. 20.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Table III, p. 131.

<sup>59</sup> Gillis, *ibid.* p. 14.

<sup>60</sup> A delegate in 1925 wrote, "The widespread introduction of machinery has so completely revolutionized industry that not only has production been intensified to an abnormal degree, but in the past thirty-five years there have virtually disappeared occupations that formerly gave employment to large numbers of workers, and the question is frequently asked, whether the commercial advantage of increased productive capacity is not offset by the economic loss sustained by craftsmen who, after a long period of probation and training in their particular calling, now see the work which they used to perform with so much pride and care, being accomplished by a machine, and being unable to acquire the new method, or even in that event, finding that fewer workers are required under the changed conditions, are compelled to seek other employment, or failing that, are ruthlessly cast on the scrap heap." McDowell, "Unemployment: A Brief Inquiry into Its Causes With Some Suggested Remedies", in Ottawa Labour Souvenir, ATLA, (28th Annual Anniversary Souvenir Number) 1925, p.

other sectors which unified in the face of oppressive living conditions. Employment in the civil service offered no realistic possibilities at this time for a transition of union growth, although a delegate did organize a petition for the rescission of legislation restricting provincial civil servants from aiding in provincial and federal elections.<sup>61</sup>

The composition of the ATLA altered in response to the transition from an industrial to a service economy. Since serious structural problems in the resource industry prevented the development of economic diversification, much of the ATLA's membership depended on the economic prosperity brought to the region by the last great expansion into pulp and paper production. Like much of the rest of Canada, the city's working-class was affected by economic transitions that irrevocably affected traditional livelihoods leading to deep-rooted feelings of grievance and resistance. These grievances created a radicalism among Ottawa skilled workers, who broadened the mandate of their council over the course of the years.

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29. It is interesting to note that McDowell referred to intensified production as "abnormal".

<sup>61</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Labour Council Meets," May 21, 1921, p.1. The attempt was directed at the provincial government. McDowell (Bookbinders) composed a resolution to be sent to Queen's Park asking Premier Drury to repeal legislation restraining provincial employees from actively working in provincial and federal elections. The resolution was passed by the council seven months later. Ibid., "Labour Council Meets," December 24, 1921, p. 2.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **The Ottawa Workers Respond to Capitalism**

The purpose of this chapter is to define the mandate of the Ottawa Allied Trades and Labour Association. This is done by examining its internal administration, with an emphasis on the organizing of unions. Thus, the type, size and prominent delegates of the membership can be discussed in terms of growth and change. Changes in membership and council representation are related to the social context of political and economic restraints to see how the Association responded to pressures created by the transition to monopoly capitalism.

At the turn of the century, most of the active life of Canadian craft unions operated in individual communities. Trades and labour councils played an important role in this local activity because their organizations were based on a horizontal structuring of membership, drawn from the community. The nature of craft unionism meant that workers had little opportunity to communicate with workers in different crafts. A trades and labour council balanced this fragmentation of interests by providing a forum where trade-unions could meet and act collectively on a local level.

This type of organization was extremely important for workers at the turn of the century. The political context in which trade-unions functioned was very limited, determined by two pieces of legislation. The 1872 Trade Union Act de-criminalized trade-unions, recognizing them as legitimate organizations, and not "conspiracies" in restraint of trade.<sup>1</sup> Despite this legality, employers were not

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<sup>1</sup> Lipton, Trade-Union Movement of Canada 1827-1959, (1974) p.32. This Act was even more severely limited in that it only freed those unions from criminal conspiracy



required either to recognize or bargain with a trade-union in the workplace. Nevertheless, news of the passage of the Trade Union Act precipitated a torchlit procession of worker celebration in Ottawa.<sup>2</sup> Thus it is important to remember that workers operated in a climate of social hostility, where union recognition was often achieved with the strike.

The second piece of legislation concerning industrial relations was the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act passed in 1907. This Act outlawed strikes in public utilities, mining and railroads until a conciliation board submitted a report.<sup>3</sup> Designed by Mackenzie King, Canada's first federal Deputy Minister and later Minister of Labour, the purpose of the Act was to provide for a "cooling off" period. King believed that the two parties, if given an opportunity to withdraw and consider, would negotiate in a more co-operative spirit. The problem with the Act was the assumption that both parties equally wanted a settlement.<sup>4</sup> While the Act appeared to favour labour by providing for recognition, practice demonstrated that it worked for the employer. During the negotiation stage, trade-unions were forced to lay down their one bargaining weapon, the strike.<sup>5</sup> But companies could continue to stockpile, blacklist, discriminate against union members, introduce yellow-dog contracts, and hire strike-breakers, private police or both.<sup>6</sup>

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who registered, and no labour organization ever did. Morton with Copp, Working People, (1980) p. 27. The authors thus refer to the Act as a "dead letter".

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, Ottawa, An Illustrated History, (1986) p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Either party, or the federal government, could call for a board, which was tri-partite, representing employer, workers and the public. Lipton, ibid, p. 114. While the board convened, there was no conflict. There could be no strike, lockout, boycott, or picketing. Conflict could resume after the board made its recommendations, but it was assumed the recommendations would influence the negotiations. Morton with Copp, ibid, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Morton with Copp, ibid, p.88. This was a time in history when employers considered trade-unions to be temporary aberrations. Often disputes were fought to the bitter end, with the union as the loser.

<sup>5</sup> ibid, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> ibid.

Ottawa was a leader in developing city centrals in Canada and the Allied Trades and Labour Association was preceded by other organizations in the city.<sup>7</sup> Its first labour council was founded on the basis of strike action. Building trades unions were organized, and a Typographical Union existed as well. In 1872, the Ottawa Stonecutters went on strike. A meeting was held at the St. Lawrence Hotel in December, and the Ottawa Trades Council was organized. Ottawa also made labour history by electing the first independent labour member of any legislature in the country, Daniel J. O'Donoghue. An Ottawa typographer, O'Donoghue was president of the local council in 1873, and founded Canada's first national labour organization, the short-lived Canadian Labour Union (1873-1876).

This first city central, like the C. L. U., dissolved in 1876 during a depression. But trade-unions re-emerged in Ottawa, and by February 20, 1889, workers formed the Ottawa Trades and Labour Council.<sup>8</sup> It, however, died out in the next decade.

The Allied Trades and Labour Association was essentially re-organized and founded in August 1897 by R.G. Hay and J.P. Walsh of the International Association of Sheet-metal Workers #11 and P.M. Draper of the International Typographers Union #102. The three men clearly saw a need for a local mechanism that focused and concentrated the policies of organization, education, strike support and political action:

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<sup>7</sup> Lipton, *ibid.*, p.38.

<sup>8</sup> Initially instituted by the Hackmen's Union, the council's first members were the Typographical Union, the Bookbinders, the Pressmen, the Bricklayers and Stonemasons, the Painters and Decorators, the Plumbers and the Tinsmiths - the last two were local unions. Two Knights of Labour Assembly locals, #5222 and #1034 also belonged. By 1891, the council represented seven unions - Typographers, Carpenters, Painters, Tailors, Pressmen, Bookbinders and General Labourers - as well as seven Knights of Labour Assembly locals - #5222, #1034, #193, #1619, #2806 and #2676 (Hull). Forsey, *Trade-Unions in Canada, 1812-1902*, (1982) p. 338. This council too had an interest in politics, drawing up a platform for a provincial election. *ibid.*, pp. 403-404.

Seeing no future for the Trade Union Movement in the Capital without a central body to which matters concerning the welfare of the workers generally could be referred for consideration, and through which their collective wishes could be expressed forcefully and with conviction, three young men delegates to the old Trades and Labour Council - which was almost defunct - determined to establish such a body and the ATLA was the result of their labours.<sup>9</sup>

Hay was the ATLA's first president. He appeared to be an excellent balance to Draper. Where Draper was dedicated and serious, Hay was famous for his sense of humour, and "his flair for the oratory". Draper was noted for his efficiency and later his dedication to the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress (DTLC); in contrast Hay was remembered as a "real red".<sup>10</sup> Like most Association presidents, he was adept at organizing.<sup>11</sup> Soon after the turn of the century, Hay moved to Winnipeg, where it was said he continued his same activities.

Draper had a strong power-base in his local, where he held the presidency for many years. Born in Alymer, Quebec, and known to his friends as "Paddy", Draper was soon acknowledged for his talent and abilities. He was to rise in the labour hierarchy, as the secretary treasurer of the DTLC from 1900-1935, and president from 1935-39.<sup>12</sup> Draper also maintained a strong influence in the ATLA for

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<sup>9</sup> The Ottawa ATLA, Labour Day Souvenir, "Our Golden Jubilee 1897-1947", Miscellaneous 138, Sheet No. 7, Department of Labour Library, Canada.

<sup>10</sup> ATLA, ibid., "Our Golden Jubilee".

<sup>11</sup> For example, he organized the Ottawa Electric Street Railway Protective and Benevolent Association which dissolved in 1902 due to employer pressure, but was re-organized in 1904 as an international.

<sup>12</sup> Draper worked in the Government Printing Bureau in Ottawa, where he was director of printing from 1921 to his retirement in 1933. He attended the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 as a member of the Canadian delegation. He was a delegate to the first International Labour Organization Conference, which elected him to its governing

years, elected as president in 1899, 1906 and 1911.<sup>13</sup> Members frequently deferred to his knowledge of the constitutional and legislative aspects of union organization. He kept himself abreast of council developments, asking, for example, to be sent to the first meeting of the Ontario Workman's Educational Association and to the first convention of the Ontario Independent Labour Party that the council attended. He was consistently elected to attend the AFL conventions.<sup>14</sup>

These activists were rapidly supported by the additional membership of eleven other union locals, most of whom had belonged to the former council.<sup>15</sup> At this time there was a strong nationalist sentiment in the Association. In October, they discussed the problem of admitting the National Bookbinders, since an International Bookbinders already existed.<sup>16</sup> In November, when a delegate moved that member unions pay a per capita tax to the DTLC, Delegate Patterson of the International Typographical Union #102, and former President of the Ottawa Trades and Labour Council, "attacked the congress, saying it did nothing to further the interests of labour".<sup>17</sup> The motion was lost, ten to four. Patterson also succeeded in having the council pass a resolution for the DTLC convention which asked for the formation of a Dominion Federation of Labour. The motion passed, but only because of President Hay's deciding vote.<sup>18</sup>

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body. Lazarus, Years of Hard Labour, Trade Unions and the Workingman in Canada, (1974), p. 31.

<sup>13</sup> see Table XXII, "Elected Officers of the Ottawa ATLA, 1897-1900 and 1906-1923", pp. 159-160. Draper attended council meetings well into the 1930s.

<sup>14</sup> ATLA, Minutes, July 23, 1909, August 4, 1910, November 1, 1912, October 2, 1914, November 3, 1916, October 19, 1917, and May 7, 1920.

<sup>15</sup> Table XXI, "Ottawa ATLA, Membership by Union Locals, 1897-1923", pp. 151-158.

<sup>16</sup> Forsey, ibid., p. 405. Membership files indicate that the National Bookbinders were admitted to the council. In 1903, it amalgamated with the International Bookbinders, #173. It dissolved in 1903 and was re-formed in 1907. Table XXI, p. 141.

<sup>17</sup> Forsey, ibid.

<sup>18</sup> ibid.

Seven months later Patterson was out of the council.<sup>19</sup> He returned in 1901 and became an organizer for the ATLA. But in 1902, the year the Knights of Labour and any other dual unions threatening the jurisdiction of the AFL were expelled from the DTLC, he was tried and charged for organizing a dual Musicians Union.<sup>20</sup> In 1904, Patterson and some other Ottawa nationalists formed the Ottawa National Trades and Labour Council.<sup>21</sup> But many who deplored the DTLC's expulsion of the Knights of Labour remained in the ATLA, and went on record expressing their displeasure.<sup>22</sup>

The result was the creation of a relatively homogenous body, which worked on building up its organization. In 1899, organizing extended into Arnprior, Rockland and Buckingham.<sup>23</sup> By 1901, the ATLA's membership had grown considerably.<sup>24</sup> Part of this was due to an aggressive organizing drive launched by the AFL.<sup>25</sup> Part of it was due to a busy economy.

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* Forsey does not specify whether Patterson was voted out by his local, or whether he quit.

<sup>20</sup> As late as 1908, the ATLA's affiliate, the American Federation of Musicians #180, had many members who refused to affiliate with the international. This was an extremely large local, comprised of at least one hundred fifty people, and the council no doubt was reluctant to lose its affiliation. ATLA, *Minutes*, February 28, 1908; March 13, 1908; April 10, 1908 and May 8, 1908.

<sup>21</sup> The Ottawa National Trades and Labour Council existed for a number of years, affiliating in 1904 to the Canadian Federation of Labour, first known as the National Trades and Labour Congress. Logan, *Trade-Unions in Canada, Their Development and Functioning*, (1948) p. 371. The Ottawa NT&LC was always extremely small in size and posed no serious threat to the ATLA, even though both councils organized the same sector, i.e., craft-locals. Nevertheless, there was a great feeling of antipathy towards the ONT&LC in the ATLA, showing how easily divisions within the ranks of labour could arise.

<sup>22</sup> Forsey, *ibid.* p. 406.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 405.

<sup>24</sup> Table XXI, pp. 151-158.

<sup>25</sup> Morton with Copp, *ibid.*, p. 71. Between 1901 and 1902, the AFL added one hundred and thirty new locals from Canada to its membership. Between 1898 and 1902, more than seven hundred locals were formed in Canada, raising the number of organized workers from around twenty thousand to over seventy thousand. This was not all because of the AFL. Other organizations also grew, due to economic prosperity.

The trade-union membership of the council at this time was extremely small in size. Membership originated from the construction industry, the printing industry and the service industry. Thus carpenters, stonecutters, bricklayers and stonemasons, painters and decorators, plasterers, plumbers and steamfitters and a building labourers' local were all to have membership within the council and hold fairly high profiles.<sup>26</sup> From the metal trades came the sheet-metal workers, boilermakers, ironmoulders, and machinists while electrical workers and steam engineers locals joined as well.<sup>27</sup> The bricklayers and masons were represented by approximately fifty members in the 1900 Labour Day parade and the stonecutters by forty members.<sup>28</sup> The Builders' Labourers Union #4 had one hundred and sixty members and the painters #200 had one hundred members in 1900.<sup>29</sup> The sizes of the metal trades unions were quite small, electrical workers numbering thirty-five, the ironmoulders twenty-eight and the machinists twenty-eight members in 1900.<sup>30</sup> In most cases, each trade was represented by one local within the council, although there were some exceptions. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners formed a number of locals in the city over the course of twenty years.<sup>31</sup> The most formidable and powerful was local #93, which covered carpenters in the construction industry.

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<sup>26</sup> Table XXI, pp. 151-158 and Table XXII, pp. 159-160.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> The Ottawa Citizen, "Makers of Wealth Paraded", September 1900, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Table XXI, pp. 152-153. In 1901, the AFL passed a declaration that officially made "craft autonomy" a principle of the federation. As a result, typographers released stereotypers, pressmen, bookbinders, engravers and other trades. But the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was a powerful affiliate, and the AFL bent its rules to allow the carpenters to organize rivals in the woodworking trades. Morton with Copp, *ibid.*, p. 68.

All of the printing trades were early members of the council.<sup>32</sup> The largest was the International Typographers local #102, which by 1902 had three hundred members.<sup>33</sup> The National Bookbinders had approximately twenty members in 1900, the Printing Pressmen #5 had thirty members, and the Pressfeeders' Assistants #9 had twenty members.<sup>34</sup> Other printing trades members were the Plate-printers #6 and the Stereotypers #50; the latter was quite small and represented by only two members in the 1900 Labour Day Parade.<sup>35</sup>

Other founding locals were the Commercial Union #1, which boasted three hundred members in 1902<sup>36</sup>, the Letter-Carriers #2, and the Musicians Protective Association, #180 when it became an international.<sup>37</sup> The Amalgamated Ottawa Electric Railway Protective Association started with approximately two hundred members, became #279 when it joined the international, and grew to a six hundred strong membership by 1919.<sup>38</sup> The Barbers' Union #704, the Tailors' Union #173, and the Theatrical Stage Employees #95 became early and long-time members.<sup>39</sup>

The ATLA's constitution provided for representation of three delegates for each organization having a membership of fifty members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional fifty members, or "majority fraction thereof". However, no organization could be represented by more than five delegates, thus effectively curtailing the possibility of one local controlling the voting.<sup>40</sup> Meetings were held bi-monthly, on Friday evenings, and any

<sup>32</sup> There were two exceptions. The Lithographers joined in 1918 and the Photo-engravers #44 joined in 1908. See Table XXI, pp. 155 and 156 respectively.

<sup>33</sup> Ottawa ATLA, Attendance Register 1899-1901.

<sup>34</sup> The Ottawa Citizen, *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> ATLA, Progressive Ottawa, (1902) p. 88.

<sup>37</sup> Table XXI, pp. 155 and 156.

<sup>38</sup> ATLA, Progressive Ottawa, p. 54 and The Ottawa Citizen, "O.E.R. Men on Strike", July 1, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Table XXI, pp. 151 and 158.

<sup>40</sup> Ottawa ATLA, Constitution, (1914) article II, section 1, pp. 6-7.

delegates abserting themselves for more than three consecutive meetings were reported to their local and replaced. The member unions were required to pay a per capita of two cents per month for each member in good standing. Average attendance was around thirty delegates per meeting until after the war.

The officers of the Association consisted of a president, vice-president, recording secretary, financial secretary, sergeant-at-arms, three trustees and three auditors. In addition there was an elected Executive Committee, consisting of five members; the Chairman of the Committee was the corresponding secretary of the Association. The Committee's duty was to report upon affairs of interest to the Association, and to make recommendations concerning policy.<sup>41</sup>

The constitution also provided for a number of standing committees, indicating the priorities of the council - the Organization Committee, "composed of three members, for the purpose of organizing new locals or aiding any affiliated Union"<sup>42</sup>; the Election Committee, consisting of nine members, was elected at the beginning of every October, "for the purpose of devising ways and means to further labour's interest at the municipal elections"<sup>43</sup>; the Labour Day Committee and the Union Label Committee.<sup>44</sup>

Many of the activists in the council worked to organize and promote craft unions. Presidents, in particular, were required to address organization meetings for new locals; and either presidents or vice-presidents were frequently bilingual, an asset in the Ottawa labour movement, particularly since the trade-unions in Hull were members of the Ottawa ATLA.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., articles V, VI and VIII, section 1, pp. 9-13.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., article VIII, section 9, p. 15.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., section 11.

<sup>44</sup> The constitution did not stipulate the size of these committees. Ibid., sections 2 and 3, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> The city of Hull did not form its own trades and labour council until 1920. See Table XX, "Number of Affiliations to the Ottawa ATLA with Size of Reported Membership and Number of Unions in Vicinity, 1911-1923", p. 150. Until that time, the trade-union



Consolidation of membership made it possible for the ATLA to re-form a Building Trades Council in 1906, which secured a schedule of salaries in municipal contracts.<sup>46</sup> Economic conditions remained favourable, with a shortage of labour even reported in the factories and firms.<sup>47</sup> Two years later, the Printing Trades Council was formed to promote the union label in the city, and the Bookbinders succeeded in having the union label posted on printing.<sup>48</sup> A main purpose of these councils was to establish stable collective bargaining arrangements. Craftsmen wanted employers to follow certain rules of behaviour, which in turn regulated relationships between the two parties. These arrangements were backed by union strength and sometimes tied to the union label on consumer goods. This type of approach, promoted by the AFL, ruled out both sympathy strikes and union protection for the unskilled.

Despite the establishment of a firm foundation for labour in the city, the ATLA was reminded in 1906 of the degree of hostility many employers held for trade-unionism. Members of "Local #4", composed of lumber-workers from the town of Buckingham, Quebec, were fired by the MacLaren Lumber Company for striking. The company brought in armed guards, who happened to be members of the Ottawa militia. On October 8, two men and a guard were shot and killed, and a number of other men wounded.<sup>49</sup> Between March and August of 1907, the ATLA sent what resources it could collect.

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locals in that city were affiliated to the Ottawa ATLA. Even after 1920, former Hull affiliates were encouraged to maintain a dual affiliation in both councils. Some five affiliates remained members of the ATLA.

<sup>46</sup> An earlier B. T. Council had been established by the former council in 1892. It was reported as "flourishing" in 1893, but there is no evidence to indicate just when it dissolved. Forsey, *ibid*, pp. 404-405.

<sup>47</sup> *Labour Gazette*, "Local Correspondent's Report, Mr. Quayle", July 1906, p. 23.

<sup>48</sup> *The Ottawa Citizen*, "Printing to Carry Union Label", April 11, 1908, p. 1. The city also agreed to place the union label on Firemen's clothing. The formation of this council was not the beginning of the promotion of the union label. In 1897, the ATLA established a committee to "secure the adoption" of the label in the city. Forsey, *ibid*, p. 405.

<sup>49</sup> Morton with Copp, *ibid*, p. 88. This strike was a main impetus for the passage of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act.

Some of the money went to the widows, more was contributed to the workers' strike fund, and additional money was sent for an upcoming trial of Buckingham men.<sup>50</sup>

By 1907, twenty-one unions were affiliated to the council, representing a total of fifteen hundred unionists in the city.<sup>51</sup> But difficulty in union recognition continued. For example, a visiting organizer of the Electrical Workers was arrested that year.<sup>52</sup> In the winter of 1907-1908 a depression struck the national economy. Unemployment increased in Ottawa, but because the city was undergoing considerable development due to government expansion, many skilled workers escaped the depression's severity.<sup>53</sup> By 1909, considerable employment was available because the Grand Trunk Company was building its hotel, the civic (municipal) corporation was rushing "a considerable amount of sewers and waterworks," and the Ottawa Electric Railway Company was building extensions and renewing old lines "as fast as the steel can be procured".<sup>54</sup> The

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<sup>50</sup> ATLA, Minutes, March 22, July 26 and August 9, 1907. But no actual figure was cited. In August, the council held a "red-hot" debate around the issue of government liability. Many felt the federal government should pay the legal expenses of the workers on trial. Following this meeting, the ATLA sent a committee (which included a lawyer) to interview the Federal Minister of Justice. The purpose of this visit was to ascertain that the government accepted responsibility for providing a "satisfactory defense" of the Buckingham workers. Ibid, August 23, 1907.

<sup>51</sup> ATLA, Minutes, "Report on 1907 membership", February 14, 1908.

<sup>52</sup> The Association consulted a lawyer and interviewed the police commissioners. They then paid for counsel to press charges against the police. ATLA, ibid, February 7, 12, 22, and March 8, 1907.

<sup>53</sup> The ATLA donated \$10.00 to the "Journal Fund" for the needy in 1909 and \$5.00 in 1910. ATLA, Minutes, February 12, 1909 and December 16, 1910. Beyond this reference and the fact that the DTLC requested the number of men unemployed in the trade-unions, the ATLA made no reference to the depression, which is unusual compared to references made to later ones. This indicates that in 1908 Ottawa's "stable" economy protected these workers from the worst. An examination of unions formed in the Labour Gazette during 1907 and 1908 did not show either a significant decrease of unions formed or an increased amount of dissolutions. The ATLA reported that 1908 was "a record year" for organizing. Ibid, January 8, 1909.

<sup>54</sup> Labour Gazette, "Local Correspondent's Report, Mr. Quayle", July 1909, p.23.

building trades were busy on large contracts for "apartment houses, dwellings and business blocks."<sup>55</sup>

A man who worked extremely hard for the Association during this time was Eugene Cadieux of the Plumbers and Steamfitters #71. He was elected as recording-secretary in 1906 and became president between 1907 and 1908. After his presidency, Cadieux was paid as an organizer for the council until 1910 - part of his salary was subsidized by the AFL and the rest by funds the council collected for this purpose. Between 1906 and 1910, fifteen locals were formed that became affiliates.<sup>56</sup> It is not known how directly Cadieux was involved in these formations, but the fact that these locals became affiliates indicates that he played a major role.<sup>57</sup>

In 1910, the Association made a small, but significant change to its constitution. "Good and Welfare", a clause under the Rules of Order, was amended to include, "a discussion of political and economic subjects."<sup>58</sup> This had the subtle capacity to change the orientation of the Association's affairs from a "business" unionism aspect to a more "political" or "social" mandate. This clause would be utilized most frequently in the postwar years.

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., September 1909, p. 290.

<sup>56</sup> Table XXI, pp. 151-158 and Labour Gazette, "Unions Formed", Volumes VII-X, 1907-1910. It should be made clear that these were not the only unions formed during this period. A number of national unions were formed, although the number is smaller.

<sup>57</sup> Cadieux was to meet with tragedy in a most unusual way in August 1910. He was found dead by drowning in the Rideau Canal "close to Lock #1 between twelve midnight and 2 a.m." on a Friday evening. He had last been seen in the sitting room at the Albion Hotel on Besserer Street in the afternoon. He complained of being unwell and a taxi-driver, whom Cadieux had summoned, took him to a doctor's office. The name of the doctor was not reported. The contents of his pockets were somewhat heart-wrenching. Authorities found 15 cents, a gold ring, an insurance policy and "several letters". Knowing the position that Cadieux had on the council, it is possible that the several letters referred to union business. The coroner pronounced his death an accidental drowning. The Association paid for the funeral, and was thanked by his widow. The Ottawa Citizen, "Accidental Drowning", August 12, 1910, p.1 and ATLA, Minutes, August 18, 1910.

<sup>58</sup> ATLA, Minutes, January 29, 1910. The order referred to is in ATLA, Constitution, "Rules of Order, #14, Good and Welfare", p. 16.

Having established itself as a secure organization, the ATLA played an increasingly important role in servicing locals. An examination of some of its "Declaration of Principles" indicates the type of assistance rendered.

One principle was the pledge to "assist each other in securing fair wages by honourable means, and we shall withdraw and use our influence to have others withdraw all patronage from any unfair employer".<sup>59</sup> Despite the passage of a Dominion Fair Wages Order in 1900, it was essentially up to trade-unions to see that fair wages were enforced, a fact the ATLA noted in 1909.<sup>60</sup> The Fair Wages Order covered workers employed on federal contracts, stipulating that contractors pay the prevailing local rate. Ontario did not pass wage legislation until 1915.<sup>61</sup> It can thus be seen that the federal act did not necessarily ensure fair wages for the worker, since the local situation had nothing in the way of legislation for standardizing a schedule of wages.<sup>62</sup>

Some examples of the ATLA's fight for fair wages began in 1908. When the Grand Trunk Railway began to build its hotel and station, the Building Trades Council succeeded in having a fair wage clause inserted.<sup>63</sup> In 1909 it was necessary for the ATLA to communicate with the public school board concerning the fair wage schedule of a building contract.<sup>64</sup> Five years later, it notified both the public and separate school boards that the fair wage schedules in the contracts were not being followed.<sup>65</sup> President Lodge, Corresponding

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<sup>59</sup> ATLA, Constitution, "Declaration of Principles, #3", p.3.

<sup>60</sup> ATLA, Minutes, August 13, 1909.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., May 21, 1915.

<sup>62</sup> The payment of fair wages was also abused by the incalcitrant employer. Morton with Copp, ibid., wrote that during World War I, Sir Joseph Flavelle of the Imperial Munitions Board "deliberately ignored fair-wage provisions." They stated he "had no intention of conceding anything to union demands. Workers, he declared, should be glad of a job." p. 105.

<sup>63</sup> ATLA, Minutes, June 12, 1908.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., May 28, 1909.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., June 5, 1914.

Secretary Langely and Organizer Cadieux also had to "wait on the Minister of Labour" in 1909 to protest that the new Museum Job was not paying the fair wage clause.<sup>66</sup> These lobbying efforts often resulted in a manner "satisfactory" to the council.

Another "principle of declaration" was "the regulation of the employment of children".<sup>67</sup> In 1912, the ATLA passed a resolution urging that the age of 18 years be set "for any boy to drive a horse and rig."<sup>68</sup> Three years later, a delegate asked if the W.C. Edwards Company "was allowed to hire young boys for night-work for any length of hours they wanted". The matter was directed to the attention of Factory Inspector Brown, whose appointment in 1907 the council had agitated to secure.<sup>69</sup>

Other issues the council considered important were working hours, time off and regular payment of wages.<sup>70</sup> In 1911 Corresponding Secretary Lodge and Organizer Walters interviewed the Factory Inspector concerning a contravention of the Factory Act, where some tailors were being forced to work after-hours.<sup>71</sup> The ATLA lobbied for fortnightly pay for municipal workers and street railway employees.<sup>72</sup> On municipal contracts, it agitated for the use

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, August 13, 1909. Six years later, repairs to the House of Commons' roof were being done under "unfair conditions". The Sheet-metal Workers' business agent and AFL Organizer Flett interviewed the Minister of Labour in regards to the Fair Wage Clause in the Public Works Department. This indicates that government, like other employers, ignored its own legislation. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1915.

<sup>67</sup> ATLA, *Constitution*, "Declaration of Principles, #1", p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, *Minutes*, October 1, 1912.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, November 17, 1915.

<sup>70</sup> ATLA, *Constitution*, *ibid.* "This Association declares it to be its duty to use its influence with the law-making powers to secure the following objects - ...securing the adoption of proper laws regulating the hours constituting a day's work; a proper enforcement of inspection of workshops and factories;...and such other laws as may be deemed beneficial".

