

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

REFORM, WAR, AND INDUSTRIAL
CRISIS IN MANITOBA:
F. J. DIXON AND THE FRAMEWORK
OF CONSENSUS, 1903-1920

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to study the career of labor M.L.A. Frederick J. Dixon, one of Manitoba's most successful politicians, in the context of the three great upheavals of his time: the Manitoba reform movement (1903-1916), the Great War (1914-1918), and the industrial crisis of 1918-1920. Dixon based all his actions on a belief in inalienable human rights, individual and civil, and the view is taken here that Dixon was articulating the components of an early consensus which undergirded Manitoba life at a time of apparent class-conflict.

Part One deals with the Manitoba reform movement, and suggests that the legislative session of 1916, one of the most remarkable in the province's young history, was emblematic of a consensual moral urge on the part of most people to restore lost rights to the social environment. Part Two deals with the Great War and conscription, and concludes that opinion for and against both was rooted in a desire to protect the rights and liberties of British subjects. Part Three discusses the industrial crisis of 1918-1920, and concludes that the Winnipeg General Strike was not a class-struggle in the Marxist sense, but was instead a crisis of rights, with workers defending their individual right to bargain collectively, and the rest of society defending its civil right to be governed by democracy. Individual and civil rights, the twin components of consensus, were in crisis in 1919. They were reconciled by Fred Dixon in his celebrated Address to the Jury, as well as in his massive electoral victory in the provincial election of 1920.

Dixon's public career ended prematurely in 1923, due to illness; he died at the relatively young age of fifty in 1931. An Epilogue discusses the formation of the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba, one of Dixon's final political acts, and describes the tremendous respect shown for him at his death.

ABBREVIATIONS

CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
SPC	Socialist Party of Canada
DLL	Direct Legislation League
SDP	Social Democratic Party
LRC	Labor Representation Committee
DLP	Dominion Labor Party
OBU	One Big Union
ILP	Independent Labor Party
CLP	Canadian Labor Party

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Special thanks are due to Professor C.R. Newcombe, formerly of the University of Winnipeg, who suggested this topic to me several years ago. This will undoubtedly cause him much embarrassment, but I would like him to know that this has been written for him.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Now, if we trace out the laws which govern human life in society, we find that in the largest as in the smallest community, they are the same. We find that what seem at first sight like divergencies and exceptions, are but manifestations of the same principles.

Henry George, Progress and Poverty (1879)

In June, 1920, Frederick J. Dixon was re-elected to the Manitoba Legislature with the largest majority ever afforded a candidate in the province's history. The extent of his victory was really quite stunning. On a proportional ballot, with forty other candidates in the constituency of Winnipeg, he received twenty-five percent of the first-place ballots cast. Furthermore, it was estimated later that eighty percent of the voters put his name somewhere on their ballots. He outpolled most of the other candidates on the first round by a factor of ten to one, and three men were elected with the help of his surplus. Of note was the fact that he polled well across the city, although he was particularly popular in working-class areas. The latter was not unusual: he was running as a labor candidate, having just been acquitted, after a brilliant self-defence, of charges stemming from his participation in the Winnipeg General Strike. What was curious, instead, was his popularity with people outside the working-class. Coming as it did only one year after the General Strike, Dixon's victory suggested that there were certain fundamental beliefs that most Winnipeggers shared, regardless of their class, or their opinion of the Strike.

This idea--that there were values that all the classes shared--does not conform to the class-conflict model currently being used by many historians who write working-class history. Based upon a Marxist notion of economic class structures, and borrowed from the social science, the class-conflict model has been in increasing use in

historical circles since S.R. Mealing pointed out in 1965 how loath historians had been to use class as an analytical device. Mealing advised, in a guarded way, that historians adopt the current postulate of social science--the function of class as a social determinant--and use it to develop a history of the laboring classes.¹

Such a call either prompted or divined the trend of historical inquiry to follow. In fact, in the years since 1965 class has become a conventional tool of analysis. The emphasis on social differences, however, as the study of social and economic classes implies, sometimes leaves little room to explain contradicting phenomena such as Fred Dixon's election victory in 1920. Moreover, it has led to the logical extreme of inevitable class struggle, now being advanced by the advocates of the "new social history." According to two such proponents, Gregory Kealey and Peter Warrian, class really refers to "the relationship of exploitation that exists between capitalist and wage labourer." Kealey and Warrian suggest that class-struggle, and eventual revolution, are inevitable; it is even the task of the historian to ease this process along.²

While historians who have studied Winnipeg in the last decade have not taken this extreme Marxist view, they have assumed, nonetheless, that the major animating force was class-conflict. David Bercuson, in studying the Winnipeg General Strike, described the steadily increasing class-polarization that took place in the years prior to the Strike as the city converted to industrial capitalism.³ Studying an earlier period in the city's history, Alan Artibise observed the proclivity of the city's entrepreneurs to develop the city in their own economic interests, without concern for public welfare.⁴ J.E. Rea

discussed how the class-polarity of the days of the General Strike was perpetuated in the chamber of the City Council.⁵ In a more general study of Western radicalism, A.R. McCormack took Bercuson's class-polarization thesis a step further by putting it in the context of the entire Canadian West.⁶

But if historians studying Winnipeg (or, as in McCormack's case, radicalism in the West) have used the class-conflict model, they have had to reconcile its use with a contradicting set of historical realities. Artibise noticed that the capitalist exploitation, so characteristic of the city's formative years, did not explain why life in the city ultimately improved. He concluded, therefore:

Yet in the longer perspective, it is clear, the possibility of co-existence between Anglo-Saxon and foreigner, management and labour, rich and poor, never vanished entirely. There were always a precious few in every group who recognized the community of interests which transcended the particular divisions in Winnipeg's population. If they were not heeded in Winnipeg's first forty years, they nevertheless carried forward into subsequent decades constructive ideals, the roots of which extended back to an older Winnipeg that included such organizations as All People's Mission, the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission, and the Town Planning Association.⁷

Both Bercuson and McCormack were faced with the quiescence of workers in the twenties, after describing two decades of rising consciousness and bitter class-struggle. Bercuson attributed this passivity to exhaustion; McCormack suggested that a new era of co-operation had dawned.⁸ "Many Canadians," he observed, "refused to return to the heyday of predatory entrepreneurs and the laissez-faire state. They

insisted upon reform, essentially increased state involvement in the economy to eliminate the harshest aspects of industrial capitalism and to guarantee certain minimum standards of life for all Canadians."⁹

The problem of reconciling the class-conflict model with the later facts of history, however, goes beyond questions of civic improvement, or worker quiescence. Because they have been looking for conflict, historians have often missed or ignored other prominent realities of early Manitoba life. In documenting class-polarity, for example, they have not explained why many Manitobans, regardless of class, joined together in the Manitoba reform movement in an effort to secure social improvement for a society decimated by the forces of rapid industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. Nor do they explain why workers overwhelmingly supported the Great War when its obvious purpose was to preserve the capitalist state. Perhaps even more significantly, however, historians appear to have misunderstood the nature of the General Strike itself.

Historians who have studied the 1919 Strike have concluded that it was the result of a steadily increasing class-polarization, taking place as a consequence of conflict in the work-place. They seem to have ignored the fact (perhaps because they did not expect to see it) that in the spring of 1919 the labor movement was more deeply divided than ever before in its history. Involved in a bitter dispute over trade union ideology and political strategy, the labor movement actually united briefly in May, 1919, and then plunged back into a rancorous internal struggle that would consume it until well into the twenties. As for the capitalists in 1919 (represented by the insidious

Committee of One Thousand) and their natural inclination to smash the working-class, they had not been able to stop a similar citizen's committee in 1918 from helping to settle a general strike--to the satisfaction of working and non-working-class citizens alike. And then, of course, just one year after the Strike's suppression, there was the matter of Fred Dixon's immense victory. All of these phenomena are not adequately explained by a theory of class-conflict.

There have been two studies of the era, however, which not only suggest a possible solution for this paradox, but may also help to explain the election of Fred Dixon in 1920. Gerald Friesen, in studying the role of the Socialist Party of Canada in the Western rebellion of 1918-1919, has concluded that the SPC, the West's avowed revolutionaries, were actually interested in moderate industrial reform as well as revolution through the conventional means of the ballot box.¹⁰ In looking for the roots of the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba (the party that inherited the political legacy of the Winnipeg Strike), Allen Mills discovered that they were ensconced in the natural rights and natural law philosophy of Henry George. Not only this, but Mills attributed the creation of the Party, formed just six months after the 1920 provincial election, to the work of Fred Dixon, Manitoba's most well-known Single Taxer.¹¹ Manitoba radicals were not it appears, very radical. Indeed, they seem to have shared certain values and assumptions about life with most other Manitobans.

Manitoba society, therefore, in the years surrounding the General Strike, bears witness, possibly, to an underlying consensus, despite the obvious problems and disagreements of the age. This is the obvious

implication of Fred Dixon's victory in 1920, but it is etched out even more fully by Dixon's career and personality--a fact which historians looking for class-conflict have missed. Dixon was Manitoba's most popular and prominent reformer, and, by 1915, its most successful politician. During the war years he became its most notorious pacifist. Chairman of the Dominion Labor Party, active on the side of the workers in May, 1919, he was eventually arrested and charged with seditious libel. His support for all these causes, however, was provoked by an abiding commitment to natural human rights. His two most persistent social causes were the Single Tax of Henry George, with its faith in the inalienable individual rights to life, liberty, and the use of the earth, and Direct Legislation, with its emphasis on expanding the civil, or democratic, rights of the citizen. His trial, in February, 1920, gave him the public platform from which to reiterate his faith in these essential rights. Dixon's final Address to the Jury--an oration of eloquence and conviction defending the rights of British subjects--so impressed the initially-hostile jury that it secured his acquittal. Four months later, with the fame as well as the text of the Address now widely circulated, he was re-elected to the Legislature in a landslide. Asked in his lifetime to take the leadership of three major political parties, something which in one instance would have made him Premier, Dixon and his consistent advocacy of the basic individual and civil rights of British subjects apparently touched the heart of an existing consensus.

The purpose of the present study, therefore, is to further explore this idea of a fundamental consensus, examining the career of Fred Dixon in the context of the Manitoba reform movement, the Great War

and the conscription crisis, and the industrial crisis of 1918-1919. Significantly, perhaps, just as this work was being completed, two review articles commenting on the current state of Canadian labor history have appeared. David Bercuson, the historian who originally put the Winnipeg General Strike in the context of class-conflict, now concurs with the view taken here. "But if there was a class war," he writes, "in Canadian or the United States--a battle not fought by a radical clique alone, but consciously by the mass of workers--where is the evidence?"¹² Similarly, Kenneth McNaught points out the inadequacy of the class-conflict model in describing the working-class culture of the past. Says McNaught: "Efforts to depict, or simply assert, a free standing working-class culture in the past (let alone the present) have failed to provide a credible new principle of historical interpretation, while the picture of a complex society in which progressivism, unionism, socialism, and political capitalism have been consistently interactive has been more definitely etched."¹³ The existence of a consensus of fundamental values would explain the compliant interaction of these forces.

Two comments must be made about sources. First, one reason why historians have paid so little attention to the career of Fred Dixon (aside from his incompatibility with class-conflict history) is because his personal letters and records were destroyed in the Winnipeg flood of 1950. Thus, the only source of information about Dixon is the public record--newspapers in the main--particularly The Voice and The Western Labor News. Second, because it deals with a broad topic, this study covers areas which in some cases have already been developed by others. It is the author's hope, however, that he has provided an

interpretation by which this whole period of history can better be understood.

In his recent review of Canadian labor history, David Bercuson returned to the subject of the Winnipeg General Strike. He wrote:

That event [the Winnipeg General Strike] was pivotal in Canadian social history. It had many interrelated causes and consequences, and each thread of cause and effect must be examined if the Strike is to be understood. Some of the historical relationships, events and personalities that should be investigated include: trade union development in Winnipeg; the structure of the Winnipeg business community; the development of trade union thought and strategy; T.R. Deacon, the Barrett Brothers, R.B. Russell, and F.J. Dixon; conscription; collective bargaining practices in the railway shopcrafts; Arthur Meighen, Robert Borden, Gideon Robertson, T.C. Norris, and Charles F. Gray; the 1918 municipal strike; and so on.¹⁴

It is a formidable list of ignorance, hopefully somewhat eased by this study.

PART ONE

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

1903 - 1916

From the 1880s through the 1930s the spirit of reform was abroad in the land.

Richard Allen, The Social Passion (1971)

The reform I have proposed accords with all that is politically, socially, or morally desirable. It has all the qualities of a true reform, for it will make all other reforms easier. What is it but the carrying out in letter and spirit of the truth enunciated in the Declaration of Independence--the "self-evident" truth that is the heart and soul of the Declaration--"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness!"

Henry George, Progress and Poverty (1879)

It was implied in the actions of the first surveyors who came to the area in the 1860s, but the metamorphosis of the sleepy agriculturally-oriented city of Winnipeg, established in 1874 at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, did not really begin until the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885. In that year, as the CPR helped extinguish the last vestige of opposition to its coming at Batoche, this lynch-pin of John A. Macdonald's National Policy--the line of steel which symbolically and actually united the various parts of the new Canadian nation--opened the doorway to a new way of life for Winnipeg's citizens. It was the CPR which established the city as the grain transportation centre for the entire west. It was the CPR whose extensive shops and yards divided the community of Winnipeg in two--North-End and South-End--distinctions that would define social status in days to come. It was the CPR which brought workers to Winnipeg to maintain its rails, locomotives and freight cars. Above all, however, it was the CPR that brought the immigrants to Manitoba.

For eleven years these people were primarily from Ontario--families in search of better farming opportunities in a land no longer uncivilized. But in 1896 this situation changed, a result of the election of Wilfrid Laurier and his Liberal Government to office in Ottawa. Laurier, and his Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton of Manitoba, were not happy with the speed with which the Prairies were being populated. Consequently, the Canadian Government began offering free land to British, European, and

East-European farmers willing to migrate to the Canadian West. Such people were recruited actively by Canadian officials sent overseas, and the result was that in a few short years thousands of immigrants came to Western Canada to begin new lives.

The effect of this population explosion upon the city of Winnipeg was profound. It influenced the city's financial fortunes, and Winnipeg quickly became the centre for grain handling, wholesale distributing, and manufacturing in Western Canada. In 1902, 51.8 million bushels of wheat went through Winnipeg (in contrast to the 37.9 million bushels that went through Chicago) as Winnipeg traders handled seven-eighths of the Prairie wheat crop. In the business of wholesale distribution, the city's merchants built up some of the largest stocks in Canada as a result of the great demand for goods and the seasonal nature of eastern supply. Manufacturing in the city rose from an annual output of 8.6 millions in 1900, to 18.9 millions in 1905.¹ In 1891 the average manufacturer had a capitalization of \$10,000 and he employed eight people; by 1911 his capitalization had reached \$147,000 and he employed sixty people.² All of this was in line with the population growth of the city itself, for Winnipeg grew from a small city of 38,000 in 1895, the year before the Liberals came to office, to a burgeoning metropolis of 115,000 in 1907. By 1916 the population of the city had reached 201,981.

As well as prosperity for the city's entrepreneurs, however, this sudden influx of people, and its tendency to stay in the city to work in the developing industries, created a good many problems. There was the foreign immigrant, who spoke little or no English, and brought with him curious cultural and religious traditions beyond the realm of

Anglo-Saxon understanding. Described derisively and regardless of validity as "Galician", he occupied the rung of lowest status on the social ladder and was forced to accommodate himself and his family in slum housing in Winnipeg's North-End. His inability to assimilate immediately into the rapidly prevailing Anglo-Saxon culture was the cause of much prejudice and racial tension.

But the problem even more significant than prejudice was poverty. The industrial revolution (of which this flow of immigration was a part) had already reduced the demand for artisanal skills, and workers could no longer expect remuneration on the basis of their competence. Furthermore, immigrants who settled in the city became part of an increasing labor pool in which they competed with one another for a limited number of jobs. Not yet well organized, workers could not exert any influence upon the decisions of employers; as a result, men were not paid anything close to a living wage, and women, whose labor was popular in areas like the textile trade, were paid even less.

The situation was exacerbated by the high cost of poor housing. Real-estate developers descended upon Winnipeg's undeveloped North-End in 1900, but it was neither within their power nor, more particularly, their economic interest to make sure that the supply of housing somehow met the demand. Overcrowding was a result, and by 1906 the North-End, which comprised less than one-third of the city's geographical area, contained forty-three percent of its population.³ Subdivisions were built without concern for sewage disposal or proper water supply, which helped put Winnipeg's typhoid death rate higher than any other major North American or European city.⁴ The infant mortality rate soared. By 1912, it had reached the astonishing rate of 199.5 deaths per 1,000

births, most infants dying of gastro-intestinal disorders related to the inadequate supply and distribution of clean milk.⁵

Clergyman J.S. Woodsworth reflected on the overall effect of these various problems in a book entitled: My Neighbor, published in 1911. He wrote of the city:

...As we penetrate more deeply into its life, we discover evils of which we had hardly dreamed. Pitfalls abound on every side; dark crimes are being committed; dreadful tragedies are being enacted in real life. We get behind the scenes; we see the seamy side. We look beneath the glittering surface and shrink back from the hidden depths which the yawning darkness suggests. . . . And the horror of it all grows upon us till the city becomes a hateful thing, from which we would flee in despair--a monstrous blot on the face of God's fair earth.⁶

Woodsworth was not alone in his despair. It became apparent to a number of residents of the city that the sudden coming together of three substantial forces--immigration, industrialization and urbanization--had created a great deal of human suffering. In a society which still claimed to be motivated by Christian ethics this provoked some controversy. Something had to be done, it seemed; the question was--What could be done? And to this there was no simple answer.

City life, therefore, quickly became animated by a discussion over methods of improvement. While some citizens favoured major alterations in the economic order through such solutions as Henry George's Single Tax or Marxist Socialism, others proposed more palliative measures--temperance, legislation against prostitution, health reform, and Direct Legislation--to deal with the social problems of an immediate nature. What soon became clear, as different groups argued over method, was that most of the people interested in changing society shared certain philosophical premises. They believed in a natural order of laws and

rights which described good and evil, and they also felt that the necessary changes to society should be brought about through the use of the ballot box. The pervasive nature of these two beliefs was revealed in the capacity, indeed the willingness, of all the segments of the reform movement to co-operate with one another despite their doctrinal disputes or differences of class. It was also demonstrated by their ability to unite behind a young and charismatic English immigrant who articulated and epitomized both in a political career that spanned two decades. His name was Frederick J. Dixon and he would become the most popular politician in the history of the province of Manitoba.