<sup>71</sup> ATLA, *Minutes*, March 17, 1911.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, March 6, 1914. The Association reported that "the question of fortnightly pay was "making progress".

of day-labour.<sup>73</sup> They helped both the letter-carriers and the water-works employees achieve the Saturday half-holiday in the summer of 1914.<sup>74</sup> In 1914, they began to lobby for policemen to receive "one day's rest in seven".<sup>75</sup> By 1918 all municipal employees were granted half-Saturdays in the summer.<sup>76</sup>

The labour council also worked as a policing agent, censuring either unions or employers when workers performed work that was in the jurisdiction of another craft. For example, in July 1913 the Stationary Engineers reported to the council that municipal employees were working on low-pressure engines. The ATLA endorsed the local's resolution of protest and sent it to City Council.<sup>77</sup> In November, it discovered that pressmen and feeders were being required to paint the Government Printing Bureau, and it immediately alerted the Building Trades Council and asked for an investigation.<sup>78</sup>

The boycott was another method the council and its affiliates frequently used to censure employers. This strategy was particularly useful since craft unions avoided sympathy strikes. It helped to educate union members about current struggles and was utilized most effectively for the service locals. Clancy's Theatre and Odeon Hall were placed on an "Unfair List" to protect the Musicians in 1916.<sup>79</sup> In 1919 the Rex Theatre was placed on this list at the request of Theatrical Stage Employees, and the Bakers

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, June 18, 1915, concerning the construction of an overland pipe-system, and January 21, 1916. These are only two examples. The Association checked virtually every civic contract to ascertain if day-labour was being used, and if not, why not.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, July 3 (letter-carriers) and August 4, (water-works employees) 1914.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, October 2, 1914. This support was extended to the fire-fighters. In 1921, the ATLA approved legislation which gave firemen one day's rest in seven. It further stated it would "combat any attempt to amend the Act in order to lengthen hours, whether the struggle occurs here or in Toronto". *Ibid.*, January 21, 1921.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, July 5, 1918. By 1919, the Board of Control recommended the year-round forty-four hour week for municipal employees. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1919.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, July 18, 1913.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, November 7, 1913.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, December 1, 1916.

and Confectionary Workers submitted a list of unfair shops when negotiating a new contract.<sup>80</sup> Sometimes, these strategies reached further afield. When the Cloakmakers at the Toronto Eaton's Company struck in 1912, the council asked all delegates to return their Eaton's catalogue to the Company.<sup>81</sup> Occasionally boycotts extended to the building trades. In 1919, the Plumbers and Steamfitters boycotted all pottery ware, "particularly on the government work now proceeding", and alerted the Building Trades Council that the Potteries of St. John's N. B. had locked out their workers.<sup>82</sup>

The Ottawa skilled worker also demonstrated a class consciousness by keeping informed of struggles across the continent. Strike donations (usually five to ten dollars) and letters of sympathy went to such diverse places and unions as the Winnipeg Trades Council, 1909, Vancouver, 1911, Toronto, 1912, and the United Garment Workers of America, 1913.<sup>83</sup>

In 1912 the membership of the Association stabilized at thirty-two skilled craft unions and two federally chartered locals, representing a total membership of three thousand workers.<sup>84</sup> Since 1907 it had added thirteen unions to its register and the number of

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, April 4 and June 6, 1919 respectively.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, March 15, 1912.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, January 17, 1919.

<sup>83</sup> This is only a small portion of the list. Donations went to the Porcupine Miners, 1913, Frontenac Brewery Workers, 1914, St. John's, N.B. for charges laid against striking plumbers - \$20.00 donated, 1917, and many more. *Ibid.*, 1911-1921.

<sup>84</sup> "Federal unions" were a third element in the DTLC. They were locals "chartered directly by the Congress and recognizing no filial relation with any craft or industrial secondary body." They were a common form of organization among federal government and civil (municipal) employees and in private industry where international and national organization was lacking, or where the crafts were mixed and the numbers of any one craft were insufficient to entitle workers to a charter from an international. They were meant to be temporary organizations. Logan, *ibid.*, p. 347. Thus, for example, a key member of the ATLA joining in 1912 was the Federal Union #15, composed of municipal employees, often referred to as "civic" employees. In 1920, the civic labourers received a charter from the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Labourers of America #645. Canadian Labour Press, "local reports," September 4, 1920, p. 2.

workers represented had doubled.<sup>85</sup> The ATLA now represented sixty eight per cent of the trade-unions in the vicinity.<sup>86</sup> Many locals were still very small. Electrical Workers #249 had twenty members and the Blacksmiths #446 had ten members.<sup>87</sup> The council broadened its mandate by endorsing industrial unionism.<sup>88</sup> Yet the attitude of the Ottawa craftsman towards the unskilled had still not changed considerably.<sup>89</sup>

In 1913, the city was hit by a depression which affected all of Canada. For the first time since its founding the ATLA's membership declined.<sup>90</sup> By February 1914 it was reported that the amount of unskilled labour in the district was "far greater than usual".<sup>91</sup> A "slackening" occurred in the metal-working industries. A number of employees of woodworking and building firms were laid off and the Grand Trunk Railway Car Shops switched to working short time.<sup>92</sup> Unskilled labour was so plentiful that wages were driven down in lumbering, and the federal government was asked to start work on some new Departmental buildings. By May conditions worsened. The building trades were unusually slack, and the number of unemployed was estimated at a tremendous three thousand persons.<sup>93</sup> Five hundred and fifty skilled mechanics had been idle for over three

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<sup>85</sup> Table XX, p. 150. For doubling of workers represented, refer to fn. 51.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Unfortunately, membership files in the ATLA records are not thorough. Most locals at this time were accredited three delegates.

<sup>88</sup> A resolution received from the Vancouver Printers requested that the "principle of industrial unionism be endorsed". The communication was approved and carried. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1912. This was essentially a follow-through from the 1911 DTLC convention where the delegates endorsed industrial unionism. Morton and Copp, *ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>89</sup> Only a month previously, the Association had questioned the organization of "the dredge of dredge" workers. To what body of workers the ATLA was referring is not known, since the organizer was absent from the meeting. On the other hand, after discussion, the council did approve Organizer Burgess' actions. *Ibid.*, August 16, 1912.

<sup>90</sup> Table XX, p. 150.

<sup>91</sup> *Labour Gazette*, "Correspondent's Report", February, 1914, p. 878.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, March, p. 946.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, May, p. 1263.



months. Bricklayers and masons, usually one hundred per cent employed, reported only fifty per cent of their craft working. Over four hundred men applied, "without success", for employment at City Hall.<sup>94</sup>

The ATLA adopted various means to combat the crisis. It endorsed a resolution from the Montreal Trades and Labour Council, which wanted a royal commission set up to investigate the unemployment problem.<sup>95</sup> It condemned employers for exploitation.<sup>96</sup> It lobbied the Board of Control to set up an Employment Bureau, stating that if City Council procrastinated, the ATLA would set up its own.<sup>97</sup> The result was Ottawa's first Municipal Unemployment Bureau.<sup>98</sup> The Association also suggested that old railroad ties be distributed to the poor for fuel, but the city had difficulty in procuring them.<sup>99</sup>

During the war-years, John Cameron of the Bricklayers, Stonemasons and Plasterers International #14, assumed the longest-running presidency of the council, from 1913 to 1917.<sup>100</sup> Ussher of the Carpenters #93 was elected vice-president for five terms from 1914-1916. This was an unusual length of time for

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> ATLA, Minutes, June 19, 1914. The province of Ontario responded with a Royal Commission on Unemployment, published in 1916.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., July 3, 1914. "The tactics of unscrupulous employers are condemned for offering \$1.50 per day to the unemployed and those are commended for refusing to work for such wages."

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., November 6, 1914.

<sup>98</sup> Report of the Ontario Royal Commission on Unemployment. Opened on April 14, 1915, the Bureau was not really a public employment office, since it did not attempt to find employment except in civic (municipal) undertakings. It was located in a basement room, used for storing furniture. p. 115.

<sup>99</sup> ATLA, Minutes, August 21 and September 4, 1914. Another method adopted was city land turned over to people for cultivating gardens. Delegate McDowell reported in 1915 that "wealthy people were using the land for gardening and the city had hired a watchman to guard the lots". Ibid., June 4, 1915.

<sup>100</sup> Table XXII, p.160. Cameron was also president of the Building Trades Council until 1920. He was one of the most influential unionists of this era, and his other activities will be discussed in chapters three and four.

these elected positions, indicating that internal operations slowed down in the heart of the war period. William Lodge (International Typographers #102) continued to hold the position of corresponding secretary and in late 1915 another printing delegate, Daniel McCann (Printing Pressmen #5) began to dominate the office of financial secretary.<sup>101</sup> Approximately one thousand two hundred and thirty Ottawa trade-unionists enlisted.<sup>102</sup> There were approximately four thousand, two hundred and fifty organized workers in the city, indicating a ratio of three enlistments for every ten to twelve union men.

In 1915 the local economy was still extremely slow and the employment situation became desperate. At a meeting in February, Delegate Wallace discussed how unskilled labourers were being treated by the city at works on Booth St. He argued that the city should spend money in building workingmen's homes "and other useful work, so that the unemployed would have a chance to make a living."<sup>103</sup> As the war caused living costs to escalate the ATLA passed a resolution stating that "any action tending to lowering [sic] wages at the present time is deemed inopportune and "unjust" owing to increases of necessary commodities."<sup>104</sup> Contractors of stonemasons and bricklayers negotiated for a reduction in wages from fifty-five to forty cents an hour, and a return to the nine-hour

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<sup>101</sup> ibid. McCann was financial secretary until 1922. In 1919, he became the business agent of the International Teamsters and Chauffeurs Union. He was an influential speaker, hosted various organizing and political meetings, and eventually had a long career in municipal politics. He was from Dalhousie Ward.

<sup>102</sup> Table XXIII, "Number of Trade Unionists Enlistments during WWI, by City", p. 161. It is interesting to note that although Victoria had a smaller population, the number of trade-union enlistments was much higher. This very well might have to do with age. For example, the Report of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment indicated that Ottawa's population was composed of a "far larger proportion of children" than either Hamilton or Toronto, and "a far smaller proportion of able-bodied men". P. 103.

<sup>103</sup> ATLA, Minutes, February 19, 1915. It is not surprising to learn that the ATLA strongly supported public works projects during periods of unemployment. "These men want work, not charity". ibid., January 15.

<sup>104</sup> ATLA, Minutes, March 19, 1915.

day.<sup>105</sup> A compromise was reached. The building trades remained dull "and of forty local stonecutters only one was employed".<sup>106</sup> (This situation changed for stonecutters when the centre block of the Parliament buildings was destroyed by fire in 1916.) A public work project advertised for three hundred positions, and over two thousand men applied. A riot nearly occurred when men started picking up tools. Thinking this would secure them a job, hundreds rushed towards the equipment. The police were summoned to hold the men in check.<sup>107</sup> In August, the ATLA wrote to city council, urging the Board of Control to accept the civic labourers' request for a wage increase from twenty-five to thirty cents an hour. Instead, wages were reduced from three dollars to two dollars a day in December. Enraged, the ATLA demanded the discharge of the civic officials responsible and a letter was sent to Controller Fisher asking for an investigation.<sup>108</sup> At the end of 1915, the Labour Gazette correspondent indicated that the economy had improved:

The labour situation in November was marked by some improvement in several trades while steady enlistment and a considerable demand for workmen outside the city prevented an increase in the unemployed.

Trades engaged in the manufacture of war supplies continued busy and in this connection a demand from the United States for skilled leather workers was reported...

Forty per cent of the members of the Bricklayers' Union have enlisted.<sup>109</sup>

In reality, however, there was little improvement. While high rates of unemployment prevailed for many, machinists,

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<sup>105</sup> Labour Gazette, *ibid.*, April 1915, p. 1164.

<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*, p. 1277.

<sup>107</sup> *ibid.*, p. 1278.

<sup>108</sup> ATLA, Minutes, December 15, 1915.

<sup>109</sup> Labour Gazette, *ibid.*, December 1915, p. 687.

leatherworkers and woodworkers were working overtime on war contracts and a scarcity of experienced river drivers was felt as most had enlisted.<sup>110</sup> The lack of employment drove down wages while the cost of living continued to increase. In May 1916, unionized carpenters reported that their wages were being drastically undercut because contractors were hiring "handymen".<sup>111</sup> Employment on war supply contracts did not guarantee high wages for women and the unskilled worker either. In September, the council discussed the shortage of labour in ammunition works, "caused by the poor wages paid and the high cost of living."<sup>112</sup> Three months later, the ATLA was asked to investigate unfair conditions at the O' Brien Munitions Factory in the town of Renfrew.<sup>113</sup>

Although the 1917 figures on affiliations remained consistent with the four previous years, the ATLA membership report indicated that 1917 was a turning point. Although only two more trade-unions joined, the material size of the unions represented increased.<sup>114</sup>

Full recovery of membership occurred in 1918. It increased to forty-three trade-unions, representing four thousand, two hundred and fifty workers.<sup>115</sup> By the end of the year, Ottawa ranked sixth among thirty-one Canadian cities in number of trade-unions. The ATLA represented forty-four of sixty unions in the vicinity, with a combined membership of around five thousand workers.<sup>116</sup> The

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., February 1915, p. 438.

<sup>111</sup> ATLA, Minutes, May 19, 1916.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., September 5, 1916.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., December 3, 1916. The Association turned this matter over to DTLC President Watters. It also responded to women textile workers' grievances by calling in a United Garment Workers' organizer.

<sup>114</sup> Table XX, p. 150 shows that the number of workers represented increased from twenty-five hundred in 1916 to thirty-one hundred in 1917. Corresponding Secretary Lodge reported that the "past six months was one of the most successful for the Association." He noted that the "individual strength of unions had materially increased, and that the average attendance at the ATLA was 38 delegates." ATLA, Minutes, August 3, 1917.

<sup>115</sup> Table XX, p. 150.

<sup>116</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Trade Union Membership", July 26, 1919, p. 1.

return of soldiers to civilian life, however, exacerbated the excessive cost and shortage of essential goods. The ATLA called on city council to "lose no time in applying food price regulations". It continued in its resolution to state ..." we still maintain that government control is the object to be obtained."<sup>117</sup>

These were brief but invigorated years of reconstruction. New locals were formed in hitherto unorganized areas and others re-established.<sup>118</sup> A fledging alliance between blue-collar and white-collar worker emerged with the formation of a Ledger Keepers' Association, which unionized clerks and accountants of the large new corporations establishing in Ottawa.<sup>119</sup> Also in 1920, the Association of Federal Employees (postal employees) federal union #66 affiliated.<sup>120</sup> In addition the council made an effort to organize

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<sup>117</sup> ATLA, Minutes, October 4, 1918.

<sup>118</sup> New crafts like the Asbestos Workers and the Composition Roofers were organized. Others were re-organized. T. Burke of the Electrical Workers re-organized the Gas-workers local. With C. Lewis of the Steam/Operating Engineers, he organized the char-women in the federal government (membership of six hundred, mostly self-supporting widows, by 1922) into federal union #67. Canadian Labour Press, "local reports", January 31, 1920, p.3. Lafortune re-organized the Structural Ironworkers #286 and the Leatherworkers #109 (which grew from twenty members to almost all in city). Ibid, January 31, 1920, p.3. J.P. Walsh organized the Bakery and Confectionary Workers #244 with one hundred and thirty-six members. Ibid, May 25, 1920, p.3. The Retail Clerks Union was organized by R.R. Marcil. After its organization retail clerks settled for a wage of \$16.00 a week and hours from 8:30 to 6:00 p.m. The Union warmly thanked the ATLA for their assistance in helping them get an early closing bylaw, effective in May, 1919. The re-organized Meatcutters and Butchers Union gained a forty-four hour week and increased earnings. By March 15, 1919, the civic employees #15 got the eight-hour day at 42 cents an hour. The Culinary Alliance #419 (the Hotel and Restaurant Employees) were organized representing approximately four hundred and fifty members. Their first demand was a shorter work week.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, April 12, 1919, p.3.

<sup>120</sup> The following year, the union publicized its agenda - superannuation, reclassification of the civil service, re-organization of the service, negotiation of salaries and bonuses, and establishment of Whitley Councils. Ibid, October 29, 1921, p. 1. Whitley Councils were formed in Britain after 1917 on the advice of a sub-committee of the Reconstruction Committee of the U.K. They consisted of "representatives of employers and workers in equal numbers, and met at regular intervals to discuss all matters within the industry. The representation within the councils was based on employer associations and on existing trade unions." Scott, "A

working women such as telephone operators and garment workers.<sup>121</sup> Many new unions, such as the Bakery and Confectionary Workers, Bakery Drivers, Milk Drivers, Granite Workers and Hotel and Restaurant Employees demanded the forty-four hour week, the nine-hour day, increased wages, the closed shop and other benefits.<sup>122</sup> By 1919 affiliations rose to fifty-six, with six thousand workers represented. In 1921, Ottawa ranked fifth among Canadian cities in numbers of trade-unions.<sup>123</sup> The size of most locals was still under fifty members.<sup>124</sup> But growth continued over the next few years.<sup>125</sup>

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Place in the Sun: The Industrial Council at Massey-Harris, 1919-1929", Labour /Le Travail I, (1976) p. 159.

<sup>121</sup> ATLA, Minutes, October 4, 1918.

<sup>122</sup> City Council declared in 1919 that all civic printing, "no matter how small", would bear the union label. Canadian Labour Press, June 21, 1919, p.3. The Papermakers secured the placement of a watermark on paper so that by August 1920, all millpaper produced in Ottawa bore the water mark. Ibid, August 28, 1920, p.3. The Retail Clerks' Union promoted the union label on goods sold in stores. The council reported that "most major stores were co-operating". Ibid, November 20, 1920, p.3. The Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union had a difficult time with union recognition. Only one restaurant, owned by Chinese Canadians, recognized the union in 1919. The Ottawa Citizen, "Labour Council Meets", July 7, 1919, p. 7. An employee at the Chateau Laurier was fired for his involvement in the union. ATLA, Minutes, July 18, 1919.

<sup>123</sup> Ottawa (76 unions) was outranked by Montreal (191 unions) Toronto (155) Winnipeg (94) and Vancouver (77). The ATLA represented 54 of these unions, with a membership of 6, 377 workers. Ibid, "Trade Union Membership for 1921", May 27, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>124</sup> Locals electing three delegates. In 1917, Electricians. In 1918, federal union #15, Builders and Labourers', Steel and Copper-plate #6, Steam and Operating Engineers #473, Carpenters (Hull) #1169, Federal Association of Ledgers, Keepers and Accountants #6, Commercial Telegraphers, Railroad Employees #77, Bakery and Confectionary Workers #244, and Brotherhood of Railroad Engineers #93. In 1919, Boilermakers and Shipbuilders #394, Painters, Decorators and Paper hangers #200, Stonecutters, Theatrical Stage Employees #95, Hod-carriers International, Meaicutters and Butchers #626, Culinary Alliance, Steel and Copper Plate Printers #9, Federal Union #16551, Can. Bro. Railroad Equipment, Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Works #44, and Teamsters. In 1920, Masons #14, and federal Union #16501, bank note employees. In 1921, Retail Clerks #353, Bro. Ry and Steamship Clerks #1161, Bro. of Railway Carmen #552, Motion Picture Operators and Carpenters #646. ATLA, Minutes, 1917-1921.

<sup>125</sup> Some examples: The American Federation of Musicians #180 elected five delegates in 1917. The Ottawa Street Railway Employees #279 elected five delegates in 1919, the Milk Drivers and Dairy Employees #93 and Gas Workers #16517, four delegates. By 1920 the Papermakers #34 and the Brotherhood Railway Carmen elected six

Some successful organization in 1919 and 1920 signified ominous changes for the future. Teamsters and Chauffeurs reported over one thousand applications after a short period of existence.<sup>126</sup> The Building Labourers International Union (Hod Carriers and Common Labourers #428) claimed around two thousand members in 1920.<sup>127</sup>

These organizing efforts only partially reflected the council's agenda in the postwar period. In 1919 and 1920, the Allied scouts pushed into the surrounding district and organized the towns of Arnprior, Renfrew, Alymer and with the aid of its Mayor, Gatineau Point.<sup>128</sup> Delegates Green, Lewis, Haydon, Lafortune, McCann and Lodge played major roles in this work. The immediate gains were recognition of the nine-hour day for labourers and increased wages. Renfrew workers were organized into a "general" union, a carpenters' union, and a textile union.<sup>129</sup>

Such a dramatic change in membership would seem inevitably to affect the internal administration of the council. While in the prewar period there was little evidence of internal upheaval, the reconstruction years of 1919-1921 were characterized by a "revolt" of the major locals. It consisted primarily of challenging the "status quo" of council procedures, and appeared to symbolize a desire for change - an intensified demand that the scope of the council's mandate be broadened, and that leadership play a more aggressive role in the struggles of labour. What is worthy of note is that the link between growth and resistance was indirect. It has

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delegates, and the Hodcarriers #428, and Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers #73 elected four delegates. By 1921 the Laundry Workers had four women delegates, Carpenters #93 and the Hod Carriers and Common Labourers #428 had five delegates. *ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Canadian Labour Press*, "local reports", July 5, 1919, p.3. It grew to around three thousand members by 1920. *ibid.*, April 24, 1920, p.3.

<sup>127</sup> *ibid.*, July 17, 1920, p.3.

<sup>128</sup> *ibid.*, April 5, 1919, p.3 (Gatineau Point) May 10, 1919, p.1 (Carleton Place Trades Council) p.3 (Arnprior and Renfrew) May 24, 1919, p. 1 (Renfrew) July 3, 1920 p.3 (Hull Trades Council).

<sup>129</sup> *ibid.* (Renfrew). Women textile workers would not attend the organizing meeting, but sent a message through the men that they too wanted the union.

been demonstrated that the ATLA's membership increased dramatically in 1919. Yet the demand for change originated from delegates of the older (core-membership) locals, and these were predominantly from the building and metal trades. That a radical perspective emerged from this sector is not unusual. Historically, most demand for labour representation emerged from these locals in the city. Their elite occupational position in terms of wages and benefits had been won in hard-fought and bitter struggles with employers, some of which had resulted in union dissolution.<sup>130</sup>

Discontent with council administration arose, not surprisingly, during the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919. The ATLA received a communication from the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council, which recommended that the ATLA, along with other Canadian organizations, declare a sympathy strike in support of the Winnipeg workers. Draper moved that the communication be forwarded to the Congress. In opposition, Williams, a stonecutter by trade and a noted "red", moved that the "contents of the letter" be discussed on the floor. He stated that the labour situation called for "drastic action, not only by trade-unions, but by all Trades and Labour councils". He "declaimed vehemently about the conditions which the working classes were facing today and supported most emphatically the One Big Union idea as the only panacea for these conditions".<sup>131</sup> He wanted to endorse the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council recommendation.

Delegate Leckie of the Painters and Decorators #200 seconded Williams' amendment. He argued "there was too much passing the buck" onto the Trades Congress, which was making little progress, "because they had no power behind them." He went on to say:

If we discuss this matter here, we would find out the ideas of the rank and file. The workers today are worse off than they were

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<sup>130</sup> These struggles will be examined in chapter three.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, "Labour Council Meets", June 14, 1919, p.3.



twenty years ago because of our would-be leaders, who are altogether too timid. These conditions are the exact result of slow, timid leadership of trade unionism. Our "would-be leaders" have handed over the workers to the Government and capital.<sup>132</sup>

In response Draper stated that the Congress was receiving telegraphs and letters, which asked for "advice and guidance". A trades council had no business sanctioning strikes or sympathy strikes. He argued:

It is purely a legislative and executive body. All such matters should be submitted to the international bodies affected. The One Big Union is using the machinery that has been built up by the international labor movement by its slow, steady progress in the last fifty years. A Trades and Labour Council has no business to state that a sympathy strike is to take place unless it is sanctioned by the international unions affected.

With regards to Winnipeg I state most emphatically, we are behind the 44 hour week and collective bargaining but we want this to come through the proper channels of the international union movement.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> ibid. At the 1918 DTLC convention in Quebec City, conservative elements elected Tom Moore to the presidency. He defeated J.C. Watters, who had strong support from the west. A Winnipeg delegate, Robert Russell, was defeated when he ran against P.M. Draper for the position of secretary-treasurer. A short while later, the western delegates held a conference in Calgary. While initially it was stated that the conference should not be interpreted as a secessionist movement, the result was the conception of the One Big Union. It was to be a new and separate trade-union structure, modelled on industrial rather than craft lines. It promoted acceptance of the general strike weapon, and the severance of ties with international unions. A conference called for June 4, 1919 to form the OBU was postponed because of the Winnipeg General Strike. While the strike was not a direct result of the initial Calgary conference, it was a reflection of the opinions prevalent in the western labour movement. Jamieson, Industrial Relations in Canada (1973) pp. 20-21.

<sup>133</sup> Canadian Labour Press. ibid.

When put to the vote, Draper's motion was supported. The communication was referred to the DTLC. But from this point on, debate and dissension characterized many council meetings. A month later, J.A.P. Haydon alleged that "some members of the ATLA were advocates of the One Big Union and so were seeking positions of power on the executive of the Canadian Labour Press".<sup>134</sup> In this particular case, the accusation was directed specifically towards a fellow printer, William McDowell of the International Bookbinders Union #173.<sup>135</sup> McDowell was forced to print a letter of denial, published in the newspaper, stating that the accusations were "untrue and unjust".<sup>136</sup>

On August 22, President Green abruptly terminated a meeting and walked out due to the continued debate among delegates.<sup>137</sup> At the

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<sup>134</sup> ATLA, Minutes, August 15, 1919. The CLP was an Ottawa weekly labour newspaper, covering both local and national news. It was established in 1918 by the ATLA with the assistance of the famous trade-unionist James Simpson of the Toronto Trades and Labour Council. Haydon (Typographers #102) was the paper's editor. In this capacity he attended local Board of Trade banquets and City Council meetings, which kept members informed of developments in the community. He helped with the organization of new locals after the war, and even went to Montreal, Quebec to organize a Leatherworkers' Union. Canadian Labour Press, June 5, 1920, p.3.

<sup>135</sup> McDowell entered the council around 1915 and was elected vice-president in 1917-1918. He held the presidency of his local for a number of years and after the war was either president or other executive member of the local branch of the Independent Labour Party. McDowell used I.L.P. meetings for education as well as politics. In 1919, the I.L.P. hosted Dr. E. Shapiro to lecture on "The Attitude of the Intellectuals Toward Labour and the Employing Class". Another time, he suggested that "guild socialism" be investigated. He was later a J.S. Wordsworth supporter, long after most of the council had reverted to a conservative ideology. Ibid, "Independent Labour Party Meets", April 26, 1919, p. 1. By 1920 the I.L.P. (McDowell and Cameron) established Ottawa's Workman's Educational Association, which ran three courses for a dollar each - Canadian History taught by Professor Adam Shortt, Economics by S.A. Audmore and English by W.J. Sykes and Dr. Siemon. Ibid, "WEA to Run Courses", November 20, 1920, p.3.

<sup>136</sup> ATLA, Minutes, August 15, 1919.

<sup>137</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Council Meeting Ends Abruptly", August 23, 1919. No specifics were given as to what the debate was about, but it is probable it dealt with the council election results of August 1.

next meeting he introduced a "no-more time-wasting" motion in order to curtail debate.<sup>138</sup>

Two weeks later, when reporting the council election results, Haydon reported that all delegates voted in were "straight" except for three "reds".<sup>139</sup> (It should be noted that McDowell was elected to the Executive Committee.<sup>140</sup>) Despite the election results, the rumblings of an internal revolt commenced. At a meeting in late September, Patrick of the Stonecutters put forth a motion "that in all elections for officers and delegates or representatives, each member vote according to choice and that canvassing directly/indirectly disqualify a candidate", "but he was defeated by a large majority".<sup>141</sup> Robertson of the Building Labourers "roused the ire of the ATLA's President Pat. Green", when he mentioned a clique, "which engineered the election of officers", and further claimed (in reference to a conference of trade-union locals that elected representatives for an upcoming provincial election) that "a slate had been prepared and undue pressure exercised on new members to support certain candidates."<sup>142</sup>

On October 3, the Operative Plasterers #124, submitted a resolution calling for a referendum on the election of officers,

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<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, "Labour Council Meeting", Oct. 3, 1919. Such a straightforward action was typical of this unionist. He was elected to the presidency of the ATLA in 1918, only a short time after his appearance in the council. He was of Ottawa Valley Irish origin, like many members of his local, such as Kavanaugh and Cassidy. He was bilingual, and started out as a business agent of his union, where he gained a reputation as a "agitator" amongst employers. He quickly rose to prominence - was president of the District Council of Carpenters and Joiners, and in 1920 became both president of the Building Trades Council and an International Organizer of the Carpenters. Green testified at the Mathers Commission in 1919. He lived in By Ward on MacKay Street. *Ibid.*, "Ottawa Building Trades Council", October 16, 1920, p. 1.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, "Council Elections", August 30, p.1. The three reds he identified were Leckie, Williams and Jardine (OER #279). "The most cutting challenge of the Reds failed with only one member of the old executive failing to get on the Executive."

<sup>140</sup> ATLA, *ibid.*, August 1, 1919.

<sup>141</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Council Meets", September 27, 1919, p.3.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

charging that "the same men are voted in year after year".<sup>143</sup> At the same meeting, the Machinists #825 gave notice of withdrawal because their representative, Patterson, polled only a few votes in the recent election.<sup>144</sup> A month later, the Bricklayers and Stonemasons #14 (Cameron's local) also submitted a resolution "respectfully requesting" that trade-union locals be given a referendum for the election of ATLA officers.<sup>145</sup> Later that month, Corresponding Secretary Lodge's membership report was criticized by Leckie, who maintained the reports "were not comprehensive enough". He added that "he felt delegates passed resolutions without thought and that often legislation was railroaded through".<sup>146</sup>

The demand upon the Association to play a stronger role in spearheading working-class reform was understandable in light of the rapid and debilitating social changes occurring almost every day. The ATLA may have started out as largely a service organization for its skilled unions, but its firm structure and years of experience catapulted it to a leadership position, particularly in a city where no strong alternative organizations were established. The organization of new sectors, consisting mainly of unskilled workers, also brought with it an added responsibility. As soldiers returned from Europe, the problems of unemployment, housing, fuel, food and essential services intensified. Workers and citizens were impatient and disillusioned with government, whose connection with big business became so clearly apparent during the war. Moreover, a large sector

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<sup>143</sup> ATLA, Minutes, October 3, 1919. It was referred to the Executive. The monopoly of Lodge and McCann in the positions of corresponding and financial secretaries cut down on opportunities for others to hold elected positions. Otherwise, other offices were fairly representative. However, the Executive Committee also tended to be constituted of a small group of the same people.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid. Patterson was on the executive of the local I.L.P.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., November 20, 1919. The ATLA executive sent a letter to the local asking them "to present a plan whereby the referendum system can be employed".

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., December 5, 1919. "Replies" were made by DTLC President Moore and Secretary Treasurer Draper. No details were given. Minutes indicate that the reports consisted of giving the number of affiliations, average attendance and general statements, such as "the ATLA is holding its own as a service organization in the city".

of the council's core membership had become increasingly radical throughout the century as industrial conflicts convinced them that the strike alone was not enough to secure workers' rights. But the almost even ideological split in the ATLA resulted in a stand-off. Radical action and participation did increase, but the essential function of the trades and labour council within the larger network of the labour movement did not appreciably alter over the long term.<sup>147</sup> Perhaps a major reason for this was that the growth of the past few years masked an occupational decline for the Ottawa craftsman.

In January, 1920 the federal government announced the re-organization of its printing department. Men who had served thirty-five years or more of service were dismissed, given fifteen dollars a week for compensation.<sup>148</sup> By the middle of the year, prices began to fall, but as Leckie warned the council, falling prices were a sign of impending crisis for labour.<sup>149</sup> Conditions in the city worsened, and employers perceived an opportunity for wage reductions and open-shops.<sup>150</sup> At a local meeting in May 1921, the Great War Veterans' Association stated that unemployment was reaching "epidemic proportions", locally and nationally. Mr. MacNeil, local

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<sup>147</sup> What is meant by this is that certain radicals played prominent roles in the council. For example, Leckie was elected to the Cost of Living Committee in 1919, which interviewed City Council, etc., and Leckie received popular support for appointments to strike committees. But the Ottawa council never went quite as far as Toronto Trades and Labour Council, for example, which held a general strike in 1919.

<sup>148</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Re-organization of Printing Department", January 24, 1920, p. 1. By late February, approximately one hundred dismissals occurred; the ultimate goal was dismissal of four hundred employees. Two things particularly bothered the bookbinders. They were "debarred from tendering applications in other areas" of the government, and the re-organization was being done by a German-American. ATLA, Minutes, September 3, 1920. The ATLA sent a resolution to the DTLC requesting it approach the Public Service Commission to "consider the question of representation - permitting the former employees of the Bureau, not superannuated, to apply for other positions." Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Council Meets", October 23, 1920, p. 6.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid. May 1, 1921, p.1. Haydon had attended a local Board of Trade meeting, and listened to employers discuss the opportunity for an open shop contest.

President, concluded that twenty-five per cent of the national working population had been released from employment.<sup>151</sup>

Democratic dissension continued in the council. On August 5, two delegates, Lodge and Lewis, were elected to attend the DTLC convention in Winnipeg. President Moore of the DTLC moved that any third delegate who could afford to attend the convention at his own expense, be given accreditation by the ATLA. Leckie objected and questioned Moore's motives. President Haydon ordered Leckie to retract his statement. He refused. Moore's motion was passed. Then, because Leckie would not retract and could not substantiate his remark, the council unanimously voted him out.<sup>152</sup>

After the vote of expulsion, McDowell asked if there was a precedent for this action. "Was it the arbitrary right of the Association to remove a seat?" he asked. Haydon replied that he was not prepared to answer at this time, but would do so at the next meeting.

By the next meeting, it was obvious delegates had re-considered the case. Support was expressed for Leckie by the influential Plumbers and Steamfitters #71, which stated that if the delegate was expelled, they would resign their affiliation.<sup>153</sup> However, on September 16, Haydon announced that Leckie's expulsion stood.<sup>154</sup> Patterson (Machinists #825) appealed the decision of the Chair. When put to the vote, the Chair was defeated. Instead, Leckie was to

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid. "G.W.V.A. Meets", May 7, 1921, p. 5.

<sup>152</sup> ATLA, Minutes, August 5, 1921. Article V, section 3, of the constitution stipulated that whenever any officer or delegate was charged with neglect or misdemeanor, the charge was to be in writing. Ibid. Constitution (1914) p. 10. This was to prevent mud-slinging and deterioration to quarrels of no substance. The president perhaps had grounds to dismiss Leckie for making unsubstantiated statements, because he was not willing to put them in writing. Moore was a visitor, but still an officer (of the DTLC). Or under Rules of Order, #15, the president could exclude from the room any member "misbehaving, or disturbing the harmony thereof, by abusive, disorderly or profane language, or who shall refuse obedience to the President..." p. 19. But it did not give the president the right to expel the delegate until the Association determined its course of action.

<sup>153</sup> ATLA, Minutes, September 2, 1921.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., September 16, 1921.

be given a fair trial, in accordance with the constitution.<sup>155</sup> At the next meeting, President Haydon announced the composition of the Leckie trial committee. He then left to attend another meeting. The ensuing discussion revolved around the right of the president to appoint a committee without consultation.<sup>156</sup> It was decided that any further queries would be made in writing.

In the end Leckie was not expelled. The Stonemasons #14 also threw in its support, sending a resolution to have the motion for Leckie's trial recalled.<sup>157</sup> The whole case appeared to revolve more around democratic procedure than of support for Leckie's statement. The unanimous vote by delegates at the night of its occurrence indicates that members thought he was "out of line". But subsequently, delegates felt they had been "railroaded" into a vote of expulsion, and that the actions of the president had been arbitrary and non-democratic.

This issue of democratic administration continued for some months, and in the meantime, organized labour united in a cultural protest against the wealthy war speculator. That year the float to win the Labour Day Parade depicted a speculator, swinging from the gallows and clutching a bag of money. It was designed by Frank Lafortune of the Steam and Operating Engineers.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Article V, section 3, now worked in Leckie's favour. Since he was a delegate "charged with...[a]...misdemeanor", the charge was to be submitted in writing by the president, and a special committee was to impartially review the charges, hear witnesses, and to take any action "as the case may be". If the committee's report sustained the charges, then the Association could remove the member by a majority vote. ATLA, Constitution, ibid., p. 10.

<sup>156</sup> ATLA, Minutes, October 7, 1921.

<sup>157</sup> ibid., October 21, 1921.

<sup>158</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Labour Day Celebrations", September 18, 1921, p.3. Lafortune was elected vice-president of the Association in late 1919 and president in 1920. He was also appointed International Organizer of the Leatherworkers, and elected vice-president of the Building Trades Council in 1920. He was bilingual, and was largely responsible for moving the ATLA's meetings to the St. Anne's Parish Hall in By Ward, which may have acted to strengthen the French-Canadian cultural presence in the council. St. Anne's Parish Hall was on St. Patrick's Street. Approximately seven unions had their headquarters there, three to which Lafortune was directly associated. A number of French-Canadian organizations were located there, such as La Caisse

By October, Mrs. Johnson, (Culinary Alliance #419) the first female executive member, reported that four carloads of men had been sent to Kippewa to work in the bush at wages from sixteen to twenty-four dollars a month.<sup>159</sup> The ATLA noted that the wages of lumbermen were so low, the council would have start investigating the setting of a minimum wage for that industry.<sup>160</sup>

By November, Delegate J.R. Johnson, who now worked at the Employment Bureau on Queen Street, discussed the high rate of unemployment and the problem of patronage.<sup>161</sup> In December, the council urgently lobbied for adoption of the resolution sent from Brantford Labour Council, which called for a moratorium on housing mortgage foreclosures until the unemployment crisis was over.<sup>162</sup>

On the day before Christmas, 1921, the Association of Federal Employees sent a letter to incoming Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie King: It read, "Our salaries are so small, yet we have a strong desire to help the needy. We request the incoming administration to communicate to the heads of departments, to ascertain how much each employee is willing to give for this purpose, and a voluntary contribution to be deducted from the paychecks, in whatever manner they desire."<sup>163</sup>

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Populaire, mutual societies such as Les Artisans, L'Union St. Joseph and the Catholic Foresters. The CLP wrote, "A fact worthy of mention is that, although accommodating all the above organizations, Le Cercle Social does not in any way interfere with its parochial work..." Ibid, "Renovations to St. Anne's Parish Hall", October 16, 1920, p.3.

Unfortunately the Hall was destroyed by fire a year later. Ibid, " St. Anne's Guttled by Fire", November 20, 1920, p.3. From By Ward, Lafortune lived on Papineau Street.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, "Labour Council Meets", October 29, 1921, p.1.

<sup>160</sup> ATLA, Minutes, October 7, 1921. It also pledged its support to the Retail Clerks and the Laundry Workers "in the matter of securing a wage from the Minimum Wage Board". The setting of a minimum wage was legislation passed by the Ontario ILP after its election in 1919.

<sup>161</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Labour Council Meets", November 26, 1921, p.1. He declared that "Ottawa appeared to be so soaked in patronage that it was hard to get away from it - the men in city hall are too small for their jobs."

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, December 24, 1921, p. 2.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, "local reports", December 24, 1921, p.2.



The situation grew steadily worse. In February, Haydon reported that thirteen hundred people were on private charity and approximately the same amount were relief cases from City Hall.

He described the city hall social service department as "a crime" and a disgrace to the city. The jamming and crushing for relief was pitiful and more satisfactory quarters were needed. The City had to increase assistance for the poor, or people would starve.<sup>164</sup>

In April 1922, the federal government announced its plans to hold a conference with the provinces on unemployment. When urged by the opposition member, J.S. Woodsworth, in the House of Commons to institute a system of unemployment insurance, Prime Minister Mackenzie King stated that the plan did not fall under federal jurisdiction, although the government would co-operate with the provinces in establishing such a system.<sup>165</sup> No system was adopted.

The drafting of an unemployment insurance plan suffered defeat because the political will reflected a policy of non-intervention, which was expressed by government representatives at every level at the conference. Prime Minister King set the tone of the conference by stating:

in finding a solution of the unemployment problem the conference should as far as possible encourage the traditional Anglo-Saxon reliance upon self-help in preference to governmental action, on which many

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., "Local Council Meets", February 18, 1922, p.2.

<sup>165</sup> Labour Gazette, "Proposed Interprovincial Conference on Unemployment", Volume XXII, May 1922, p. 460. J. S. Woodsworth was a Methodist minister, social worker and politician. He was best known as a reform-minded social gospel leader and proponent of democratic socialism. He played a major role in the Winnipeg General Strike, and was elected to the House of Commons in 1921 for Winnipeg North Centre, as a representative of the Manitoba Independent Labour Party.

people, since the days of the war, were disposed to depend unduly.<sup>166</sup>

After individual self-reliance, came "community co-operation" with government assistance being the "last resort". The government concluded that the forecast of further upcoming unemployment was "pessimistic".

The resolutions of the conference were woefully inadequate. One resolution affirmed "that the problem of unemployment is primarily one of industry and that every effort should be made in industry to prevent unemployment". A second resolution down-graded the severity of the unemployment crisis and stated that if more problems occurred in the winter, they would be less severe. The recommendation of organized labour that the eight-hour day be instituted was discussed. Lastly, the conference concluded:

that the practice of handing out unemployment doles is wrong in principle and often harmful in effect and should not be resorted to until all other measures have failed.<sup>167</sup>

The unemployment situation bit hard into the Association's membership, essentially because it affected material resources. Many new unions could not survive and dissolved in 1921.<sup>168</sup> Wage cut after wage cut was announced in 1922, and the ATLA fought to maintain fair wages in the district. Eventually attendance, which peaked at around fifty members per meeting in 1919-1920, dropped to half that number. The 1920s became quiet years. Activities of

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<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, "Dominion-Provincial Conference Re: Unemployment, Etc.," Volume XXII, September 1922, p. 978.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> For example, in 1921, the Meatcutters and Butchers, #466 Hull and #626 Ottawa, Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers #423, Leatherworkers #109, and International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Stablemen Helpers #396 to name only a few. *Labour Gazette*, "Unions Dissolved", Volume XXI, 1921.

the council continued, but the membership was reduced to its familiar prewar character, with a few exceptions. An era for craft labour passed, and although the craftsman retained his organization, it would never again have the influence of the early twentieth century.

The ATLA was established as an organization to serve the collective interests of skilled workers in the city. Founded in an environment hostile to trade-unions, it concentrated on membership growth and the implementation of craft principles laid out in its constitution. Beginning with the severe depression of 1913, the Association began to service groups of unskilled workers. By the end of the war, major organizing efforts were made in the region, including those of women and white-collar workers.

The rise of the One Big Union and the Winnipeg General Strike created a confrontation between elements in the council that formerly compromised. This schism resulted in a struggle for control of council administration, which culminated in the trial of a leading radical. The revolt originated primarily from the building and metal trades locals. Loss of faith in government was extended to the DTLC, whose leadership role in postwar industrial conflict was challenged. On the other hand, the physical proximity of DTLC officials to the ATLA dampened the radical spirit of the council. The severity of the 1921 depression forced the ATLA into retrenchment, which effectively stopped the advances of labour, both conservative and radical. Yet however curbed they might be, certain workers retained their radical beliefs born from hostile encounters with employers and government. These experiences are examined in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE

### The Strike Weapon

The purpose of this chapter is to measure the relative radicalism of the Ottawa skilled worker in the early twentieth century through an analysis of strikes by all workers in Ottawa between 1900 and 1930.<sup>1</sup> This measurement helps to determine the role the Ottawa skilled worker played in the development of the broader labour movement.<sup>2</sup>

Kealey's argument that a nation-wide revolt occurred in 1919 is tested by a numerical breakdown of strike issues in three Canadian cities - Ottawa, Quebec City and Victoria.<sup>3</sup> Some general trends of Kealey and Cruikshank's national study are compared to Tables XXIV - XXVII to test correlations between the data.<sup>4</sup>

A statistical analysis of strike issues reveals reasons for class resistance. For example, the frequency of issues such as

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<sup>1</sup> The statistical data on strikes in Ottawa were compiled from the Labour Gazette between 1900 and 1930. This means that the numerical figures encompass workers outside the membership of the Allied Trades and Labour Association. For example, some strikes involved craftworkers affiliated to the National Trades and Labour Council.

<sup>2</sup> Essentially the question of role revolves around the debate that since craft unionism was based on the philosophy of individualism, its workers acted in rational self-interest, often at the expense of less powerful workers. see Morton and Copp, Working People, (1937) p. 80. This viewpoint has been challenged by the argument that struggles against hostile employers who refused to accept the legitimacy of trade-unionism, combined with workplace transformation, created a more militant, class-conscious role for the skilled worker. see ibid, p. 99-100 and Conley, "Frontier Labourers, Crafts in Crisis and the Western Labour Revolt, 1900-1919", Labour/Le Travail 23 (1986) pp. 9-37.

<sup>3</sup> All three cities were capital cities and similar in occupational grouping. In 1911 the population of Ottawa was 59,928, Quebec City 78,190 and Victoria 31,660. Table VI, "Breakdown of Manufactories, Ottawa, Quebec City and Victoria, 1911", p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> See pages 162-165 for Table XXIV, "Numerical Breakdown of Strike Issues, Ottawa, Quebec City and Victoria, 1900-1930"; Table XXV, "Breakdown of Strike Issues, Ottawa 1900-1930"; Table XXVI, "Breakdown of Strike Issues, Quebec City, 1900-1930"; and Table XXVII, "Breakdown of Strike Issues, Victoria, B.C., 1900-1930". The national study referred to is Kealey and Cruikshank, "Strikes in Canada, 1891-1950", Labour/Le Travail 20, (1987), pp. 85-145.

Apprenticeship Control and Objection to New System of Work might indicate that changes in the labour process were occurring. Patterns in struggles for increased wages and shorter hours could provide clues to changing economic conditions that created social discontent.

The radicalism of the Ottawa skilled worker can be measured only by acquiring a broader understanding of the nature of industrial relations in Ottawa. The data in fact reveals that trade-unions were involved in a bitter struggle for recognition and legitimacy. The ATLA played a role in this struggle for legitimacy by providing experienced personnel for negotiations, and by mobilizing economic, political and social support.

From the Chaudière Strike in 1891 to the Inside Woodworkers Strike in 1920, Ottawa had an active strike history. Patterns emerge from this history. Employers were reluctant to concede on issues affecting control of the labour process. Skilled workers developed bargaining methods that compensated for the fragmentation and weakness of craft autonomy. An examination of the Ottawa Electric Railway Strike in July 1919 supports the contention that Canadian workers lost faith in constituted authority in the first two decades of the twentieth century, which led to a state of unrest in the postwar period.

Ottawa had a far larger number of strikes than did Quebec City and Victoria. An examination of Table XXIII reveals a strike-wave pattern of an approximate five-six year cycle in Ottawa and Quebec City. Beginning in 1901, Ottawa had six strikes, the Labour Gazette noting that, in combination with Quebec City, these strikes accounted for half in the Dominion that year.<sup>5</sup> This correlates with Kealey and Cruikshank's figures which indicates a strike wave between 1899 and 1902.<sup>6</sup> In 1907, the number of strikes increased

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<sup>5</sup> Labour Gazette, "Trade Disputes", Volume II, July 1901-June 1902, p.62.

<sup>6</sup> Kealey and Cruikshank, ibid., p. 93. The American Federation of Labor launched an aggressive organizing drive in Canada between 1899 and 1902. Morton with Copp, ibid., pp. 70-71.

again in these two cities, and in 1908, a year of severe depression in Canada, Ottawa had four strikes.<sup>7</sup> According to Kealey and Cruikshank, another strike wave occurred in 1912-13, distinguished by the domination of manufacturing, construction and transportation strikes.<sup>8</sup> Again, Ottawa and Quebec City were part of this wave.<sup>9</sup> After this point, the similarity dissolved. Quebec City had five strikes in 1916, while Ottawa and Victoria had none, indicating that French-Canadians opposed Canadian war involvement, while the English-speaking cities adopted a no-strike policy.

In 1918 and 1919, the strikes in Ottawa and Victoria increased sharply, while Quebec City actually showed a decline.<sup>10</sup> Ottawa had a record sixteen strikes in 1919, involving four thousand and thirty-one workers.<sup>11</sup> Victoria had a more modest increase, seven strikes in 1918 and nine in 1919, but relative to Victoria's number of strikes, this too was a dramatic increase.

Thus, the statistics of the two English-speaking cities supported the assertion that a nation-wide industrial revolt occurred in 1918 and 1919. Quebec City did not participate - its workers instead registering protest in 1916. Victoria's overall number of strikes averaged too little each year to discern a strike wave pattern prior to the postwar period, but Ottawa had a consistent five-six cycle until 1918, and Quebec City until 1912, when it altered to a four year cycle until 1920.

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<sup>7</sup> Table XXIV, p. 162.

<sup>8</sup> Kealey and Cruikshank, *ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>9</sup> Nine strikes occurred in Ottawa and most of these were from the transportation, construction and manufacturing sectors, those being blacksmiths and helpers at the Ottawa Car Company; iron and steel workers at the International Marine Company; machinists and helpers of the Locomotive and Car Repairing Shops at Ottawa and New York Railway Company. Others on strike were moulders, electrical workers, plasterers, carpenters, teamsters and civic labourers. *Labour Gazette*, *ibid.*, Volumes XIII, 1912-1913 and Volume XIV, 1913-1914.

<sup>10</sup> Table XXIV, p. 162.

<sup>11</sup> Table XXVIII, "Number of Workers Involved in Industrial Disputes, Ottawa, 1900-1930", p. 166.

In the postwar period, Ottawa's active strike record did not simply arise and decline. Its inordinate strike activity stretched from 1918 to 1921, and the workers affected registered in the thousands.<sup>12</sup> However, in 1922, there was an abrupt decline in the number of strikes in both Ottawa and Victoria. In Ottawa the number of workers out on strike dropped below a hundred for each year after 1922.<sup>13</sup> Quebec City broke its four year strike wave cycle. Instead, from 1920 to 1925, it declined gradually. In 1929, Ottawa made a surge to six strikes, but these were small, involving only one hundred and ten workers.<sup>14</sup> Despite these variations, the figures from all three cities confirmed another finding of the national study, which indicated that strike levels "fell in the 1920s well below the level established in the 1900s."<sup>15</sup>

When the strikes issues are listed in terms of frequency, the following is the result:

<u>Strike Issues</u>	<u>Ottawa</u>	<u>Que. City</u>	<u>Victoria</u>
Higher Earnings	70	40	31
Shorter Hours	25	7	11
Defence of Trade Unionism	13	8	2
Change in Work Conditions	10	1	1
Objection to New System	0	2	1

Clearly, the majority of strikes involved obtaining better wages and hours. Victoria had few strikes that concerned the defence of trade-unionism, but the city had more sympathy strikes than either Ottawa or Quebec City, seven to the others' five. Considering that Victoria's population was much lower, this suggests that her working people were represented by more radical working-class organizations than either Ottawa or Quebec City, since AFL internationals and the clerical-dominated organizations of Quebec

<sup>12</sup> Tables XXIV and XXVIII, pp. 162 and 166.

<sup>13</sup> Table XXVIII, p. 166.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Kealey and Cruikshank, *ibid.*, p. 87.

opposed sympathy strikes. While Quebec City ranked second in terms of number of strikes, it registered very low in terms of issues.<sup>16</sup> Only seven strikes in thirty years concerned shorter hours. Only eight strikes defended trade-unionism. These figures are more significant when populations are compared - Quebec City had a population of 78,190 people while Ottawa had 59,928 people in 1911.

Ottawa's militancy and strength in her organized working-class were most obvious when comparing working conditions. Ten strikes in Ottawa involved this issue, compared to only one strike each in Quebec City and Victoria. However high Ottawa's record in protesting poor working conditions, all three cities registered very low when objecting to new systems of work. In thirty years, Ottawa never struck over this issue, and Quebec City struck only twice and Victoria once. This challenges the theory that transformations in the workplace were occurring. On the other hand, neither of these three cities was a strong manufacturing centre, although Quebec City had a large boot and shoe industry, and it was in the large factories that whole new systems were introduced.<sup>17</sup> Moreover industrial unionism was yet to come and few factory labourers were organized into strong trade-unions. The craft-labourer was more apt to struggle over apprenticeship control and shop regulations in an effort to protect traditional forms of the labour process. Changes were introduced into the workplace, but on a more gradual level.<sup>18</sup>

The most prevalent issues that drew out Ottawa workers showed that strike action was a privilege, usually exercised by the craftworker. Higher wages, shorter hours, closed shop, employee

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<sup>16</sup> Table XXIV, p. 162. See category II.

<sup>17</sup> For example, when Ford introduced the assembly-line process for manufacturing cars in 1913. See Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (1974) p. 147.

<sup>18</sup> Heron, "The Crisis of the Craftsman: Hamilton's Metal Workers in the early Twentieth Century". Labour/Le Travail 6 (1980) pp. 7-48.



dismissals, apprenticeship control, shop regulations, improved working conditions, union recognition and principles of collective bargaining (i.e., arbitration procedures or negotiating provisions, committees, conferences, etc.) were most frequently the issues creating dispute between Ottawa employee and employer. These strike issues fell into patterns over the span of thirty years.

For example, during the 1901 strike wave in Ottawa, most strikes were initiated by craftsmen. The strikes involved wages, hours, closed shop, employee dismissal and apprenticeship control. None of the strikes for closed shop was successful.<sup>19</sup> In 1902 the four strikes concerned shop regulations, apprenticeship control and closed shop.<sup>20</sup> Painters were successful in gaining the closed shop, but a machinists' local dissolved over a strike for the nine-hour day. In 1903, some plasterers lost their jobs by striking for the eight-hour day.

Job security, or employee dismissal, was a key issue that pervaded Ottawa strikes from 1901 to 1920, and most often dismissal was related to union activity, thus making union recognition an everyday struggle in the workplace. For example, in 1907, the boilermakers struck for the reinstatement of an employee dismissed for union activities. The worker was not reinstated.<sup>21</sup> In 1909, scabs replaced striking leatherworkers at one firm, and the city replaced striking teamsters. When twenty-six ironmoulders struck two manufacturers of stoves in 1910 for a twenty-five cent increase, one firm discharged eleven union men and the other, four. An increase of eleven per cent was granted, but the "new positions" were filled and the employers refused to negotiate with the men other than on an individual basis.<sup>22</sup> In 1911, male tailors struck and won for the reinstatement of a woman dismissed for joining the

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<sup>19</sup> Labour Gazette, *ibid.*, Volume I, September 1900 - June 1901.

<sup>20</sup> Table XXV, p. 154.

<sup>21</sup> Labour Gazette, *ibid.*, Volume VIII, July 1907 - June 1908. On the other hand, builders' labourers were able to win recognition for their Union Committee.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, Volume X, 1910, pp. 22 and 127.

union. In 1913, ninety-six boilermakers, machinists and blacksmiths at the International Marine Signal Company struck for the reinstatement of union officials.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, from 1900 to 1913, many of the Ottawa strikes concerned the issue of trade-unionism either directly or indirectly, and/or control of the labour process by the craftworker. Whether workers struck for higher wages or improved working conditions, the employer frequently struck back at the "paid agitator", the union official. This consistent frustration of union legitimacy created a radicalism in the ranks of organized labour.

The radicalism that permeated Canadian labour and finally came to dominate the Trades and Labour Congress, particularly under the presidency of James Watters after 1910, was an expression of frustration and weakness. While numbers of unionists grew impressively during the period the prevailing impression was one of confrontation. The issue was almost always the same: recognition of a union. Arbitrators, conciliators, and the new machinery of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act could make little headway with such an issue, and perhaps only rarely did they try. It was enough that the workers should work and be paid. To demand more was to challenge the prerogatives of capital in an era when capital was not only defended, but almost worshipped.<sup>24</sup>

During the 1912 strike wave, the issues were almost exclusively wage increases, improved working conditions, and in particular,

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Volume XIII, 1912-1913, pp. 999-1000. There is no evidence indicating whether the men were reinstated. The workers did return to work, and the Department of Labour urged that workers and management hold conferences.

<sup>24</sup> Morton with Copp, *ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

shorter hours. The bricklayers' and the stonecutters' unions, Ottawa's two oldest building-craft unions, were the first to gain the forty-four hour week, in 1911. This was followed by the plumbers in 1913, and by carpenters, electrical workers and painters in 1918 and 1919.

Skilled metal workers worked much longer hours. Ottawa machinists at the turn of century worked fifty-five hours per week and hours actually increased to sixty hours per week between 1906-1910.<sup>25</sup> In 1913, machinists once again struck for the nine-hour day and lost. By 1919 and 1920 the sheet-metal workers were the only craftsmen in the metal trades to obtain the forty-four hour week.<sup>26</sup> Improved working conditions also often related to working hours. For example, in 1911 eighteen pulpbeaters at J.R. Booth walked out, demanding the eight-hour day with willingness to accept lower wages.<sup>27</sup> They had been working eleven to thirteen hours per day on three shifts. Most returned after management refused to change the schedule.

In comparison to the skilled trades, common labour in factories worked fifty-four to fifty-nine hours a week in 1911-1912. After 1914, working hours declined to an average of fifty hours per week.<sup>28</sup>

Ottawa had thirty-two strikes between 1918 and 1920. The unions of old had grown in membership and six thousand, five hundred and thirty-two workers were on the strike line during these years.<sup>29</sup> Generally, the strikes seemed a form of "catch-up" bargaining - that is, most involved demands for higher wages. English-speaking labour did not strike during the war years, yet

25 Table XV, "Wages per Hour and Hours per week of Skilled Metal workers, Ottawa, 1901-1920", p. 143.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Labour Gazette*, *ibid.*, Volume XII, 1911-1912, pp. 115 and 197.

28 Table XIII, "Wages per Hour and Hours per Week of Common Labour in Factories, Ottawa, 1911-1920", p. 141.

29 see Table XXVIII, p. 166. According to Department of Labour statistics, only three of the newly-formed unions struck for union recognition.

regular costs had continued to increase, and many workers found themselves trailing behind the cost of living. The profits gained by speculators in the war effort had been well publicized, and workers now demanded their "fair share". The wages of some crafts, like plumbers and sheet-metal workers, fell dangerously close to the basic cost of living in 1918.<sup>30</sup> In 1917, the weekly wages of street railway men fell behind the average cost of a weekly budget. Since 1911, factory labour weekly wages were three dollars below weekly costs for an average family. By 1917, this differential increased to five dollars, and by 1918 six dollars.<sup>31</sup>

Despite this emphasis on higher wages and shorter hours, trade-unions were still involved in a struggle for recognition, and the radicalism of the prewar period intensified in 1918 and 1919. Five strikes in the immediate postwar period involved either union recognition or defence of trade-unionism, including a sympathy strike.<sup>32</sup>

It was also a time when the building crafts developed mechanisms designed to unify and systematize their bargaining position. In May 1919, the Building Trades Council, re-organized under an AFL charter, led the workers out on strike. Around twenty-five hundred men laid down tools.<sup>33</sup> The reverberations vibrated throughout the local labour community. The Canadian Labour Press reported:

On every hand there was evidence of unrest, but the executive of the Building Trades Council strictly maintained that this was a building trades strike and must be held

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<sup>30</sup> Table XII, "Comparison of Ottawa Weekly Budget with Weekly Wages and Hours of Selected Ottawa Workers, 1900-1920", p. 140.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Table XXV, p. 163. Boilermakers in support of machinists.