With these principles at its heart, and Dixon at its head, the Manitoba reform movement grew and developed between the years 1900 and 1916. From 1900 to 1910 its members were engaged in search and discussion. In 1910, however, when Dixon was asked to run for public office, the movement began to coalesce around him. His narrow defeat, due primarily to the tactics of a group of doctrinaire Marxists, firmed the resolve of the movement to press forward in united fashion, and a loose coalition of interests, tied together by Dixon and the principles he represented, slowly became a political force. This force successfully elected Dixon to the Legislature in 1914, running as an "Independent-Progressive", and after he helped bring down the corrupt Roblin Government it re-elected him in 1915 with a majority larger than that of any other Member of the Legislative Assembly. It was also responsible for pressuring the Liberal Party to adopt one of the most progressive platforms in the Dominion, and it swept Liberal leader T.C. Norris into office in 1915 with forty-two of the forty-nine seats in the Legislature. Norris knew the nature of his mandate: running on a platform which included almost

all of the demands of the reform movement he had no choice but to enshrine its planks in the Statutes.

The success of the coalition of interests seeking to bring relief to the problems of urban life lay in the simplicity and universality of its motivating principles and in the quality of its leadership. Indeed, it reflected an apparent consensus of principle that was inherent in Manitoba life.

CHAPTER 1

THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS

I

Frederick John Dixon was born in Englefield, England on January 20, 1881.¹ The ninth child of Thomas and Hanna Dixon, he grew up on a landed estate where his father served as a coachman. His parents were poor but dedicated to giving their children a good start in life. In this environment it was easy for Fred Dixon to notice the essential paradox associated with the possession of both wealth and unused land, a simple observation that would play an important role in the development of his later philosophy. At the age of thirteen he dropped out of the local National School claiming that he did not want to spend the rest of his life in a classroom; this he did despite the protests of the local rector who wanted him to continue on to university. He apprenticed himself to a gardener and became a horticulturalist, a trade that he pursued until he became unemployed in 1903. After spending six months searching for a job, Dixon resolved to follow his brother, George, to Canada where the latter was operating a hotel. His first Canadian job was thus as the night clerk of the Metropolitan Hotel in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Dixon was forced to the streets again in search of employment when George Dixon declared bankruptcy later in the same year. He quickly took a construction job working on the new Eaton's store being built on Portage Avenue; at the same time he began to re-train by taking a drafting course through correspondence. It was in pursuit of books and materials for this that he chanced to make the acquaintance of one of Winnipeg's more interesting immigrants, R.M. Mobius.

Mobius, called "Professor Mobius" by most Winnipeggers who knew

him, was a former German radical and intellectual, and Principal of the Manitoba Institute of Mental Science.² He claimed expertise in a number of strange professional capacities. Among his many talents he was by his own advertisement, a Medical electrician, a Naturopath, and a Phrenologist, while his wife, Madame Adeline Mobius, acted as Professor of Phrenology and Scientific Palmistry, and was also Vice-Principal of the school. Most significantly for Dixon, by 1903, these two were Manitoba's leading advocates of the Single Tax philosophy of Henry George, and the Institute, with its small lending library of exotic fare, had become the center for the discussion of Single Tax theory in Winnipeg. Fascinated with both Mobius and George, Dixon quickly joined the coterie of interested amateur philosophers who met in the Institute's reception rooms over Ryan's Shoe Store at 494½ Main Street.⁴ Here, discussing George's central treatise, Progress and Poverty, he encountered Seymour J. Farmer, a recent immigrant from Cardiff, and he and Farmer became close friends and lasting accomplices. Together the three of them--Mobius, Dixon, and Farmer--formed the nucleus of a potentially formidable movement for the promulgation of Single Tax theory.

Dixon's encounter with the philosophy of Henry George, apparently for the first time, was one of the most important experiences of his life. Blessed with an inquiring mind, he had arrived in the Canadian west at a time when it was undergoing a complete metamorphosis. Passing with headlong speed into the industrialized world, and beset with the incumbent dislocation of traditions and values accompanying such a process, Winnipeg had all the appearances of a society with deep problems. Dixon had lived and worked on land that had no other purpose than to lie unused; he had also attempted without success to live and

work in the crowded streets of London. When Henry George came along and proposed that the major problem confronting the world was the under-utilization of the land, the truth of this observation had already been vividly demonstrated to Dixon. As a result, he adopted George's theories without reservation, and set for himself the goal of seeing them brought into practice in the province of Manitoba. For the next ten years, when George's ideas enjoyed their greatest popularity in Manitoba, he was their most vocal proponent. He started work late in 1903 with the Bemis Bag Company as an engraver, but this was work for survival only. He began, simultaneously, a far more important career as an advocate of social reform, an occupation he would pursue until his early death from cancer in 1931.

Another reason why Dixon found Single Tax theory appealing was that in character and background he was like Henry George.⁵ Born in Philadelphia in 1837, George had also left school while still in his early teens; he went to sea, ending up eventually in California. He became a typographer, a union member, and the chronically-unemployed editor of a variety of unsuccessful newspapers. He was poor enough that after the birth of his second child he found it necessary to pawn five dollars in order to buy milk for the new baby. This experience would weigh heavily upon his memory for, as he would later claim, he was so desperate because of his financial problems that he felt capable of killing someone in order to get the money to feed his family. Almost as important, however, while experiencing the trials of an uncertain professional life, he was present in the western United States at the time when it was filling up with people. The fact that poverty seemed to increase at the same rate as wealth, or, put another

way, that advances in technology seemed only to ensure greater poverty for those who worked, puzzled him. While riding a horse in open country in 1870, just after the completion of the transcontinental railroad, he suddenly realized the solution to this apparent paradox. Inquiring of a passing teamster the value of an immense piece of open land, he found that this prime grazing land, unoccupied, was worth almost one thousand dollars an acre. "Like a flash," he wrote later, "it came upon me that there was the reason of advancing poverty with advancing wealth. With the growth of population, land grows in value, and the men who work it must pay more for the privilege."⁶

This Damascus Road-like experience led ultimately to the publishing of George's most important work, Progress and Poverty, in 1879.⁷ A work of serious political economy that he virtually published himself, it became a best seller overnight because it challenged many of the popular assumptions concerning the distribution of wealth and the amelioration of poverty. As if to emphasize the popularity of George's economic theories, running on the Single Tax ticket in 1886, George was nearly elected mayor of New York City. It was in pursuit of this goal again in 1898 that he suffered a fatal stroke. Lest there be any doubt about the popularity of George's theories during his lifetime, Progress and Poverty outsold all of its contemporary competition with the single exception of the Bible.⁸

Progress and Poverty was both a rebuke of the current state of capitalism and a defence of the natural rights philosophy enshrined in the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution. It was, for the United States of 1880, not a revolutionary doctrine. It articulated a seeming paradox in American life: poverty seemed to

increase in direct relationship to the advancing productive capacity of society, and, as society became richer as a result of the marvels of technology, the poor became poorer. George's own experience had taught him that poverty was dehumanizing, that it was not a direct result of a man's sin or his lack of initiative, and that it was unjust because it denied most men their intrinsic and unalienable rights. A social Christian, George believed that there existed in the world a moral code of behaviour that was absolute, available to everyone, and that determined right and wrong. To George, poverty and its associated ills were wrong according to this scale, and were thus not permissible in a just society.

This, at least, is what prompted him to write Progress and Poverty. The book itself was a stinging criticism of the existing system of land tenure. When George looked around and questioned why it was that people were poor, the first thing he noticed was that wages were low and rents were high. Not only that, but large areas of potentially productive land were lying empty, as owners waited for the value of their land to increase. All of these symptoms were part of the same disease: speculation. George argued that as long as a man wanted land in order to produce something on it he was a benefit to society in that he either employed people, paid wages, or created something, like houses, for use. If, however, he decided not to build on his property or to develop it in any way, he was guilty of several intrinsically-related sins. First, he was creating an artificial shortage of land which, in a society whose population was rapidly increasing, was scarcely useful. Indeed, by creating an unnecessary demand for living space, he was essentially encouraging and even creating poverty. Increasing the cost

of housing by decreasing its supply meant invariably that the people who were poor to begin with could not afford proper housing. An entrepreneur who wished to be productive was also penalized, for in order to expand his business he too had to pay a high price for land. While paying high costs for housing, workers were penalized doubly. First, they lost that increment in wages that was related to their increased production. Instead of wages, the owner's capital had to go to pay high land prices, rents and increased taxes. Secondly, the speculator paid no taxes, created neither jobs nor wages; indeed, all he did was discourage production and create starvation. The land speculator, rather than the capitalist, was the creator of all evil in Henry George's America.

The solution to this complex problem was, for George at least, remarkably simple. Debunking the notions of Malthus and Mill (that poverty was due to overpopulation and a static fund of capital unable to supply an expanding workforce with wages), he claimed that if society realized its full productive capacity it could easily supply everyone with enough to live and enjoy life. Since this was impossible as long as land speculation was encouraged, production was thus inhibited from reaching its potential. Tax the value of idle land, argued George, remove the taxes on productive enterprises and watch the speculator jump to put his land into use. George proposed that a Single Tax on Land Value would have to encourage production, bringing with it more jobs, higher wages, lower rents, more houses at lower prices--overall, the eradication of poverty. It was a solution that made sense in an expanding industrial society, particularly in large cities or on the frontier, where empty land had an inordinate value.

The popularity of George's Single Tax scheme was related both to its simplicity and to its non-revolutionary character. It did not, after all, attack a particular class of people, but rather, a small, insidious, and virtually invisible group who, in their greedy desire for profit, were interfering with the workings of the capitalist system. Workers and productive capitalists shared a common interest, theoretically, in getting rid of the speculator. Single Tax theory did not therefore depend on one particular socio-economic group for survival, but instead appealed to people of all classes to join in a united effort to improve the existing capitalist system for everyone's benefit.

Just as important, and perhaps even more obvious, George was defending a tradition intrinsic to North American life. He felt that a sense of Christian morality and concern for justice should rule the marketplace. Thus, for those who were not yet prepared, like Marx, to set God adrift from the course of human events, the Single Tax offered an alternative more suited to their vision of the universe.

II

In 1903, Single Tax theory was new to Fred Dixon, and to other immigrants like him, but it was not new to resident Canadians. As early as 1881, just two years after the publication of Progress and Poverty, George had come to Canada to speak at meetings in Toronto and Montreal.⁹ While initially Land Values Taxation was received as all new ideas which purport to solve the major problems of the world--with either naive enthusiasm or sophisticated intellectual scorn--the fact that it was able to withstand the scrutiny of economists and philosophers,

a testimony to its internal logic and coherence, meant that it attracted converts who were at first sceptical of its seeming simplicity. In Winnipeg, in 1903, it spoke directly to the overcrowding and demeaning living conditions of the city's North-End; to farmers in the rest of Manitoba it explained the policy and practice of the largest land-holder in Western Canada--the Canadian Pacific Railway. So it was that Dixon, Mobius, and Farmer found themselves increasingly on public platforms, proclaiming the message of the Single Tax.

They found, in working class circles at least, that they were competing with the exponents of another idea new to Western Canada--that of Marxist Socialism. It had arrived along with industrialism and was a notion which contained within it both a blueprint for an inevitable future based upon a belief in an historical dialectic, and a faith in Christian charity with the organized church left out. A stunning denunciation of industrial capitalism which promised revolution, emancipation of the working-class, and a state of bliss where charity and co-operation were the driving forces of social behavior, its appeal was felt most naturally by workers. The most doctrinaire Marxist Socialists claimed that it was only a matter of time before history would take its inevitable course and a revolution of the proletariat take place. They formed the Socialist Party of Canada in 1904 to represent this view, choosing to educate people about the coming revolution rather than to press for any kind of ameliorative reform.¹⁰ Most socialists, however, particularly in Winnipeg, were not revolutionaries and they disliked this latter view. They saw socialism as a way of alleviating the social and economic problems of the day and they often quarreled with the members of the Socialist Party

of Canada.¹¹ Both socialist factions encountered Dixon and the Single Taxers at the weekly meetings of the Manitoba Labor Party.

Manitoba had had a succession of labor parties since Arthur Puttee had been elected to the House of Commons in 1900.¹² The first such party of any permanence was formed in November of 1906.¹³ Called the Manitoba Labor Party its primary purpose was considered to be educational, and Puttee, its Chairman, encouraged meetings with various speakers in an effort to stimulate workers. It became a forum for numerous causes, and it gave the socialists and Single Taxers an opportunity to press their views upon interested workers. At the first annual meeting of the Party in January, 1908, the socialists attempted to amend two planks of the platform in order to stress the need for "tax reform by graduated tax on income," and they tried to make the ultimate aim of the Party: "the collective ownership of all the means of production."¹⁴ The Taxers argued strenuously over both proposals and Dixon suggested that the taxation plank should call instead for "a tax reform by lessening the tax on industry and increasing it on land values."¹⁵ Both questions were tabled and the argument became the main issue of debate during the weekly meetings of the Labor Party in the winter of 1908-1909.

Dixon proved quite successful as a public speaker: Labor Party members were so impressed by his oratory and intellect that they called upon him to give public lectures.¹⁶ In late February, the Party's executive committee authorized the formation of "evening classes for the study of economic and political questions", and asked Dixon to conduct them.¹⁷ He consented, and invited Mobius along to help; in this way, educational seminars on the Single Tax

began under the official auspices of the Manitoba Labor Party. Busy as they were converting Winnipeg laborites, the Taxers, however, could do nothing about the fact that in 1908 the British Labor Party had declared itself in favor of the collective ownership of the means of production.¹⁸ Pressure was exerted by a number of former members of the British Independent Labor Party to make a similar declaration in Winnipeg, and in June, at a general meeting of the Party, they proposed exactly that.¹⁹ The addition of the plank--"That the ultimate aim of the party is the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange"--was opposed by Dixon who claimed that such a thing would not accommodate the Single Taxers, but it passed nevertheless.²⁰ This move had a significant effect on the future of the Labor Party. As A. Ross McCormack has suggested: "When in June it came out for the collective ownership, the party split and ceased to be an effective organization."²¹

This was probably a bit dispiriting for Arthur Puttee, who was seeing his Labor Party dissolve before his eyes, but it did not deter either the socialists or the Taxers from pressing their campaigns forward. The moderates who had advocated the collective ownership plank attempted to set up a Labor Representation Committee to replace the Manitoba Labor Party, a move that was bitterly opposed by the radicals of the Socialist Party of Canada. The Taxers were content to consolidate their position, having just formed their own association, and they asked Dixon to contribute a regular column to the labor newspaper, The Voice, edited by Arthur Puttee.²²

This new association was formed in March, 1909.²³ Called the Manitoba Single Tax Association, it was both a rural and urban

organization, reflecting its popularity among farmers and workers. Its President was Mr. W.D. Lamb of Plumas, Manitoba, and Fred Dixon was its Secretary-Treasurer, responsible for correspondence and the distribution of all materials.²⁴ With the formation of a formal organization came affiliation with the world-wide Single Tax movement, controlled, manipulated and financed by Chicago soap manufacturer, Joseph Fels.

Fels considered himself to be personally responsible for the promulgation of the Single Tax idea throughout the world.²⁵ Born in the Virginia village of Halifax Court House, on December 16, 1854, Fels rose rapidly in the world of soap, eventually establishing a large concern in Philadelphia in partnership with his father. In 1894 they invented a special procedure for making soap and went on to become millionaires. Whether out of conscience or guilt, Fels began to interest himself in social questions, and he became attracted to the Single Tax idea by observing the successful Fairhope Single Tax Colony on Mobile Bay in Alabama. By 1905 he was spending part of every year in England, and he had purchased 1,200 acres of land at Hollesby Bay in order to form a labor colony for the unemployed. In 1907 he announced that he was willing to match the raised revenues of any association within the United States and the Commonwealth with an equal amount from his own pocket in order to proselytize the message of Land Values Taxation throughout the world. He immediately donated 10,000 pounds Sterling to the United Committee of Great Britain, and suddenly the Single Tax notion had an impressive financial base upon which to depend. Fels claimed to have been converted by British Laborite Kier Hardie, who himself was not a Taxer, but who by his

example had convinced Fels of the need for humanitarianism in the world--particularly by those who were stewards of large amounts of money.²⁶

By 1909, Dixon had helped establish Georgeism as an institution of Manitoba reform. Typical of many within the reform movement, however, he was concerned about doing something immediate to ease the suffering of urban life. One of the areas most in need of public attention was the field of health. The influx of immigration, the overcrowding of Winnipeg's North-End, and the lack of proper sanitation in the hastily constructed new communities all contributed to Winnipeg's high death rate--one of the highest in North America.²⁷ Disease was rampant; indeed, as Alan Artibise has noted: "such diseases as typhoid fever, smallpox, tuberculosis, venereal disease, scarlet fever, and diphtheria were not only prevalent, but often reached epidemic proportions."²⁸ The City Fathers stoutly refused to recognize the fact that much of the problem lay in the inadequacy of Winnipeg's water supply, and they seemed more concerned with whether or not the city could pay for improvements in public health, rather than with the tragedy that such intransigence provided for its citizens. In the wake of yet another epidemic of smallpox in 1907, Dixon joined a group of citizens, tired of slow-moving governments, who came together to form the Manitoba Health League.²⁹

The members of the Health League believed that the causes of poor health in Winnipeg were both economic and social, and that ultimately only education could eradicate disease. The principle object of the League's constitution claimed that the organization's main purpose was:

To work for the formation of a Canadian educational hygienic department; for the purposes of supplementing the present public education with special courses of instruction calculated to unite our mixed nationalities upon a higher standard of domestic and personal life. By teaching household sanitation under all conditions and the principles governing the same. Also to promote personal health by illustrations of cause and effect as expressions of moral conduct, daily occupations, food and cleanliness, and to give practical instruction in the home management of disease.³⁰

The League's members believed that all people had the essential right to choose the purveyor and substance of any medical assistance they might need. They were also opposed quite firmly to the policy of public vaccination--so much so, in fact, that they declared that "no public funds in any way or manner were to be used in the cultivation of disease or for its purchase or traffic, neither shall the law countenance the infliction of disease on any living person."³¹ The idea behind vaccination, of course, was to infect people with a form of the disease in question, in order to allow the body to build up resistance to the major bacteria. To the Health League membership it was obvious that one should not go around giving people a form of the disease that they were trying to avoid, and it was with this logic that they began their crusade against vaccination in Winnipeg. This was a curious irony perhaps, seen in the light of latter-day medical knowledge, but reflective nevertheless of a concern for the health of Winnipeg's citizens.³² They supported other causes as well.

They were sympathetic, for example, when Dixon pointed out that one of the other social diseases in Winnipeg was poverty and that its causes were economic and political. As Vice-President of the Health League from its inception, Dixon connected the "disease of poverty" to the Single Tax solution at the weekly educational meetings

of the League.³³ Members also heard Secretary-Treasurer Ada Muir, woman's columnist for The Voice, speak on behalf of the principles of female suffrage and woman's rights.³⁴ In one of her addresses she remarked: "True reform will come in the blending of male and female intellects and expression.... Man can never obtain emancipation from error until woman's power upon the world comes into its heritage."³⁵ Other topics were more diverse and unusual, and members were treated to such subjects as modern business methods in relation to health, and the dangers of modern revivalism.³⁶ It was a place, also, where the Professors Mobius could display their unusual medical talents. Perhaps most significantly of all, however, Health League members heard President Alan Muir review the meagre efforts of Winnipeg's health administration.³⁷ The League was one of the first organizations of private citizens to monitor government action in the health field and to promote actively the idea that governments had an intrinsic responsibility to deal with the social and economic causes of sickness, as well as to promote public health.