<sup>33</sup> This means that the whole building trades sector of Ottawa went out on strike. See Table III, "Occupational Graph, 1911-1931". p. 131.

within its confines until circumstances warranted a wider expansion of the strike.<sup>34</sup>

The Building Trades Council had a strength in negotiations other unions envied. The strike was over in eight days, the men winning "substantial increases" and the Ministers of Labour and Public Works agreeing to the closed shop and weekly pay.<sup>35</sup> It was reported that President Cameron was in charge of the strike, "although International officers were present."<sup>36</sup> But Cameron's authority may have been undermined by International headquarters. At a subsequent DTLC convention, the Ottawa stonecutters introduced a motion "for broad joint strikes" and "denounced their international for ordering them back to work during a general building trades strike in May 1919".<sup>37</sup>

The termination of the building trades strike was ill-timed for other elements of the Ottawa labour community. For example, in May 1919, as part of a nation-wide movement on the part of the International Association of Machinists, skilled metal workers formed the Ottawa Metal Trades Council, in order to mobilize for the forty-four hour week.<sup>38</sup> Three days after the end of the building trades strike, some two hundred machinists and patternmakers (of

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<sup>34</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Building Trades Out on Strike", May 3, 1919, pp. 1 and 3.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. A new relationship emerged between contractors and craftsmen from this strike. The Building Trades Council and the Association of Building and Construction Industry formed a Joint Council to arbitrate grievances that arose between the two parties. By January 1920, BTC President Green reported that of twenty-two cases which came before the Joint Council for negotiation, ten were settled in favour of the BTC; one in favour of the Association of B. & C. Industry and twelve had not called for direct settlement. In 1920 contractors and craftsmen signed their first blanket agreement, which means that one contract covered almost all crafts in the sector. For example, the first blanket agreement obtained the eight-hour day with the exception of labourers and stationary and operating engineers. Canadian Labour Press, "Joint Council agrees to Blanket Agreement", March 20, 1920, pp. 1 and 3.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Kealey, "1919: The Canadian Labour Revolt", Labour /Le Travail, 13 (1984) p.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

whom one hundred and twenty were employed at Ottawa Car Company) from fifteen small shops went out on strike, accompanied by fifty boilermakers on sympathy.<sup>39</sup> The formal demand was for increased wages and shorter hours - but the real issue became the employers' refusal to arbitrate. Although their negotiations were not related, the simultaneous strikes would no doubt have strategically balanced the weaker bargaining position of the machinists.

On May 16, the ATLA issued a statement that "strongly condemns attitudes of employers, who refused Round-Table Conference." [sic]<sup>40</sup> By June, some employers of the machinists were still refusing to negotiate and on the sixth, the ATLA declared:

The present situation has been forced upon machinists and has called for the strong condemnation from the general public, trade unionists and the Ottawa Press.<sup>41</sup>

This sentiment was echoed by an editorial in The Ottawa Journal:

In Ottawa, the machinists' strike is still in the main unsettled. Some of the employers refuse to arbitrate. They are doing the city a wrong. If the trouble extends, these employers will be to blame.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Labour Gazette, *ibid.*, Volume XIX, 1919, p. 690.

<sup>40</sup> ATLA, Minutes, May 16, 1919. Round-table conferencing was promoted by the AFL in the postwar period. It meant that workers, who were scattered throughout many shops, but nevertheless represented by one local, attempted to bargain collectively with the owners as a group. In many cases, however, employers refused even to meet with a Union Committee in the workshop, or with the dreaded "paid agitator", the union official. This anti-union bias was particularly prevalent in the small foundries, car-repair shops and lumber products firms of Ottawa. Some of the machinists' employers, in this case, simply refused to bargain.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, June 6, 1919.

<sup>42</sup> The Ottawa Journal Editorial, quoted in Canadian Labour Press, June 7, 1919, p.3.

After thirteen weeks on the line, the machinists admitted defeat. Some demands were granted, but they failed to obtain the eight-hour day. In June, however, one hundred sheet-metal workers won increased wages and the forty-four hour week.<sup>43</sup>

In support of such strikes, the ATLA followed its usual policy. Its constitution stated that support should be "active and aggressive". The specific role of the council was also defined:

...while the central body has no power to dictate to organizations as to matters of compensation in their general interest, ... the central body [should] be consulted in all disputes, in order that its good offices as arbitrator may be used.<sup>44</sup>

For the machinists, the ATLA established a committee which visited the firms to prevail employers to negotiate. When the Pulp and Sulphite Workers, #73, struck in December 1918, a committee of five was given plenary powers to "endeavour to settle the dispute between Booth and Papermakers."<sup>45</sup> Although "moral and financial support" was the avenue usually accorded strikes, the Association's constitution strictly forbade using its funds for strike support, the practice being to establish a strike fund for each strike.<sup>46</sup> In the case of the machinists, the ATLA levied a twenty-five cent per week fee from each affiliate.<sup>47</sup> In the millworkers' strike, it raised \$100.00 in support of the month-long dispute. On its termination,

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, "local reports", May 31, 1919, p.3. The vast majority (eighty) worked at one place, the McFarlane-Douglas Company.

<sup>44</sup> ATLA, *Constitution*, (1914) article 1, section 3, p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Three committee members were Cameron, McCaffrey (OER 279) and McDowell. The other two were Delegates Lynch and Perry, union locals unknown. *Ibid.*, *Minutes*, December 20, 1918.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, *Constitution*, article IV, section 2, p. 9.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, *Minutes*, May 16, 1919, and June 6, 1919. This was not arbitrary, but adopted after a vote.

the PSW thanked the ATLA for "its generous support and decisiveness shown by the Council [sic]."<sup>48</sup>

By June 1919, eleven strikes had occurred in Ottawa, but the worst was yet to come. On June 21, the Ottawa Electric Railway Union #279 publicized its demands. The six hundred strong union wanted a maximum wage of sixty cents an hour, the closed shop and the nine hour day. The company response was agreement with the workers that arbitration was useless. The union announced it would strike on July 1, 1919.

From the very beginning of the strike, the OER workers were in a determined frame of mind. A long history of bargaining with the company provided the workers with bitter experiences. In 1898, the Ottawa Electric Railway Protective and Benevolent Association was organized by R.G. Hay. The men worked eleven hours a day for \$1.50. When they went on strike, the company adopted a number of strategies. It alleged, for example, that the signatures for union membership had been forged. They wanted to meet with "the old employees" privately. Later, with evidence from "certain domestics", the company found an excuse to fire some employees. The "domestics" shortly thereafter left the city, and the OERP&B Association never survived to march in the Labour Day Parade.<sup>49</sup> In 1904, the OER #279 was organized, and by the following year the OER men finally broke even with the average cost of living.<sup>50</sup> With the passage of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act in 1907, the men received a number of awards which they considered to be quite poor. It was not until 1913 that their weekly wage rose higher than the average cost of living.<sup>51</sup> Wages rose over the war years, but by

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<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*, December 20, 1918.

<sup>49</sup> Forsey, *Trade-Unions in Canada, 1812-1902*, (1982), p.406.

<sup>50</sup> Table XII, "Comparison of Ottawa Weekly Budget with Weekly Wages and Hours of Selected Ottawa Workers, 1900-1920", p. 140.

<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*



1918, the men again barely kept abreast of the cost of living, and they struck to obtain a wage increase.<sup>52</sup>

By this point, the union was firmly opposed to the IDIA. It wanted a number of changes, namely that the company be required to open its books, and that awards be based upon the cost of living, as was done in the United States. They felt that the IDIA's strictures on the public transportation industry were applied only to the union, mainly to prevent the workers from striking. Real, substantial evidence of its grievances was taken at the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, which held hearings in Ottawa in June 1919.<sup>53</sup> Three local unions were selected and OER #279 was one of them. President J.M. McCaffrey and Executive Officer Jennings supplied testimony.

President McCaffrey discussed labour's grievances from a national and legislative aspect. He spoke of the union's opposition to the Lemieux Act (the IDIA) because it did not provide for "arbitration, investigation and conciliation unless both sides agree."<sup>54</sup> McCaffrey stated that the union wanted "a system of compulsory arbitration and decisions based upon the cost-of-living".<sup>55</sup> His solution for working-class unrest was nationalization by the federal government of all major industries:

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<sup>52</sup> Labour Gazette, ibid., Volume XVIII, September 1918, p. 741.

<sup>53</sup> The Ottawa testimony for the Royal Commission of Industrial Relations was never submitted to the federal government. Fortunately, the Canadian Labour Press summarized some of the testimony submitted by Ottawa unions.

<sup>54</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Industrial Commission Holds Hearings in Ottawa", June 21, 1919, p.1. For example, while the OER #279 would have a representative appointed for them by the Department of Labour when they refused to name one in July 1919, the Inside Woodworkers (U.B.C. & J. #646) were not able to engage in conciliation hearings in June 1920 because the employers would not consent to a board. City Council broke the *impasse* by applying for a board.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

The Government must take over everything. Then the Joint Council should be chosen half by Government and half by Industry.<sup>56</sup>

He warned that although he was not in favour of the One Big Union, he felt "it was bound to come, forced by conflict."

The workers have lost confidence in Government Commissions. Of the 50 Ottawa unions, only three were represented today. The workers have lost faith in constitutional authority and in what the Government was going to do.<sup>57</sup>

Executive Officer Jennings spoke on the hours of labour. He claimed that in order to make a living, it was necessary that the men work eighty-four hours a week. Their maximum pay was thirty-nine cents an hour and to get that increase, they were forced to strike in 1918.<sup>58</sup> At present, he went on, the "men worked 15-18 hours a day to make a nine hour pay per day; and no man in the company completed work in less than twelve and a half hours."<sup>59</sup> While the ratio of nine in twelve hours was the best, the average was nine in sixteen hours. He concluded:

Unrest in ...[his] calling [was] never so acute as presently. This was due to low wages, long hours and the high cost of living. Unemployment was beginning to be felt because of the return of men enlisted in France and often men reported three times a day for an hour's pay.<sup>60</sup>

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56 ibid.

57 ibid.

58 ibid.

59 ibid.

60 ibid.

Then Officer Jennings made a most interesting remark. He too stated that there were problems with the IDIA. Then he said that "opposition to the IDIA was a means of unconscious Direct Action".<sup>61</sup> Here then was a valuable clue to the forthcoming conflict. The OER union perhaps hoped to force legislative changes in Canadian industrial relations by fighting both the company and the enforcement of the IDIA.

On June 22, 1919, The Ottawa Journal headlined "Will Strike Unless They Get Demands". The union repeated that they felt an arbitration board would be useless.<sup>62</sup> The company argued that fee-increases were necessary if the men received a raise. In support of the union's demands, the ATLA proposed that fare increases be accrued to wages only.<sup>63</sup>

Only a few days before the strike deadline, the company announced it had applied for a Conciliation Board. This angered the union because it felt this was merely a strike delaying tactic, and not a sign of good faith. The men refused to appoint a representative. One was appointed for them by the Department of Labour. On July 1, despite a request by the Board to wait until the hearings were completed, the union voted four hundred and forty-one to twenty-two to walk.<sup>64</sup> OER #279 did, however, participate in the hearings. Much of the discussion revolved around the men's standard of living. For example, the company argued that one-third of the men owned homes and even cars, while the union retorted that quite a few of these men had worked for twenty years, and that no homes had been purchased since 1914.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> For the reasons given by McCaffrey to the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations. See footnotes 54 and 55. Other issues were the fact the company had arbitrarily changed the fortnightly pay of the workers to once a month and the refusal to open its books.

<sup>63</sup> ATLA, Minutes, June 20, 1919.

<sup>64</sup> The Ottawa Journal, "Street-Car Men on Strike - Ottawa, Walk Today", July 1, 1919, p.1.

On July 3, Minister of Labour Gideon Robertson, on his return from Winnipeg, suspended the Board hearings, insisting that under the provisions of the IDIA the men were striking illegally. The Board would not submit its report until normal conditions resumed.<sup>65</sup> But OER #279 proved immune to the pressure. The public, it declared, was to be "their Conciliation Board".

With the suspension of the Conciliation Board, the editorials of The Citizen and The Ottawa Journal began to severely criticize the strikers. The Journal, usually 'favourable' to labour, condemned the strike, citing its illegality and the "nuisance to the public".<sup>66</sup> Meanwhile, its reporter 'covering the beat' told a different story.

Downtown, at St. Anne's Parish Hall, a meeting was packed. The OER men at that moment gave their support to the interned labour leaders in Winnipeg. The speaker, Fred Tipping, ex-President of the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council, asked for "an appeal to memorialize the Minister of Justice to grant a trial by jury to the foreign born labour leaders of Winnipeg held in Stoney Penitentiary". He was "interrupted by repeated bursts of applause and vociferous assurances of complete support."<sup>67</sup> Dan McCann gave a "spirited address" declaring that "industrial unrest was entirely due to the machinations of the capitalist." Both he and Tipping discussed the need for labour representation in Parliament.

If the government had hopes the men would heed its warning, they were dashed the following day. The men voted overwhelmingly to stay out on strike. They then convened to march on parade, "smiling, laughing", greeted with shouts from gathering crowds, "Go to it, we are with you". Later, the reporter noted, "a monster mass meeting" was held at the *National Monument*. More speeches were heard; discussions on "labour representation in Parliament" and continued

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<sup>65</sup> While hearings were being held, a union could not strike and a company could not lockout. See Chapter Two, "Ottawa Workers Respond to Capitalism", footnote 3, p. 31.

<sup>66</sup> The strike threw the city elite into a panic, for Saturday, July 19, was the planned day of "Peace Celebrations" in Ottawa.

<sup>67</sup> The Ottawa Journal, "OER On Strike", July 3, 1919, p.1.

shouts of "Three cheers for Winnipeg".<sup>68</sup> Prime Minister Borden, when asked for comment in the House of Commons, remarked that "the situation was very simple". The men were striking illegally.<sup>69</sup>

The next day the ATLA passed a resolution, demanding that a responsible body, like the "City, or Ontario Municipal Board, or Dominion Railway Commissioner", should "immediately take hold of the car-service and ...have [a] financial investigation." It also condemned the "actions of authorities in changing fortnightly pay to once a month", "which was against the recognized principles of organized labour and weekly pay."<sup>70</sup> The Ottawa Journal, on the other hand, could not understand why the OER workers did not respect the Conciliation Board:

The work of the Conciliation Board, should be welcome to those who believe that Canadians should respect their own laws...what fair-minded person could attack such a law?...They are persons who wish to gain their ends by as sudden violence as possible, persons who wish to hit the public on the head, with a club, with as little warning as possible, persons who want the money of the public, right or wrong, and who don't care how they get it.<sup>71</sup>

July 5 was a day of unrest. A riot nearly occurred at the Albert Street offices, where hundreds of supporters gathered. Later that

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., "OER Men Vote to Ignore Conciliation Board Report", July 4, 1919, p.1. The support for the Winnipeg workers by the rank-and-file Union members should not be under-estimated. The DTLC leadership opposed the Winnipeg strike because of OBU involvement. Undoubtedly this lack of support contributed to the Winnipeg workers' downfall.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., "OER Strike Discussed in House of Commons", July 4, 1919, p.3.

<sup>70</sup> ATLA, Minutes, July 4, 1919. At a time when most unions were beginning to win the right to be paid once a week, the change to monthly pay was most outrageous. The ATLA spent the next ten years lobbying to make the Ottawa Electric Railway Company publicly accountable.

<sup>71</sup> Journal, "Editorial", July 4, 1919, p.6.

day soldiers came in on cars to the Rockcliffe Barn, and a sudden uneasiness pervaded the city. President McCaffrey declared, however, that "returned soldiers would not act the part of strikebreakers", and such an assumption "...was an insult to the discharged soldier".<sup>72</sup>

Two days later, a large advertisement appeared in the Journal for applications of employment at the OER Company. The same day a committee of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen of Grand Trunk Pacific, headed by a Mr. Maloney, offered to act as mediators. The company refused. It insisted it was hiring "permanent new employees". The Board of Control also offered to act as mediators - their attempts proved "an absolute failure". Mr. Scott, Chairman of the Board, offered the men forty-five cents an hour, which was rejected by the union. The ATLA hosted a public meeting, which was addressed by a variety of speakers. The Association declared that "the trades-union men in the city are behind the strikers to a finish." A huge crowd of up to five hundred people later congregated near the barns, composed of strikers, sympathizers and a number of women and children. A street chauffeur and detective were beaten, and some strikers arrested.<sup>73</sup>

On July 8, the headline in The Ottawa Journal was, " Street Railway Prepares to Give Service". The company declared it would start running thirty cars. It was reported that international union headquarters had not yet approved the strike, but International Organizer Sinclair declared that this was only temporary. In fact, the strike was never sanctioned by American headquarters. The local Letter Carriers, Postal Employees and the Musicians Unions (as public service unions) proclaimed their support.<sup>74</sup> The speeches at the Union Hall continued. "I have been called a radical, a Bolsheviki and a traitor", declared President McCaffrey, "but two of my

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., "Soldiers At Rockcliffe Barns", July 5, 1919, p. 6.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., "OER Strikers in Court", July 7, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., "Street Railway Prepares to Give Service", July 8, 1919, p. 6.

brothers served in the War and one lies under the mud of Passenchendale."..."To our regret", chanted the crowd, "to our regret".<sup>75</sup>

With the resumption of car service, the public relations element of the strike took on a new aspect. While the workers still commanded a great deal of support, company spokesmen also attempted to win a public relations contest by insisting that the "old" employees had been given an opportunity to return to work, and that the company now had no choice but to hire a new work-force.

Two days later, the strikers paraded once again, following "a rousing meeting". Alderman A. A. Heaps from Winnipeg spoke in the morning, where he received "ovation after ovation by cheering unionists". At twelve noon, surrounded by a phalanx of returned soldiers bearing the Union Jack, the strikers (including the striking Bakery Drivers) paraded from St. Anne's to St. Patrick Street and up Dalhousie to Sparks Street. They carried huge signs, some that said, "We fought for you in France, will you help us win?" Songs and cries "that were reminiscent of other days in Flanders fields were given by the soldierly element". Shop windows were flung open and cheers were heard. A tumult of shouting began when they passed by the striking mechanics at their Union Hall. There was a sudden congestion of traffic on Bank Street, "as union men employed in the vicinity flocked out." Citizens crowded the streets, and a rowdy demonstration with five hundred people took place.<sup>76</sup>

One particular noticeable thing about the demonstration was the absence of strikers. The show was carried on completely by the sympathizers and the wives and children of the strikers.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *ibid.*, "Strikers Hold Big Parade Following Rousing Meeting: Street Railway Men Orderly", July 10, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>77</sup> *ibid.* p. 5

These supporters did what they could to slow down street-car service. Young boys climbed up on the cars, tripped off the trolley poles from the lines, opened air-brake valves and then successfully eluded pursuing constables. Women threw debris at the drivers. The procession of street-cars down Bank Street slowed to a crawl:

Oddly enough, practically every car going down Bank Street was preceded by a large truck loaded with stone, the driver a good union man in every case, sitting complacently with a smile on his face despite the furious ringing of the motorman's bell. These teams were greeted with uproarious cries of "hold' em up, Jimmy".<sup>78</sup>

The crowds were reported to be "good-natured, yet restless". Twenty constables - motorcycle and mounted - kept the crowds moving, and humorous stories were reported. One soldier, after yelling at the new drivers, turned to find a policeman standing there. "Whoops," said the soldier. "May I have your rank and serial number?" inquired the officer politely.

The most sensational incident of the strike took place on this day of July 10. A heavy double-truck street car driven by a new employee stalled at the top of Confederation Square and began to run down backwards on Rideau Street. The car hit three automobiles and seriously injured an Ottawa man. One striker jumped and saved a young girl in the path of the runaway car. But the greatest feat was the effort of a striking motorman who, immediately recognizing the dangerous situation, ran and jumped to the front door of the car. A constable, misreading his intentions, fought the striking motorman off, so he ran and jumped in the back door. Pushing aside the terrified driver, the striker applied the manual brakes, and it was generally accepted that the accident would have been much worse if

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<sup>78</sup> ibid.



the striker had not boarded the car. The rumour following the incident was that the air-brake valve had been released, and it was thought that some young boys, or some striker, had engaged in sabotage. But later investigation revealed that the air-brake valves had been operable, and the accident was due to the driver's inexperience.<sup>79</sup> This incident highlighted an alarming statistic that emerged. With the new work-force, forty-three accidents had occurred in the first day of resumed service, and fifty-seven altogether had culminated in serious accidents.<sup>80</sup>

That night, in the working-class district of Dalhousie Ward, a meeting was held at Hibernian Hall near Parkdale Avenue, in order to acquaint those interested on the issues of the strike. The hall:

...was jammed to the doors last night with an enthusiastic crowd of rate-payers, including a large number of women, who met to hear the case of the railway employees.<sup>81</sup>

The strikers were still confident of victory on July 11. The policemen were more firm in moving the crowds, but when Mayor Fisher was asked if he would invoke the Riot Act, he replied:

"There has been no organized attempt to cause any trouble so far and no serious outbreaks anticipated."<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, "OER Strike Still On", July 12, 1919, p.3.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, "Strikers Hold Big Parade Following Rousing Meeting", July 10, 1919, p.3. With the commencement of service, both city newspapers abounded with story after story of public sympathizers scaring the scab drivers and disrupting service. People were jeered when boarding the cars and strike-breakers repeatedly surrounded by union men who persuaded at least some of them to join the union. The crowds at the barns grew to twenty-five hundred people by July 10.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, "Strikers Still Confident", July 11, 1919, p. 1.

The Journal reporter agreed. Referring to a demonstration of twenty-five hundred people, he wrote that "such a peaceable demonstration has not been seen to some years."<sup>83</sup> The next day, however, the Journal editorial was once again railing at the "violence" of the strikers:

Street Railway strikers and sympathizers are using all the violence they dare to prevent other citizens working for the company. We in Canada ought to be past that sort of thing. There ought not to be strikes. There would not be but that workers are often misled by stupid or bitter men...A strike is an effort to get by violence more than would likely be got by peaceful effort.<sup>84</sup>

President McCaffrey retorted:

That famous Lemieux Act and the Department of Labour were instituted to prevent strikes, but they cause strikes and are used by the government and the capitalist class as strike-breaking institutions.

We have nothing moving. Everything is tied up and it's going to remain tied up until we have enough to educate our children, clothe them and feed them as they should be... and not to bring them up as half of labour in this country is doing today - to populate and fill the penitentiaries, asylums, and houses of prostitution.<sup>85</sup>

The Allied Trades and Labour Association also issued a statement:

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., "2500 Gathered at Albert Barns", p. 3.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., "Editorial", July 12, 1919, p.2.

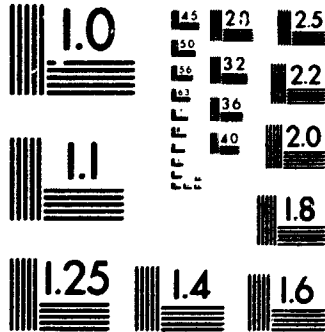
<sup>85</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "OER Strike", July 12, 1919, p.3.

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The Trades Council [sic] has no right to dictate to any of the fifty organizations comprising this body, as to the terms it may seek to make with the employers. The individual units exercise a home-rule policy and as best qualified to judge of the circumstances, are entitled to the support of this organization. Your Executive is determined that the functions of this Council shall not be perverted, but at all times will recommend to give all possible aid towards the local unions securing what they decree as their rights by agreement.<sup>86</sup>

Events began to climax. It was now the third week of the strike. Since the strike had not received international sanction, the union had no strike fund.<sup>87</sup> But even with strike pay, the strikers must have begun experiencing economic hardship. At a local city council meeting, various aldermen proclaimed their support, but in fact no real assistance issued from the Board of Control. Its attempts at mediation failed, and both the union and company declared it had no authority to negotiate for either party.<sup>88</sup> By this time, the men expressed their willingness to return to work, but they wanted assurance that the new employees would be dismissed. But OER President T. Ahearn stated that "the negotiators were raising false hopes", and the new men would be retained. The company was accepting new applications for employment, and the "old" employees were welcome to fill in new applications.<sup>89</sup> In an attempt to resolve

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<sup>86</sup> ibid., p. 1.

<sup>87</sup> The records do not indicate whether or not the OER #279 received strike money from international headquarters. Also the ATLA minutes did not refer to the amount raised locally for support.

<sup>88</sup> ibid., "Strikers Ready to Accept 50 Cents as Maximum Wage to Settle O-E-R Strike", July 12, 1919, p.1.

<sup>89</sup> ibid., "Trades Council Executive Now Trying for settlement of Street Railway Strike", July 14, 1919, p. 2.

the situation, the ATLA executive met with the Minister of Labour but Mr. Robertson said only that the question of employment and reinstatement was between the company and the men.<sup>90</sup> The strike had now reached a dead-lock.

On July 14, the Board of Control met with union representatives. It recommended that the men return to work and await the Board's report. The union said it was willing to return if all men were reinstated.<sup>91</sup> At the same time Minister of Labour Robertson wrote to Superintendent Major Burpee on this matter, asking that the company "restore as many of its old employees as possible", "since the men are now endeavoring to restore normal conditions and proceed in a constitutional manner."<sup>92</sup> But the company announced that the men had already been given their chance to return; full street-car service would be resumed by the following day, and a new class of one hundred would begin training:

With the decision of the men not to return under the conditions laid down, the company will immediately proceed to fill the vacancies with new employees. Any of the old employees can be re-hired if they apply immediately for the new vacancies. It was pointed out the men must be acceptable to the company.<sup>93</sup>

This statement was supported by the Company Board of Directors. One director maintained that he strongly supported replacing all the old employees.<sup>94</sup> Under these conditions, there could be no immediate resolution of the dispute. The union men could not return

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<sup>90</sup> ibid.

<sup>91</sup> ibid. "Men Vote Go Back to Work But on Condition That New Employees Be Discharged", July 15, p.1.

<sup>92</sup> ibid. p. 2

<sup>93</sup> ibid.

<sup>94</sup> ibid. "If Company Doesn't Give In A Sympathetic Vote Result to Be Announced On Friday", July 16, p. 1.

to work if it meant that a number of them would not be reinstated. That night the ATLA held a special meeting to decide on its course of action. The following resolution emerged:

The Street Railway Men now on strike be restored to their former positions before the strike. The Minister of Labour had no right to suppress arbitration after its commencement. Council demands that the Board be resumed. It urged all locals to take a strike vote should this request be refused. Resolved that a Committee...arrange a mass meeting of all organized workers of the City. Mr. Maloney to work with this committee to attend to all matters pertaining to a settlement of this strike. (Carried Unanimously) <sup>95</sup>

Ottawa was on the verge of a general strike.

Those present, and they represented most of the trade unions of the city, were in wholehearted sympathy with a proposal to take concerted action in order to bring about an early and favourable settlement for the men. There was a strong undercurrent of feeling in favour of a sympathy strike being called...President Pat. Green pointed out however, that the Trades Association had not the power to call a general strike, and it was decided by resolution to take a strike vote...in the event...<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> ATLA, Minutes, July 15, 1919.

<sup>96</sup> The Ottawa Journal, "Take General Strike Vote if Strikers Not Accepted by the Electric Railway", July 16, 1919, p.4.

The meeting of July 15 was illuminating. Man after man maintained that it was important for the OER workers to win their strike. It was up to Labour to lend all the assistance it could.

The general feeling was that a united effort must be made to prevent defeat as it was held a defeat would mean not only a blow at organized labor but would also mean that other unions would in turn go down, finally resulting in the crushing of the labour movement altogether.<sup>97</sup>

Delegate Smith declared that, "while not in favor of sympathetic strikes, it was time something was done. Labour had its back to the wall."<sup>98</sup> He discussed the difficulty in maintaining a decent living, and stated that should a sympathy strike take place, he would support it. Delegate McCann declared the time had come for action.

Delegate Leckie moved for the unions to take a vote on a sympathy strike.

I would move that the unions of Ottawa be asked take a general strike vote, if the O.E.R. still refuses to take all the strikers back.

I think that is a reasonable stand and think the public will endorse it...I think the situation in Canada is worse than it was 25 years ago. It is the same in the Old country where the labour element is being called bolshevik because they are asking a living wage. It all goes back to politics, and the O.E.R. is not making an economic fight, it is making a political fight....

I believe the Great War was for the purpose of keeping down the labour

97 ibid.

98 ibid.

movement. It was the same in France and Russia.

In Ottawa the feeling is not the same as in other cities. In Toronto the company did not dare take out a car...In Ottawa we haven't done the spade work yet.<sup>99</sup>

Leckie was given a standing ovation. Another delegate stated that "he saw the result of a general strike in Winnipeg, but believed there is strength in concerted action."<sup>100</sup>

A committee was appointed to arrange for the mass meeting. Despite the reservations of labour leaders like DTLC President Moore, Secretary Treasurer Draper and the ATLA President Green, the organized working-class of Ottawa seemed willing to strike.<sup>101</sup> A motion was also passed to remove the hydro-meters from their homes, since the meters were owned by the same company. The meeting ended with a call to hold an emergency Thursday night meeting to vote on a sympathy strike.