There was yet another reform which provoked Dixon's interest while he was crusading for public health and the Single Tax. Believing in parliamentary democracy as the appropriate vehicle for social change, Dixon, along with many others, was not satisfied that the current system was functioning either efficiently or without corruption. Through the successful example of a number of American states to the south, the Direct Legislation movement had come to Manitoba as early as 1906, and by August of 1908 an organization had been formed in Winnipeg to promote the concepts of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.³⁸ Dixon became the Secretary-Treasurer of this group, which called itself

the Manitoba Federation for Direct Legislation, and he began actively to promote its guiding principles in the meetings of the Labour Party and the Health League, as well as upon the pages of The Voice and the Grain Growers Guide.

The basic ingredients of Direct Legislation--the Initiative and the Referendum--were ways in which voters could both initiate and validate legislation. They had been used originally, and with success, in Switzerland, and had moved to the United States where the idea that "the people" were the source of government gave them a logical place in the process of American democracy. It was not so easily integrated with the British parliamentary system, however, and this was not surprising. Dixon described his concept of Direct Legislation in the following fashion:

Direct Legislation means law making by the direct vote of the people. It consists of the Initiative and the Referendum. The Initiative is a measure by which a certain percentage of the voters, usually eight percent, may propose a law by means of a petition. If, upon the presentation of the petition, the Legislature refuses to pass the law it must be submitted on a separate ballot to all the voters for their approval or rejection at the next general election, or at a special election if so ordered.... The Initiative is a measure by which the voters may start legislation. The referendum is a measure by which the voters may stop legislation. When the Referendum is in force all laws are suspended for a period of time after they have been passed by the legislature, usually for ninety days. If during that time a certain percentage of the voters, usually five percent, petition that any particular law be referred to the people for their approval or rejection before it comes into force, it must be so done. The principal advantage of the Referendum is that it gives the people the power to prevent the bartering away of public lands and public franchises to private corporations, thus destroying the power of the lobby and tending to purify politics.... The Referendum will insure that no legislation will be passed without the expressed or tacit consent of the electors.

Thus it carries to its logical conclusion the maxim so often repeated by leading statesmen that "Governments should only exist by the consent of the governed."³⁹

In Canada, where the government operated according to the British model, the seat of fundamental authority was the throne: the King was the theoretical centre for constitutional power, rather than "the people". Hence, Direct Legislation appeared to challenge the structure of parliamentary democracy.⁴⁰ Dixon and his fellow Direct Legislationists were not bothered by this, feeling that the essence of parliamentary democracy lay not with its institutional baggage but instead in certain British rights and freedoms which parliament had supposedly evolved into its present form in order to insure. They only wished to reunite the institution of democracy with its ideological roots.

There was, in fact, a third component of Direct Legislation that was to cause Dixon some trouble during his later legislative career. This was the right of Recall, wherein a certain percentage of electors in any constituency, usually fifteen percent, could demand by petition that their representative stand for re-election. It was a measure, claimed Dixon, "by which voters may discharge a dishonest and incompetent public servant without waiting for the expiration of his term of office."⁴¹ Although it only required fifteen percent of the voters to demand that a member stand for re-endorsement, it still required a vote of fifty percent of the electorate to force his resignation. This was a way, to Dixon and his colleagues in the Direct Legislation Federation, of impressing upon elected officials the need to remain responsible to their trust.

The Direct Legislation movement was at its most popular between the years 1910 to 1916.⁴² From its inception in August of 1908 until August of 1910, it acted in unison with the Manitoba Single Tax League, in large part because Dixon was Secretary-Treasurer of both. In fact, the two leagues eventually amalgamated in August of 1909, under the banner of the Manitoba League for the Taxation of Land Values.⁴³ Had it not been for the events of the provincial election of 1910, the Direct Legislation movement might have remained in what was by that time the considerable shadow of the Single Tax movement. The defeat of Fred Dixon, however, running on behalf of the newly-resurrected Manitoba Labour Party, gave it both new impetus and momentum. After the obvious corruption of the election campaign, a great many Winnipeggers became convinced of the need for electoral reform.

III

By 1909 there were signs that despite the plethora of reform organizations, and the propensity of the more ideologically-oriented to argue with one another, there were some principles with which most advocates or change agreed. First, many reform organizations had been formed by the coming together of different interest groups to support a cause of broad social concern. A good example of this was the Social and Moral Reform Council, created in 1907 by an amalgam of temperance reformers, laborites, farmers, and representatives from all the major religious bodies.⁴⁴ Although the Council was created primarily to deal with the problem of alcohol abuse, its newspaper, The Statesman, described it as "...a federation of the religious and social reform bodies for consultation and co-operation with

respect to legislative reforms growing out of our common Christianity." The Council was the voice of the anti-prostitution movement as well as the vocal proponent of temperance, and affiliated organizations included the Trades and Labor Council and the Manitoba Grain Growers.

Second, the existence of broad undergirding principles was demonstrated by the extent of interplay and overlap among the reform groups. It was not uncommon for a person to be a member of three or four different organizations, and while all these organizations were not necessarily compatible, there was always another neutral ground where antagonists found it necessary to co-operate with one another. From 1900 to 1910, for example, the socialists and Single Taxers argued fiercely over the correct course to follow in remodelling society. They did so often at the meetings of the Manitoba Labor Party to which they all belonged; they then saw one another, a day or two later perhaps, at a meeting of the Trades Council or the Direct Legislation League, environments where they were thrust together to promote another cause upon which, this time, they agreed. Such easy co-operation could not have taken place had there not been a sense of fundamental agreement in existence to begin with.⁴⁵

A good example of this, which also spoke of the substance of their common interest, involved these two groups--the socialists and Single Taxers--at the same time as they were dismembering the Manitoba Labor Party through their acrimonious discussion over aims. Provoking the display of solidarity was Dixon's proclivity to advertise his democratic British heritage by taking Single Tax propaganda to Winnipeg street corners. In early May, 1909, on one such occasion, he and Mobius were arrested under the authority of a recently-amended by-law

which restricted street corner speaking to religious organizations alone. For this breach of public order Mobius was fined five dollars, and suddenly the right of free speech was under attack.⁴⁶ A committee of socialists, members of the Trades Council, members of the Labor Party, Single Taxers, and other interested citizens was formed immediately to support Dixon and Mobius in their demand to be allowed to speak on Winnipeg street corners.⁴⁷ Called the Free Speech Defence League, it invited subscriptions from those who wished to help pay fines for arrested advocates, and sent out speakers in deliberate disobedience of the law. By the time the summer had ended, and after many deputations to City Council had been unable to persuade the City Fathers to change the by-law, almost all the influential members of the Trades Council, the editor of The Voice, and the leading figures of the Socialist Party of Canada and the Single Tax League had run afoul of the regulation.⁴⁸ The problem disappeared, naturally, when Manitoba's winter made standing on street corners uncomfortable; the Free Speech Defence League had paid most of the nominal fines imposed upon its martyrs, and everyone breathed a sigh of relief with the vow that the fight would continue in another six months. This was never necessary, but it was clear that on certain matters of principle, like freedom of speech, even the most adamant opponents were agreed.

The best indication, however, of the existence of a general consensus underlying and motivating the diverse components of the reform movement was Fred Dixon's candidacy on behalf of yet another Labor Party in the provincial election of 1910. The creation of this Party was precipitated by the Trades and Labor Council which, at a meeting held on the fourth of May, decided that a pragmatic electoral

alternative to the Socialist Party of Canada needed to be found to properly represent the immediate needs of labor in the upcoming election.⁴⁹ A week later a platform was drawn up to satisfy both the moderate socialists and the Single Taxers whose disagreements had rendered such efforts fruitless in the past. The ultimate aim of the Party became "to preserve for the worker the full product of his toil," and plank number twenty called for "Tax reform by the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the raising of all public revenues by the taxation of land values."⁵⁰ To serve as the symbolic unification of these two ideas, the Manitoba Labor Party chose Fred Dixon to run as its one official candidate in the working-class constituency of Winnipeg-Centre.⁵¹ Indicating the broad perimeters of his popularity, Arthur Puttee commented in The Voice that he was "admitted to be the most forceful, fearless and logical speaker of the movement at the present time," while a more conventional political force, the provincial Liberal Party chose not to oppose him.⁵² By 1910, Dixon represented the spirit of the Manitoba reform movement.

What did this mean specifically? In the first place, Dixon had always made it clear that his entire philosophy stemmed from a belief in the existence of certain natural rights which guaranteed men access to liberty and justice as prescribed by natural law. In a speech entitled "Why Socialism Fails to Satisfy," delivered at the Star Theatre in March, 1909, he argued that while Socialism drew its impetus from outrage at the inequities within society, and socialists were sincerely motivated by a concern for human welfare, they were nonetheless deluded by the glamour of a theory which did nothing

immediate to relieve the deplorable conditions of society. Even more significant, he noted, was the fact that "the collective ownership of all the means of wealth production would result in the establishment of a tyrannous despotic bureaucracy and the loss of personal liberty." Citing socialist writers Webb, Gronlund, Blatchford, Bellamy, and Kautsky he pointed out that their writings were enough to convince "any unbiased person that Socialism necessarily involves Bureaucratic government and the complete subjugation of the individual to the state." Revealing why such a thing was an anathema to a man of his tastes, he concluded:

The most perfect state of society will be one in which free individuals will voluntarily co-operate to secure justice for all by respecting the equal rights of each other to life and liberty in the pursuit of happiness in as far as it does not interfere with the equal rights of everyone else.⁵³

He did not confine such remarks to debates with socialists. In late March, 1910, just weeks before his nomination by the Labor Party, he addressed a large audience at the Dreamland Theatre on the subject of natural rights. "The Rights of Man," he began, "was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be the most important subject for mankind to consider.... All social wrongs spring from the violation of human rights.... Those who would attempt to establish justice without recognizing human rights are comparable to a blind man in a dark room looking for a black hat which is not there." Quoting Spencer and Blackstone, Dixon argued that all men had inalienable rights guaranteed by natural laws of the universe that existed beyond the ability of the powerful to change. These rights guaranteed men access to justice, which was not defined by human laws, but, in his

words, "founded upon the eternal laws of nature."⁵⁴

Dixon believed that these natural human rights were of two basic kinds: individual and civil. Human rights of the former kind defined justice and included rights to life, liberty, and the use of the earth. The right of liberty involved the liberty of conscience, free thought, free speech and a free press. Above all, Dixon argued, "every man has a natural right to think, speak and write his honest opinions untrammelled by any laws or restrictions; being held responsible only for any abuse of this right by which he infringes upon the rights of his fellow men."⁵⁵

Man's civil rights were to be understood in the context of the instigation and maintenance of his individual rights, and this was the function of government. Dixon stated that governments existed, or at least were supposed to exist, for the sole purpose of guaranteeing individual human rights when the interactions of society made administration and adjudication necessary. Thus, they were to exist only with the consent of the governed, and everyone had a basic civil right to control the destiny of governments. Civil rights, in other words, were democratic rights.⁵⁶

It was easy for Dixon's listeners to see why he believed so strongly in Land Values Taxation and Direct Legislation. The poverty and decay rampant in the urban environment were obvious denials of such rights to a large segment of the population who worked hard for a pittance. Such people were being exploited, and their individual human rights were being abrogated, by men who purposely kept land from being developed. Furthermore, these people were denied their civil rights by a system which denied them proper control over their

governments. The Single Tax and Direct Legislation were efficient remedies to both of these problems.

Dixon's capacity to secure the support of socialists with beliefs like these revealed something of the nature of Manitoba Socialism in 1910. In fact, most of the Socialists believed in the existence of these natural laws and their contingent rights, and even depended upon them to proclaim the ultimate justice of the Socialist State. The explanation for this probably had something to do with the close connection between Manitoba Socialism and Christianity--a doctrine which was founded upon a faith in God-given moral and social injunctions. As A. Ross McCormack had observed:

Since the emergence of radicalism in the city, there had been an important link between the movement and progressive men in the church. Leading radicals like Fred Tipping and Dick Rigg had taken up the worker's fight after theological experience. And Puttee, whom Richard Allen regards as the "most notable" advocate of the social gospel in the Unitarian Church, regularly opened the columns of his paper to radical theologians.⁵⁷

Seymour Farmer, Richard Rigg, Fred Tipping, J.S. Woodsworth, and William Ivens--ultimately five of Winnipeg's most successful and popular Socialists--were originally all church ministers.

This did not mean, however, that the Socialist Party of Canada, the truly doctrinaire Marxists, were prepared to allow Dixon to challenge incumbent Conservative, Thomas Taylor, unopposed. On July the fourth, just four days before the vote, the SPC nominated a spoiler candidate, W.S. Cummings, to oppose Dixon in Winnipeg-Centre.⁵⁸ By its own admission, the SPC was not concerned with winning the seat. Instead, its members wished to insure that Dixon lost, preferring to

see a genuine bourgeois capitalist in office in order to hasten the inevitable revolution. By the beginning of July it was starting to appear as if Dixon might actually win, a possibility which apparently filled them with revulsion. Along with associates William Hoop and George Armstrong, Cummings trailed around after Dixon, disrupting Labor Party rallies at every opportunity. For his part, Taylor, the Conservative candidate, stayed in the background, refusing Dixon's repeated challenges to debate, appearing unconcerned by the possibility of a Labor Party victory. Just to make sure that Dixon's supporters would have as much difficulty as possible getting out the vote, however, the telephone number at Labor Party headquarters was mysteriously changed without notice two days before the election.⁵⁹

The Socialist Party of Canada's election strategy proved successful. When the ballots were counted it was announced that Dixon had lost to Taylor by only eighty-two votes. Cummings had polled ninety-nine.⁶⁰ Furious, Puttee denounced the spoiling tactics of the SPC as "the most despicable piece of work which has been done in the labor movement in Canada," and he went on to suggest that the SPC's campaign had been supported financially by the Conservatives.⁶¹ The SPC members, on the other hand, were jubilant; they called upon all Manitobans to "get together and join the Socialist Party and help us destroy the labor paper and the Labor Party."⁶² Dixon was disappointed, but the experience demonstrated to his satisfaction that adherence to a party dogma--to petty methodological considerations rather than to principles of human rights--caused such things to happen. He was becoming convinced that only through independent political action could a politician maintain his integrity and speak freely. The

Conservatives had been re-elected with another comfortable majority, so he resolved to wait until the next election, by continuing his crusade for Land Values Taxation and Direct Legislation, convinced more than ever that the political system was in need of substantial improvement.

CHAPTER 2

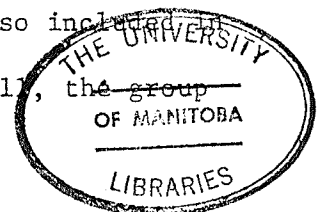
THE PROMISE OF POLITICS

I

There were two significant responses to the events of the 1910 provincial election campaign. The first reaction came from the foreign language locals of the Socialist Party of Canada, and the Trades Council socialists. In August, less than a month after the dust from the election had settled, these two groups came together to form the Winnipeg branch of the Social Democratic Party. In an announcement in The Voice they issued the following explanation for the move:

We believe that the tactics of the SPC are calculated to retard rather than advance the interests of the movement in Canada. That this is the result secured is evidenced by the alienation of the working class from the official party of this country, and the bitter hostility which is manifesting itself in many quarters, not against the principles of socialism, but against the primitive and dogmatic presentation of these principles.¹

This was a break which had been brewing for several years and which had already taken place among socialists in Vancouver in 1908. The Social Democratic Party, which represented almost all of Winnipeg's socialist community,² followed in the non-revolutionary tradition of Edward Bernstein and his German brand of Democratic Marxism.³ To Bernstein, socialism could be achieved, by evolution, through democratic means; but while this was taking place, basic human consideration required immediate palliative reform. Therefore, the new party, whose most visible members were Richard Rigg, Jacob Penner and Herman Salzman, dedicated itself to the ultimate socialist aim, but also included in its platform many needed reforms. Significantly as well, the group



saw no reason why workers should not work with the Trades Council for amelioration of their immediate condition. Rigg was about to become President of the Council, he was active on the executive, and he saw the need for a more rational approach towards coping with people's current needs.

There was, however, another significant reaction to the election that manifested a general willingness to clean up the political system. In November of 1910, the Direct Legislation League was revived, this time with the financial aid of farmers, workers, and middle and upper-class reformers. The League, which was officially re-created by the coming together of four organizations--the Grain Growers Association of Manitoba, the Royal Templars of Temperance, the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, and the Single Tax League--had languished since its creation in 1908 in the protective custody of the Single Taxers.⁴ Quick response to the election of 1910 was not confined to the socialists, however, and the revival of the Direct Legislation League represented an outburst of outrage at the abuses perpetrated by party machinism, a sentiment which crossed class, occupational, ethnic and linguistic boundaries. Prominent members of this new league included: J.H. Ashdown, ex-mayor of Winnipeg and an influential entrepreneur; ex-Labor M.P. Arthur Puttee, editor of The Voice; R.L. Richardson, editor of the Winnipeg Tribune; G.F. Chipman, editor of the Grain Growers Guide; T.A. Crerar, President of the Grain Growers Grain Company; Trades Council representatives, R. Rigg, R.W. Ward and W. Hoop; and Single Taxers, R.M. Mobius and Fred Dixon.⁵ They represented a broad cross-section of the community, from the wealthy Ashdown who became the Honorary President, to the Trades Council

representatives who were offered to the new league as speakers. Within this labor contingent even the often belligerent Socialist Party of Canada was represented, as Bill Hoop, who had actively helped to thwart Dixon's election in July, consented to work on behalf of the principle. Hoop's presence simply pointed out that even members of the SPC occasionally accepted the consensus view that unobstructed democracy was inherently good. Indeed, all of these men, regardless of their class position or approach to capitalism, believed that the Initiative, Referendum and Recall would lead to responsible democracy, something that was essential to a just society, socialist or otherwise.