The following day, OER Company President Ahearn stated that "a general strike would not change the company's mind."<sup>102</sup> He favoured filling the positions of all the strikers without further delay, and stated that he would resign from the Board of Directors if the agreement with the new employees was not honoured. He went on to say that the company had received over a thousand applications, and that it would be an easy matter to replace the old employees. He concluded:

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. It is interesting to note that the Winnipeg General Strike acted as a deterrent for workers and the general strike. This shows, as historian Kealey has noted, that Canadian workers had difficult choices to make.

<sup>101</sup> Criticism of the role the DTLC played in the Winnipeg General Strike also emerged at this meeting. Green responded that "the congress had not been asked to intervene in Winnipeg, and he was sure if asked, the congress would assist Ottawa in this local dispute". Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., "Will Not Desert New Men Taken on Since Strike", July 17, 1919, p.1.



A general strike will not move the company one inch from the stand it has taken. If the labor unions of Ottawa wish to follow Winnipeg's example, that is their look-out. They will have even less excuse than the Winnipeg unions had, for they will be going out in support of an illegal, unauthorized and unpopular strike.<sup>103</sup>

The working-class response to this statement was never articulated, because the Thursday night meeting to organize a strike vote was cancelled "in light of recent new developments". Beginning on July 15, an ATLA strike committee had organized conferences between the Minister of Labour, a committee of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen of Grand Trunk and a committee of the OER Company.<sup>104</sup> No new developments seemed to emerge from the conferences, but for the first time since the suspension of the Conciliation Board, the two parties were meeting. OER union representative McCann announced that the protest meeting and parade were to be postponed, until negotiations between the two parties were completed.

The only negotiating decision the union had to make was whether or not they would return to work, or face losing their jobs, or pull out the city on a general strike in support of their cause. On Thursday, July 17, Superintendent Major Burpee and other company officials went down to the Union Hall and spoke to the men. They were given an ultimatum. By noon, Friday, July 18, they were to decide whether or not to return to work. After that time, the company would go ahead with its new programme to reinstate the

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<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> The ATLA Committee consisted of McCann (now business agent of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs) Lewis and Lafortune (Steam/Operating Eng. #473) Patterson (Machinists #825) Labelle (Musicians #180 and member of the Great War Veterans Association) Leckie (Painters/Decorators #200) and Kavanaugh (Carpenters #93).

service and train a new work-force.<sup>105</sup> Superintendent Major Burpee addressed the men. He refused to budge on the issue of total recall, but his statement was full of inferences:

Major Burpee was of the opinion that there were a number of the men now on the cars who might not hold their positions very long. Some of them might prove unsatisfactory and others might leave for different reasons...."It may not be a long time before you are all back,... Mr. Ahearn and Mr. Soper, like myself, are keen to have all the old faces back again...no discrimination will be used in any sense of the word with regards to the unionism of the men. The company has no fight whatever with the union. The fight has been, I think, against a certain amount of obstinacy."<sup>106</sup>

At that moment, the reporter wrote, one could have heard a pin drop. Burpee concluded that if the report did not suit the men, they could strike legally. The ultimatum was extended by three hours while the union deliberated. On Saturday, the day of Peace Celebration, OER #279 was back to work. President McCaffrey stated:

Every possible influence was used against us...I have come to the conclusion that we were not only fighting the Co., but were fighting all the political machines in the City.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., "OE Railway Gives Its Former Employees Until Tomorrow Noon to Return", July 17, 1919, p.1.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., "OER Management Addresses Workers", Friday, July 18, 1919, p.1.

<sup>107</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "OER Men Go Back to Work", July 26, 1919, p.1.

In the Labour Gazette, the recorded result was "demands partially met".<sup>108</sup> By August 9, 1919, the Canadian Labour Press reported that the waiting list was down to one hundred and nine men, and many of these (mostly unmarried) employees departed for Toronto and Detroit to look for work. There were still one hundred fifteen new men on the job. In fact, the union would have to rebuild - absorbing many of these new employees into its union over the next year or two.

The OER Union's decision not to await the outcome of the Board before striking was a calculated attempt to draw attention to the inefficacy of the Board (from the workers' perspective.) Their strike was effective. Within nine days, the company was forced to resume service, and despite its claims of "full" service, the majority of citizens refused to ride the cars. But with the growing number of applications of employment (many from outside the city) the company gained the upper hand. Once it obtained a bargaining leverage, it refused to compromise. Workers who were noted for their loyalty, experience and service of over fifteen years were to

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<sup>108</sup> Labour Gazette, *ibid.*, Volume XIX, August 1919, p. 916. The strike resulted in a standoff. The one hundred and thirty-five new employees were put on swing and relief runs on a nine-hour day. The former men followed on the spare lists. Runs senior to the swing and relief runs were filled from the old senior lists, starting from the top down. The company reinstated the men on its list of suspension - men arrested during the strike. The Conciliation Board awarded: Thirty-nine cents an hour in the first year, forty-one cents in the second year, forty-three in the third year and forty-five cents for subsequent years. The closed shop was not negotiated, hours were not reduced and there is no evidence to suggest the pay issue was negotiated. A year later, the union signed a new agreement and the men received the wage increases they had struck for in 1919, a range of forty-nine cents in the first year to fifty-five cents in the fourth year. The company agreed to union recognition and workers were granted the nine-hour day. In 1922, a Board of Conciliation reduced the fifty-five cents an hour to forty-eight cents an hour, a reduction of twelve and a half per cent. They were denied the eight-hour day, on the grounds that "the nature of work makes the eight hour day infeasible". Moore commented that Conciliation Boards used to give increases: "The company could not be said to have broken the law, but it had broken the spirit of the law." OER #279 had already discovered that in the summer of 1919. Canadian Labour Press, July 26, 1919, p.1; June 5, 1920, pp. 1 and 5; and May 27, 1922, p.3. There was at least one employee discriminated against in the strike. Union secretary E. Patterson was never recalled. He moved to Hamilton and wrote to his union friends a year later. *ibid.*, "local reports", March 20, 1920, p.3.

be dismissed in favour of a new work-force. A key factor in the strike was that the Minister of Labour could not authorize or ensure that the union men be reinstated. The function and authority of the Department of Labour extended only to completing and submitting a Conciliation Report. Although the Ottawa Board of Control extended sympathy to the strikers, it did not vigorously attempt to use any authority it might have to resolve the dead-lock.<sup>109</sup> The OER Union was, however, supported by the organized working-class. Walking out in support of an illegal strike placed all the internationals in danger. Yet despite the reservations of labour leaders, the mood among the rank-and-file indicated they were willing to walk. The decision to not draw on this support essentially rested with the OER #279, whose members decided to return to work. They were consoled by public supporters. Even after the strike, morning commuters hissed and booed street-cars manned by the new work-force. They waited for the next car which had old members on it, and greeted the men with hellos and comradery.<sup>110</sup>

In 1920, industrial relations in Ottawa was still a boiling cauldron. On June 12 inside woodworkers (United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners #646) struck the major lumber product firms in Ottawa.<sup>111</sup> The workers' demands had received no attention and they had been denied a Board of Conciliation. Suggested conferences by the union, for increased wages and better working conditions, met with absolute refusal of the various employers, who refused either to meet the Union Committee or a committee of their own employees. While the Department of Labour urged the necessity of

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., "If Company Doesn't Give In A Sympathetic Vote Result to Be Announced on Friday", July 16, 1919, p. 1. For example, ATLA President Green stated that the Mayor, as Chief Magistrate and Chairman of the Police Commission, could have taken action against the new workers, who, despite the company's claims, were not legally trained to man the street-cars.

<sup>110</sup> The Ottawa Journal, "Car Service Normal Again Without Fuss", July 21, 1919, p.9.

<sup>111</sup> The strike affected fourteen firms - including W.C. Edwards and Company; James Davidson and Co., Geo. M. Mason, McAuliffe and Davis; James Oliver and Son; M.C. Neate and Son; Ottawa Stair Co.; and the Martin - Orme Factory.

arbitration, the employers refused to deal with the men other than as individuals.<sup>112</sup> When the four hundred and fifty men struck the mills, eighty-seven non-union men were immediately hired.

The BTC and the ATLA threw their whole-hearted support into the strike. On July 2, the ATLA issued a strong statement:

...employers had defied public opinion by refusing to arbitrate ...the day was at hand when such a stand...should be regarded as a criminal offence...every Union in this City ...see [sic] that the woodworkers win their strike.<sup>113</sup>

Again, the ATLA appointed a committee which visited the affected firms, but to no avail. However in 1920, the ATLA had succeeded in getting one of its candidates elected to the office of city controller. John Cameron persuaded the Mayor and City Council to apply for a Board of Conciliation. In early July, his resolution was put forward:

Be It Resolved therefore that the Mayor is hereby authorized and instructed to sign and forward in behalf of this Council (City) an application to the Minister of Labour to appoint such a board, under the provisions of the IDIA 1907, as amended.<sup>114</sup>

For the first time its history, the City of Ottawa applied for a Board of Conciliation. When asked if there was a precedent, "Mr. Ashland, Deputy Minister of Labor, said other cities had taken similar actions in the past and such action was permitted under section 63A of the Act."<sup>115</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., June 19, 1920, p.4.

<sup>113</sup> ATLA, Minutes, July 2, 1920.

<sup>114</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Inside Woodworkers' Strike", July 10, 1920, p.1.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

Grant Davidson, speaking for the mill-owners, said the matter was not covered under the Lemieux Act and the Department of Labour had no power to interfere. He added:

We have nothing to settle and there is no need for a board. If our men are willing to return to work, we will each meet a committee of the men from our factories and talk things over with them. At present our men are not on strike, they have simply quit our employ and are at liberty to go where they please. We will have no dealings with paid agitators....the employers were not particular when the men returned to work.<sup>116</sup>

Like the machine shop employers, these firms refused to accept the workers' choice of representatives. Paid union officials were regarded as "agitators". In a distinctly anti-union attitude, the firms stated they would negotiate only with selected committees from the work-shops, if at all. The Conciliation Board report, however, recommended increased wages, establishment of the forty-four hour week and union recognition. Although the ATLA sent their committee around to the various firms, there is no evidence to confirm if the employers ever complied with the Board's report.

The struggles of the past few years had been desperate, but at least unions had won wage increases and shorter hours. By 1921, unemployment became widespread in Canada and the trend turned to wage-reductions. The inside woodworkers had their wages cut by twenty to thirty per cent in 1921 and wages in the lumber industry began to drop. Half of the building trades struck over reduced wages and won.<sup>117</sup> The Musicians struck over reduced wages and lost.<sup>118</sup> Twenty photo-engravers struck against a reduction and no

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Labour Gazette, ibid., Volume XXI, June 1921, p. 772.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., October, 1921, p. 1,259.

settlement was ever reached.<sup>119</sup> Twenty-five lithographers struck for an increased bonus before Christmas of 1920 and were locked out as a result.<sup>120</sup> On June 1, 1921, over four hundred printers and bookbinders struck for increased wages and the forty-four hour week. By Christmas, a third of the workers returned to work, although the strike was not officially called off until 1924.<sup>121</sup>

Employers perceived an opportunity to achieve the open shop because of the epidemic proportions of unemployment. The battles waged by the machinists, the street railway men and the woodworkers were only the beginning of a labour-management confrontation. The ATLA considered 1921 to be the year when the most pronounced attempts were made to destroy the labour movement in Ottawa. "Remember 1921," it resolved at one of its meetings. At the end of the year the trades and labour council stated that:

The general labour movement is in agreement with the Electric Workers when it states that the wall of the open shop has been broken on the groynes [sic] and breakwaters of the organized labour movement, and is receding now at a rapid rate with all its fury removed...that the movement to destroy labour organizations and place the workers under industrial bondage is declining far more rapidly than the most optimistic expected.<sup>122</sup>

The statistical data on trade disputes in three Canadian cities confirmed results of the national study. Strike cycles existed and emerged in Ottawa and Quebec City. In the case of Ottawa, this cycle peaked with a series of strikes in the postwar period. Data

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, June 1921, p. 773.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, January, 1921, p. 41.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1921, pp. 887 and 1,479.

<sup>122</sup> *Canadian Labour Press*, December 17, 1921, p. 2.

from Ottawa corroborated that the strike wave of 1912 was dominated by transportation, manufacturing and construction workers. In all three cities, there was a dramatic decrease in strike levels in the 1920s.

Ottawa had a far more active strike record than either Quebec City or Victoria. It supports Kealey's theory that a cross-country revolt occurred in Canada, although the nature of the unrest varied from region from region. The data on Victoria corroborates this to a lesser extent, while the postwar figures on Quebec City contradict the theory.

Strikes were most often used by the craft worker. The issues which occurred with the most frequency were higher wages, shorter hours and defence of trade-unionism. Nevertheless, issues like apprenticeship control, shop regulations, working conditions, procedures of wage payments and discharge of employees contributed to industrial conflict. Only Quebec City and Victoria had strikes concerning new systems of work.

Employers generally acceded to wage increases, but they were more resistant to negotiating issues like shorter work hours, time-schedules and pay-day changes, probably because this affected shop-floor control, payroll and industrial contracts. Wage increases could be rescinded in the future.

The most fundamental issue affecting industrial relations in Ottawa was union recognition. An anti-union bias was particularly strong in the car repair shops, foundries and lumber product firms. These workers were denied the freedom to select their own representatives and employers frequently refused to meet with Union Committees to bargain. This often led to disputes that ostensibly concerned other issues. The building trades sector was the only area that made progress in collective bargaining practices. Even so, some of the sector's unions chafed at the restrictions put on strike activity by international union headquarters.

The ATLA played a major role in the community by appointing committees for arbitration and by providing financial and social



support. During the OER strike, many delegates spoke of the workers in a class context and urged the necessity of political representation.

The street railway strike seemed undoubtedly to prove that Canadian workers had lost faith in constituted authority. The OER #279 appeared to want to use the strike of 1919 as a means to enforce change in the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. This failed to occur. Although many of the union's demands were met either in 1919 or 1920, it lost a strategic battle when one hundred and thirty-five of the men were not reinstated immediately after the strike.

Kealey's argument that the postwar unrest was characterized by rank-and-file activism was born out by the events in the OER conflict. The DTLC leadership was criticized for its role in the Winnipeg General Strike, and the ATLA's decision to hold a mass meeting for a general strike vote was spear-headed by rank-and-file participants.

The Ottawa skilled workers were radical. It was not a radicalism of doctrinaire socialism or union syndicalism. It was a radicalism created by the continued frustration of union recognition and workers' rights. In the first decade of the twentieth century, this frustration was directed toward the local employer. But the War caused a change in attitude. The frustration and radicalism intensified and turned more towards the state. This was due in large part to the government's approach to the War effort and to conscription. But it was also born from prior experiences. The OER #279's strike was an attempt to enact political change in the economic sphere because only strong legislation could force employers to bargain in good faith with a workers' organization. The local disputes in the postwar period reinforced the now prevalent belief among Ottawa's skilled workers that labour representation in politics was a necessity. Labour representation was clearly necessary, but it was difficult to achieve. Ottawa's efforts are examined in the following chapter.

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**Trials and Tribulations**  
**of**  
**Political Action**

The purpose of this chapter is to define the parameters of the Ottawa skilled worker's resistance, by examining the development of the ATLA's political orientation. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, craftsmen formulated a political movement known as labourism.<sup>1</sup> The ideology was characterized by its pragmatism and its "wooliness"<sup>2</sup>. It was distinguished both by a program of specific reforms and by attempts of local craft worker organizations to gain representation at all levels of government. This will become apparent in the discussion of the ATLA's political activities.

In the twentieth century, however, organized labour's ideology split into three aspects. The first was the support of a party based on the trade-unions. The second was opposition to such a party, that is, belief in "business unionism". The third was "pure" socialism, which also divided the movement.<sup>3</sup> The political orientation of the ATLA's members fell largely in the first two aspects - those who believed in "business" unionism, and who supported traditional parties; and those who wanted a party based on the trade-unions. Socialism was to provide a loose framework for understanding capitalist principles, particularly by the War's end, but there is not

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<sup>1</sup> see Heron, "Labourism and the Canadian Working Class", Labour/Le Travail XIII, (spring 1984) pp. 45-76 in Introduction, pp. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 50. He means a lack of clarity in the philosophy. Unlike Marxism, for example, labourism was not a scientific theory. Rather it addressed specific reforms in the state. These reforms changed over time. Heron wrote, "...that this was not an intellectualized doctrine, but more like an inclination and a set of political impulses which proceeded from some common ground. It was the politics not of ideologues but of practical people moving outward from their economic struggles."

<sup>3</sup> Lipton, Trade-Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959 (1973) p. 120.

sufficient evidence to indicate that "pure" or "doctrinaire" socialism ever took root in the ATLA. The Association's attempts at labour representation throughout the twentieth century yielded very poor results, and this serves to illustrate how small the class of organized labour was in the city, and how inadequate its resources.

Nevertheless, both of the ATLA's predecessors began life with a keen interest in provincial and federal representation.<sup>4</sup> In 1898, the ATLA began preparatory work for municipal representation by asking city council "to petition the legislature to reduce the property qualifications for mayors and aldermen from \$1000 to \$500, and to give the vote to everyone 21 years of age and with a yearly income of \$200."<sup>5</sup>

Across the country organized labour found the representational route through the traditional two parties to be narrow and frustrating. By 1899 the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress passed a resolution on political action:

Resolved that this parliament of labour  
declare for political action to be taken by the  
working people of Canada, in nominating and  
electing labour candidates for parliament,

<sup>4</sup> For example, in referring to the election of D.J. O'Donoghue as the first Labour Member of Parliament in 1874, Lipton asserted that "much of the credit for his success goes to the Ottawa Trades Council which nominated and campaigned for him." *Ibid*, p. 49. A year after its formation in 1889, the Ottawa Trades and Labour Council drew up a platform for the provincial election. The program was "an eight-hour day on government works, a minimum wage on government contracts, a first lien on the produce of work for wages, irrespective of ownership, an end to land grant subsidies to railways, abolition of immigration, and a demand that candidates seeking labour support vote for all pro-labour legislation." They could not find a candidate to support it. Forsey, Trade-Unions in Canada, 1812-1902, (1982) pp. 403-404. In 1891, a minority on the council put up delegate J.W. Patterson for the Dominion election. He was defeated, but only by three hundred votes. Logan, Trade-Unions in Canada, Their Development and Functioning (1948) p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Forsey, *ibid*, p. 406.

along the lines of independent politics, apart from either of the existing parties.<sup>6</sup>

The election of labour representatives was sporadic, however, and a formation of a national labour party did not really occur until 1906. This organization was spearheaded in Winnipeg, the local labour council having formed a Labour Party in 1900.<sup>7</sup>

The formality of supporting the Labour Party did not reach Ottawa until 1907. A representative of the Toronto Labour Party visited the council and spoke on the "differences between trade-unionism and socialism". The ATLA then endorsed the platform of the Ontario branch of the I.L.P, and at the suggestion of the Party, formed a Labour Club to prepare for the visit of Kier Hardie in 1908.<sup>8</sup>

By 1908, the ATLA was ready again for a political campaign.<sup>9</sup> The struggle began early in January when the municipal election occurred. This was a significant contest because it was the first year Ottawa instituted its Board of Control in city government. According to John Taylor, urban historian, the Board of Control was similar to the city commission system and "was widely perceived in

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<sup>6</sup> Lipton, ibid, p.118.

<sup>7</sup> ibid, p. 120.

<sup>8</sup> ATLA, Minutes, July 26, 1907. Kier Hardie was labour's first representative in the British House of Commons. He was famous for retaining his workingman's ways. For example, on his election, the coal-miners from his district wanted to rent a fine carriage for Hardie to ride up to the House of Commons. He adamantly refused and showed up in a cart. He also refused to adopt the top hat every representative wore to Parliament, retaining his coat and cap. Hardie was a great spokesman for the British working-class and has a place in history as one of labour's heroes. Hardie, Speeches and Writings, 1888-1915, (n.d.) p. 49. A month later, for example, the Association received a communication from the Independent Labour Party. ATLA, ibid, September 27, 1907. This demonstrates the attempt by Ontario unionists to establish an ILP network.

<sup>9</sup> The ATLA had started the century with a great deal of success in local politics. In 1900, the "people's Mayor Morris" was elected. Fourteen of the seventeen aldermen elected had been endorsed by the Association and two out of three candidates put up for the campaign were elected to City Council. Taylor, Ottawa, An Illustrated History (1986) p. 164.

the early twentieth century as the mark of a progressive city".<sup>10</sup> According to Taylor, the Board served to narrow the representational power of the City Council because it controlled administration and expenditures.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, in the 1908 municipal election, labour was only one group of many aspiring to elect a Controller. The ATLA endorsed Draper as a candidate for this office, besides running two candidates in each ward for alderman. Draper's platform was hardly distinguishable as a labour program, addressed as it was to the many perfdies of municipal affairs. He challenged voters to go "beyond the backwoods system of creed and nationality", attempting to appeal to both French and English-speaking citizens.

None of the candidates was successful, but Draper made a respectable showing. He attributed his defeat to the loss of French-Canadian voters, who supported a candidate named Champagne.

(Mr. Draper was given a rousing reception). "I have been defeated," he said, "but I have made a fair straightforward honorable fight. I got a splendid vote, I think, today from the intelligent, thoughtful unbiased electors of this city." He referred to the vote in different parts of the city, and said, "The French-Canadian citizens, with whom I have been on the best of terms since I came here, made up their minds, that the only way to get their candidate in was to give him a solid vote, and that they undoubtedly did". This raised considerable dissension. "I don't care whether it pleases you or not, the figures are there, and speak for themselves. I have no fault to find. They thought they ought

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 166. "The evident and real power of the Board thus served to narrow real representation in the city's political process."

to have a representative on the board of control, and there is no other reason why Alderman Champagne is elected, and I am man enough to congratulate that candidate. I was up against a set of circumstances over which I had no control, and against which I think no man could have won in Ottawa. I think I have proven beyond doubt that I had a right to enter the field. I have made a strong, manly fight against unfair appeals, against sectional and race prejudice, I might say."<sup>12</sup>

The following year, Draper was again nominated as a candidate, but failed to secure a winning vote. During the election, the ATLA discovered that not enough polling booths were available.<sup>13</sup> This started a campaign for election reform which continued for the next twenty years.

In April, a committee was formed to look "at the advisability of putting up a candidate in the upcoming Provincial Election".<sup>14</sup> No

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<sup>12</sup> Such outspokenness was unlikely to endear Draper to the French-Canadians in subsequent elections. The particularly extraordinary fact about this was that there was a rival contender for labour votes in the field, Charles Pepper of the National Trades and Labour Council, which effectively caused a split in the labour vote. Draper made no mention of this. Boudreault, a printer and former delegate in the old Ottawa Trades and Labour Council, was elected alderman of Ottawa Ward. J.M Macoun, a local philanthropist who was a trustee of the ATLA in 1897-1898, was unsuccessful in St. George's Ward, but "he was thanked, especially by his Roman-Catholic friends, both French and Irish." The Ottawa Citizen, "Large Vote Being Polled", January 6, 1908, p.1.

<sup>13</sup> ATLA, Minutes, January 8, 1909. The complaint may seem trite, but the ATLA learned that "mechanics and wage-earners had been forced to vote over the noon-hour" and the insufficient number of booths and time meant some had not able to cast their vote. City Council responded by stating the number of polls would be increased next election, which was "heartily endorsed" by the Association. Ibid, January 22, 1909. A few years later the ATLA began to agitate for the placement of voting booths in schools. In 1915, they thought they had obtained success when they were invited by City Council to a meeting discussing this placement. Ibid, December 3, 1915. The debate continued until 1936, when City Clerk Lett argued that children would have to be given a day off school. "Good", retorted the ATLA, "It wold instill in them the importance of the franchise." Ibid, January 3, 1936.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, April 10, 1908.

action was taken, and the omission to mention suitable candidates may indicate that council delegates lacked the resources to mount a campaign in a year of national depression. As an alternative, the council donated \$5.00 to Allen Studholmes, the I.L.P. candidate in Hamilton.<sup>15</sup> About a month after the ATLA decided not to run a provincial candidate, the newly-formed Building Trades Council "solicited ATLA's aid for the organization of candidatures for labour representation in the federal Parliament". A committee of five was formed, but nothing was organized in the area. At the request of the Hamilton and Toronto labour councils, the ATLA donated money for the campaign of two federal candidates, one of whom was J. E. O'Donoghue, a lawyer (and son of D.J. O'Donoghue).<sup>16</sup>

Although a desire for labour representation existed among the skilled workers of Ottawa, neither their numbers nor resources proved adequate to the task. Failure to gain a foot-hold at the municipal level, where the ATLA was most influential, boded ill for provincial and federal representations. This did not detract from the delegates' interest in politics or their interest in legislative reforms.

While it can safely be said that radical politics before the War was limited in most of Canada, it cannot be said that the radical spirit of organized labour was non-existent. Attempts to organize labour representation proved rife with "trials", but the Canadian labour movement continued to develop its union program. At the 1911 DTLC convention, the delegates elected socialist James Watters as president and endorsed the principle of industrial

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. May 22, 1908. The ATLA continued these donations to Studhome until his death in 1919, when the "champion of labour" was honoured by a minute's silence.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. and October 9, 1908.

unionism.<sup>17</sup> A resolution opposing war was passed, which was re-affirmed again in 1915.<sup>18</sup>

In 1912, the ATLA threw its largest resources to date into the municipal campaign - \$200.00 for the Board of Control, and \$100.00 for school trustees and aldermen, besides asking locals to contribute "in any way".<sup>19</sup> Draper was nominated as a candidate, but again was defeated. After this election, the Association, along with Brantford Labour Council, vigorously pushed for the abolition of property qualifications for candidates in municipal elections. At the local level, the ATLA asked Alderman McDonald, who supported labour principles, to help get these qualifications abolished. The council also appointed a deputation to solicit the Board of Control for a plebiscite of all property qualifications.<sup>20</sup>

The national depression, which struck Ottawa in 1913, put the possibility of labour representation on a back-burner. Nevertheless, alderman and controller candidates were asked to speak at meetings and the ATLA began to draw up questionnaires for candidates.<sup>21</sup> If a candidate suitably satisfied the council delegates, he was endorsed. One labour candidate for alderman emerged in municipal election of 1914, Brother Pearce, who ran unsuccessfully in the Wellington

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<sup>17</sup> Morton with Copp, Working People, (1980), p. 102.

<sup>18</sup> Robin, "Registration, Conscription and Independent Labour Politics, 1916-1917", Conscription 1917 (n.d.) p. 60.

<sup>19</sup> ATLA, Minutes, December 15, 1911.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., February 7, 1913.

<sup>21</sup> The only remaining questionnaires date from 1932. The questions were pro-labour and of a practical nature. For example, "Do you favour a survey of street lighting?" "Do you favour the elimination of one-man cars on the street railway service?" "Do you favour continuation of the fair wage clause on all contracts?" "Do you favour the use of the union label on all civic works to which same could be applied?" Ibid., November 18, 1932.



Ward.<sup>22</sup> The ATLA this time complained that "ballots on plebiscites have been withheld from some of the electors".<sup>23</sup>

In August 1914, Canada entered the Great War. In support of organized labour's policy, the ATLA passed a resolution that read as a "protest against war".<sup>24</sup> Despite its opposition to war, the DTLC could not call a general strike, because so many of the unionists proved to be patriots. At a meeting in September, the DTLC "dropped its antiwar sentiments, pledged its loyalty, and drew the line only against any form of manpower conscription."<sup>25</sup> At this time, the conscription issue was scarcely controversial.

By 1916, opposition to conscription was controversial. The National Service Board was authorized to register all adult males in the Dominion. Many delegates in the labour congress argued this was a step to conscription. The DTLC again re-affirmed its anti-conscription stand. Against the opposition of radical delegates, the DTLC executive gave its official endorsement to registration, partly because the Government promised that wealth would "bear its due proportion of contributions and sacrifices in the War", and partly because the Government gave its assurances to avoid conscription.<sup>26</sup> The ATLA, along with the Toronto, Hamilton, Guelph, St. John,

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, January 7, 1914.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, January 16, 1914. Plebiscites were a popular method of decision-making for the ATLA. At the same meeting, they resolved to solicit City Council to hold a plebiscite on the water supply question. As Heron has pointed out, the ideology of these labourists was defined more by the methods they advocated than by any particular political principle. For example, in 1915, the ATLA adopted support for the system of proportional representation, which was taught to them by a visitor, Mr. Hoop. *Ibid.*, October 16, 1915. A month later, the Association amended article V, section 1 of their constitution concerning the election of officers. Instead of being voted in by a majority, proportional representation would be practiced. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1916. In 1920, the Association reiterated its support for this system, sending a resolution to the Provincial Parliamentary Committee investigating it. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1920.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, August 14, 1914.

<sup>25</sup> Morton with Copp, *ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Peterborough and St. Catharines labour councils, supported the executive's recommendation.<sup>27</sup>

In May 1917, Prime Minister Borden announced that manpower conscription would be necessary. The positions of government and labour congress were now in direct conflict. Most Ontario leaders were willing to accept manpower conscription if there was a conscription of wealth. On May 25, a province-wide federation of trade-unions passed a resolution calling for "the nationalization of the industries in the country which are necessary to the successful carrying out of the War - the wages and conditions of the workers to be guaranteed by the government."<sup>28</sup>

Six days later the executive of the DTLC met with Borden and asked for the repeal of conscription. They also requested that labour be given representation in the new cabinet.<sup>29</sup>

Instead of consulting the DTLC in good faith, the Prime Minister, when later selecting the cabinet for his Union cabinet, chose two labour men whose unions (the running trades) had never belonged to the congress.<sup>30</sup> The DTLC executive united once again with the radical delegates, and in June 1917, a special congress meeting denounced the Borden government and swore resistance to conscription.<sup>31</sup>

This had little effect on the Government's policy, and the only resort open to organized labour was at the polls. Preparation for the 1917 federal election by the labour movement was hastily done, while the general populace had little sympathy for what they deemed was an anti-patriotic stance. Political action on the anti-conscription platform in 1917 proved disastrous for labour. But perhaps what really proved a tragedy for the Canadian nation-state

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27 Robin, *ibid.* p. 64.