The Direct Legislation League became a popular movement very quickly. With the backing of men like Ashdown, it had a steady, assured basis of financial support. One week after its official formation the League had already raised \$1,200 for the purpose of spreading propaganda.⁶ With the assurance from Joseph Fels, who apparently was also willing to support Direct Legislation movements, that he would supply them with \$1,500 when they reached that mark themselves,⁷ the League hired a full time organizer named Frank Coulter from Oregon.⁸ Oregon was one of the states that was experimenting with the Initiative and Referendum and Coulter was seen as an agitator with experience. When in January he resigned from the post, the DLL hired Dixon for the position; he would not relinquish it until after his election in 1914.⁹ His job was to tour the province speaking, when requested, on the principles of the League, and for this he was paid a full-time salary.¹⁰

He found an interested constituency when he went out into rural Manitoba. The farmers, who were not yet advocating the creation of a political party to promote their interests, saw an answer in Direct

Legislation to a good many of their problems. The farmers had been betrayed, or so they felt, by the Roblin administration's approach to the question of publicly-owned elevators. When, in the winter of 1910, Roblin announced that the government was planning to take over the running of the elevator system in the province, there was widespread approval among the membership of the Grain Growers Association of Manitoba. But when Roblin announced subsequently that these elevators would not be run by a truly independent commission, and then called an election before the new act had been tested, he raised the ire of many farmers who accused him of electioneering. The Grain Growers Guide stated that it "voiced the opinion of many farmers" when it expressed its regret and disappointment that the government had not dealt with them squarely.¹¹ That this kind of politicking proved to be successful for Roblin convinced many farmers of the need to have more and better control over their elected representatives.¹²

Thus, it appeared that even farmers and workers enjoyed a mutual interest. The Trades Council established a standing committee that reported regularly on the activities of the League. They also offered the services of Rigg, Hoop, Ward and Puttee as speakers.¹³ This served to emphasize the unanimity with which labor approached the subject, for Rigg was a member of the SDP, Hoop the SPC, and Puttee the Manitoba Labour Party.

With farmers, laborers and middle-class reformers in agreement on the need for Direct Legislation, Dixon was kept very busy. By the end of a full year's operation he could claim to have addressed over 200 meetings and to have distributed thousands of pieces of literature.¹⁴ The movement had a structure that extended into the rural farming

communities and by February of 1911 it was making representations to the Premier. The response was predictable. Roblin politely pointed out that "the principle in practice would greatly lessen the importance of the legislature, and the result would be that we would no longer have men in the legislature who made a study of public matters."¹⁵ In a less hostile and more agreeably partisan environment he denounced the Direct Legislation principle as "a form of degenerate republicanism", that denied responsible government.¹⁶ Rhetoric aside, Roblin was correct in noticing that Direct Legislation usurped the power of the Crown in Parliament, and was thus unconstitutional. Still, when the League presented him with 9,000 signatures at the foot of another such demand the following year, he must have begun to worry slightly.¹⁷ With another election not far off in the future, he could not forget that the Liberal Party had adopted the principle unanimously in its convention of 1910.

It was precisely this latter fact which caused the uneasy union to burst in 1913. Although it affirmed its belief in the principle of Direct Legislation, the Trades Council voted to discontinue its affiliation with the DLL in February. This was because, in the words of one laborite, "the League was nothing but a snare of the Liberal Party which was willing to take all reformers under its wing until such time as it could regain power."¹⁸ This was a popular belief, it appears, for the motion passed by a margin of 31 to 8.

This development bothered Dixon a great deal. Unable to join a union because the engravers at Bemis Bag were not organized, he had always been sympathetic to the laboring class; furthermore, many of the men on the Council were his close friends. Now, workers appeared

to be abandoning a movement devoted to the proper administration of democracy. In a letter to Council he denied the charge that the DLL was simply an arm of the Liberal Party. Although he could not deny the wealth of many of the League's members, he praised these people for showing dedication to an important principle. He closed the letter with the hope that "the motion will be rescinded and we shall continue to work together. If we cannot do this let us work separately in such a way as will help the cause of Direct Legislation."¹⁹

Ironically, but understandably, much of the Trades Council's confidence in making this major step came as a result of new and successful political initiatives. In October, three months earlier, the Council had finally managed to organize a Labor Representation Committee, whose object it was, "to secure labor representation on all public bodies for the purposes of organizing the working-class into one consolidated body."²⁰ The Committee had the full support of the Social Democratic Party, as well as the support of the SPC's Bill Hoop. In the municipal election in December the LRC endorsed the candidature of Rigg and Hoop for aldermen in Wards Four and Five.²¹ Hoop was narrowly defeated in a two-way fight, losing by only 108 votes out of 1,818 cast.²² With Hoop running, the campaign had seen nothing of the argument of the provincial election of 1910. Besides, with the conciliatory approach taken by the SDP it was easy to feel as if the laboring class was embarking, finally, on a united pilgrimage. When Rigg was elected in 1913 this suspicion was confirmed, particularly when it was noted that, as the first labor alderman ever elected to City Council, he had captured a plurality of 765 votes.²³

Thus, any laborite looking toward the provincial election of 1914

must have felt an unaccustomed optimism. The SDP and the LRC had managed to find a workable solution to the doctrinal problems of the past. They had found a way to deal practically with the present and ideologically with the future. This made possible a union for political purposes with other groups sharing an immediate interest if not the same socialist aim. In a display of ecumenical spirit, socialist Alderman Richard Rigg, addressing the annual meeting of the Manitoba Grain Growers Association, emphasized the fact that "toilers in the city and toilers in the country were fighting a common foe and it was essential for them to unite their forces in order to insure victory."²⁴ For their part, the Grain Growers were solidly behind the Direct Legislation League, and added to the widespread support the League enjoyed from within the laboring and middle classes. The Single Tax League, saddened by the death of Joseph Fels on February 22, 1914, was operating with continued success in rural Manitoba.²⁵ Labor candidates could count therefore on support from various factions of the reform and left-wing movements. It was not surprising that Dixon, in response to a petition circulated in the constituency of Winnipeg Centre, declared himself as an Independent-Progressive candidate in the forthcoming election.

Experience over the previous eight years had taught Dixon several things. He believed, as always, in the notions of Single Tax and Direct Legislation. He brought to the election, however, a new belief in the need for political independence. His experience four years earlier, plus his doctrinal differences with the Trades Council, had convinced him that only the Independent could hope to maintain his integrity while in office. Dixon had come to believe that honesty

above all else was necessary in politics, and that it was not always manifest by those who submitted to party allegiances. At a campaign meeting with Nellie McClung he reiterated this principle as well as declaring himself in favor of Direct Legislation, compulsory education, temperance subject to referendum, woman's suffrage, labor legislation, and the Single Tax.²⁶

It was hard for him, however, to find a reform to support which had not already been adopted by the Liberals. They entered the election with a platform as radical as any espoused by a conventional party in Canada, and chose once again not to oppose him. The LRC also chose to support Dixon, feeling that he would appropriately represent its interests if elected. They decided to nominate two candidates elsewhere, one in Elmwood and another in Assiniboia, while the SDP put forward two candidates in North Winnipeg.²⁷ Only the SPC, in the hope of repeating history, decided to run candidates in Winnipeg-Centre, and as the campaign progressed, both Bill Hoop and George Armstrong again harrassed Dixon whenever they could get the opportunity. He was equal to the challenge and took his campaign to the streets, speaking every night on a different corner in his constituency. He was also actively supported by his friend Arthur Puttee in The Voice. Puttee took pains to point out that Dixon had always shown himself to be sympathetic to labor and that they would find him an active advocate of their concerns in the Legislature. When the votes were finally counted, Dixon received 8,105 to the Conservative McArthur's 6,692--the largest majority in the province.²⁸ Armstrong trailed with 928.²⁹ The other labor candidates had shown well although none had been elected. Most significantly, it appeared

as if the Roblin regime was starting to crumble. With a reduced majority of seven members in the new House, the Conservatives could not completely deny the charges of scandal directed at them. They would tumble within the year. For his part, Dixon could claim that his victory indicated that people were "tired of boss rule and eager for real democracy."³⁰ In his thank-you to the electors he gave this further analysis:

Direct Legislation, Woman's suffrage, Banish the Bar, Compulsory Education, National Schools and Land Values Taxation are the things in my platform for which the people voted. I am only the bearer of the standard for these principles. I shall be true to my trust.... The electors of Centre Winnipeg have given me an opportunity to advance the cause of democracy. I shall do my best to make good.³¹

II

While the combined total of the Liberal and Independent popular vote was greater than that received by the Conservatives, Roblin had nonetheless secured himself a seven seat majority in the newly redistributed forty-nine seat assembly. Again, particularly in the northern constituencies, there was evidence of widespread corruption. There was little time to argue about the morality of the election, however, for the fact that the country had plunged into war in August made necessary an early calling of the Manitoba Legislature.

The session ran from the fifteenth to the nineteenth of September, 1914, and dealt with two particular issues. In the words of the Speech from the Throne: "The matters to be submitted for your consideration include a Bill to enable the Government of the Province to take advantage of the assistance provided by the Federal authorities to meet financial

conditions due to the existence of the war; and a Bill dealing with the question of payments on real property."³² In real language this turned out to mean that the Government wanted to propose a bill to secure two million dollars to continue construction of the new Legislative Building, as well as to find a way to delay the foreclosure of mortgages for at least six months because of the prevailing economic depression.³³ The first proposal was necessary because the Provincial Architect, V.W. Horwood, had originally recommended the use of pile foundation, and had now changed his mind, recommending instead caisson foundations sunk to bedrock. As well, he proposed that the original idea of using reinforced concrete construction was inadequate, and should be changed to steel and concrete.³⁴ These revisions, it was suggested, would raise the planned cost of the building to 4,500,000 dollars from the original estimate of 2,859,750. Liberal front bencher, A.B. Hudson, recalled later being struck by the size of the proposed 700,000 dollar cost of the new foundations.³⁵ He did not pursue the matter, however, so the Government had no difficulty in passing the bill.

The bill concerning the moratorium on the foreclosure of mortgages was an altogether different matter. The Liberal Party leader, T.C. Norris, claimed that the bill was too universal, and while it was likely to help some people who really needed assistance "...some people will get away without paying that which they owe and can afford." As well, he continued, "...there is no provision in the bill to help the poor, who are usually tenants, and who are being evicted by landlords."³⁶ The most vituperative criticism of the proposal came, quite naturally, from Dixon. He claimed that a general

moratorium would injure the provincial credit rating and benefit the speculator. He argued that the bill should apply only to those who lived on, or cultivated, their own land, and he proposed an amendment to that effect.³⁷ After some acrimonious debate the amendment was soundly defeated, with all but two members of the Liberal Party and Dixon voting against it.³⁸ If he demonstrated anything by this action it was his independence from the Liberals--an election claim about which some labour representatives had been sceptical, despite supportive opinion on the matter expressed by The Voice.³⁹ The session ended with a vote of 200,000 dollars for the purchase of 50,000 bags of flour to send to Great Britain, and with this one of the shortest sessions of the Manitoba Legislature became history, without anyone realizing how important the issue of the construction of the Legislative Buildings, passed over so quickly, would become.

Waiting for the spring session, Dixon kept himself busy with a number of matters. On October fifteenth, he married Winona Flett of Winnipeg, a member of the Political Equality League and a vocal proponent of female suffrage. They had met, undoubtedly, either at meetings of the League or on some public platform, and had worked together during the July election campaign. They were married at Central Congregational Church by the Reverend D.S. Hamilton; The Voice reported that "the newly wedded couple were simply blockaded by the crowds anxious to offer congratulations."⁴⁰ Dixon had received a gift at a banquet held in his honour at the Fort Garry Hotel--"a bank bill large enough to be a rarity among the banks these days", according to Puttee--and so he and his new bride were able to take a

two-week trip to Banff as a honeymoon. This generous gesture was from "Single Taxers, Direct Legislationists and prominent reformers generally," reported Puttee, and on behalf of The Voice, and organized labor, he wished the couple well.⁴¹

Dixon barely had time for this brief interlude of peace and quiet; he had to be back in Winnipeg by the last week of October to make a presentation, along with J.S. Woodsworth, Alderman R. Shore, former mayor R.D. Waugh, Alderman R. Rigg and T.B. Tustin, to the Board of Control. They called upon the Board not to restrict spending on Public Works, as it was planning to do, asking: "How much will it profit the city to cease spending the public money on improvements if it has to proceed to disburse large sums for relief?"⁴² This was not a view, however, held universally by labor. Puttee, for example, supported the position of the Board of Control, claiming in an editorial that the City should not imperil its credit position. "For many years," he argued, "the welfare of every resident of Winnipeg will be affected by the city's power to borrow. It would therefore be decidedly unwise to impair that power for a strictly transitory advantage. Even from the standpoint of furnishing work for the unemployed it is obvious that Winnipeg financially healthy will be able to do much better than Winnipeg maimed."⁴³

This seeming paradox served to point out that prominent labor figures were not, as some were wont to claim, living strictly within the framework of a utopian vision. They were capable of perceiving the nature of harsh financial realities, and they were prepared to prescribe similarly pragmatic solutions to those problems. Perhaps even more interesting, and potentially confusing, was the participation

of R.D. Waugh in the alliance against the Board of Control. While there was often disagreement among socialists about what to do with capitalism when it faltered, here was a former Winnipeg mayor, one of the city's wealthier citizens, successful realtor and founder of the Winnipeg Realty Exchange, agreeing to a position taken against the Board of Control by two socialist aldermen, a Methodist social worker, and Winnipeg's leading Single Taxer--without exciting any curious comment from anyone.⁴⁴ Historian Alan Artibise has described Waugh as one of the barons of Winnipeg's ruling elite; one of those men who ran the city for purely financial advantage.⁴⁵ Yet Waugh was a Liberal, and a Congregationalist, and he was frequently lauded by The Voice during his further two years as mayor in 1915 and 1916. His presence on the delegation before the Board of Control demonstrated that workers and capitalists in Winnipeg could, and often did, share a platform without rancour or acrimony. Just as Puttee could recognize the importance of maintaining the city's credit position, so could a man of power and influence like Waugh recognize the sorrow of poverty caused by unemployment.

During the fall, Dixon was also involved in the People's Forum movement, both as a planner and a speaker.⁴⁶ The Forum had been around for several years and was, in essence, an attempt to carry on the educational spirit of some of the early labor parties. By 1914, the movement had become so popular that the People's Forum had become incorporated under provincial statute, placed under "absolutely democratic control," and had become part of a Sunday afternoon ritual for many Winnipeggers.⁴⁷ Membership was one dollar per year, although attendance was free and open to everyone, and meetings were held

regularly every Sunday afternoon from late October to the end of March. Music was an important element in all the meetings, as Winnipeg's choirs were given a welcome opportunity to perform before a receptive rather than just a captive audience. Topics presented varied, from discussions of political matters such as socialism and rail nationalization, to lectures on less controversial subjects like "Gothic Cathedrals in the Middle Ages" or how to tell the true value of precious stones.⁴⁸

Over all, the purpose of the Forum was not just to educate, but to supply people with a certain quality of life, both intellectual and cultural, normally available only to the wealthy. J.S. Woodsworth was the first President of the organization, and the Board of Directors included other such prominent figures as Alfred Vernon Thomas, J.W. Ward, Arthur Puttee, Reverend D.S. Hamilton and Alderman Richard Rigg.⁴⁹ Both Dixon, who spoke on the topic of "The Land Speculator," and Winona Dixon, who dealt with the subject of "Women in Industrial and Professional Life," were part of the 1914-1915 winter program.⁵⁰ This movement was so popular that by the fall of 1915 there were new Forums in Transcona, Weston, St. James and St. Vital, and Dixon was invited to give the inaugural address at a new Forum begun in Ottawa where one thousand people turned out to hear him speak.⁵¹

Another of Dixon's fall projects involved a proposal to make use of the city's privately-owned vacant properties, an idea being experimented with by Single Taxers in other major Canadian cities. He began to advertise in the local newspapers for people interested in cultivating vegetable gardens on vacant lots.⁵² It was one of the Single Taxer's fundamental observations that much of the land

within a city's boundaries lay unused and unproductive. In Montreal, for example, it was estimated that within the city proper there were as many as 60,000 vacant lots.⁵³ Taxers reasoned that if the owner did not want to go to the trouble and expense of building on his property, he could hardly object to someone else using it as a garden. Dixon's plan, therefore, was to find people interested in letting their land be used for such a purpose, and then put them in touch with the new breed of urban market gardeners who responded to his advertisements. It was a logical conclusion that putting all of this land under cultivation would do much to help poor families stave off the paralyzing poverty they often experienced. Winnipeg, reasoned Dixon, was a growing industrial center, in many ways not unlike Montreal and Toronto in regard to the availability of vacant land. This was one way, to a Single Taxer, that otherwise idle land could be made immediately productive.

In these ways Dixon prepared for his first extended session as a Manitoba legislator. Even he, however, could not have foreseen the extent of the political developments ahead. Within two years, the war, a serious economic depression, and substantial charges of government corruption would combine to contribute to an explosion of social and political reform unlike anything ever before witnessed in the history of Manitoba.

III

Dixon's victory in the 1914 election was a pivot point in his life. Since his arrival in Winnipeg he had played a role as a social

critic and activist, and for the last four of those years he had been a paid professional advocate for the principles of Direct Legislation and the Single Tax. But he also felt that it was only through involvement in the democratic process that social activity could actually become social progress. Anticipating the extent of his new responsibilities, and with some regret, he therefore found it necessary to resign as the organizer for the Direct Legislation League.

He announced his intention at the annual meeting of the League held on December 28, 1914, and it was with some justification that they could all look back upon those previous four years as ones of moderate success.⁵⁴ Apart from the fact that Dixon's efforts had acquainted many Manitobans with Direct Legislation for the first time, it had become very popular with farmers and laborers, and the Liberals, who had had the principle in their platform since 1910, knew that if they were to ever form a government they would be bound to speedily bring it into effect.⁵⁵ The League, as a measure of restraint, decided not to fill the organizer's position but this was an expression of its optimism; after all, Dixon was certain to press for Direct Legislation in the Legislature. Members knew also, however, that the position bore his stamp, and the decision not to replace him was recognition of this fact.

He did not have to wait very long to get fully ensconced in his role as a politician. Somewhat ominously in mid-December, the Trades Council condemned the Provincial Government for altering by Order-in-Council the terms of the Fair Wage Schedule. The Schedule was a guarantee that workers employed by contractors fulfilling the terms of government contracts would be paid no less than a specified amount;

this applied particularly, in the fall of 1914, to work being done on the new Legislative Buildings. In altering the Fair Wage Schedule, the Government was reneging on a promise made to labor during the July election campaign. It proposed a new grading system, affecting four trades, which the Trades Council predicted would reduce wages by twenty to forty percent.⁵⁶ In its defence, the Government claimed that this was to guarantee employment through the winter months; but the Trades Council was naturally sceptical, and considered this to be a Christmas present of questionable quality.

On the eighth of January the Trades Council again issued a statement on the matter of the Fair Wage Schedule, charging that certain factions of the Government and the contractor, Kelly and Sons, "are in league with each other for the purpose of taking advantage of the present depressed condition of the labor market to depress the wages of the workers, while at the same time the price being paid to the contractor is based upon the payment of the original wage rate."⁵⁷ Now this was a substantial charge, for they were saying that to all appearances someone was making off with money that had been legitimately budgeted for workers' wages. Dixon determined to get an answer from the Government on this charge when the Legislature was called into session in February.