28 *ibid.* p. 66.

29 *ibid.* p. 67.

30 Morton with Copp, *ibid.* p. 111.

31 *ibid.*

and her citizens was the unrealized potential of a tri-partite administration during a period of national crisis. An opportunity to establish a common structural ground for industrial and economic development was unrealized, and contributed to many more years of industrial conflict in Canada.

The effects of industrial mobilization in Canada was a bitter experience for union workers. Unlike elsewhere, Canadian labour was excluded from consultation and influence. Businessmen controlled every aspect of the war effort and treated organized labour with open contempt.

The result was that while most radicalism had been directed at the local level in the prewar years, an intensified protest movement directed at the state arose in the postwar years.<sup>32</sup> It created schisms in the ranks of labour, which filtered down into the local grassroot organizations. As political scientist Martin Robin has pointed out, this militancy was not "an afterthought, a product of the reconstruction period."<sup>33</sup> It was based on the struggles of the previous decades, which culminated in the debilitating experience of war mobilization in Canada.

This seems especially apparent when the ATLA's political activities after the war are examined. It continued to follow its same methods. For example, after the municipal election of 1918, the council called for a plebiscite on the right of poorer residents to vote on city expenditures:

All qualified to vote at Civic Elections should be also qualified to vote on all by-laws pertaining to the City expenditure as well as pass judgement on the spenders, and it is the duty of our City Council to seek legislation to this end, by all means such as

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<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>33</sup> Robin, *ibid.*, p. 60.

asking other Councils to support this long with-held equitable franchise.<sup>34</sup>

Nevertheless, a shift in consciousness appeared to have developed. The uniqueness of the postwar period lay in the intensification of efforts for change, and the increasing awareness among craft workers that they constituted a class. As in the DTLC, this "clarion" call coalesced around the issue of a labour party, since it was felt that only a labour political party could unify and systematize labour's grievances. On the other hand, some delegates argued that labour representatives had to be open "to all classes" and affiliation to one party might further alienate potential support. Experience taught that labour candidates received scant attention in the Ottawa political arena. These conflicting perspectives evenly divided the ranks in the ATLA. In May 1918, the issue was put on the table when the executive of the council recommended that the ATLA not affiliate with the Canadian Labour Party, on the grounds it is "an overlapping movement".<sup>35</sup> So strenuous was the opposition and debate that the matter was held over for three meetings. On July 5, 1918, when put to the vote, the council resolved not to affiliate, but the close vote, eighteen to sixteen, clearly indicated how politically-conscious the delegates had become over this divisive issue. Affiliation was never again re-opened for voting, despite later repeated requests from the Ontario I.L.P. (and from delegates) that the ATLA join.<sup>36</sup> This was a victory for the AFL controlled international trade-union leadership, which advocated "hands off" on political support for a party.

This did not mean that the ATLA gave up the idea of labour representation. The council did not formally withdraw from

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<sup>34</sup> ATLA, *ibid.*, February 1, 1918.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, May 7, 1918.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, October 7, 1921. The Ontario branch of the Canadian Labour Party asked the Association to affiliate. It was referred to the executive.

political activity, or from its alliance with the I.L.P. One decision made by the ATLA was that no candidate in the municipal elections was to be endorsed unless he was a "card-carrier".<sup>37</sup> It continued to make financial contributions to the Party and Cameron, for example, held the vice-presidency of the Ontario Labour Party in 1922.<sup>38</sup>

Throughout 1918, as union membership grew by leaps and bounds, the Ottawa movement regained its sense of confidence. In a period characterized by a call for democratic reform, the trade-union structure became heralded as an example of democracy in action. Haydon said it best in an editorial:

Trade-unionism is the new political democracy. Democracy to live must be progressive. Political democracy is the sire of this new industrial democracy. Trade-unions develop the reason, the conscience and the civic sense of the wage-earners. Trade-unions should be encouraged because they appeal to reason and not to the destructive passions of man. By combining with trade-unions, in acting collectively, deciding questions by debate and majority vote, making sacrifices of opinion and individual superiority for the common good of all, the workers receive an education and training which eminently fit them to take their rightful place in industry and organized society. Indeed, it is only by this education and training that democracies can live and grow and develop. Trade-unions have done world-wide good in the past. They have established their right to be counted among

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., December 20, 1918. The term "card-carrier" means to hold membership in a trade-union.

<sup>38</sup> Labour Gazette, "Ninth Annual Convention of Ontario ILP", Volume XXII, 1922, p. 222.

the greatest instrumentalities of civilization and social progress.<sup>39</sup>

The triumphant ring, the assertion that unions "have established their right to be counted" spoke of a new confidence and authority that was reinforced by the successful re-organization of the labour movement. This confidence was echoed by the Civic Employees #15 local, which wrote "... and it seems that it will be up to labor itself to get into municipal politics, through the I.L.P. elect their own representatives to some of the boards, especially those that are populated with the industrial classes, and gain a foothold. It can be done very easily." [sic]<sup>40</sup>

If the vote for affiliation had taken place a year later in 1919, the result may very well have been different. Not only were many Ottawa skilled workers upset at the internment of Winnipeg labour leaders without due process, but the autocratic attitude displayed towards the O.E.R #279 by the Department of Labour and Ottawa Electric Railway Company in July hardened labour's attitude towards authority and convinced them that political action was essential. As Hardie pointed out, industrial conflicts served to demonstrate that the old parties served the capitalist masters.<sup>41</sup> It was no coincidence that in the middle of the O.E.R. strike, on July 12, 1919, the council again debated the issue of political action.

The discussion was introduced by Mick Kavanaugh of the Carpenters #93, who asked if "organized labour should sanction

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<sup>39</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "Editorial", May 24, 1919, p.2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., "local reports", p.3.

<sup>41</sup> Lipton, ibid., pp. 128-129. When Kier Hardie visited Canada in 1908, he expressed surprise at the schisms evident in labour's ideology. "He laughed at those who believed in organized labour pure and simple apart from socialism, and those who believed in socialism pure and simple apart from organized labour. "Socialism", he said, was a "process of evolution, to which the union of the working class is a step". He also criticized those who believed "political action is the cure for everything". The importance of strikes were that they provided a "great stimulus" to the political side, because they reminded workers that the "old parties are primarily capitalist parties."

candidatures of labour delegates contesting for public office". He wanted a resolution passed that would appoint a committee "to co-operate with the I.L.P. in putting candidates in the field for the municipal election". He also wanted the council to consider placing candidates in the field for provincial and federal representation. Kavanaugh stated he would "bitterly regret having to vote for the old parties at the next election - labour should start at the municipal level and then move on to the provincial and federal levels, because labour representation was the solution for labour's troubles. Strikes brought wages up, but cost of living immediately brought them down".<sup>42</sup> He concluded by calling for a conference hosted by the heads of the locals which would elect candidates for the upcoming provincial election.

Another delegate responded by saying that he was "violently opposed to the political organization of the Trades and Labour Congress. The Canadian Labour Party already existed...issues of economic welfare and politics could not be dealt with by allied trades, which existed purely for the material benefit of trades."<sup>43</sup>

Cameron, "complete with biblical allusions," said that the worker would never "accomplish economic salvation until political salvation was accomplished". Working-class representation was needed in the House of Commons, and this required organization and education. Leckie emphatically added that the political field could not be separated from the economic. "The capitalists with power controlled the political power and exploited the workers. Labour was a commodity like butter. Until political action, the worker would never be better off".<sup>44</sup>

McDowell asserted that the Party looked to the unions for support, indeed depended upon the union movement for success, and

<sup>42</sup> ibid. "Labour Council Meets", July 12, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> ibid.

<sup>44</sup> ibid.

suggested that all the political fervour and activism of the council be channelled into I.L.P. participation.

Williams argued that politics "was the weapon by which the capitalist class subject labour in a damnable servility. And then they wave that glorious old flag in front of you and you forget your misery and vote for your master once again - if labour was organized politically, the OER men [Ottawa Electric Railway Union #279] would have had a fair arbitration hearing, and would not have had to use [their] economic power."<sup>45</sup> The result of this discussion was that Kavanaugh's motion for a conference was approved by a majority of the delegates.

By early fall 1919, with an upcoming provincial election, Kavanaugh again pushed for representation, calling for the conference approved in July. Draper attempted to deflect this call by saying he felt this move at representation "would usurp the ILP function". McDowell qualified this by calling for collaboration. McCann felt it was necessary "to play politics" and that certain clauses of the ILP platform should be deleted.<sup>46</sup>

A conference was held and a platform drawn up on September 27, 1919. It closely adhered to the I.L.P. platform:

1. public ownership of all public utilities and natural resources of wealth.
2. nationalization of banking and credit systems.
3. direct legislation through initiative, referendum and recall.
4. gradual elimination of unearned increment through a tax on land values.
5. equal pay for equal work.
6. abolition of property qualifications for all municipal offices.
7. abolition of all election deposits.
8. proportional representation with grouped constituencies.

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<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, "Labour Council Meets", September 13, 1919, p. 1. The report did not specify which clauses McCann had in mind.



9. adequate equal pensions be granted to all disabled soldiers, either officers or men, or widows and dependents.
10. pensions for mothers with dependent children.
11. old age pensions.
12. creation of national reserves of coal and timber.
13. government control of cold storages.
14. national health and unemployment insurance.
15. maternity benefits and free hospital insurance.
16. equalization of opportunity for men and women, politically, socially and industrially.
17. eight hour workday.
18. democratic control of industry.
19. abolition of Canadian Senate.
20. free and compulsory education, including text books.

..."We rest our claims for the support of the workers on the general declaration that we stand for the industrial freedom of those who toil, and the political liberation of those who for so long have been denied justice."<sup>47</sup>

At the conference, the members of the affiliate locals decided on four possible candidates, two selected for each of the two regional seats in Ottawa, West and East. For West Ottawa, John Cameron and Daniel McCann were nominated. For East Ottawa, Frank Lafortune and Patrick Green were selected.

By early October, when a meeting was hosted for the candidates, only two remained, Cameron and Larortune. Kavanaugh presided over the meeting, assisted by Green, who translated into French. Lafortune spoke first in French, then in English. He intimated that McCann and Green, "the other candidates" (in essence, the more conservative candidates), had withdrawn over dissatisfaction with the platform. Addressing this matter to the audience, Lafortune

<sup>47</sup> ibid. "Conference Held", September 27, 1919, p.3.

stated that "this is but a beginning, but if you do not help, I will never do this again".<sup>48</sup>

The election campaign resulted in a unity among workers hitherto divided by the mental/manual schism of white-collar and blue-collar labour in Ottawa. In 1919 the civil servant was still subject to rationing and was on a fixed salary. Many considered the craft workers of the local council to be an elite that could, for example, afford to lobby for an increase in bus fares in order that conductors and motormen receive a higher wage, whereas the civil servant could not.<sup>49</sup> But Lafortune's and Cameron's campaigns were not lost on the white-collar workers. On October 17, 1919, the Citizen editorial commented:

Through the existing laws civil servants are debarred from publicly expressing their political opinions, but from the tone of the letters it would appear that the civil servants of Ottawa know who their true friend is.<sup>50</sup>

The following letter was then printed:

There is no doubt that these men, Mssrs. Cameron and Lafortune, having lived so closely to the civil service in Ottawa, will use every influence to better the conditions of our brother provincial employees...now that the opportunity has arisen, let all workers get together in order to begin the new era opening in Canada when the affairs of the country will be managed by workers, both physical and mental. As workers, all

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> The Ottawa Citizen, "letters to the editor", June 24, 1919, p.16.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., "Editorial", October 17, 1918, p. 16.

conscientious civil servants should get behind the two workers.<sup>51</sup>

Despite the unprecedented organization of the campaign, both candidates went down to defeat. Lafortune ran second out of three candidates for Ottawa East, being defeated by M.P.P. Pinard who garnered over seven thousand votes compared to Lafortune's twenty-five hundred.<sup>52</sup> Cameron also ended up in runner-up position, obtaining seven thousand and eight hundred votes to his triumphant rival M.P.P. Hill's eight thousand, nine hundred and sixty-six votes.<sup>53</sup> This near victory in West Ottawa created a sense of confidence and optimism within the movement. The foray into the provincial election proved worthwhile, particularly since the Independent Labour Party won the provincial election.

It was now time to turn to the municipal election which would be held in January 1920. The Council had formed the Ottawa East Municipal Association, which hosted political meetings at St. Anne's Parish Hall for the presentation of local candidates. When controller candidate Champagne spoke, he began by thanking the local labour party for asking him to speak. He was corrected by "twenty voices" to which he quickly responded, "Oh, it's the same crowd". (laughter).<sup>54</sup>

This "crowd" was able to taste victory for the first time when Cameron won a controllership in the election. With six thousand, three hundred and thirty-nine votes, he rated fourth in overall number of votes accorded controllers - Champagne (6710) Plant (6594) and Kent (6539) - were the only three to stand stronger.<sup>55</sup>

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51 Ibid., "Letters to the Editor".

52 Ibid., "Election Results", October 25, 1919, p.3.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid., "Ottawa East Municipal Association Hosts Political Meeting", January 3, 1920, p. 1.

55 Ibid., "Mr. Cameron's Great Strength", January 6, 1920, p.1.

Cameron believed that economics and politics were one. His ideology was imbued with religious metaphors, which may explain his popularity to the community at large. According to The Ottawa Citizen, "the feature of the controllership fight was the strength developed by J. Cameron, who got splendid support in every ward." It was noted that Cameron "was well-known, having run for the Ontario House two months ago."<sup>56</sup> His running mate, Lodge, and aldermen labour candidates Potvin, Labelle, Beaudet and Lafortune were all defeated. His campaign was deemed "splendidly educative" by the Citizen. "More people had pencil and paper out figuring on single tax than any other campaign of recent years."<sup>57</sup>

Cameron's election to controller inadvertently illustrated the links and relations between the positioning of council activists. On his election he stepped down as president of the Building Trades Council. Green was elected in his place and Lafortune vice-president. Lodge took Cameron's place on the Municipal Housing Commission. Shortly after the municipal election, the local I.L.P. held its election for executive positions. McDowell was voted president, defeating contenders McCann and Haydon. McCaffrey became treasurer and Patterson and Jennings were elected to the executive committee.

Cameron's success marked the first real breakthrough for the council in political action since the election of J. D. O'Donoghue in 1872. It appeared to establish a more successful electoral pattern for organized labour.<sup>58</sup> But in the short term the ATLA failed to

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<sup>56</sup> ibid.

<sup>57</sup> ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Cameron was controller from 1920-1923. Lafortune was elected as controller in 1925-26. He was then voted alderman for By Ward in 1928-29. Rod Plant, who came into the council as a delegate of the newly formed Bakery Drivers' Union in 1920, became a successful alderman for Rideau Ward from 1929-34. In his second year, he received the "highest vote ever given in Rideau Ward". Ill-health caused his retirement. Lastly, McCann must have learned to "play politics" successfully, for he became a controller from 1927-30, then alderman for Dalhousie Ward in 1930-31. In 1932, he was again elected controller. From 1934-1948, he was alderman for Dalhousie

achieve electoral reforms to democratize the municipal system. It was excluded from plebiscites of interest, for example, the street railway plebiscite in 1920. The council was also disappointed to learn that McDowell could not consider taking Alderman Denny's place because his residence was not assessed high enough to qualify.<sup>59</sup>

The council's attempts at provincial and federal representation in the 1920s proved to be futile. Cameron's close "near-victory" in 1919 for a provincial seat remained the only historical precedent. Ottawa organized labour had believed this was "but a beginning", the "beginning of a new era when the affairs of the country" would be managed by workers, but quickly deteriorating economic conditions in Ottawa and the country dashed the Association's efforts.

There were ominous signs that the new era would not include the craftsman of old. In August 1920, the Canadian Labour Press noted with interest that the Toronto Trades and Labour Council requested the DTLC to place \$5000.00 at the disposal of the Canadian Labour Party. 'Or in other words, the congress is asked to help the people in the political field that have been driven from the ranks of the international trade-union movement in the industrial field.[sic]"<sup>60</sup>

In Ottawa, the final denouement occurred in late 1921. R.R. Marcil, president and founder of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association in 1919, received unanimous endorsement by the council and the local I.L.P. to run as a federal candidate for one of two possible seats. But two weeks later, it was announced that

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Ward. He finished his career as controller from 1949-1954, when he died in office. Today, in contemporary Ottawa, in Dalhousie Ward, resides little Cameron Street, existing between Booth and Cambridge Streets, near Carling. Nearby on Norman Street, by Preston Street, behind a Nova Scotia bank branch, sits the tiny "Daniel McCann" Park, a small haven for the young in a neighbourhood given over to commercial enterprise, government buildings and dusty traffic. By 1927, the ATLA had representation on eight civic boards. Ottawa City Council Minutes, "List of Mayors, Controllers and Aldermen", Ottawa City Archives, OTT B13.

<sup>59</sup> Canadian Labour Press, "ILP Meeting", March 6, 1920, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., "TLC Convention", August 28, 1920, p. 1.

Marcil would not be running, the reason "attributed in large measure to the paucity of financial resources".<sup>61</sup> Delegates took this news very hard, expressing discouragement and bitterness; Delegate Mackie may perhaps have echoed the thoughts of many delegates, when he stated that "the Ottawa labour movement must be the laughing stock of the whole world."<sup>62</sup> A few years later, labourism collapsed as a political movement across the country.

The waning membership of the various parties and their increasingly dismal performance at the polls reflected the final defeat of the craftworker in Canadian industry. Technological and managerial innovations had already transformed craft jobs or pushed craftworkers to the margins of the work world, and the severe economic slump of the early 1920s allowed employers to eliminate the last major strongholds of craft unionism outside printing and construction. The Winnipeg General Strike was only one of the most dramatic of numerous battles lost across the country. The self-confidence and optimism which had swelled up in the ranks of Canadian workers during the war quickly turned to demoralization and defensiveness once the wartime prosperity had disappeared. Labourist politics languished without the full union treasuries which had funded their efforts, and the aggressive class consciousness which had provided the momentum.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, "Labour Council Meets", November 26, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Heron, *ibid.*, p. 70.

This chapter examined the Allied Trades and Labour Association's experiences with political action at the municipal level and its wider attempts to build an Independent Labour Party base for provincial and federal representation. Most of the initiative for political action came from the building and metal trades. The council and its affiliates did not secure municipal representation until the 1920s and this success was limited. Nevertheless, tentative unities in the working-class emerged as municipal and civil service workers proclaimed their support. This demonstrated the seeds of a class-based ideology uniting craft, unskilled and white-collar workers. This was the end of an era for the craftsman, however, who could not capitalize on potential sources of growth and strength.

The Association failed utterly in securing representation at the provincial and federal levels, because by the time it secured sufficient membership to launch a concerted campaign, the depression of 1921 severely reduced organized labour's ranks. The process of trials and tribulations experienced by the Ottawa skilled worker in the realm of political activity provides a historical lesson of the difficulties in promoting a third party in the Canadian political state.

Schisms in the ideology of labourism emerged in the twentieth century, particularly in the postwar period when industrial conflicts resulted in protests of class resistance. Many traditional craft workers were reluctant to give their allegiance to one political party, while another faction proclaimed that politics and economics were one. Nevertheless, the close relationship between economic crises and political ideology became apparent as the ATLA members incorporated political action into their agenda.

## **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

This thesis has been a study of working-class resistance and accommodation on the part of the Ottawa Allied Trades and Labour Association, an organization representing a sub-culture known as craft workers, during the years 1897-1922. The membership of the Association grew steadily throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century. In 1911, the ATLA represented approximately one in fifteen workers in Ottawa and by 1921 one in seven, excluding the civil service. It accommodated to changes in the economy by encompassing an ever greater scope of workers. In the reconstruction years, tentative alliances began to develop between the craft worker and the civil servant, but the potential of this unity was destroyed by a severe depression which reduced craft occupations and signified the decline of the craft worker's dominance in the labour market.

The study of the ATLA was conducted in the context of contemporary literature in Canadian labour historiography. Recent studies have argued that radical worker resistance was not confined to western workers, and furthermore that craft workers, once considered conservative, played a major role in this protest movement, primarily because their crafts were undergoing an occupational crisis. This paper has attempted to address the validity of this new revision in historiography.

The strength of a theory lies in its ability to explain facts. Kealey's argument rests partly on establishing the similarity of class experiences between different working-classes in Canadian cities. This was done by examining the testimony of the Commission



on Industrial Relations. Other historians such as Makahonuk adopted the same methodology. Undoubtedly, the ATLA's discontent correlated with a number of grievances cited in the Commission's report. Chapter One highlighted the impact of the high cost of living, inadequate housing and intermittent severe unemployment on the Ottawa working-class. Issues like these united proponents of both business and political unionism in the council.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, Ottawa experienced economic prosperity as the lumber barons developed the new industry of pulp and paper. This transition was marked by a concentration in mill ownership and changes in production processes (which spread to other firms) accompanied by an emphasis on production efficiency. Between 1911 and 1921, the city's manufacturing and mechanical industries sector diminished, creating widespread unemployment and driving skilled workers into the ranks of the unskilled. The growth of the civil service had little impact on the Ottawa craftsman, since there was little mobility between these two primary labour markets. By 1925 the industrial sector provided only thirteen per cent of the jobs in Ottawa.

Radicalism originated particularly from the building and metal trades, which had the most active strike record. Defence of trade-unionism was the third major cause of strikes in Ottawa. Frustration of union and worker rights led to radical activity, confirming Conley's argument that craftsmen played a "hitherto unrecognized role" in twentieth century protest. In both the prewar and postwar eras, the push for labour representation was spear-headed by these trades. The struggles of these workers testified to the continuity of class struggle, where working life was a "contested terrain".

The position on the conscription issue, however, does not support this new interpretation. Ottawa delegates called for a "conscription of wealth before manpower" and also supported the DTLC executive's change in policy.

The data from Chapter Three on strikes corroborated Kealey and Cruikshank's figures that confirmed the existence of strike waves, with an unprecedented large strike wave in the reconstruction years. Quebec City deviated from this pattern. An examination of a specific strike, that of the Ottawa Electric Railway men, illustrated that while a strike issue ostensibly involved hours and wages, there was in fact a hidden agenda linking political and economic activity. This agenda was understandable in light of the evidence that demonstrated many employers in the city were not willing to recognize trade-union organizations, or bargain in good faith with representatives of the workers' own choosing, unless forced by the law.

The radical faction in the council encouraged rank-and-file participation, a characteristic also noted by Kealey, particularly in issues like the Winnipeg General Strike and the city's own electric railway strike. Red-baiting of delegates masked an internal revolt for a greater voice in council affairs, while pending (but aborted) general strikes in the building trades and the electric railway proved that the rank-and-file of the local movement were prepared to fight for their rights.

This collective militancy spilled over into politics. The Association was always interested in labour representation, and it adopted the practices known to characterize the labourist ideology throughout the first decades, such as lobbying for electoral reform, calling for plebiscites and referenda, demanding abolition of property qualifications and advocating proportional representation. Yet the postwar political movement in some ways had more in common with the late nineteenth century predecessors of the ATLA than with the political activism of the first decade. These periods were marked with an aggressiveness (and success) not obvious in the first decade of the twentieth century, which were years of prosperity. From 1900-1910, the council's class struggle oriented on single strike issues like the Buckingham strike in 1906. In the second decade, class struggle culminated in a resistance movement

distinguished by the call for collective strike support, the development of more inclusive forms of collective bargaining and by the growing ascendancy of political unionists over business unionists. This commitment to political unionism was dampened by the presence of DTLC officials, who threw their support behind the business unionists in the council. It is apparent that schisms in the labour movement once thought confined to the west existed elsewhere. Toronto's general strike in 1919 involved the issues of leadership and strategy. These conflicts also became apparent in the ATLA.

The ATLA operated in an environment of strong economic, occupational and ethnic constraints. Its small size did not detract from its commitment. The ATLA's experiences indicated that a class-based activism was present and vibrant. The contention that the "radical west and the conservative east have become sorry shibboleths of Canadian history"<sup>1</sup> maintains validity at the conclusion of this study.

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<sup>1</sup> Kealey, "1919: The Canadian Labour Revolt", Labour/Le Travail, 13, (spring 1984) p. 15.

TABLE I

**Population Growth in Ottawa, 1891-1931**

YEAR	POPULATION	NUMERICAL CHANGE	PERCENT CHANGE
1891	44,154		
1901	59,928	15,774	35.7
1911	87,062	27,134	45.3
1921	107,843	20,748	23.8
1931	126,872	14,029	13.0

SOURCE: Census of Canada COP CS 98, PAC.

4th Census of Canada - 1901 - Vol. III, TABLE XX, p. 328.

5th Census of Canada - 1911 - Vol. III, TABLE XI

Vol. VI, TABLE VIII, p. 524.

6th Census of Canada - 1921 - Vol. VI, Population Summary

7th Census of Canada - 1931 - Vol. VI, Population Summary

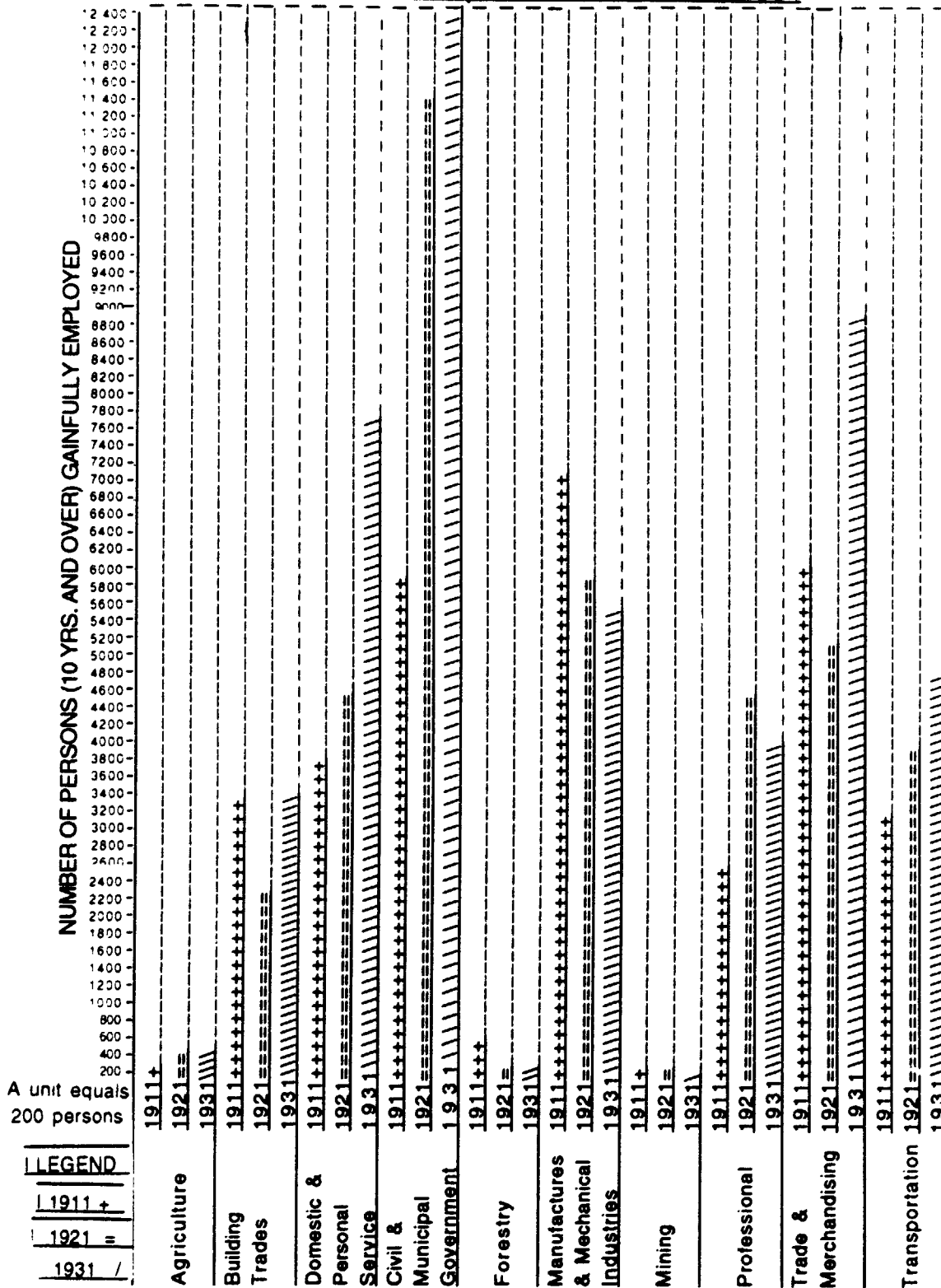
TABLE II

Taxation Assessments, City of Ottawa, 1906-1916

YEAR	POPULATION	ASSESSMENT	TAXES MUNICIPAL	IMPOSED SCHOOL	DEBENTURE	DEBTS	SINKING FUNDS
1906	67,572	\$37,973,180	\$634,959	\$273,366	\$7,063,624		\$2,622,004
1907	69,881	\$41,318,150	\$690,446	\$297,291	\$7,113,367		\$2,895,544
1908	80,284	\$44,367,012	\$777,224	\$350,650	\$8,283,936		\$2,875,979
1909	83,360	\$50,508,205	\$884,896	\$434,349	\$7,884,279		\$2,132,011
1910	-----	\$54,061,175	\$952,170	\$459,959	\$7,202,842	\$1,112,290	\$2,327,299
1911	86,106	\$63,287,155	\$1,177,743	\$496,999	\$7,997,254	\$1,159,059	\$2,603,049
1912	90,520	\$76,169,219	\$1,178,000	\$577,572	\$8,617,361	\$1,168,436	\$2,896,346
1913/14	95,570	\$95,720,676	\$1,426,586	\$656,539	\$8,984,406	\$1,404,436	\$2,726,012
1914/15	100,180	\$100,158,087	\$1,688,539	\$735,984	\$8,904,958	\$1,403,758	\$3,095,914
1915/16	100,163	\$105,109,570	\$1,948,125	\$734,618	\$13,150,480	\$1,267,097	\$3,283,311

SOURCE: Municipal Bulletins Nos. 1-10, 1906-1916, Bureau of Industries Report, Ontario Dept. of Agriculture, PAC.