There were some in the ranks of the Official Opposition who were also convinced that the Government had not handled the business of the construction of the Legislative Buildings in a legal fashion. One of these was Liberal lawyer, A.B. Hudson, member for Winnipeg South; another prominent critic was Tom Johnson, popular Icelander and Dixon's fellow representative from Winnipeg-Centre.⁵⁸ All

these men were appointed to the Public Accounts Committee at the beginning of the session, and all were intent upon discovering whether or not the Government and the contractor had been guilty of collusion in attempting to defraud the public.

The session opened on February the ninth, and it was evident from the start that the Opposition could sense that the Government was in trouble. Demanding to see tabled vast quantities of Government documents relating to all kinds of public works, as well as the transaction concerning the Legislative Buildings, they hammered away, asking the Government to explain how and why public money had been spent. As if to indicate the direction that the Opposition's strategy was going to take, in his opening address Tom Johnson "proposed to move for an exhaustive investigation of the new parliament buildings."⁵⁹ Pursuing the issue of the Fair Wage Agreement, Dixon inquired whether the Government had in fact deviated from the Schedule as the Trades Council had charged. It took a week, but after steady questioning he was able to secure from Dr. W.H. Montague, Minister of Public Works, the admission that additions had indeed been made to effectively alter the nature of the original Schedule.⁶⁰ Even this revised version was not apparently being enforced, however, and this prompted Dixon to inquire further whether "the government's word was as good as its bond, or, if the contract was merely 'a scrap of paper' to be lightly brushed to one side and more honoured in the breach than in the observance?"⁶¹

Dixon pursued this line of attack in the meetings of the Public Accounts Committee where testimony from the Fair Wage Officer and members of the Trade Council revealed that both the Government and

the contractor had abused the spirit and the law of the Fair Wage legislation. First, the Government had altered the existing Schedule by making additions to it that allowed Kelly to hire laborers, at slightly more than laborers' scale, to do the work of skilled tradesmen. That there was collusion between the Government and the contractor in this matter was denied by W.H. Reeve, the Fair Wage Officer, but Richard Rigg, representing the Trades Council, testified that Reeve had informed the Council in December that he (Reeve), Thomas Kelly, and the Provincial Architect had been asked by the Government to draft a new Schedule.⁶²

Reeve's initial denial of this fact indicated his partiality in the matter of the enforcement of the Schedule and demonstrated the second area of Government irresponsibility. It became obvious as testimony continued, that the Government had little intention of enforcing the Fair Wage Schedule even after it had been amended with the help of the contractor. When Dixon further examined Reeve, for example, he discovered that the Government had not bothered to obtain copies of the weekly payroll from the contractor, as the Fair Wage legislation obliged it to do.⁶³ Thus, the Government was paying money to the contractor, to be used for wages, and was making no effort to determine whether it was going to the workers or not. This fact, plus the Government's attitude towards it, was demonstrated when Dixon brought the pay envelopes of two stonecutters to the Legislature. They had been paid ten percent less than stipulated by the Fair Wage Schedule, and had been afraid to complain under threat of losing their jobs.⁶⁴ This revelation was greeted with laughter from the Government benches and Montague replied casually that "if a contractor does not want to

treat men fairly there are ways he can get around it in spite of any government."⁶⁵

Nevertheless, public revelation of this matter, along with other allegations of corruption in the building of the new Legislature, forced the Government to rule that any worker could make a claim for back wages, and if this claim could be verified he would be paid his back wages in full.⁶⁶ Although there were battles still to be fought about the length of time to be given workers to substantiate a claim, this was a significant step which ultimately revealed the extent to which workers had been deprived of their wages. In a final report preceding his dismissal in December of 1915, Fair Wage Officer Reeve reported that a total of \$16,140.18 had been paid out in back salary to workers.⁶⁷

In the matter of the Fair Wage Schedule, the Government had proven itself to be negligent in the administration of its responsibilities. As the meetings of the Public Accounts Committee continued, however, questionable practices suggestive of Government corruption came to light. Under questioning, V.W. Horwood, the Provincial Architect, revealed that Kelly had managed to pocket \$156,000 by receiving from the Government, on his (Horwood's) advice, \$115 per ton for steel grillage that he was able to purchase for \$59.08 per ton.⁶⁸ Professor Brydon-Jack, who had acted as a consultant on the matter and who had made the recommendation of \$115 per ton, confessed that he did so having no accurate information about the cost of structural steel in Winnipeg.⁶⁹ As the investigation continued, it became increasingly apparent that members of the Cabinet knew of these problems and had tried, as best they could, to keep them from the public.

Despite all the testimony to the contrary, however, the Conservative majority on the Public Accounts Committee refused to admit that there was anything controversial about the Government's actions in the matter of the construction of the Legislative Buildings. The report of the Committee, which came before the Legislature for adoption on March 30, 1915, stated:

A considerable portion of the sitting of the Committee had been taken up with reference to the payments made of account to the contractor of the new Parliament Buildings. The evidence produced regarding this expenditure shows that any change in the plans and method of constructing these buildings were absolutely required, that the additional contracts given in connection with the original contracts were necessary alterations and additions have been carried out according to the plans and specifications relating thereto....⁷⁰

These conclusions of the report were strenuously denied by the Opposition, and during the evening sitting of March 30, A.B. Hudson moved an amendment in which he charged that the Government had been defrauded to the extent of over \$800,000 and had been guilty of "gross and culpable negligence." He demanded in the amendment the establishment of a Royal Commission to investigate the matter.⁷¹ The charges were specific, and when it became clear that the Government had no intention of allowing the passage of the amendment, the Opposition decided to appeal to the Lieutenant-Governor, claiming that the Government was subjecting the Legislature to a "tyranny of the executive." Sir Douglas Cameron, the Lieutenant-Governor, having no doubt about the Government's intention of using its majority to squash the allegations, agreed to act, and requested of Roblin that he either appoint a Commission or resign.⁷² Fearful of the possible results of an immediate election, the Premier acceded to the Crown's

request, and a Royal Commission was established, consisting of Chief Justice T.A. Mathers of the Manitoba Court of King's Bench, Hon. D.A. Macdonald of the Court of King's Bench, and Sir Hugh John Macdonald.⁷³ By May 7th, after less than two weeks of investigation, the Commission was able to substantiate the Liberal charges. Roblin tendered the resignation of his government on May 12th, bringing an end to sixteen years of often controversial, sometimes enlightened, Conservative administration. A day later, the Lieutenant-Governor called upon the Liberal leader, T.C. Norris, to form a new government to conduct the continuing business of the province of Manitoba. The date of August 6th was eventually set for a provincial election.⁷⁴

Through his dogged pursuit of the Fair Wage issue, Dixon had helped the Liberals reveal the fact of Conservative negligence and deceit. He did not feel, however, that the Liberals had always conducted themselves in a manner above reproach. At an overflow meeting of the Labor Representation Committee in March he remarked that "both parties voted unanimously and even thus contrary to pre-election promises to particular constituencies of electors."⁷⁵

After the session ended, he went out into the country on a spring speaking tour. His stops included Hamiota, Neepawa, Rapid City, Minnedosa and Birtle, and his subjects were, as always, the Single Tax and Direct Legislation.⁷⁶ He was no longer paid to do this, so he depended entirely upon his MLA's salary to support him during the time when the Legislature was not in session. This probably provided some hardship for his family, but it was indicative of the strength of his conviction, as well as, perhaps, his naïveté. But it was a role which received the unfailing support of his wife.⁷⁷

He also received the excited support of Puttee and The Voice when it was revealed in April that the stonecutters, whose interests he had fought to protect in the Legislature, had denounced Dixon's efforts on their behalf. They had done this by supplying Kelly with a letter to the effect that they had voluntarily taken a ten percent wage reduction in order to remain employed during the winter months. There was, in the letter, a pointed reference to Dixon, and in an uncharacteristic outburst of emotion Puttee remarked:

Our criticism of the union has nothing to do with their agreement with Kelly. What we do condemn is their purely gratuitous insult and repudiation of Dixon. Kelly went to the union and asked it for a letter that would help him scare off the labor member, and for some inexplicable but utterly discreditable reason the union gave in to him. We can understand how last December, the stonecutters accepted a reduction in pay rather than lose their jobs. We fail to understand why they considered it necessary to prepare a careful and elaborate justification of their rapacious employer. It was a servile and contemptible act which showed that the stonecutters have not the slightest conception of class loyalty or any inclination to back up the first labor representative in the Manitoba Legislature.⁷⁸

This was hardly the reflection of a growing working-class consciousness; it was instead indicative of a general working-class apathy toward the political crisis, an affliction about which Puttee, in particular, despaired.⁷⁹

Dixon returned from his rural tour in June to a petition prepared by some of his constituents asking him to stand for re-election.⁸⁰ He agreed, and at his first campaign meeting, chaired by Puttee and addressed by Mrs. A.V. Thomas of the Political Equality League, he announced that his platform, in its essentials, had not changed. It included: Direct Legislation, prohibition subject to a referendum,

home rule for Winnipeg, female suffrage, public ownership of public utilities, repeal of the Coldwell Amendments, the Single Tax, abolition of the 200 dollar election deposit and the substitution instead of a petition signed by a fair number of electors, more effective means of punishing political corruption and amendment of the Workmen's Compensation Act to embody improvements existent in the Ontario and Nova Scotia Acts.⁸¹ "And," he claimed, "any other measure which will ameliorate the condition of the workers--not letting palliative measures blind me to the fact of economic exploitation but looking forward to the day when we shall have a government of the people for the people."⁸² He called for the compulsory publication of lists of contributors, and he also made a case for the public financing of election campaigns claiming that "if the candidate is compelled to pay his own expenses he will generally be inclined to recoup his fortune by using his public position for this purpose."⁸³ He finished by reiterating his claim to political independence saying: "meanwhile I am unfettered by any party ties and therefore, if re-elected shall not be governed by any party caucus, but shall be free to work and vote for the things which I believe to be for the good and welfare of the whole community."⁸⁴

With a spirit of optimism the Social Democratic Party nominated two candidates in Winnipeg-North, Alderman Richard Rigg and Arthur Beech. In nominating Rigg, they rescinded a regulation which stipulated that Social Democratic Party members could not be members of the Labor Representation Committee. Rigg first refused the nomination with the claim that "he would not be yanked out of the labor movement" by such a regulation.⁸⁵ It was apparent, however, that the rule was not an

impediment; those who knew of it paid no attention to it anyway, and most members were unaware of its existence. Many Trades Council socialists, like Rigg, R.S. Ward, A.A. Heaps and John Queen, moved freely and easily back and forth among the two parties and the Trades Council, believing their purposes to be complementary.⁸⁶ Both the Social Democratic nominees were endorsed by the Labor Representation Committee, as was W.D. Bayley, running as an Independent in Assiniboia.⁸⁷

The Socialist Party of Canada announced that it was going to nominate candidates to oppose Dixon and Tom Johnson in Centre-Winnipeg, and Rigg and Beech in Winnipeg-North.⁸⁸ This provoked a hostile response. Dixon's activity in the Legislature had demonstrated that someone sympathetic to labor could indeed have an affect, and many labor men could see a new day coming on the political horizon. Puttee put voice to this opinion when the Socialist Party of Canada first proposed, in early May, to oppose Liberal candidate Johnson in Winnipeg-Centre; Johnson was extremely popular in the constituency and was well known for his progressive beliefs. "Years ago," argued Puttee, "it was all right to adopt a doctrinaire impractical attitude; but the days are drawing near in which it will be possible to elect working-class representatives in larger numbers. No more resources should be wasted in comparatively fruitless demonstrations."⁸⁹ This logic may have eventually held sway, for in the end only George Armstrong was nominated, as usual, against Dixon in Centre-Winnipeg, Seat B.⁹⁰ The Liberals chose not to run a candidate in Centre B, and so the battle lines were drawn.

Not surprisingly, in the election that followed, the Liberals were swept into office capturing forty-two of the forty-nine seats. The

Conservatives were able to win only five seats in the new Legislature, and their leader, Sir James Aikins, was defeated in Brandon.⁹¹ The other two seats went to Dixon and Rigg, a cause of considerable jubilation in the labor community. Dixon's majority over his nearest opponent, the Conservative candidate, Henneson, was 4,600 votes; he received 6,603 to Henneson's 2,000. Armstrong trailed with 784.⁹² Once again Dixon's vote total was one of the highest in the province, and his majority over his closest opponent the largest in the election. He captured 59 of the 61 polls in his constituency.⁹³ By 1915, within the limits of these criteria, he had become Manitoba's most popular politician.

CHAPTER 3

THE TRIUMPH OF REFORM

I

The election victories in Winnipeg-North and Winnipeg-Centre were savored by spokesmen for organized labor who optimistically claimed that they were an indication of growing working-class strength. In Winnipeg-North, Rigg's election was tainted slightly by the usual charges of corruption directed against the established parties. The Social Democrats alleged that the incumbent Liberal, S. Hart Green, had bribed or otherwise influenced the returning officers in several polls in both halves of the constituency election; this, they suggested, had led directly to the defeat of Arthur Beech, and could possibly have led to the defeat of Rigg.¹ They hired prominent lawyer A.J. Andrews, a former Conservative Party candidate in Winnipeg-Centre, to act as their legal counsel in the matter. A subsequent judicial recount established that the spoiled ballot envelope contained a great many good ballots whose only seeming flaw was their endorsement of either Rigg or Beech.² A further investigation carried out by the Legislature's Privileges and Elections Committee in January of 1916 concluded that at the one particular poll in question there had been a great deal of confusion due to crowding and the use of foreign languages. The returning officers and other officials, however, were exonerated from any implication of wrongdoing.³ For many this was not a satisfactory conclusion, but it served to indicate that political corruption was such a fact of life that election officials were naturally suspected of being partisan; even the normally placid Rigg had threatened one of the officials with physical violence, so convinced was he on the day of election that he was being cheated.

In the longer run the most interesting, and certainly the most ironic, feature of the incident was the hiring of Andrews. In June of 1919, Andrews would be responsible for having the major leaders of the Social Democratic Party arrested for their participation in the Winnipeg General Strike. The party had a perfectly competent lawyer, Thomas J. Murray, whose allegiance to the cause of labor advancement was unquestioned.⁴ Andrews, however, was acknowledged to be one of the best lawyers in town and a man known for his belief in the sanctity of both the Common Law and parliamentary institutions.

Winnipeggers generally, however, and workers in particular, were excited and optimistic about their new government despite the allegation of election irregularity. Into the second year of a dreadful war, embarrassed by the selfish and morally questionable attitude of the Conservatives during the first years of the crisis, they could look to the Liberal platform and hope for social and moral improvement. Already the stories of horror from overseas were serving to draw attention to a wartime paradox: if Canadian soldiers were fighting for freedom and democracy in the mud of war-torn France why were these principles not evident or in operation at home? Many saw the need for a united war effort at home and abroad, and called for the creation of a new society based upon the principles of equality and justice, so that the returning soldier would realize his sacrifice, and that of his slain comrades, was not in vain.

The significance of the election, therefore, was not just that a source of corruption had been dealt a political blow; the vote was indicative as well, of a genuine willingness on the part of most members of society to work together to create something worth fighting for.⁵

This co-operative spirit was demonstrated most particularly by Winnipeg's churches and by its trade union movement. Churches, for example, began to invite labor spokesmen into the pulpit to speak on labor questions. Both Dixon and Rigg were invited to share in giving the Labor Day sermon at Central Congregational Church; the church's minister, the Rev. A.B. Hindley, claimed this was to demonstrate his belief that the church must begin to take "a more active role in social questions."⁶ Dixon's sermon struck a moral chord. "It is self-evident," he said, "that there is something wrong with the world when those who do the work of the world; those who feed, clothe and house the world; are condemned to eat the cheapest kind of food, wear the cheapest clothing, and live in the cheapest houses, while many who never did a day's work in their lives roll in luxury."⁷

Such a condemnation of privilege, given at this time, was not at all unpopular. Dixon was inundated with requests to speak from throughout the country, and he spent most of October, November and December, touring Ontario and Saskatchewan, speaking to farmers and city-dwellers alike.⁸ So widely circulated was his Labor Day sermon that it brought forth the excited condemnation of the Sydney Daily Post for his references to the plight of Cape Breton coal miners.⁹ He best summarized the increasingly prevalent view of the spreading social church, however, in another sermon, delivered this time at All Soul's Unitarian Church in Winnipeg. "Religion at its best," he noted, "is the art of right living and we are engaged in a truly religious service when we discuss the relationship of men to the universe and of man to man. The time is past for the exclusive consideration of individual righteousness. In these days when

governments enter into so many phases of human activity we are compelled to consider the question of social righteousness."¹⁰

As Richard Allen and Michael Bliss have pointed out, this view had already gained acceptance at high levels in almost all of Canada's religious denominations.¹¹

One of the most popular exponents of the social nature of Christianity was the minister of All Soul's Church, the Rev. Horace Westwood. Westwood, a former episcopal minister from Chicago, devoted much of his pulpit time to social questions and he introduced the notion in a series of special lectures that Darwin, Marx, Henry George and Jesus, were all prophets "of the modern age" whose messages were compatible.¹² This message had obvious charm for the significant portion of the labor movement sympathetic to Marx and Henry George. Certainly Puttee, who was himself a Unitarian and a member of Westwood's congregation, found this to be so. He gave prominent exposure to Westwood's sermons in The Voice. By 1915, however, the organized churches did not need to be encouraged to be socially relevant. They shared a sense of common purpose with the more radical secular proponents of social reform, a relationship yet unstrained by the issue of conscription.

Organized labor approached the home war effort in a similarly co-operative and conciliatory way. At a meeting of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress held in Vancouver in September of 1915, a Manitoba delegation led by Arthur Puttee and Richard Rigg helped endorse a pledge that stated:

Under the existing conditions it becomes the duty of the labor world to render every assistance possible to the Allies of Great Britain and for us

in Canada more especially to the empire of which we form a part, in an effort to secure early and final victory for the cause of freedom and democracy.¹³

The convention was unanimous in its opposition to conscription and Rigg, reporting on the conference to the Trades Council a month later, confirmed that "a statement opposing conscription as an infringement of constitutional rights was accepted without argument."¹⁴ It was apparent that organized labor recognized the war as a struggle for freedom and democracy; representatives were opposed to conscription on the grounds that compulsion was an offence to human rights as well as being undemocratic and unconstitutional.

Going a step further, The Voice took up the cause of the returned soldier in its pages, stressing the fact of society's obligation to supply its "heroes" with proper pensions and employment.¹⁵ They supported the efforts of once-again mayor R.D. Waugh who inaugurated a campaign to get soldiers pensions of adequate size, and forty acre lots along the Greater Water District rail-line.¹⁶ So unflinching was Waugh's dedication to this cause that in January of 1917 the Great War Veterans Association awarded medals to him and his wife for their work on behalf of Winnipeg's returned soldiers.¹⁷ The Voice believed so strongly in Waugh that it supported his re-election to the mayor's office in 1915. Puttee lauded him upon his re-election: "May your efforts be crowned with success, especially the back to the land movement and better treatment of the returned soldier."¹⁸

There were other good reasons why The Voice and the Manitoba Trades Council were so outspoken on the matter of the returned soldiers. Although some members of the labor movement openly opposed the war,

claiming that it was simply a struggle among capitalists, they were aware that this was a minority opinion within the movement itself. Indeed, they knew that many of the returned soldiers were likely to be workers. In the first seventeen months of the war 3,109 members of the Trades Council enlisted--thirty-nine percent of the total membership.¹⁹ Most of these men were British immigrants who saw the struggle as theirs by birthright.

An even more compelling reason for the support of the veterans by prominent labor officials lay, however, in a more personal and moral conundrum. It was a shallow act to criticize anyone who had put principle before his own life; it could even be perceived as justification for cowardice to claim that the soldiers were deluded in their understanding of what the war was really all about. Opponents of the war were always faced with this dilemma, the uncomfortable nature of which was reflected in their paradoxical reaction to it. On the one hand they opposed the war in principle, and on the other they praised the dedication of the men who fought in it. Inability to properly rationalize this issue would lead to great acrimony and misunderstanding, as well as to the eventual enlistment of some of the agonized participants.²⁰ In the fall of 1915, however, workers who did not support the war simply did not volunteer to fight in it; staying at home, they enthusiastically joined in the attempt to form a new society.²¹

II

If the Liberals had any questions about the nature of their mandate, a quick look around was enough to convince them of the

political advisability of implementing their platform. The public was ready for major social legislation. And truthfully, there was no reason to suspect that the Government itself was not similarly sympathetic to the need for change. As a consequence, the spring session of the 1916 Manitoba Legislature was one of the most remarkable in its still-young history. In total, one hundred and twenty-five pieces of legislation were passed during the two-month session which began on January the sixth, and ran until the tenth of March.²² It was not the total number of bills that was impressive, however, but the nature of the legislation itself. Almost every major reform advocated by the various groups in Manitoba was enacted, from female suffrage to temperance and Direct Legislation. Further, the Government enacted more labor legislation, Richard Rigg noted, "than the total accumulations of the past ten years."²³ To bring order out of the multi-lingual chaos of Manitoba schools, the Governemnt also reformed the educational system by making it totally unilingual, and by insisting that attendance be compulsory up to the age of fourteen. Within two short months, Manitobans were able to claim, with justification, that they lived in the most progressive province of the Canadian confederation.

The first major reform enacted was the Equal Suffrage Act, passed in the Legislature on January 27, 1915, without dissent. The measure provided for the insertion of general pronouns into the existing Elections Act, replacing the masculine ones which restricted voting to men.²⁴ This gave women the right to vote in provincial elections, and for the historic third reading of the measure, the executive of the Political Equality League was invited to join the members on the floor of the chamber.²⁵

Part of the reason for the swift passage of this measure lay in the Government's desire to pass yet another. The Cabinet was under strong pressure to act against the liquor interests in Manitoba, and while Norris admitted that he was willing to do this, he wanted the enactment of any such bill to be subject to a referendum. Temperance reformers, however, quite a number of whom were women, felt they deserved the right to vote on such a question. The amendments to the Election Act permitted this and helped to make the passage of the temperance legislation more probable. Aware also that the Government's position on temperance was only as strong as the public support, Norris asked the Social and Moral Reform Council, and the other organized manifestations of temperance sentiment in Manitoba, to help decide upon the specifics of the legislation. A committee drawn from these various groups agreed upon the Macdonald Act of 1900, a previously unsuccessful attempt to banish the bar in Manitoba, as a basis for legislation. The proposal involved making the sale of alcohol by hotels and merchants illegal, allowing the importation only for personal and medicinal use.²⁶ The measure passed quickly through the Legislature, and the Referendum was called for March 13, 1916.

The Referendum itself was an interesting affair and demonstrated the fact that the issue of prohibition straddled class lines. The measure, endorsed by the public in a vote of 50,484 in favour, 26,052 against, was hotly debated, particularly within the confines of the labor movement.²⁷ While probably all laborites agreed with S.J. Farmer's claim that the Referendum "was a demonstration of democracy at work,"²⁸ some of them observed that the Temperance Act would cause them to lose

jobs; moreover, because it did not restrict the importation of alcohol for personal use, it unfairly restricted the poor and not the rich. These two arguments were supported by both the more radical socialists, and the members of the Bartender's Union, who went so far as to take out full page advertisements in The Voice denouncing prohibition.²⁹ They even imported the prominent American lawyer, Clarence Darrow, to speak at a series of public meetings on their behalf.³⁰ The Voice, on the other hand, articulated a worker's argument in favour of temperance. "Drink is not the cause of poverty as a rule," argued Puttee, "but drink often aggravates it. Intemperance has hurried millions of workers into untimely graves, and impaired the earning powers of millions more."³¹

Overall, however, Manitobans endorsed the idea of temperance because of the apparent evils of the liquor traffic, and because of their desire to create a clean and moral society, efficient in its home war effort, and worth fighting for overseas. It was undoubtedly a surprise to many within the temperance movement when it was discovered that the soldiers fighting for a new moral order in France were not sympathetic to the call from home to make the forces dry as well. Drink was not only a source of pleasure and relaxation for the soldier while on leave, but as John Keegan has pointed out in his discussion of the battle of the Somme, it was an essential fortifier, a source of courage for the frightened soldier.³² Generals as well as soldiers were not eager to bring temperance to the forces under arms, even if the people at home considered such a measure almost contingent to victory.

The third major piece of reform legislation passed during the spring session was the Initiative and Referendum Act, a measure by which Direct

Legislation was finally, but briefly, enshrined in the system of Manitoba politics. A plank of the Liberal Party platform since 1910, and a particularly popular principle in light of the recent episode of government corruption, the Liberals had no real choice in the matter. They brought it in quickly, making it one of the first proposed pieces of new legislation.

The preamble to the Act described it as "an Act to enable the electors to initiate laws, and relating to the submission to the electors of Acts of the Legislative Assembly."³³ It provided for two fairly complicated things. The first part, which was the Initiative, stated that a petition composed by a number of electors equal to eight percent of the total votes cast in the last election, could put forward legislation for the consideration of the Assembly. If the measure was not enacted, it became part of the next election campaign, unless the Attorney-General secured the legal opinion that it was ultra vires, in which case it was not to be proceeded with on any front. The Speaker, with the help of the Court of King's Bench, was to be responsible for verification of the petition. The second part of the Act, the Referendum section, dictated that the Government was to be obliged to hold all legislation passed by the Assembly in abeyance for three months, so that it could be scrutinized by the electors. If five percent of the total number of electors in the previous election wished to do so, they could ask that any particular law be submitted to the people within six months, in the form of a referendum. If a majority vote disapproved of the legislation, then the Act, or parts thereof, would be repealed automatically, thirty days after the results appeared in the Manitoba Gazette. Again, the

Speaker was responsible for verifying the authenticity of the names on the petition, a thought no doubt likely to inspire any future Speaker to view the position as a punishment rather than an honour.

Thus were the principles of Initiative and Referendum placed undiluted into law, implying a massive change in both the theory and practice of parliamentary democracy. There was no Recall provision because the government was not willing to allow itself to be manipulated completely by whims of public opinion. Also, the Supply Bill was exempt from the Referendum, except on items of new capital expenditure over 100,000 dollars.

When the full implications of the Act are considered, however, it is surprising that the leaders of the Liberal Party, particularly lawyers A.B. Hudson and Tom Johnson, could have believed it to be constitutional. Indeed in May, the Attorney-General, Hudson, warned Direct Legislationists not to celebrate too soon for there was every possibility that the Act would be declared ultra vires by the courts.³⁴ But he must have known this when he supervised the preparation of the legislation. He could not have been unaware, also, that a precedent had already been set in Saskatchewan, when in 1913, the Federal Government had had a similar Direct Legislation Act struck down.³⁵ The Voice took pains to point out that the Liberal Party had not been discouraged by the question of a matter's constitutional status in the past: they had managed to pass the Manitoba Schools Act knowing that the bill was potentially unconstitutional.³⁶ The paper was really pointing out that the Liberals had been deceptively shrewd. Had they moderated the Initiative and Referendum Act in order to bring it within the bounds of constitutional acceptability, they would have been deluged with

criticism from the Direct Legislationists for having broken an election promise. They would also have had to live with the result of the legislation. By energetically embracing the Initiative and Referendum principles in their strictest form, they could claim to have done their duty to the electorate, and still rest assured that their legislative power would not be diminished by the Act's coming into effect.

This, at least, was the cynical way to view the Government's efforts in the matter. Dixon, who was seeing in this Act the culmination of eight years of fervent advocacy, was impressed rather than suspicious. He complimented the Government on the strict nature of the Act; one can suppose that he even had a hand in its creation. He supported it vigorously in the Legislature and in the press, and when it was suggested that the Initiative and Referendum might be unconstitutional, he replied with the confidence and naïveté of one who is convinced that nothing can stop a cause that is truly just: "it is well to remember that the people are greater than the constitution, and if necessary the people must insist that the constitution be changed in order to make Direct Legislation an integral part of our system of government."³⁷

Certainly, though, most legislators were aware of the Act's questionable character, and few could have been shocked when the Manitoba Court of Appeal ruled that it was ultra vires. Judging the matter at the Attorney-General's request, the Chief Justice declared the Initiative unconstitutional because "the king and the ballot box cannot make laws." "The legislature," he ruled, "must legislate." Justice Richards observed that what was feasible in the United States

could not be similarly so in Canada "because the people are not sovereign in this country...we get our sovereign power from England." Justice Purdue argued that as the "bill was not contemplated by the writers of the BNA Act it is therefore ultra vires." Furthermore, he pointed out that the new process of legislation proposed under the Act interfered with the office of the Lieutenant-Governor, particularly in the matter of financial bills, and in this contention he was supported by Justice Cameron. The fifth judge, Justice Haggart, simply agreed with everyone, making the vote unanimous. The judges all agreed also, however, that conditional referendums, such as the one employed to endorse the recent Temperance Act, were within the constitutional authority of the government to impose.³⁸

This signalled the end of the Direct Legislation movement. Why no one adequately foresaw this inevitability is a good question. W.L. Morton has suggested that the movement derived its impetus from two simple assumptions: first, that the people rule in British parliamentary democracy, and second, that politicians and party government prevent this from happening.³⁹ Dixon certainly demonstrated the validity of this characterization. He was no stranger to the abuses of party politics or government corruption; the former had been demonstrated to him in the election campaign of 1910, the latter in the scandal that brought down the Roblin government. His faith in the ruling power of the people, however, was as deep-rooted as his natural distrust of party politicians. When Justice Richards ruled that the people were not sovereign in Canada as they were in the United States, Dixon responded: "There is a dangerous dictum to come from a judge in what is supposed to be a self-governing democracy. It may be a legal fiction

but it has a mighty unpleasant taste."⁴⁰ Perhaps this statement reveals why Direct Legislationists were able to believe that their cause was constitutional. Dixon argued that the great attribute of the British system was that it allowed for evolutionary change, and that the passage of hundreds of years had seen the slow transfer of authority from the Crown to the people. Dixon believed this process to be complete. Thus Direct Legislationists like Dixon (and it must be remembered that he was the heart and soul of the movement in Manitoba) saw themselves as defenders of an already long-established tradition under siege from corrupt politicians. They were the guardians of the spirit of British democracy, and any action to restore it to practice had to be constitutional.

They were, therefore, disappointed when the courts did not recognize this view, opting instead for a legalistic interpretation of the form rather than the spirit of the law. Dixon lamented this error claiming: "Law and custom will never support the state in the shifting sands of democracy unless the caissons are based upon the bedrock of justice. Unless Direct Legislation is introduced into our system of government to give it the stability of public confidence the political upheavals of the near future are likely to reduce the fabric to a mass of ruins overwhelming much that is good in an effort to be rid of a few irritating defects."⁴¹ Here Dixon was certainly correct: The Direct Legislation movement, however misguided it may have appeared, pointed out one great truth of Manitoba political life--the people did not feel that they had proper access to the power of government decision-making. The success of parliament as a method of evolutionary rather than revolutionary change depended upon what Dixon appropriately called

"the stability of public confidence." In a system where the constitutional authority of the government was not derived directly from the people, stability depended upon the capacity and willingness of elected officials to pay occasional attention to the people's wishes. As Dixon correctly predicted, on the eve of the conscription crisis of 1917, the immediate future of Manitoba and the country would depend upon the recognition of this fact by the Provincial and Dominion Governments.

In the euphoric spring of 1916, however, with this crisis not yet in sight, the Liberal Government was convinced of the need to demonstrate that the voice of the people had been heard. It delighted the leaders of organized labor during the legislative session by passing a seemingly unending number of labor bills, most of which were in obvious and direct response to the requests of the Trades Council, made at their annual January meeting with the Premier.⁴² These measures included: the creation of a new Bureau of Labor with greater authority to administer the Government's labor legislation; amendments to the Shops Regulation Act to make the minimum age for work fourteen, with certain exceptions for thirteen year-olds, up to fourteen hours a week;⁴³ amendments to the Bakes Shop Act to limit the minimum age of employment to fourteen years; the placement of the Building Trades Protection Act under the jurisdiction of the new Bureau of Labor to insure enforcement; amendments to the Factories Act which reduced the number of employees necessary to constitute a factory from five to three, reduced the possible hours of overtime, and brought Chinese laundries under the control of the Act; the creation of a new Act to Govern Elevator Operators which provided for a minimum age of seventeen for

operators in an effort to reduce the number of accidental deaths; a Steam Boiler Inspection Act which stipulated that a plant working under twenty pounds pressure had to have a licensed engineer in charge; a Garnishment Act which raised the amount exempt from garnishment from twenty-five to forty dollars; a Mother's Pension Act created to assist mothers in keeping their children; and finally two pieces of legislation the Trades Council had been after for years--an enforceable act to provide continually for, and adjust a minimum wage for, public works, and a Workmen's Compensation Act.

These latter two Acts were accepted gratefully by labor, although not uncritically. The Act providing for adjustable wage schedules on public works was a complete rewriting of the previous fair wage legislation that the Conservatives had never seen fit to enforce. Under the Act, a board of three was set up to establish the schedules annually. One member was to be a representative of business, another of labor, and a third (the chairman) was to be neutral, representing the interest of the Government. Herein, the Government officially recognized its role as a neutral party in labor negotiations, although labor officials were sceptical of the Government's ability to perform in this capacity. The board was to adopt as fair wages those in effect during the preceding twelve months, or paid by the best employer. The full significance of this was not revealed until the following year when workers who had received new settlements found that the Government schedules based upon the wages of the previous twelve months were lower than what their employers were prepared to pay them.⁴⁴ This problem was eventually worked out by negotiation, with Socialist Party of Canada member George Armstrong representing the views of the labor movement;

W.J. Davidson representing the Board of Trade; and S.C. Oxton, Deputy Minister of Public Works, representing the Government. The original Act, however, put Manitoba in the forefront of the provinces in reference to fair wage legislation, at least according to the enthusiastic claims of The Voice.⁴⁵

The Workmen's Compensation Act was a source of greater acrimony. Ignoring the experience of both Nova Scotia and Ontario, the Government proposed to allow private insurance companies to provide the benefits, rather than to do it itself. Workers argued that state insurance was likely to provide better and more significant benefits, and that this had been proven by studies done, both in the United States and Canada.⁴⁶ They were correct, and the Government's hesitance to operate the plan itself could only have been due to desire to appease the business interests in Manitoba, who must have wondered whether the Government, in the spring of 1916, was about to abandon them. Despite its defects, the plan was certainly better than the void which had preceded it, and while they were prepared to enumerate its defects, labor representatives were aware that this was a significant and beneficial piece of legislation. The bill was proposed in the Legislature by Dixon.

Perhaps the legislation most likely to affect the fundamental fabric of the social order, however, involved the Government's attempts to reform the educational system. Long recognized by Anglo-Manitobans as a cause of social separation, rather than integration, the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1897 and the Coldwell Amendments of 1912 gave Manitoba a chaotic multi-lingual school system. The original Compromise of 1897, itself a response to the Manitoba Schools Act of 1890, allowed French-speaking Manitobans and German-speaking Mennonites

to be schooled in their own languages if numbers were significant enough within the classroom. Unfortunately, the Compromise was worded in such a way, with the effects of new immigration policies yet unseen, that it allowed this same latitude for all languages, not just French and German. By 1915, the situation was out of control, and educators insisted that only by using English as the one language of instruction, could order be restored.⁴⁷ In areas most affected, like Strathcona School run by Principal W.J. Sisler, English had been taught, regardless of the law, for quite some time; it was the only way Sisler could see to educate the numbers of children who spoke several different languages.⁴⁸ Recognizing this reality, the Minister of Education, Dr. R.S. Thornton, insisted that the province go back to the system of unilingual public education first provided for in the contentious Manitoba Schools Act of 1890.

This manoeuvre encountered opposition from the French Canadian members of the Legislature--most of whom were Conservatives. With the help of one Liberal member, P.A. Talbot, they argued that the amended Schools Act would rob them of rights, guaranteed them as French Canadians, by the Constitution; further, it was apparently another in a long list of attempts to assimilate French Canadians, a policy proven in the nineteenth century to be as brutal as it was fruitless. They argued, with some justification, that the 30,000 Manitobans whose mother tongue was French had a traditional right to receive French language instruction, with the financial support of the province.

They could not deny, however, the problem inherent in allowing foreign languages to have status within the school system; nor could they convince the Anglophone members of the Legislature that French

deserved to be distinguished from Ukrainian, Polish, Ruthenian, Galician, Russian, Yiddish and the rest of the immigrant dialects causing havoc in the schools. They could also not contend with the fact that assimilation was considered by many of Manitoba's English-speaking residents as the only way of eradicating the poverty, drunkenness, and unemployment which seemed to characterize the immigrant communities of Winnipeg's North End.⁴⁹ And so, while he might have felt some sympathy towards the exhortations of his French-speaking colleagues, Thornton persisted that the problem was so immense that no exceptions could be made. The amendments to the Schools Act passed through the Legislature, and with a sigh of relief school administrators bent to the task of bringing linguistic order out of chaos.