TABLE III  
Occupational Graph, Ottawa, 1911-1931



SOURCE: COP CS 98 - 5th Census of Canada, Vol. VI, Table VI, 1911; 6th Census, Vol. IV, Table V, 1921 and 7th Census, Vol. VII, Table XLI, 1931.

**TABLE IV**  
**Type of Manufactories. Ottawa, 1901\***

INDUSTRY	NO. OF FIRMS	\$ CAPITAL	COST OF MATERIALS	VALUE OF PRODUCTS	SALARIED EMPLOYEES	\$ SALARIES	WAGE-EARNERS	\$ WAGES
Aerated & Mineral Waters	3	58,000	8,370	36,480	9	4,650	21	8,800
Awnings, Tents and Sails	3	133,900	63,100	116,452	15	14,760	57	11,650
Boilers and Engines	3	56,550	84,500	134,500	4	4,900	44	20,450
Bread, Biscuits & Confectionaries	19	212,483	219,742	404,409	61	30,478	192	73,499
Carriages and Wagons	5	150,065	50,548	129,020	9	6,077	147	47,660
Clothing, Men's, Custom and Factory	34	654,538	-----	582,017	65	47,894	749	158,606
Clothing, Women's, Custom	30	287,770	92,000	188,800	56	29,970	323	38,697
Foundry & Machine Shop Products	13	433,303	127,020	394,087	27	22,298	339	122,786
Furniture & Upholstered Goods	4	173,061	30,171	89,185	13	10,137	100	36,327
Harness and Saddlery	3	211,982	102,704	171,267	7	5,225	136	43,078
Hats, Caps and Furs	3	106,150	46,200	123,580	15	8,649	63	18,804
Jewelry and Repairs	5	37,100	13,553	39,600	10	6,100	28	13,553
Lumber Products	8	390,453	237,800	472,000	29	23,175	218	89,352
Mica, Cut	4	45,888	-----	222,149	6	5,900	105	12,634
Plumbing and Tinsmithing	8	66,360	62,365	115,429	21	11,774	94	31,246
Printing and Bookbinding	7	569,707	114,171	301,113	30	24,485	277	124,798
Printing and Publishing	13	1,022,305	190,481	755,500	72	68,145	658	372,201
All Other Industries	41	5,617,768	1,857,550	3,258,649	142	116,560	2,981	682,086

\*Population of Ottawa in 1901 - 59,140

SOURCE: COP CS 98 - 4th Census, Vol. III, Table XIII, p. 200, 1901.

**TABLE V**  
**Type of Manufactories, Ottawa, 1911\***

INDUSTRY	NO. OF FIRMS	\$ CAPITAL	COST OF MATERIALS	VALUE OF PRODUCTS	SALARIED EMPLOYEES	\$ SALARIES	WAGE-EARNERS	\$ WAGES
Aerated & Mineral Waters	6	96,000	5,720	57,100	2	1,540	34	14,888
Breads, Biscuits & Confectionaries	11	410,523	218,112	390,337	28	15,465	158	68,256
Carriages and Wagons	5	86,850	20,527	97,375	9	6,985	65	33,020
Clothing, Men's, Custom	15	159,000	217,782	445,425	30	27,160	253	95,836
Clothing, Men's, Factory	5	266,400	105,458	221,240	40	33,100	147	45,870
Clothing, Women's, Custom	16	145,475	108,720	239,910	24	13,257	197	59,883
Dyeing and Cleaning	7	241,400	18,261	206,256	34	26,062	317	95,380
Electric Light and Power	3	3,789,094	-----	521,563	13	12,475	130	94,477
Foundry & Machine Shop Products	12	1,841,755	293,236	1,051,619	55	71,027	485	266,888
Furniture & Upholstered Goods	3	268,873	103,966	189,800	14	12,488	83	45,531
Hats, Caps and Furs	7	165,000	221,650	453,382	22	20,920	128	48,436
Housebuilding	9	87,000	126,150	350,760	8	6,200	138	82,542
Jewelry and Repairs	5	151,800	67,000	151,600	13	12,438	46	23,135
Liquors, Malts	3	353,047	80,684	318,412	33	16,981	67	34,949
Log Products	3	3,153,657	7,520,000	2,388,405	23	65,250	1,455	502,076
Lumber Products	8	972,560	597,563	1,029,431	17	26,000	377	175,493
Mica, Cut	5	53,485	113,389	230,247	7	10,733	555	77,263
Monuments & Tombstones	4	66,585	23,584	64,490	-	7,200	26	14,263
Plumbing & Tinsmithing	6	298,000	281,206	683,439	30	35,216	267	138,356
Printing & Bookbinding	10	1,838,113	899,102	178,275	335	295,147	1,337	763,857
Printing & Publishing	6	745,000	92,235	457,456	145	97,664	286	78,945
All Other Industries	53	5,672,211	4,142,907	7,014,369	192	199,972	1,778	964,043

\*Population of Ottawa in 1911 - 77,182

SOURCE: COP CS 98 - 5th Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table IX, 1911.



TABLE VI

**Breakdown of Manufactories**  
**Ottawa, Quebec City and Victoria**  
**1911**

CITY	ESTAB' MENTS	CAPITAL	EMPLOYEES	SALARIES & WAGES	COST OF MATERIALS	VALUE OF PRODUCTS
OTTAWA	202	\$20,861,822	9,416	\$4,736,667	\$9,251,252	\$18,740,981
under \$2000	3	\$20,000	9	\$1,156	\$1,001	\$3,231
\$2000-\$12000	56	\$351,160	424	\$165,163	\$126,135	\$407,175
\$12000-\$25000	47	\$835,450	608	\$299,049	\$270,798	\$1,171,139
\$25000-\$50000	32	\$2,621,099	796	\$414,290	\$364,108	\$1,171,139
\$50,000 & over	64	\$17,134,113	7,579	\$3,857,000	\$8,489,210	\$16,343,390
POPULATION 59,928						
QUEBEC CITY	175	\$16,388,283	8,608	\$3,866,646	\$8,127,736	\$17,036,423
under \$2000	1	\$350	3	\$1,144	\$700	\$1,220
\$2000-\$12000	28	\$387,750	216	\$87,885	\$65,670	\$217,571
\$12000-\$25000	34	\$828,361	419	\$177,240	\$228,192	\$599,037
\$25000-\$50000	37	\$1,812,909	784	\$364,460	\$535,441	\$1,275,383
\$50,000 & over	75	\$13,358,913	7,186	\$3,236,517	\$7,297,933	\$14,943,212
POPULATION 78,190						
VICTORIA	54	\$10,338,340	2,229	\$1,420,798	\$1,489,583	\$4,315,534
under \$2000	-	- - -	- -	- - -	- - -	- - -
\$2000-\$12000	8	\$97,400	43	\$39,929	\$19,350	\$70,330
\$12000-\$25000	10	\$188,900	122	\$69,793	\$39,550	\$148,210
\$25000-\$50000	14	\$668,556	276	\$160,108	\$211,889	\$529,051
\$50,000 & over	22	\$9,383,484	1,788	\$1,157,963	\$1,218,794	\$3,567,943
POPULATION 31,660						

SOURCE: COP CS 98 - 5th Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table X, 1911.

TABLE VII

Workers by Age Periods and Sex  
Ottawa, 1911

INDUSTRY	TOTAL		10-14 YRS.		15-24 YRS.		25-64 YRS.		65 & OVER	
	Male	Female	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
AGRICULTURE	182	5	3	2	46	3	112	-	21	-
LOGGING	328	-	-	-	106	-	212	-	10	-
MINING	128	-	-	-	26	-	100	-	2	-
MANUFACTURING	5,203	1,658	94	33	1,593	955	3,382	660	134	10
Vegetable pro.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Animal pro.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Textile pro.	313	1,064	7	21	78	514	223	522	5	7
Wood products	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Metal products	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Non-metallic min. pro.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chemical pro.	56	18	-	-	12	14	44	4	-	-
Miscellaneous pro.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron & Steel	661	-	7	-	193	-	450	-	11	-
BLDG. & CONSTR'N	2,229	5	14	-	1,015	2	3,073	3	127	-
TRANSPORTATION	2,761	151	12	13	744	113	1,965	35	40	-
TRADE	5,161	1,158	61	18	1,596	729	3,370	402	134	9
SERVICE										
Pub. Admin. & Def.	4,902	931	14	-	802	264	3,802	654	284	13
Professional Ser.	1,142	960	-	-	309	-	-	-	-	-
Recreational Ser.	57	11	-	-	27	10	29	1	1	-
Dom. & Pers. Ser.	1,399	3,294	23	78	357	1,666	983	1,505	36	45
CLERICAL N/A	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
OTHER										
Labourers in Manufact	1,127	-	34	-	376	-	690	-	27	-

SOURCE: COP CS 98 - 5th Census of Canada, Vol. VI, Table VI, pp. 296-306, 1911.

TABLE VIII

**Workers by Age Periods and Sex**  
**Ottawa, 1921**

INDUSTRY	TOTAL		10-19 YRS.		YRS. 20-34		YRS. 35-49		YRS. 50-64		YRS. 65 & OVER	
	Male	Female	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
<b>AGRICULTURE</b>	230	-	24	-	58	-	60	-	58	-	30	-
<b>LOGGING</b>	163	-	23	-	56	-	46	-	28	-	10	-
<b>MINING</b>	40	-	1	-	11	-	17	-	8	-	3	-
<b>MANUFACTURING</b>	4433	303	591	340	1696	644	1229	220	749	80	168	19
Vegetable pro.	221	27	31	6	82	18	57	2	42	1	9	-
Animal pro.	172	40	16	13	66	24	54	2	27	3	9	-
Textile pro.	276	548	17	75	96	227	112	156	38	71	13	19
Wood pro.	1823	519	275	191	699	275	461	48	314	5	73	-
Metal pro.	147	5	26	1	64	4	39	-	17	-	1	-
Non-met.min.	197	17	13	3	66	14	69	-	40	-	9	-
Chem.&allied.p.	73	21	13	9	31	11	15	1	11	-	3	-
Miscell. pro.	291	40	38	11	67	23	85	6	59	-	9	-
<b>Iron &amp; Steel</b>	978	33	118	14	397	17	270	2	163	-	30	-
<b>BDLG.&amp;CONSTR.</b>	2657	15	125	8	802	6	1007	1	565	-	158	-
<b>TRANSPORT'N</b>	3564	585	278	192	1587	356	1126	35	488	2	85	-
<b>TRADE</b>	5166	1623	665	470	2029	869	1548	235	756	39	168	10
<b>FINANCE</b>	804	301	135	67	317	214	227	15	107	5	18	-
<b>SERVICE</b>	11,561	9178	508	1222	4623	5010	3794	1911	2086	798	550	237
Pub.Admin.	7205	4345	267	454	2857	2759	2321	864	1380	240	369	28
Profes. Ser.	2214	1964	56	116	834	1105	815	480	417	191	92	82
Recreat. Ser.	128	24	15	12	69	10	31	1	14	1	1	-
Dom.&Per.Ser.	1406	2838	109	640	584	1144	447	562	191	365	75	127
Custom&Repair	610	7	63	-	279	2	180	4	75	1	13	-
<b>OTHER</b>												
Unspecif. Ind.	1532	396	164	102	540	244	461	38	256	12	111	-
Unsp.Manuf.Ind.	255	53	43	17	95	33	67	3	38	-	12	-

SOURCE: COP CS 98 - 6th Census of Canada, Vol. IV, Table V, pp. 560-479, 1921.

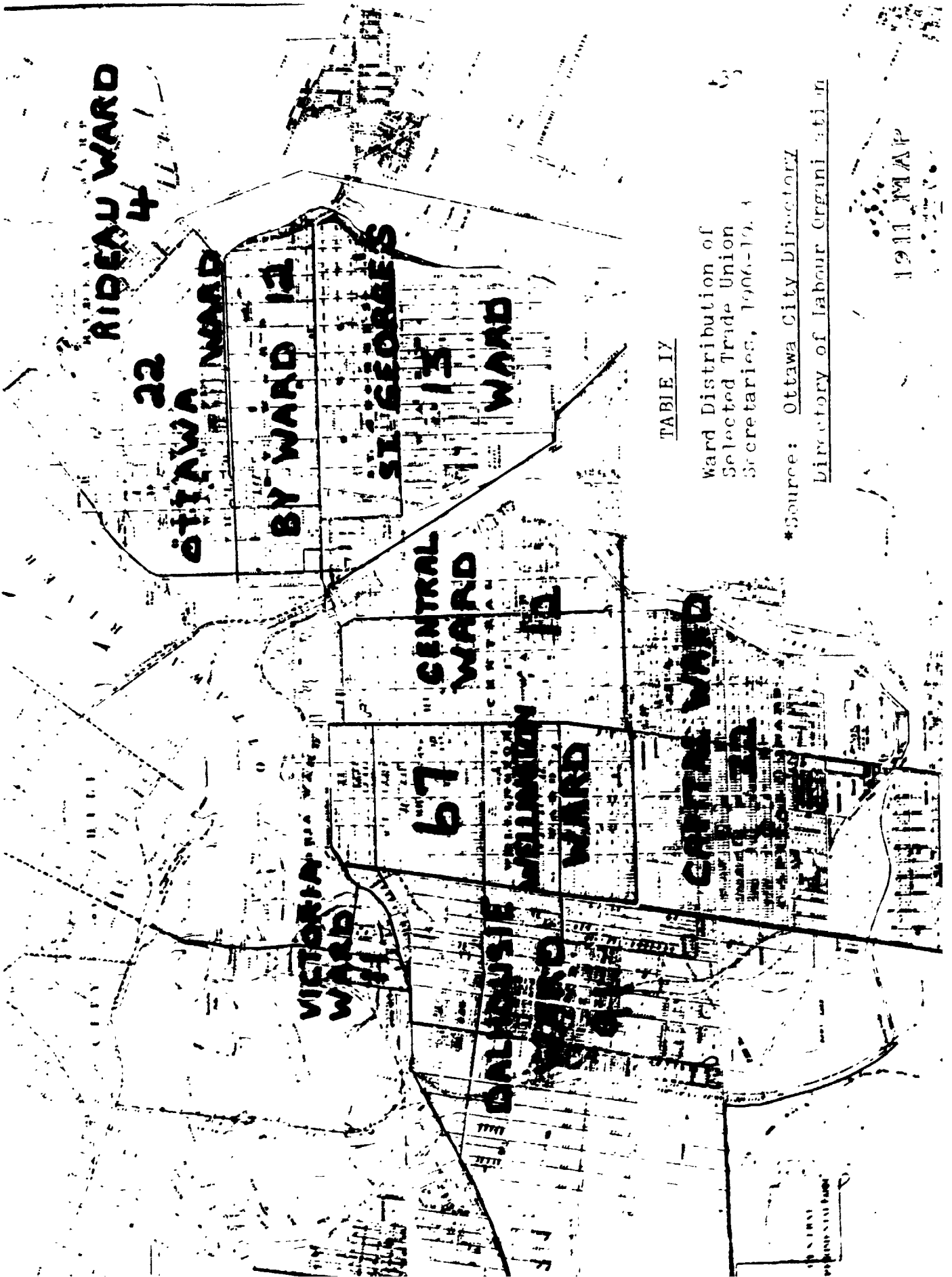


TABLE IV

Ward Distribution of  
Selected Trade Union  
Secretaries, 1906-1914

\*Source: Ottawa City Directory

Directory of Labour Organization

1911 MAP

TABLE X

**Cost Per Week of a Family Budget  
of Staple Foods, Fuel & Lighting, and Rent  
In Terms of the Average Prices in Sixty Cities in Canada  
1900-1923**

YEAR	1900	1905	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	JULY 1923	AUG 23
ALL FOODS	\$5.48	5.96	6.95	7.14	7.34	7.34	7.68	7.78	8.63	11.63	13.41	14.43	16.42	11.44	10.44	10.17	10.52
STARCH, LAUNDRY	c.2.9	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.7	5.0	5.0	4.4	4.0	4.0	4.0
FUEL & LIGHTING	\$1.50	1.63	1.76	1.78	.182	1.91	1.89	1.84	.190	2.40	2.85	3.06	3.76	3.64	3.44	3.48	3.49
RENT ONE WEEK	\$2.37	2.89	4.05	4.05	4.60	4.75	4.81	4.09	4.08	4.36	4.89	5.31	6.37	6.86	6.96	6.97	6.97
GRAND TOTALS	\$9.37	10.50	12.79	13.00	13.79	14.02	14.41	13.75	14.63	18.48	21.20	22.86	26.60	21.98	20.88	20.65	21.03

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, Vol, XXIII, p. 1029, September 1923.

TABLE XI

**Retail Prices of Rent in Ottawa**  
**1901, 1910, 1922 and 1924**

YEAR	FLATS IN TENEMENTS OF		HOUSE OF	HOUSE OF	HOUSE OF	BOARD RATES & LODGING
	4 rooms	6 rooms	4 ROOMS	6 ROOMS	8 ROOMS	
1901	\$8.00-12.00 a month	\$12.00-18.00 a month	\$6.00-8.00* a month	\$10.00-14.00 a month	\$15.00 & up a month	\$12.00-14.00 a month

\*Six dollars per month rented houses in the poorest locality, where practically no modern conveniences were provided.

1910 RENT PER MONTH AVERAGED \$12.00 A MONTH

	Six-Roomed house with modern conveniences per month	Six-Roomed house with incomplete modern conveniences or none, per month
1922	\$28.00-36.00	\$21.00-27.00
1924	\$25.00-35.00	\$20.00-25.00

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, Schedules II & III, "Monthly Rents of Houses for Workingmen and Rates paid for Board and Lodging by Workingmen", Vol. II, pp. 280 & 281, November 1901.

Ibid., Table 2, "Retail Prices of Staple Commodities, Canada, 1910", p.1045, Vol. X, 1910.

Ibid., "Retail Prices of Staple Foods, Groceries, Fuel & Lighting, and Rentals in Canada at the beginning of Dec. 1922", Vol. XXIII, p. 89, Jan. 1923.

Ibid., Vol. XXV, 1925.

**TABLE XII**  
**Comparison of Ottawa Weekly Budget**  
**with Weekly Wages and Hours of Selected Ottawa Workers**  
**1900-1920**

OCCUPATION	1900	1905	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
1901													
<b>AVERAGE WEEKLY BUDGET</b>													
<b>IN OTTAWA</b>	\$9.37	\$10.50	12.79	13.00	13.79	14.02	14.41	13.75	14.63	18.48	21.20	22.86	22.60
<b>COMPOSITORS (Wages)</b>	\$14.00	14.50	16.50	16.50	17.00	17.00	20.00	21.00	22.00	22.00	27.50	32.00	38.00
(Hours)	54	54	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48
<b>BRICKLAYERS (Wages)</b>	\$18.00	22.50	25.00	22.88	22.88	24.20	24.20	24.20	24.20	27.50	28.60	33.00	44.00
(Hours)	50	50	50	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44
<b>PLUMBERS (Wages)</b>	\$11.88	15.00	19.50	19.50	19.50	18.92	19.36	19.36	19.80	22.00	22.00	28.60	35.20
(Hours)	54	50	50	50	50	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44
<b>SHEET-METAL WORKERS</b>	\$13.00	13.00	15.60	18.20	18.20	19.76	20.00	20.00	20.00	21.25	22.50	24.68	33.00
(Hours)	52	52	52	52	52	52	50	50	50	50	50	47	44
<b>MACHINISTS (Wages)</b>	\$10.45	12.38	15.11	15.39	16.50	16.38	16.39	17.23	21.32	26.00	29.64	30.00	32.50
(Hours)	55	55	57	57	55	52	52	53	52	52	52	50	50
<b>STREET RAILWAY MEN</b>	\$9.00	10.50	13.20	13.20	13.80	15.00	16.20	16.20	16.20	16.20	21.06	24.30	29.70
(Hours)	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	54	54	54	54
<b>FACTORY LABOUR</b>	--	--	--	10.03	10.62	11.21	11.21	11.21	11.80	12.98	15.34	17.00	20.50
(Hours)	--	--	--	59	59	59	59	59	59	59	59	59	50

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, "Tables of Rates of Wages and Hours of Labour in Various Trades in certain cities of Canada", Vol. XXI, pp. 452-466 and p. 472, March 1921.  
Ibid., "Ottawa Weekly Budget, 1900-1920", Vol. XXIII, p. 1029, Sept. 1923.

TABLE XIII

**Wages per Hour and Hours per Week**  
**of Common Labour in Factories**  
**Ottawa**  
**1911-1920**

YEAR	Common Labour in Factories					
	No. 13		No. 14		No. 15	
	Wages per Hour (cents)	Hours per Week	Wages per Hour	Hours per Week	Wages per Hour	Hours per Week
1911	.17 $\frac{1}{2}$	50-54	.17	59	.18	59
1912	.17 $\frac{1}{2}$	50-54	.18	59	.19	59
1913	.19 $\frac{1}{2}$	50-54	.19	59	.20	55
1914	.19 $\frac{1}{2}$	50	.19	59	.20 $\frac{1}{2}$	52
1915	.19 $\frac{1}{2}$	50	.19	59	.20	52
1916	.19 $\frac{1}{2}$	50	.20	59	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$	50
1917	.19 $\frac{1}{2}$	50	.22	59	.21	50
1918	.33	48	.26	59	.26	50
1919	.33	48	.34	50	.30	50
1920	.45	50	.41	50	.35	50

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, Table VI, Volume XXI, p. 272, March, 1921.



TABLE XIV

**Hourly Wages and Hours per Week of Electric Street  
Railway Men  
Ottawa  
1901-1920**

YEAR	Conductors and Motormen	
	*Wages per Hour	Hours per Week
1901	**.15 (cents)	60
1902	**.15	60
1903	**.16 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	60
1904	**.16 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	60
1905	.17 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	60
1906	.18 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	60
1907	.19 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	60
1908	.20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	60
1909	.20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	60
1910	.22	60
1911	.22	60
1912	.23	60
1913	.25	60
1914	.27	60
1915	.27	60
1916	.30	54
1917	.30	54
1918	.39	54
1919	***.45	54
1920	***.55	54

\*These are maximum rates, reached in the third year of service unless otherwise stated.

\*\*Maximum rate reached in second year.

\*\*\*Maximum rate reached in fourth year.

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, Volume XXI, Table IV, p. 466, March, 1921.

**TABLE XV**  
**Wages per Hour and Hours per Week of Skilled Metal Workers**  
**Ottawa, 1901-1920**

YEAR	Blacksmiths		Boilermakers		Iron Moulders		Machinists		Sheet-metal W.	
	WAGES/HR	HOURS/WK	Wages	Hours	Wages	Hours	Wages	Hours	Wages	Hours
1901	.20-.25	55-60	.25	60	.22 1/2	55	.18-.20	55	.25	50-54
1902	.20-.25	55-60	.25	60	.25	55	.20-.21	55	.25	50-54
1903	.24-.25	55-60	.25	60	.25	55	.20-.21	55	.25	50-54
1904	.22 1/2-.25	55-60	.27 1/2	60	.25	55	.20-.22 1/2	55	.25	50-54
1905	.22 1/2-.25	55-60	.27 1/2	60	.25	55	.22 1/2	55	.25	50-54
1906	.22 1/2-.25	55-60	.27 1/2	60	.25	55	.22 1/2	55	.25	50-54
1907	.25	55-60	.27 1/2	60	.27 1/2	55	.22 1/2-.25	55-60	.25	50-54
1908	.25	55-60	.27 1/2	60	.27 1/2	55	.23-.27 1/2	55-60	.25	50-54
1909	.27 1/2	55-60	.30	60	.27 1/2	55	.23-.27 1/2	55-60	.30	50-54
1910	.27 1/2	55-60	.31	60	.27 1/2	55	.24-.30	55-60	.30	50-54
1911	.28	55-60	.32	60	.27 1/2	55	.24-.30	55-59	.35	50-54
1912	.28	55-60	.32	60	.30	55	.28 1/2-.33	50-59	.35	50-54
1913	.30	55	.36	54	.33 1/3	54	.30-.33	50-55	.38	50-54
1914	.31 1/3	54	.36	50-54	.33 1/3	54	.30-.33 1/2	50-55	.40	50
1915	.32 1/4	52	.36	50-54	.33 1/2	54	.30-.35	50-55	.40	50
1916	.30-.35	50	.36	50-54	.36	50-54	.40-42 1/2	50-54	.40	50
1917	.35	50	.38-.42	50	.42	50-54	.45-.54	50-54	.40-.45	50
1918	.40-.48	50	.55	50	.50	50	.53-.60	50-54	.45	50
1919	.45-.70	48-50	.65-.75	48-50	.70	50	.60-.70	50	.75	44
1920	.52-70	48-50	.65-.75	48-50	.70	50	.60-.70	50	.75	44

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, Volume XXI, pp. 458-463, March, 1921.

TABLE XVI

**Wages per Hour and Hours per Week of the Building Trades Craftsmen  
Ottawa, 1901-1920**

YEAR	Bricklayers		Carpenters		Electrical Workers		Painters		Plumbers		Stonecutters	
	WAGES/HR.	HOURS/WK.	WAGES	HOURS	WAGES	HOURS	WAGES	HOURS	WAGES	HOURS	WAGES	HOURS
1901	.36	50	.22 1/4	25	.20	54	.22 1/4	54	.22	54	.33 1/3	50
1902	.36	50	.22 1/4	25	.20	54	.22 1/4	54	.25	54	.36	50
1903	.40	50	.22 1/4	25	.22 1/4	50	.22 1/4	50	.25	50	.36	50
1904	.42	50	.22 1/4	25	.22 1/4	50	.22 1/4	50	.27 1/2	50	.43	48
1905	.45	50	.22 1/4	25	.22 1/4	50	.22 1/4	50	.30	50	.43	48
1906	.45	50	.25	50	.25	50	.25	50	.30	50	.43	48
1907	.47	50	.25	50	.25	50	.25	50	.32	50	.44	48
1908	.50	50	.25	50	.25	50	.25	50	.36	50	.44	48
1909	.50	50	.30	50	.25	50	.27 1/2	50	.36	50	.44	48
1910	.50	50	.30	50	.25	50	.27 1/2	50	.39	50	.44	48
1911	.52	44	.30	50	.27	50	.29 1/2	50	.39	50	.44	44
1912	.52	44	.30-.35	50	.30	50	.30	50	.39	50	.47	44
1913	.55	44	.35	50	.30	50	.33	50	.42-.44	44	.50	44
1914	.55	44	.42 1/2	50	.30	50	.30-.33	50	.44	44	.50	44
1915	.55	44	.35	50	.35	50	.32 1/2	50	.44	44	.55	44
1916	.55	44	.40	50	.35	48	.32 1/2	50	.45	44	.55	44
1917	.62 1/2	44	.40-.45	50	.40	48	.37 1/2	50	.50	44	.60	44
1918	.65	44	.50	50	.45	44	.40	50	.50	44	.65	44
1919	.75	44	.60	44	.60	44	.50	44	.65	44	.75	44
1920	1.00	44	.85	44	.80	44	.75	44	.80	44	.87 1/2-1.00	44

\*Lower rate indicates wage paid to rough carpenters. Higher rate indicates wage paid for more skilled work.  
SOURCE: Labour Gazette, Volume XXI, pp. 452-457, March, 1921.

TABLE XVII

**Weekly Wages and Hours in the Ottawa Printing Trades**  
**1901-1920**

YEAR	Compositors, Hand Newspaper Offices		Pressmen, Cylinder, Job Offices	
	Wages per Week	Hours per Week	Wages per Week	Hours per Week
1901	\$14.00	54	\$13.00	54
1902	14.00	54	15.00	54
1903	14.00	54	15.00	54
1904	14.50	54	15.00	54
1905	14.50	54	15.00	54
1906	14.50	54	15.00	54
1907	16.00	48	15.00	48
1908	16.00	48	15.00	48
1909	16.00	48	15.00	48
1910	16.50	48	17.50	48
1911	16.50	48	17.50	48
1912	17.00	48	18.00	48
1913	17.00	48	18.50	48
1914	20.00	48	19.00	48
1915	21.00	48	19.00	48
1916	22.00	48	20.00	48
1917	22.00	48	21.00	48
1918	26.50-28.50	48	26.00	48
1919	*32.00	48	32.00	48
1920	**38.00	48	35.00	48

\*includes bonus of \$4.50

\*\*includes bonus of \$10.50

N.B. All rates & hours for day work. Night rates \$2.00-3.00 higher per week.

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, Volume XXI, pp. 464-465, March, 1921.