While the amendments to the Schools Act were the most controversial part of the Government's new education program, they were not its sum and substance. Indeed, the Government was not only committed to the creation of a unilingual, assimilated society, but also to one in which everyone was obliged to go to school. The impetus for changes in the educational system had come from the more general desire to reform society, and this latter belief reflected the growing conviction that success in life was related to the extent of one's education, as well as the notion that educated people were a benefit to society as a whole. Under the new School Attendance Act, public or private education was made compulsory for children between the ages of five and fourteen years.⁵⁰ Some exemptions were given: farmers' children who were required for work during harvest were a notable example.⁵¹ Control of the Act, because provision was made for the appointment of attendance

officers to see that children went to school, was given to local school boards, insuring more flexibility in rural areas.⁵²

MLAs Dixon and Rigg both argued that attendance should be compulsory to the age of fifteen, and when A.B. Hudson remarked that he had left school at fourteen and had never regretted it, Rigg replied that he too had left school at fourteen and had never ceased to regret it.⁵³ Dixon had left school even earlier than either Hudson or Rigg, laboring under the illusion that at thirteen there was nothing left of importance to learn. He had lived, he claimed, to regret this rash decision. The lack of opportunity in England had forced his decision to come to Canada. The fact that both Dixon and Rigg were articulate, educated men, who had become so by their own diligence, pointed out how important the idea of education was to them. While Hudson, a self-made man and a bright lawyer, felt that his lack of education had not hindered his success, Dixon and Rigg both knew first-hand how difficult it was to succeed when one was poor, as well as poorly educated. Only through education, the two men argued in the meetings of the Law Amendments Committee, could the province's poor and unemployed ultimately compete with the privileged. It was up to the Government to provide workers with compulsory public education in order to insure equality of opportunity for all segments of society, so that everyone might have a chance to secure a productive and fruitful life.

Finally, the Government also appeared prepared to aid the Manitoba farmer. The Minister of Agriculture, Valentine Winkler, saw that a Weeds Commission was established to administer a strengthened Noxious Weeds Act. As well, he brought forward a new

Settlers Animal Purchase Act to provide new farmers with the necessary funds to purchase up to five head of cattle.⁵⁴ The Government also began to look at the possibility of creating an agricultural credit program to give financial assistance to farmers in the payment of their mortgages. A Farm Loans Act and a Rural Credit Act followed this study in 1917, through which farmers were provided with an imaginative way to pay off long-term mortgages, at low rates of interest.⁵⁵ Farmers in this way belatedly joined workers and other reformers in recognizing that Manitoba had suddenly leapt, with a progressive flourish, into the twentieth century.

III

Overall, the spring session of the Legislature was one of the most remarkable in the province's history, not just because of the nature and volume of the legislation but because of the cooperative spirit with which it was enacted. With the exception of the abolition of all languages but English in the public education system, a measure which had disturbed French-Canadian members, the session had been characterized more by a sense of common purpose rather than by the usual political partisanship. Granted, the Liberals had a massive majority, but just as their mandate was overwhelming, so their desire to better the lot of Manitobans seemed genuine. The myriad of reform legislation sponsored by the Liberal Government was truly a response to the moral temper of the times.

The capacity of the Legislature to cooperate in order to effect social change was also a reflection of the spirit which had animated the reform movement itself up to 1916. Characterized by shifting coalitions

of people focusing their attention on a wide range of political, social, and economic issues, and including such apparently divergent types as radical socialists and conservative members of the Anglo-Saxon establishment, the reform movement demonstrated that transcending the barriers of economic and social class was a sense of common purpose. Manitobans tended to agree that there was a standard of justice that was available to all people but often not respected in the environment of the industrial city; they believed also that these "rights," intrinsic to existence, were insured by the proper functioning of parliamentary democracy. This consensus, which had inevitably sparked the passage of the mass of legislation in 1916, was so deep-rooted that it would animate discussion over the issues of conscription in 1917 and the industrial crisis which followed it.

P A R T T W O

W A R A N D C O N S C R I P T I O N

1914 - 1918

What produced this enthusiasm [for the war] among English Canadians in the West? In The Historian's Craft, Marc Bloch makes a comment which can assist in finding an explanation. Describing the way in which ideas have suddenly appeared to become forces which move men to action, Bloch uses the analogy of an infectious disease, and notes that "a contagion supposes two things: microbe multiplication, and at the moment when the disease strikes, a favourable breeding ground." In the case of Western Canada, the "microbe" was the interpretation on the Great War as a struggle for justice, liberty, and above all, democracy. The "favourable breeding ground" was the West's own belief in the sanctity of majoritarian democracy. The resulting "contagion" was a consensus that Canada should participate actively in the war to the utmost of her abilities.

John Herd Thompson, The Harvests of War;
The Prairie West, 1914-1918
(1978)

Among no element of the population was there actual or immediate opposition to Canadian participation in the war. The fact of commitment was accepted and an early victory hoped for; the question was, what had to be done?

W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (1957)

In 1916, as reform was consuming the time of Manitoba legislators, the Great War was beginning to intrude upon the lives of Manitobans in an increasingly menacing way. What caught most Manitobans by surprise was the fact that the entire concept of war had been altered by the combined forces of technology and industry. Never before had a conflict been so global in nature, had such a capacity for destruction, or been able to touch the lives of so many people so directly. The train had effectively solved the age-old problem of supply, the bane of nineteenth century generals, and along with the aeroplane and submarine it had considerably broadened the battlefield. Machine-guns, giant howitzers, and poison gas greatly enlarged the capacity for mass destruction. It became increasingly clear to even the most detached observer that wars were no longer to be fought by regular standing armies exchanging fire on a battlefield far away under the aegis of imperial honour or international diplomacy. Modern technology had brought the battlefield into everyone's back yard. Unfortunately, however, no one fully realized this until after the Russian Second Army had been annihilated, and Belgium and France had been successfully invaded; by the time they did, all the armies had dug trenches and settled in for a long stay. And no one, particularly the Allied generals, knew quite what to do about the situation.

At home, unease born of the inability to achieve quick victory could not immediately dampen the spirits of a community enthusiastic

in its initial support for the war effort. By 1916, however, recruitment for the Canadian Expeditionary Force had slowed down and Canadian officials, knowing the Prime Minister had promised a force of 500,000 men to Great Britain, began to worry about Canada's ability to fulfill her commitments. Already encumbered by the vile nature of the war itself, recruiters were not aided by the ability of the Canadian Government. Like everyone else, Borden and his Conservative colleagues were suitably unprepared for such an extensive and apparently unending struggle. Armed with a new War Measures Act giving it wide-ranging power, and various subsequent Orders-in-Council, the Government proceeded through the necessary act of providing the Canadian Army with supply. With the vertiginous Minister of Militia, Sam Hughes, leading the way, it found itself quickly in a sea of troubles over the questionable way in which armament contracts were awarded. Within a year, the Shell Committee set up by Hughes was being accused of profiteering, and Canadian soldiers were complaining that their rifles, manufactured by the Ross Rifle Company, were jamming. To add further insult, Borden had to publicly disown two members of his cabinet accused of corruption in a scheme to supply the army with much needed drugs and horses.¹ This was all accompanied by the usual bitter partisan wrangling with the Liberals, something most people felt was inappropriate at a time of supposed national crisis.

The matter that ultimately became as contentious as it was symbolic of a nineteenth century way of thinking, however, was the Government's method of raising wartime revenue. Rather than take the unprecedented step of instituting either a business or an income

tax to take advantage of the high industrial profits stimulated by the war, the Government chose to borrow money through the vehicle of a Victory Loan. Subscribers were paid interest at a rate of 5 percent, a generous return in 1915. In March, 1917, the third such loan was issued, much to the delight of Canada's capitalists. T.B. Macauley, President of the Sun Life Insurance Company, could hardly contain himself: "Five years ago," he exulted, "no one would have believed it would have been possible to obtain five percent bonds of the Dominion Government at such a low price as 96. Taking into account the fact that a full half year's coupon is paid at the end of six months, although the purchase price is payable in four monthly installments, the rate of interest is \$5.20 for the whole twenty years. Who would not rather have such an investment than a gilt edge mortgage?"²

The Sun Life promptly paid out \$10,000,000 on the loan, followed in order of investment by the Mutual Life at \$2,000,000, the Royal Trust at \$1,900,000, and the Great-West Life at \$1,000,000.³ Such statements and actions were greedy and tactless. For normal people, unable to subscribe to the Loan because the giants left nothing of significance behind, the Victory Loans pointed out that while ordinary citizens were retiring their wartime obligations by risking their lives, Canada's barons of commerce were safer and more prosperous than ever. This could not help but engender public frustration and discontent.

Perhaps all of these errors, however, would have been credited to inexperience and forgiven had it not been for two significant decisions which caused unease to boil over into open controversy. The first of these was the decision made by the Allied generals to fight the ill-fated battle of the Somme. In the space of half an hour thousands

of Allied troops had become fodder for German machine-guns: the carnage was beyond belief and the eventual advantage insignificant. It seemed, at the same time to demonstrate the great human waste the war inspired, and the futility of the trench war in which the armies had been unfortunately condemned to engage. The second decision of importance was made by the Canadian Government and came fast on the heels of the news of the Somme: due to the fact that the army was dangerously short of man-power, Borden announced that by Order-in-Council a National Service Board had been established, and R.B. Bennett had been appointed as Director-General of National Service.

To many, it was the obvious intention of the Government to establish a process of conscription for overseas military service, and this was the veiled purpose of the National Service Board. When the Board announced in October that it was proceeding with a plan called "national registration" in order to take an inventory of available Canadian man-power, it seemed to the wary that this suspicion was about to be confirmed. In Manitoba this prompted an excited response throughout the community, even though the Government strenuously denied that the registration program meant eventual conscription. People argued that compulsory military service, imposed by a five year old partisan Government without such a mandate, was an offence to those very British rights and institutions that the war was being fought to protect. They also argued that conscription of man-power had to be accompanied by the conscription of the nation's wealth. This matter became the concern of the now-idle spirit of reform.

CHAPTER 4

PROLOGUE TO CONSCRIPTION

I

As all Winnipeg prepared for the holiday, and the usual harsh north wind made Sunday church-goers scramble for their fur coats, somewhere between three and four thousand people arrived at the Labor Temple on Christmas Eve, 1916, to attend a meeting called to discuss the Government's recently announced registration plan.¹ The response was so overwhelming that five hundred had to be turned away, and arrangements made to hold meetings later, in order to accommodate them. Most were there to get a better grasp of the issues involved, so they gave a polite hearing to E.R. Chapman, Director of Recruiting for Military District Number 10, who attempted to explain the Government's intentions. According to Chapman, who denied that registration was the first inevitable step towards conscription, the Government's sole purpose was to "determine the manpower of Canada in order that no industries might suffer from want of labor."²

Most of the remaining speakers, however, were sceptical of these assurances. Both the Reverend Horace Westwood and M.L.A. Richard Rigg counseled that registration could only lead to an eventual policy of conscription, and that this latter policy was incorrigible. S.J. Farmer took the floor claiming that he would return his card unsigned because as far as he could see the registration plan only further enslaved the laboring classes.³ Exercising what he must have felt was his right of extended hyperbole, Dixon told the assembled audience that the grasping capitalists were more dangerous to Canada than a German regiment; that

"political grafters" were responsible for the problems of the Ross rifle, shoddy clothing for soldiers and boots made of brown paper; and that he would never sign his registration card, "not even if I am put in jail, not if I am kept on bread and water, not even if I am compelled to read the Winnipeg Telegram and the Saturday Post."⁴ Furthermore, he argued, the cards were worded improperly and should have been addressed to the capitalist profiteers, asking such questions as: "How much land do you own? What were your profits last year? What dividends do you pay? Are you willing to give all or any part of it to aid in the prosecution of the war?" On a somewhat less volatile note, Arthur Puttee ended the evening with a plea to the Dominion Government to throw off the yoke of partisanship and form a National Government "wherein all sections of the community would be represented and in sufficient strength to protect the interests of the people who would be affected." It was only "such a truly National Government," argued Puttee, which had "the right to call upon the whole people for service."⁵ As a result of all this doubt and controversy, the meeting decided to form a permanent Anti-Registration Committee and to hold more meetings in the future.

The tone of this meeting was emotional, and much of the rhetoric inflammatory, but seen in the light of the following day it was clear that two issues had been raised: speakers had either denounced as immoral the practice of profiteering, made possible because the country was at war, or they had pointed out that it was totally inappropriate for a partisan political government to impose conscription, particularly without a democratic mandate. Two solutions had also been proposed. Dixon had implied that profits incurred during wartime should

be registered and conscripted in the national interest, and Puttee had suggested that a National Government be formed to properly represent that national interest. Within a month of the December 24th meeting in the Labor Temple, these two proposals had been endorsed, in fact or in spirit, by most of the organized interest groups of Manitoba.

First to respond was the Manitoba Trades and Labor Council. Although it had both organized the December meeting and passed a resolution deploring conscription, the Council knew that the Dominion Labor Congress executive, which included Winnipeg laborite Richard Rigg, had already recommended that the cards be filled in, according to conviction, and returned. They decided, therefore, to leave the matter up to the individual locals,⁶ and contented themselves instead with condemning the Prime Minister for the assurance that he had given to a group of returned soldiers on New Year's Day that "more drastic measures would be employed in mobilizing the man-power of the country for the successful prosecution of the war."⁷ On the question of conscription the Council further tabled a motion calling for "conscription of wealth if there is to be conscription of manpower, and a National Government to administer it all."⁸

Support for this position came a week later from the annual meeting of the Manitoba Grain Growers in Brandon. Due to their long-standing relationship fostered during the years when Fred Dixon had crusaded throughout rural Manitoba on behalf of the principles of Direct Legislation and the Single Tax, the Grain Growers invited him to address them on the matters of registration and conscription. Farmers had long held the view that protection was mankind's greatest evil; thus, when

Dixon told them that much of the blame for the war rested with those who desired to restrict free trade, he was preaching to the converted. They responded to him with enthusiasm, and subsequently passed resolutions calling for the conscription of wealth, which they intended to mean the imposition of an income tax, and the formation of a National Government.⁹

Belief in the need for conscription of wealth was so strong that it prompted a resurgence in the fortunes of the Single Tax League. Under Dixon's leadership the League had long advocated that the profiteering caused by land speculation be eradicated by the imposition of a tax on unused land. In 1917 this idea made sense, and a number of influential Manitobans took up the cause believing that conscription of wealth through Land Values Taxation was the way both to destroy profiteering, and to provide the moral basis for the possible necessity of conscripting man-power. Ministers Salem Bland, Horace Westwood, William Ivens and W.J. Hindley, along with Farmers' advocates Thomas Crerar, R.C. Henders, George F. Chipman and laborite Arthur Puttee, joined long-time Taxers Seymour J. Farmer, D.W. Buchanan, Alfred Vernon Thomas and Fred Dixon, on the Association's mailing list.¹⁰ All of these men agreed with D.W. Buchanan, the editor of the League's official journal, The Single Taxer, when he suggested in its pages that the war "was chiefly a result of the effort of land monopoly to extend its influence."¹¹ And Salem Bland, who in January delivered a speech calling for the creation of a "National Church," a "New Business Life" based on co-operation rather than competition, and a "National Government" pursuing a policy of public ownership, was sufficiently revered for his opinions that he was made the League's Honourary President.¹²

Bland's considerable influence reached beyond the Single Tax League. The most well-known and often the most controversial member of the Winnipeg Ministerial Association, he proposed at its January meeting that the membership support the idea of a National Government, and that it make an appeal to manufacturers to "turn over their war profits to the common cause."¹³ The motion passed unanimously. Highlighting their agreement was the fact that some of the ministers, like Horace Westwood, J.S. Woodsworth, and William Ivens, were already well known within the community as pacifists, while most of the others had actively supported the war from the pulpit from its beginning. These two measures were necessary, as Bland argued, for "social regeneration," a stance he took also at the weekly meetings of the Trades and Labor Council where he served as the Ministerial Association's official delegate; and his fellow ministers of the gospel agreed.

Nor was this sentiment absent from the minds of the province's wealthy. Many of them had been active in the establishment (soon after the war's commencement) of the Patriotic Fund--a means by which the privileged few could consummate the responsibilities of stewardship. While many had responded to the call, it was becoming increasingly apparent to the Fund's leadership that some of the province's ablest citizens were shirking their duty at a time of national crisis. The battle cry was sounded by W.F. Kirby, of the real estate firm, Oldfield, Kirby, and Gardiner, at a meeting of the Patriotic Fund at the Industrial Bureau:

It is astounding to me the number of citizens whose names do not appear on the subscription list of the Patriotic Fund. Some of the most conspicuous names, I do not call them "leading men" because they do not lead. I cannot quite

excuse the fund for not having forced them to contribute even by ostracizing them. A committee of our best known members should be appointed to go to them and put to them as plainly as words can put it up, what the community thinks of them for shirking their duty.¹⁴

This ringing denunciation was followed a few days later by the announcement that the Canadian Club had endorsed the concept of a National Government unanimously, with the suggestion that it include "men of recognized organizational capacity wherever they might be found."¹⁵ Also agreeing with the position put forward by Arthur Puttee at the anti-registration meeting on December 24th, was the Winnipeg Board of Trade, which, while it took pains to deplore those who opposed the war effort, passed a resolution calling for the formation of a National Government.¹⁶

Even some members of the Great War Veterans Association, who favoured conscription to the point of violence, supported the idea that conscription of wealth should come before that of man-power. Reporting to the executive of the Association about an anti-registration rally he had addressed at the Strand Theatre on January 7th, Veterans representative, David Forrester, professed he had "a certain amount of respect for F.J. Dixon's opinions because he claimed that the nationalization of wealth should precede that of labor."¹⁷ This reflected the fact that many of the returned men were workers and were sympathetic to the labor movement as well as to the war.

Thus, even without the help of J.W. Dafoe and the Manitoba Free Press, the ideas of National Government and conscription of wealth had a broad constituency of support in Manitoba that in many cases crossed class lines. But Dafoe, the cerebral, invective, and ubiquitous

presence of the Manitoba press, had supported these causes actively since the beginning of the war, and the furor caused by the proposed registration plan only served to excite his desire still further.¹⁸

"The criticism directed against the project of registration," he charged in the Free Press on January 2, 1917, "is largely based on the unchallengeable fact that Canada alone among the belligerent nations is still in control of the Party government which held office at the beginning of the war."¹⁹ Four days later he wrote: "There should be a National Government that could afford to rise above partisanship; and the problem of the immediate future, irrespective of the precious fortunes of political parties, is that of bringing responsibility with regard to national service--financing and recruiting particularly--to bear as directly and as soon as possible upon the whole Canadian people. There it must be brought to rest before our obligations can be discharged to our cause and to the men who are fighting our battles at the front."²⁰ As for the Christmas Eve meeting in the Labor Temple, Dafoe's initial position was one of unequivocal support for the frustrated feelings expressed. "Responsibility for the existing state of affairs must be shared with Labor by the people of Canada and by the Government which represents them," he protested. "Labor will not make sacrifices because similar sacrifices have not been made by employers. Meanwhile the people and the Government of the Dominion wring their hands in self-imposed impotence or natural incompetence."²¹

But if Dafoe disliked the political wrangling of partisanship with two sons at the front, he saved his utter contempt and outraged disgust for the profiteers--particularly the Victory bond-holders--upon whom he unleashed his most vitriolic scorn. "Now what have these rich men of

Canada been paying for the conduct of the war?" he demanded of his readers:

As a rule, paying their share of the general taxes--a sum insignificant to them, though large to the poorer man. Some of them have been volunteering to patriotic objects, but many of them trifling sums or not at all. When, however, the Finance Minister offers bonds paying more than five percent these rich men come forward with their money, receiving therefore, bonds, the principal and interest of which are based on the best security in the world. They make no sacrifice and run no risk. They do make an unsurpassed investment yielding a magnificent return. And the whole people of this country until the last person now living has passed away will work and save to pay the interest on the principal. The very soldiers on the battlefield, many of them maimed and impaired in wealth, will be compelled to join with the rest of the population in digging, ploughing, sowing, reaping, working in every form of labor in order to pay the fifty, sixty or seventy millions of dollars of interest that will be payable to these bondholders. And more than that, the widows and children of those soldiers who have fallen at the front must go on toiling to pay their share of the interest collected from all in the shape of taxes from which there is no escape. The soldiers who have given their lives have given all. The bondholders have given little or nothing. They have simply secured an investment for their money that was beyond our dreams. The contrast is too great. It shocks the conscience.²²

He entitled this piece "Conscription of Wealth" and went on to call for the imposition of a graduated income tax, like that already in place in both Great Britain and the United States. "It will of course be opposed by the rich and the powerful, who recoil from the thought of paying a percentage of their large incomes into the Treasury even in times of war"; but, he argued: "It is demanded by the justice and the necessities of the case."