TABLE XVIII

**Average Weekly Earnings of Females, and Hours  
Worked, 1921**  
**Ottawa, Quebec City and Victoria**

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	OTTAWA		QUEBEC C.		VICTORIA	
		Earnings	Weeks	Earnings	Weeks	Earnings	Weeks
1	Biscuit and Confectionary makers	\$ 9.36	43	\$ 5.12	48	\$ 11.38	47
2	Bookbinders	11.98	51	7.47	48	15.26	51
3	Boot and shoe makers	-----	--	8.62	41	-----	-
4	Box and Basket makers	-----	--	5.32	50	13.49	48
5	Clerks, office	17.44	51	12.60	51	16.65	49
6	Federal and Provincial governments	18.44	51	15.05	50	18.92	50
7	Municipal government	18.03	50	15.06	48	20.15	52
8	Other	15.09	50	12.24	50	16.02	49
9	Clothing factory employees	11.62	47	8.14	45	12.14	48
10	Domestic and personal service	6.70	50	5.33	50	9.93	47
11	Attendants and Guards	9.50	50	8.37	52	11.50	47
12	Charworkers and Cleaners	8.55	49	7.49	49	9.30	43
13	Cooks	9.13	51	6.23	51	10.70	51
14	Housekeepers, etc.	7.98	51	7.07	48	9.51	48
15	Laundry workers	8.96	50	7.07	48	12.52	46
16	Servants (n.o.s.)	5.88	50	4.77	51	8.32	48
17	Waitresses	8.01	49	7.22	49	11.33	41
18	Other	9.32	51	9.50	50	13.18	49
19	Dressmakers and Seamstresses	10.81	49	8.91	48	13.33	46
20	Factory Employees (n.o.s.)	9.36	47	8.52	47	4.73	46
21	Furriers	10.69	48	8.53	49	-----	-
22	Milliners	13.51	50	8.85	47	15.23	49
23	Nurses and nurses-in-training	9.87	50	8.50	50	9.87	49
24	Operators, telephone	14.31	50	13.30	51	15.16	51
25	Operators, telegraph	20.25	51	17.36	52	17.73	52
26	Paper box, bag, etc., makers	8.86	48	6.17	46	-----	-
27	Printers, compositors, etc.	12.45	51	12.19	52	14.16	48
28	Saleswomen	11.24	50	9.53	50	13.41	48
29	Tailoresses	12.41	48	8.01	50	14.68	52
30	Teachers	21.69	51	8.78	51	21.30	50
31	Textile workers	7.86	49	10.25	48	-----	-
32	Unspecified	7.86	49	10.25	48	-----	-

SOURCE: COP CS 98 - 6th Census of Canada, Vol. IV, Tables VII, VIII and XII, 1921.

**TABLE XIX**  
**Occupations and Earnings of Females, Ottawa, 1921**

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	PERSONS, EARNINGS AND WEEKS EMPLOYED (All Ages)		
		Persons	Earnings \$	Weeks
0	<b>OTTAWA</b>	<b>11,525</b>	<b>7,976,409</b>	<b>580,128</b>
1	Manufactures	708	377,236	34,408
2	Animal Products	27	14,499	1,278
3	Leather and Furs	27	14,499	1,278
4	Leather workers, n.e.s.	10	5,745	459
5	Furriers	17	8,754	819
6	Chemicals and allied products	5	2,105	260
7	Iron & Steel-hardware & wire goods makers	10	5,002	467
8	Miscellaneous Industries	8	3,666	365
9	Non-metallic mineral industries, mica workers	8	4,130	410
10	Textiles	303	160,477	14,623
11	Primary Production-textile factory employees	7	2,696	343
12	Makers of textile goods and wearing apparel	296	157,781	14,280
13	Awning, tent and sail-makers, n.e.s.	3	980	129
14	Clothing factory employees, n.e.s.	74	40,628	3,495
15	Dressmakers and Seamstresses	91	48,728	4,507
16	Dressmakers & Seamstresses' Apprentices	15	4,268	714
17	Milliners	38	25,691	1,902
18	Milliners' Apprentics	11	2,236	514
19	Tailoresses	46	27,343	2,203
20	Tailoresses' Apprentices	13	3,047	582
21	Managers & Superintendents	5	4,860	234
22	Vegetable Products - food	6	2,434	260
23	Biscuit & Confectionary makers	6	2,434	260
24	Wood & Paper Industries	307	162,074	15,123
25	Woodworking factory employees, n.e.s.	3	2,450	151
26	Workers in pulp and paper	41	17,335	1,939
27	Paper box, bag, envelope, etc. makers	33	13,995	1,580
28	Pulp and Paper Mill employees	8	3,340	359
29	Printing and Bookbinding	263	147,289	13,033
30	Bookbinders	83	50,328	4,200
31	Engravers	3	1,082	130
32	Pressmen and Plate Printers	49	23,862	2,411
33	Printers, compositors, linotypers, etc.	30	18,938	1,521
34	Printers' and Bookbinders' Apprentices	14	3,655	568

---continued---

---Table XIX continued---

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	PERSONS	EARNINGS	WEEKS
35	Printing & Publishing Establishment Employees	74	40.682	3.685
36	Forewomen, n.e.s.	10	8.742	518
37	Unspecified manufacturing industries	34	17.849	1.622
38	Forewomen	6	5.581	312
39	Factory Employees, n.o.s.	28	12.268	1.310
40	Construction	2	800	73
41	Painters and decorators	2	800	73
42	Transportation	438	318.967	21.823
43	Occupations allied to transportation	438	318.967	21.823
44	Operators, telegraph	13	13.324	658
45	Operators, telephone	414	295.068	20.620
46	Forewomen	11	10.575	545
47	Trade	1.116	632.876	55.311
48	Managers & Superintendents - retail trade	13	17.480	661
49	Sales and purchasing agents, etc.	6	7.620	308
50	Saleswomen	924	517.131	46.028
51	Books and Stationary	26	13.526	1.327
52	Boots and Shoes	27	15.700	1.353
53	Clothing, women's	39	26.768	1.996
54	Confectionary	44	22.590	2.197
55	Drugs and Perfumes	35	20.004	1.757
56	Dry Goods	388	210.972	19.923
57	Furs	11	9.455	19.923
58	Fruits and Vegetables	21	10.070	1.008
59	Furniture	3	2.272	153
60	General and Departmental Stores	166	97.158	8.286
61	Groceries	79	37.897	3.941
62	Hardware and Builders' Supplies	4	3.500	208
63	Jewelry	24	15.194	1.167
64	Musical Instruments	14	9.714	698
65	Paints and Wall Papers	5	3.646	260
66	Second-hand Stores	6	2.192	308
67	Tobacco and Cigars	3	1.556	156
68	Other Stores	29	14.917	1.377
69	Employees in stores, n.e.s.	173	90.645	8.314
70	Service	7.557	5.359.693	382.922
71	Custom & Repair-dyers, cleaners, pressers & repairers	6	2.802	276
72	Domestic and Personal Service	2.422	812.744	121.310
73	Attendants and Guards	43	20.530	2.161
74	Barbers and Hairdressers	12	8.285	616
75	Charworkers and Cleaners	169	91.087	8.319
76	Cooks	138	64.593	7.073
77	Elevator Tenders	4	2.060	208
78	Housekeepers, matrons and stewards	181	73.720	9.240
79	Janitors and Sextons	27	9.689	1.380

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	PERSONS	EARNINGS	WEEKS
80	Laundry Workers	51	22,759	2,541
81	Servants, n.e.s.	1,687	495,680	84,353
82	Waitresses	105	41,401	5,169
83	Other Personal Service	5	2,940	260
84	Professional Service	812	688,505	41,233
85	Chemists, assayers and metallurgists	4	5,770	208
86	Education - teachers	382	424,700	19,577
87	Health	333	167,358	16,723
88	Nurses and nurses-in-training	330	163,458	16,567
89	Other health professionals	13	3,900	156
90	Literary	26	27,054	1,332
91	Librarians	19	17,560	974
92	Editors and reporters	7	9,494	358
93	Religious workers	18	11,833	889
94	Salvation Army	8	3,753	413
95	Other	10	8,080	476
96	Various	49	57,790	2,504
97	Musicians	18	19,736	932
98	Photographers and employees	6	4,005	272
99	Officials of charitables institutions	20	20,989	1,040
100	Other professional occupations	5	7,060	260
101	Public Administration	4,308	3,851,492	219,923
102	Federal and Provincial governments	4,260	3,810,293	217,328
103	Clerks	3,846	3,620,912	196,359
104	Other government employees	63	96,968	3,211
105	Labourers	351	142,413	17,758
106	Municipal Government	48	41,199	2,395
107	Clerks	38	34,568	1,917
108	Police Service	3	2,051	156
109	Other Employees	7	4,580	322
110	Recreational service - theatres	9	4,150	380
111	Unspecified Industries	26	13,683	1,247
112	Clerical Occupations (not including Pub. Admin.)	1,678	1,273,154	84,344
113	Manufactures	348	251,888	17,636
114	Construction	2	800	73
115	Transportation	137	122,531	6,871
116	Trade	358	254,990	17,880
117	Banks	191	145,012	9,740
118	Insurance, loan, etc.	99	76,019	5,024
119	Hotels, restaurants, etc.	68	41,099	3,491
120	Legal and professional services	128	102,626	6,516
121	Unspecified Industries	347	278,189	17,113

SOURCE: COP CS 98 - 6th Census of Canada, Vol. IV, Table VIII, 1921.



TABLE XX

**Number of Affiliations to the Ottawa ATLA**  
**with Size of Reported Membership and**  
**Number of Unions in Vicinity**  
**1911-1923**

YEAR	# of Affiliates to Council	Total Reported Membership of Affiliates	Unions in Vicinity	Reported Membership of Unions in Vicinity
1911	28	2.477	47	-
1912	34	3.000	50	-
1913	31	3.000	50	-
1914	33	3.000	56	-
1915	31	-----	54	-
1916	31	2.500	46	-
1917	33	3.100	48	-
1918	43	4.250	60	-
1919	56	6.000	80	-
1920	52	4.000	85	57 unions = 11.143
(Hull)	*10	1.100	5	-
1921	45	4.000	76	54 unions = 6.377
(Hull)	11	2.000	5	-
1922	40	-----	73	-
(Hull)	11	2.000	6	-
1923	40	6.000	68	-

\* Includes six (6) Ottawa unions as affiliates.

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, "Report on Labour Organization in Canada", Volumes 12-24, 1912-1924.

**TABLE XXI**

**Ottawa Allied Trades and Labour Association  
 Membership by Union Locals  
 1897-1923**

UNION LOCAL	YEARS																															
	18	19	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23			
Asbestos Workers, Inter'l #63																																
Bakers & Confectionary Workers, #101																																
Bakers & Confectionary Workers, #244																																
Bakery Drivers, (Teamsters & Chauffeurs) #488																																
Barbers, Journeyman, #703																																
Bartenders, Inter'l, #726																																
Blacksmiths, Drop-Forgers & Helpers, #446																																
Blacksmiths, Drop-Forgers & Helpers, #368																																
Bookbinders, National #1																																
Bookbinders, Inter'l, #173																																
Boilermakers, Inter'l, #394																																

Table XXI continued

UNION LOCAL

YEARS

18 19  
 97 98 99 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

Brewery Workers, United, #365	///	
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers, Inter'l, #7	//////////	//////////
Bricklayers & Stonemasons, Inter'l, #14	//////////	//////////
Bricklayers & Stonemasons, Inter'l, #20	//////////	//////////
Bridge & Structural Iron-Workers, Inter'l, #162; re-organized as #182	//////////	//////////
Builders' Labourers, Inter'l, #4	//////////	//////////
Broom & Whiskmakers #71	//////////	//////////
Cab Drivers, (Teamsters & Chauffeurs) #192	//////////	//////////
Amalgamated Society of Car-penters & Joiners, #744	//////////	//////////
Carpenters & Joiners, Inter'l Brotherhood, #93	//////////	//////////
Carpenters, Inter'l, #2162	//////////	//////////
Carpenters, Inter'l, #674	//////////	//////////
Carpenters, Inter'l, #646	//////////	//////////
Carpenters, Inter'l, #917	//////////	//////////
Carpenters, Inter'l, #90	//////////	//////////
Carpenters, Inter'l, #2628	//////////	//////////

UNION LOCAL

YEARS

	18	19	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
Carpenters, Inter'l, #1169 (Hull)																														
Cecil Workingman's Protective Association																														
Commercial Union #1																														
Commerical Telegraphers' Union, #43																														
Composition Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Workers, #44																														
Electrical Workers, Inter'l, #249																														
Electrical Workers, Inter'i #724																														
Federal Labour Union #3 (Machinists)																														
Federal L. U. #8, Mill hands, Corporation & General labourers																														
Federal L. U. #9, Gas workers																														
Federal L. U. #12																														
Federal L. U. #19, Waterworks																														
Federal L. U. #20, female Plate-printers, British American Bank-note Company																														
Federal L. U. #56, Munitions Workers																														

Table XXI continued

UNION LOCAL

18 19  
 97 98 99 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

UNION LOCAL	18	19
Federal L. U. #66.		//////////
Postal employees		//////////
Federal L. U. #67.		//////////
Office Cleaners		(Inter'l Hod-carriers
Federal L. J. #15.		////////// B. & C.L. #645)
Municipal employees		//////////
Federal L. U. #16551		//////////
Federal L. U. #16517.		//////////
Gas workers		//////////
Firefighters, Inter'l, #162		//////////
Firefighters, #174 (Hull)		//////////
Granite Workers		//////////
Hod-carriers, Building &		//////////
Common Labourers, Inter'l,		//////////
#428 (Construction workers)		//////////
Hod-carriers, B. & C. L., #556		//////////
Hod-carriers, B. & C. L., *825		//////////
(Garbage men)		//////////
Hotel and Restaurant		//////////
Employees, Inter'l, #419		//////////
Horseshoers, Inter'l, #290		//////////
Iron Moulders, Inter'l, #280		//////////
Iron, Structural & Ornamental		//////////
Workers, Inter'l, #286		//////////

UNION LOCAL

YEARS

	18	19	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Laundry Workers, #275																													
Ledgers, Keepers & Accountants, Fed. Ass'n. #6																													
Leatherworkers On Horse-goods, Inter'l, #162																													
Leatherworkers, Inter'l, #109																													
Letter-carriers, Fed. Ass'n. #2422, Branch 2																													
Lithographers, Amal., #40																													
Locomotive engineers																													
Brotherhood, #100																													
Locomotive engineers, #469																													
Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, #172																													
Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, #81																													
Machinists, Inter'l, #6																													
Machinists, Inter'l, #20																													
Machinists, Inter'l, #412																													
Machinists, Inter'l, Rideau Lodge, #825																													
Ottawa Mailors' Un., #60																													
Maintenance of Way Employees, #223																													

UNION LOCAL

YEARS

	18	19	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
Meatcutters & Butchers' Inter'l, #526																													
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass & Silver Workers, #20																													
Milk Drivers & Dairy Employees (Teamsters, Chauffeurs & Stablehands) #93																													
Moving Picture Operators, #257																													
American Fed. of Musicians, #180																													
Operative Plasterers & Cement Finishers, #124																													
Order of Railway Conductors, #29																													
Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers, Inter'l, #200																													
Papermakers, Inter'l, Hull Lodge, #34																													
Papermakers, Inter'l, Hull Lodge, #35																													
Papermakers, Inter'l, #273																													
Photo-engravers, Inter'l, #44																													

Table XXI continued

UNION LOCAL

YEARS

	18	19	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Plasterers' Labourers Inter'l, #235																													
Plate Printers & Dye-stampers, Inter'l, #6																													
Plumbers, Gas & Steam-fitters, Inter'l, #71																													
Ottawa Pressteeders, Inter'l, #9																													
Printing Pressmen & Assistanta, Inter'l, #5																													
Pulp, Sulphite & Paper-mill Workers, Inter'l #73																													
Pulp, Sulphite & Paper-mill Workers, Inter'l, #70 (for women)																													
Railroad Carmen, Bro'h'd., #552																													
Railroad Employees, #77																													
Railroad Engineers, #93																													
Railroad Equipment, Canadian Bro'h'd.																													
Railway & Steamship Clerks, #1161																													
Retail Clerks, Inter'l, #353																													
Sheet-metal Workers, Inter'l, #11																													



UNION LOCAL

YEARS

18 19  
97 98 99 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

Sheet-metal Workers, Inter'l, #25 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Sheet-metal Workers, Inter'l, #47 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Stationary Firemen, #306 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Steam & Operating Engineers, Inter'l, #473 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Steel & Copperplate Printers, Inter'l, #6 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Steel & Copperplate Printers, Inter'l, #9 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Steel-plate Transferers Inter'l, #50 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Stereotypers, Ass'n \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Stonecutters \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Inter'l Street Railway Employees, #279///(OERP&B) \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Inter'l, (Hull) #591 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Tailors, Journeymen, #143 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Theatrical Stage Employees, Inter'l, #95 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Inter'l Tinsmiths, #11 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Typographers, Inter'l, #102 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers' Union, Inter'l, #60 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

Upholsters & Trimmers, Inter'l, #61 \_\_\_\_\_ ///

SOURCE: Ottawa & District Labour Council, files of the AILA, Volumes 1-3, PAC; Labour Gazette, "Unions Formed", 1907-22, and Canadian Labour Press 1919-21, Labour Canada.

**TABLE XXII**  
**Elected Officers of the Ottawa A.T.L.A. 1897-1900 and 1906-1923**

YEAR	PRESIDENT	VICE-PRESIDENT	CORRESPONDING SECRETARY	RECORDING SECRETARY	FINANCIAL SECRETARY
1897	ROBERT G. HAY	J.P. WALSH	PATRICK M. DRAPER	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
LOCAL	Sheet-metal #47	Sheet-metal #47	Int. Typograph. #102		
1898	J.A. TORNEY	NAP MERCIER	P.M. DRAPER	H. CARLING	C. CLENDINNIEN
LOCAL	Plumbers #71	Commercial #1	Ibid.	unknown	unknown
1899	P.M. DRAPER (Ibid)	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
1900	C.J. KELLY	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
LOCAL	Journeyman Tailors #143				
1906	P.M. DRAPER	CHARLES KEYES	VACANT	EUGENE CADIEUX	EDGAR EMPEY
LOCAL	Ibid	unknown		Plumbers. #71	Tailors. #143
1907	E. CADIEUX	C.J. KELLY	VACANT	THOMAS MURPHY	E. EMPEY
LOCAL	Ibid	Ibid		Sheet-metal #47	Ibid
1908	E. CADIEUX	WILLIAM LODGE	A.W. BROWN	(Feb.) T. MURPHY	E. EMPEY
				(Aug.) HARRY LANGELY	
LOCAL	Ibid	Int. Typograph. #102	Commercial #1	(Aug.) HARRY LANGELY	Ibid
1909	(Feb.) W. LODGE	A. CHESTER	H. LANGELY	(Feb.) H. LANGELY	E. EMPEY
	(Aug.) C.J. KELLY	Leatherworkers		(Aug.) ORF BUREAU	
LOCAL	Ibid	on Horsegoods #162	Ibid	Print'g. Press. Ass. #9	Ibid
1910	W. LODGE	E. BELAIR	H. LANGELY	O. BUREAU	G. SIMMONDS
LOCAL	Ibid	U.B. Carpenters #93	Ibid	Ibid	Int. Typogr. #102
1911	P.M. DRAPER	R.R. MARCIL	W. LODGE	ARCHIE HICKMAN	G. SIMMONDS
LOCAL	Ibid	Theat. Stage Em. #95	Ibid	Inter. Papermak'rs #34	Ibid
1912	R.R. MARCIL	H. HERBST	W. LODGE	(Feb.) A. HICKMAN	G. SIMMONDS
				(Aug.) F.J. ERDMANN	Ibid
LOCAL	Ibid	Painters/Dec. #200	Ibid	Print'g. Pressm. #5	(continued)

Table XXII end

1913	JOHN CAMERON	(Feb.) G.A. WALLACE Oper. Plast'rs #124 (Aug.) CHARLES LEWIS St./Oper. Eng. #473	W. LODGE	ERDMANN	G. SIMMONDS
LOCAL	Brickly'rs & Stonemasons #14		Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
1914	J. CAMERON	USSHER Carp.'trs #93	W. LODGE	ROB CARSON Machinists #412	ASPINAL Blacksmiths #446
LOCAL	Ibid		Ibid	JOHN R. JOHNSON (Aug) DANIEL McCANN Print Press #5	
1915	J. CAMERON	USSHER	W. LODGE		
LOCAL	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Carp.'trs #93	
1916	J. CAMERON	USSHER	W. LODGE	H. CLARKE	D. McCANN
LOCAL	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Civic Emp. #15	Ibid
1917	J. CAMERON	WILLIAM McDOWELL Bookbinders #173	W. LODGE	H. CLARKE	D. McCANN
LOCAL	Ibid		Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
1918	(Feb.) J. CAMERON (Aug.) PATRICK GREEN Carp.'trs #93	(Feb.) W. McDOWELL (Aug.) R.R. MARCIL	W. LODGE	THOMAS SHORT	D. McCANN
LOCAL	P. GREEN	(Feb.) R.R. MARCIL (Aug.) FRANK LaFORTUNE St./Oper. Eng. #473	Ibid	Machinists #412	Ibid
1919			W. LODGE	H. CLARKE	D. McCANN
LOCAL	Ibid		Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
1920	F. LaFORTUNE	FREEMAN ROWE	W. LODGE	ROD PLANT Bakery Drivers #488	D. McCANN
LOCAL	Ibid	Int. Pulp/Sulph. #73	Ibid		Ibid
1921	J.A.P. HAYDON	A.A. AUBREY	W. LODGE	R. PLANT	D. McCANN
LOCAL	Int. Typogr. #102	Int. Barbers #702	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
1922	J.A.P. HAYDON	POTVIN Hod., Bid'g & Common Labourers #428	W. LODGE	J.R. JOHNSON	R. PLANT
LOCAL	Ibid		Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
1923	J.A.P. HAYDON	MRS. A.J. JOHNSON Hotel & Rest. Em. #419	W. LODGE	J.R. JOHNSON	R. PLANT
LOCAL	Ibid		Ibid	Ibid	Ibid

SOURCE: Ottawa ATLA, Minutes, Volumes I-III, 1907-1920; ATLA, Labour Souvenirs, Volume X, 1899, 1909 and 1925; Ottawa City Directories, 1906-1923; Labour Gazette, "Report on Labour Organizations," Volumes XII-XXIV, 1911-1923.

TABLE XXIII

Number of Trade-Unionists Enlistments during WWI. by City

CITY	1914		1915		1916		1917	
	Enlistments	Reserves	Enlistments	Reserves	Enlistments	Reserves	Enlistments	Reserves
Toronto	599	89	2,137	83	3,984	102	4,079	106
Winnipeg	402	52	1,208	25	1,438	15	1,760	36
Montreal	289	42	476	38	1,227	47	1,381	68
Vancouver	222	22	426	79	847	30	1,080	75
Calgary	154	9	538	15	822	17	1,034	10
Edmonton	153	2	461	13	725	5	851	12
Victoria	125	14	287	7	378	10	432	26
OTTAWA	85	7	229	4	397	9	496	4
Regina	77	8	324	11	620	14	619	6
Quebec City	77	14	43	1	203	3	163	8
Hamilton	76	8	324	11	620	14	619	6
Saskatoon	66	10	111	9	172	6	181	9
Coalfields of Cape Breton			1,000	7	1,100	.		

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, "Report on Labour Organization in Canada", Volumes 15-18, 1915-1918.

**TABLE XXIV**  
**Numerical Breakdown of Strike Issues**  
**Ottawa, Quebec City and Victoria**  
**1900-1930**

NUMBER OF STRIKES																																								
CITY	YEAR																																							
	19	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	TOTAL							
OTTAWA	1	6	4	3	2	2	2	7	4	2	4	2	4	2	9	3	2	2	0	0	8	16	8	6	0	1	2	1	2	1	0	6	1	107						
QUEBEC	1	9	6	4	3	3	2	5	1	3	0	3	6	2	3	0	5	1	2	1	5	4	3	3	3	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	83						
VICTORIA	0	1	2	4	0	0	3	2	0	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	0	2	7	9	3	3	0	2	1	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	55						
*STRIKE ISSUES																																								
CATEGORY I																																								
For Higher Earnings	OTTAWA																				QUEBEC										VICTORIA									
Against Wage Reductions	70																				40										31									
CATEGORY II																																								
For Recognition of Union	3																				4										2									
For Shorter Hours	25																				7										11									
Defence of Trade Unionism	13																				8										2									
Sympathy	5																				5										7									
Apprenticeship Control	3																				0										1									
Objection to New System of Work	0																				2										1									
Change in Conditions of Work	10																				1										1									
Objection to Employment of Particular Persons, usually Supervisors	4																				5										0									
Adjustment of Procedures of Wage Payment	5																				5										2									
Against Discharge of Employees	5																				2										1									
Union Jurisdiction	0																				0										1									

\*The # of strike issues overlaps the total number of strikes, since many strikes involved more than one issue.  
 SOURCE: Labour Gazette, "Industrial Disputes", Volumes I-XXX, 1900-1930.

**TABLE XXV**  
**Breakdown of Strike Issues, Ottawa, 1900-1930**

CATEGORY	YEAR																														TOTAL	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29		30
For Higher Earnings	5	4	2	1	1	1	5	2	2	3	8	3	1	6	14	4	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	70	
Against Wage Reduc.	1																														8	
For Union Recognition																																3
For Shorter Hours	3	1	2	1	2	1	5	2	2	3	8	4	2	2	8	0	1	2	8	0	1	2	8	0	1	2	8	0	1	25		
Defence of Ir.-Union.	2																														13	
Sympathy	1																														5	
Apprenticeship Control	1	2																													3	
Objection to New System																															0	
Changes in Work Conditns.	1																														10	
Object to Empl. of Certain Persons	1																														3	
Adjustmt. in Wage Paymts.	1																														6	
Against Discharge of Employees	1																														5	
<b>ACTUAL NUMBER OF STRIKES PER YEAR</b>																																
	1	6	4	3	2	2	2	7	4	2	4	2	9	3	2	2	0	0	8	16	8	6	0	1	2	1	2	1	0	6	1	= 107

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, "Industrial Disputes", Volumes I-XXX, 1900-1930.

**TABLE XXVI**  
**Breakdown of Strike Issues, Quebec City, 1900-1930**

CATEGORY	YEAR																														TOTAL			
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29		30	ISSUES	
For Higher Earnings	3	2	3	2	1	3	2	2	3	1	1	5	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	40		
Against Wage Reduc.	1																				2	1										6		
For Union Recognition	1																															4		
For Shorter Hours	1		1	1																		2										7		
Defence of Ir.-Union.	2	1	1	1																												8		
Sympathy																						2										5		
Apprenticeship Control																																0		
Objection to New System																																	2	
Change in Work Conditions																																	1	
Object to Empl. of Certain Persons	1																																5	
Adjust. in Wage Paymts.																																		6
Against Discharge of Employees																																		2
<b>ACTUAL NUMBER OF STRIKES PER YEAR</b>																																		
	1	9	6	4	3	3	2	5	1	3	0	3	6	2	3	0	5	1	2	1	5	4	3	3	3	2	1	0	1	0	1	83		

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, "Industrial Disputes", Volumes I-XXX, 1900-1930.

**TABLE XXVII**  
**Breakdown of Strike Issues, Victoria, B.C., 1900-1930**

CATEGORY	YEAR																														TOTAL	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29		30
For Higher Earnings	1	1				1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	5	3		1		2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	31
Against Wage Reduc.																1																3
Union Recognition																			1		1										2	
For Shorter Hours	1	2			1											4	1	1	1												11	
Defence of Ir.-Unionism																															2	
Sympathy	1	1											1		1				3											7		
Apprentice-ship Control																															2	
Objection to New System																															1	
Changes in Work Conditns.																															1	
Object to Empty of Certain Persons																															0	
Wage Adjust.																															2	
Against Discharge of Employees																															1	
Union Jurisdiction																															1	
<b>ACTUAL NUMBER OF STRIKES PER YEAR</b>																																
	0	1	2	4	0	0	3	2	0	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	0	2	8	9	3	3	0	2	1	2	1	1	0	1	0	55

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, "Industrial Disputes", Volumes I-XXX, 1900-1930.



TABLE XXVIII

**Number of Workers Involved in Industrial Disputes**  
**Ottawa, 1900-1930**

YEAR	MALES AFFECTED	FEMALES	SYMPATHY WORKERS	FIRMS
1900	14	0	0	1
1901	859	0	0	90
1902	175	0	0	22
1903	360	0	0	4
1904	35	0	20	8
1905	99	0	0	16
1906	106	0	0	5
1907	1,035	150	0	58
1908	133	0	0	3
1909	112	0	0	5
1910	378	0	0	30 plus undetermined amount of large contractors
1911	284	3	0	5
1912	1,666	0	0	108 dir./50 indir.
1913	251	0	0	16
1914	5	0	8	1
1915	17	60	0	2
1916	0	0	0	Not available
1917	0	0	0	-
<b>All employees</b>				
1918	1,290	-	-	-
1919	4,031	-	-	-
1920	1,211	-	-	-
1921	2,078	-	-	-
1922	0	-	-	-
1923	8	-	-	-
1924	22	-	-	-
1925	60	-	-	-
1926	113	-	-	-
1927	45	-	-	-
1928	0	-	-	-
1929	110	-	-	-
1930	14	-	-	-

SOURCE: Labour Gazette, "Trade Disputes", Volumes I-XXX, 1900-1930.

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