Thus, there was widespread support in Manitoba for the argument

that any eventual program of compulsory military service had to be accompanied by the formation of a National Government and the conscription of wealth. In fact, a large portion of the community, led by J.W. Dafoe, wanted all this immediately. As winter melted into the slush of spring, it became clear to the Federal Government that until they satisfied the requirements of democracy, and rescued themselves from the morally questionable position of allowing undue profit-making while the country was at war, they would not get the support necessary for a measure like conscription from a willing Western public.

II

Within this mass of discontented Manitobans there was another, smaller faction, which had never accepted the "logical necessity" of the war in the first place. This small group of pacifists, comprised primarily of clergymen, opposed the war on the basis of the same principles of justice, liberty, and democracy that the war was purportedly being fought to save. Their ideology was quintessentially Christian, rather than Marxist, and they were led by Fred Dixon whose dedication to natural human rights was by now well-known.

Dixon, unlike fellow pacifists William Ivens, J.S. Woodsworth, and Horace Westwood, was not a minister in the organized church. He did share with them, however, a philosophy of life which rested on the assumption that mankind possessed certain natural rights derived from beyond the world of men, wealth, and politics. Belief in these natural and inalienable rights had led him to the Single Tax and

Henry George, and it was from this that he developed his critique of war. Dixon felt that wars were just disputes over property: quarrels instigated by the speculator, the plutocrat, and the protectionist (all of whom worked hand-in-hand), conveniently disguised by the compelling rhetoric of nationalism and patriotism to obscure their real purpose. As such, they were an obvious abrogation of the natural rights of life, liberty and the use of the earth. The public was convinced, through a network of lies, to take up arms and risk their lives in what was described as the "national interest"--all so that a small group of unscrupulous profiteers could satiate their appetite for property and profit. In 1909, when the Anglo-German naval race prompted the Dominion parliament to pass a resolution calling for the construction of a Canadian Navy, Dixon wrote to The Voice: "The workers of Canada should not be easily fooled by the gilded lies of these hell-hounds who bay for war. The workers build, pay for, and man the war ships. The idlers, the aristocracy and the plutocracy get the spoils of war."²³

From 1909 onward, Dixon had become increasingly concerned with destroying the mythology that was slowly being created to justify what he saw as an armed struggle over property. In September, 1909, in his Land Values column in The Voice, he warned the readership of this latter danger, and its seductiveness:

The poor folk go forth to war, to fight and die for the delights and superfluities of others and they are falsely called lords and rulers of the habitable world in that land where they have not so much as a single inch that they may call their own.

The foes of the people live at home and it is in order to distract the attention of the people from home affairs that the plutocrats and

their auxiliaries are working overtime to try and cultivate military patriotism.²⁴

Dixon also pointed out that during wartime phrases like "the national interest" were used to justify what were normally considered to be immoral acts. "We are duly shocked," he argued in a speech delivered on Christmas Eve in 1911, "when some ruffian cuts another man's throat in order to rob him, or blows a woman's brains out in a fit of passion. But we have been deluded by the pomp and circumstance of war into thinking that the wholesale murder of men is a glorious occupation. For the taking of life is murder whether the man who does the deed is clothed in corduroy or khaki, whether he commits his crime in the dark silence of night or in the broad daylight to the music of military bands."²⁵ In 1912, dismayed by the idea that Canada could contribute to such thinking by giving Britain money to build more dreadnoughts, he wrote to the Prime Minister: "All thinking men know that this 35,000,000 [dollars], whether it be spent to further the proposals of your political opponents, or in the way in which you propose to spend it, is only a beginning. I ask you to pause and consider whether you will be acting wisely if you in any way assist in drawing Canada into the maelstrom of militarism which is the curse of Europe at this present time."²⁶

By the time the war began in August of 1914 these ideas had not attracted a great deal of support--despite the fact that Dixon was a popular public figure whose social and economic views had helped to sponsor his recent election in Winnipeg-Centre. This apparent paradox was made all the more confusing by the fact that Dixon had consistently made clear that all his views, from the Single

Tax to Direct Legislation, were rooted in a faith in British rights and freedoms--precisely the same principles that the enlisting soldiers were declaring themselves prepared to protect with their lives. This strange state of affairs was caused by one simple fact: even though a number of Manitobans saw in Dixon the epitome of principles they believed in, they could not abide by his logic when he applied it to the matter of the present war. They did not accept the view, for example, that the combatants were equally at fault; they saw the war instead as a struggle where forces of good were pitted against forces of evil. They were patriots. And thus, while they respected Dixon's integrity, and supported his political aspirations because they agreed with his social, economic and political views, they rejected his pacifist critique claiming that he was making a serious mistake in his reasoning. Surely the only way to defend British rights and institutions in the present circumstances was to fight for them rather than sacrifice them to the maw of German terror by standing idle.

Most people, therefore, regardless of class, age, or sex, lined up to support the war effort--seduced, according to Dixon's argument, by the myth of patriotism. Organized labor supported the war effort, although it was opposed to the idea of conscription, and gave voice to this sentiment in national congress.²⁷ In Winnipeg, thirty-nine percent of the total Trades Council membership enlisted in the first four months of the war. Most workers of British origin felt as British Labour M.P. Keir Hardie did. Just days before his death, in September, 1915, Hardie told the British working-class: "A nation at war must be united.... With the boom of the enemy guns within

earshot, the lads who have gone forth to fight their country's battles must not be disheartened by any discordant note at home."²⁸ It was true that a small number of doctrinaire socialists, with an argument similar to Dixon's, claimed that the war was being waged for capitalist gain and was therefore a struggle in which the proletariat had no interest. But even among the membership of the Socialist Party of Canada there was no unanimity on this issue. The always colourful Bill Hoop announced that if the labor movement chose not to support the war effort he would leave it.²⁹ Six years later during his trial on charges of sedition rising out of his participation in the Winnipeg General Strike, the most prominent member of the Manitoba branch of the Socialist Party of Canada, R.B. Russell, denied that he or the Party had ever taken a public position opposing the war.³⁰ The fact was, that unlike Dixon, Woodsworth, Ivens, Westwood and the others, most Manitobans, working-class or otherwise, were not strict pacifists.

This lack of public support did not deter Dixon from continuing to speak out. The increasingly restrictive environment caused him to warn the readers of The Voice on November 13, 1914, that: "Freedom of speech, liberty of conscience, and freedom of the press are all in danger. We have laws against treason and they should be enforced but we must be on the alert or we will be robbed right here in Canada of the little liberty which the law allows.... Let us beware that while we are fighting for civilization Liberty is not sacrificed on the altar of Mars."³¹ After a particularly aggressive editorial in the Manitoba Free Press insinuated that anyone supporting the idea of peace in the present conflict was "pro-German at heart," he responded

in frustration: "It is easy to grant men right of free speech if they agree with you but the test comes when you demand the right of free speech for those who differ from you.... The old spirit of persecution is not dead yet. We are still far from civilized."³²

Dixon also took exception to the fact that the supposed guardian of public morality, the church, was providing sanction for the conflict. In response to the churchmen who were busy using the pulpit as an instrument of recruitment, he argued: "No, Christianity and war have nothing in common. It is the duty of all Christians, and others who wish the welfare of humanity to bend every effort to stop this bloody business at the earliest possible moment."³³ When the staid Anglican Synod, meeting in September, 1915, called for the re-writing of the national anthem to include more military language, he was appalled: "It is impossible to organize this world on the basis of hate. Sooner or later we must come back to the teaching of the brotherhood of man and the virtue of love in human relationships. It should be the duty of the church to hasten the day and not make the return more difficult by chanting hymns of hate."³⁴

III

Most people, however, despite their criticism of profiteering and government insufficiency, still felt that the war was being fought to protect British rights and liberties. Although they were quite prepared to criticize the handling of the war-time crisis, they felt also a deep and abiding sense of duty to those serving overseas. Without the actual fact of conscription to deal with, they soon began to feel that the fuss being raised by pacifists like Dixon was only serving

to obstruct effective prosecution of the war. Given the war's precarious state due to the myriad of mistakes already made, this was not only unpatriotic, but it was dangerous, and had to be combatted at all costs. What followed was a campaign of denunciation, directed at Dixon personally because of his prominent public profile, led often, ironically, by those organizations and individuals that Dixon had taken pains to support in the past.

First to react was the normally reasonable Premier, who, at a meeting of returned soldiers naturally disposed to hearing such a thing, recommended that "men who oppose a government at such a time should be put in jail or in some other place."³⁵ A frustrated reader of the Manitoba Free Press took it upon himself to apologize for Dixon's English heritage a few days later, saying: "He was, I understand, born in England, but I don't blame the Dear Old Land. There are always a limited number of misfits born in every country."³⁶

It was Dixon's colleagues in the Legislature, however, with whom he had fashioned the reform program of 1916, who really gave credibility to the often hysterical events that were to plague his life throughout the winter. Most of them remained silent until he vented his views in the Legislature on January 17th. There, in a major speech, Dixon declared his willingness to face the consequences of non-compliance with the registration plan, reiterating at the same time his belief that the war was not due "simply to the malevolence of Germany, but was prepared by circumstances and policies in which all Europe had a hand."³⁷ Furthermore, he argued, judging by the published terms of the Allies, "the war was not being waged in such a way to end war," but "would be terminated by diplomats with a drastic redistribution

of power and territory," an aim that he could not support.³⁸

As if this was not enough to inspire the contempt of his colleagues, Dixon amplified his view that the First World War was no different from traditional European struggles, launched by a lust for property and profit, by quoting numerous examples of what he considered to be "excessive war profits". It was for this reason, he argued, that he disagreed with the idea that an individual "be required to place his life at the disposal of the government," and he assured his fellow legislators that he was "not prepared to assent to conscription, unless a new set of principles is brought forward."³⁹ These new principles would testify to the fact that the war was being fought for reasons other than to assuage the predilections of the greedy, and this would be apparent only when all the resources of the country, both economic and human, were devoted to the common cause. Such a situation, he pointed out, would probably make conscription of manpower totally unnecessary. As for the Premier's remarks about the internment of opponents, Dixon maintained that this demonstrated a contradiction inherent in using repression to defend liberty: "Freedom demands the right of expression for minorities," he counseled Norris, and "the way to meet a weak argument is to refute it not to imprison the holders of it."⁴⁰ Responding to the charge that his beliefs were unpatriotic and obstructive, he contended that "in putting up the fight here I am not injuring the boys in France. To defend freedom at home is not inconsistent with the principles for which the soldiers are supposed to be fighting."

By making it clear that he was not only sincere, but committed to the same principles as the soldiers, Dixon received the grudging

respect of some Members, including returned veteran, J.W. Wilton.⁴²

But respect was certainly not support, and it did not extend very far. M.L.A., D.A. Ross, refused to sit on standing committees with either Dixon or Richard Rigg. "If the Germans should win and come over here," he declared, "I imagine the Kaiser would be told of the fine work of Messrs. Dixon and Rigg and that he would award them with the iron cross and the prefix of von to their names."⁴³

Otherwise Members were more discreet and merely left the chamber when either man rose to speak. Even the Lieutenant-Governor conspicuously forgot to invite both Dixon and Rigg to the annual levee, traditionally held to receive the Members of the Legislative Assembly.⁴⁴ Outside the chamber, J.W. Dafoe, who readily admitted that he could accept those conscientious objectors "who have a personal and moral qualm about killing," captured the essence of the sentiment generated by Dixon's public pronouncements:

The second class of pacifist has become an obstructionist. Like F.J. Dixon, he not only declines to serve himself, but takes a course which could have no other practical effect than hindering others from serving. Not content with claiming the liberty of personal decision as to whether or not he shall take part in the actual fighting, he exerts himself in a manner which would actually, insofar as his council and exhortations might prevail, handicap and obstruct his fellow countrymen in pursuing the course imposed upon them by patriotic and democratic considerations as powerful and as conscientious as any that have roused human hearts to the call of highest duty⁴⁵

It was left to Arthur Puttee to defend Dixon publicly. Puttee judged him to be exhibiting "a high form of patriotism," particularly when it was considered that "he had everything to gain and nothing to lose except self-respect by keeping his mouth shut."⁴⁶

The group which pounced upon this initial hostility, however, and extended it into a malicious campaign for the purpose of propaganda, was the Great War Veterans Association. While it was natural that the returned veterans would be the people most upset at the kinds of things Dixon was saying, there was a reason why this was unusual: along with the organized labor movement, whose interest was spurred by its high investment of man-power in the armed forces, Dixon had championed the cause of the returned veterans from the war's start. He had been the first to suggest that much of the unused land of the province should be taken from the speculator and given to the returned men. With the help of Arthur Puttee and The Voice he had consistently argued that society owed these men something for their sacrifice, and that they were entitled to proper pensions, jobs, and settlement allowances. As he enumerated the sins of the wealthy and the plutocratic during his speech in the Legislature, he reminded the chamber that "it was the business of those at home to see that the soldiers got the country they had been fighting for."⁴⁷ Nevertheless, as far as the veterans were concerned there was one thing that was important above all else: winning the war, a result of overseas service which transcended traditional ties to class or friendship. If conscription was necessary to insure victory, then it had to be legislated. Therefore, they saw the anti-registration campaign as vile treachery, and its leaders as traitors. When it came to Dixon, they resolved to destroy his credibility and express their hostility in as violent and demonstrative way as was legally possible.

They acted quickly and, initially at least, spontaneously. When Dixon declared at an anti-registration rally at the Strand Theatre on

January 7th, "I am not afraid to die, but I want to know what I am going to die for. I am not going to die for a myth,"⁴⁸ the Great War Veterans Association interpreted this to mean that Canadian soldiers were deluded, their sacrifice in vain, and they called upon the Premier to throw him, along with Richard Rigg, out of the Legislature.⁴⁹ When he addressed the meeting of the Manitoba Grain Growers in Brandon the Veterans purposely disrupted the meeting demanding that he be forced to sing "God Save the King" in order to demonstrate his patriotism. But it was his speech in the Legislature which prompted the most outrage, and perhaps, ultimately, the most natural response: after years of advocating Direct Legislation, the Veterans called upon him to apply the principle of the Recall to himself and resign.⁵⁰

This was such a clever idea, and one which had the potential to destroy Dixon politically, that the Veterans Association decided to pursue it actively. At a meeting in the Scott Memorial Hall, on January 30th, a large group of returned soldiers passed a resolution calling for Dixon's resignation "for the reason that we believe he does not represent the majority of electors in Centre, but on the contrary misrepresents them in the attitude he has taken in his recent speech before the House on the question of registration and the causes and conduct of the present war."⁵¹ Petitions were made up, and plans developed to canvass the constituency. In response, Dixon promised to resign if the Association could present him with the signatures of 25 percent of the electorate of Centre-Winnipeg: by his calculation, the names of 3,329 constituents.⁵² Demonstrating the belief that often a good offence was the best defence, he also took the step of proposing a bill in the Legislature to establish

the Recall, a move effectively quashed by the Premier who said that such a thing was not the policy of his Government, and that it was highly inappropriate considering that the Initiative and Referendum Bill was still before the courts.⁵³ Undaunted, Dixon agreed to arbitrate such a petition on his own, with the stipulation that he would only accept, as valid, signatures from the electors of his constituency. As far as the charge that he was misrepresenting his electors was concerned, he claimed that it was untrue: "Each man has his card," he argued, "and each man must decide for himself."⁵⁴

The Recall movement, while it appeared initially to have a basis of support, proved to be less popular than its organizers claimed, or would have wished. A week after the petitions began circulating the Veterans Association Secretary remarked that "the electors are not coming forward as they should, seeing as they are the ones most vitally affected, and they should not expect the Veterans to do all the work."⁵⁵ For three months the soldiers canvassed the constituency assiduously, resorting occasionally to the use of intimidation⁵⁶--a tactic that most people regretted, even though it received the editorial sanction of the conservative Winnipeg Telegram.⁵⁷ When they finally presented the petition in May, first to the Legislature where the Speaker refused to accept it, and then to Dixon personally, the Veterans Association claimed to have 3,896 signatures. Investigation revealed, however, that only 1,581 of these belonged to voters from Winnipeg-Centre.⁵⁸ Dixon wrote to Col. S.J. Corruthers, President of the Great War Veterans Association:

I have decided that in view of the fact that
after canvassing the constituency for four months

the net result of your labors is some 1,581 names that appear on the voters list, which is less than the number of votes cast against me in the last election, namely 2,382, the voters of Centre-Winnipeg are not anxious for me to resign and, therefore I cannot accede to the request of the petition. If you wish for further investigation as to the sufficiency of the petition I would suggest that you appoint one representative from your organization to act upon a committee, that we appoint one and that these two agree upon a third. I would be willing to abide by the decision of such a committee.⁵⁹

The Recall movement died a natural death at precisely the moment when the issue of conscription was again being raised. It had served as a means by which the veterans could vent their frustration over the seeming inability of the Allied forces to win the war. It also emphasized the central dilemma of most Manitobans who during the winter sought to reconcile their democratic and moral traditions with the ever present problem of what to do about the war. Perhaps this was capsulized best by an editorial cartoon published in the Free Press in late January. In the cartoon, a distraught pacifist was pictured inside a burning house. Responding to his predicament he cried: "What a disastrous thing these fires are! What horrible destructions they cause! Surely all reasonable people agree that no more fires should occur! Oh let us devote our most earnest thoughts and all our efforts to bringing about a state of affairs in which there will be no more fires."⁶⁰ What the cartoon pointed out, rather obviously, was that after the Government, the profiteers, registration, and conscription had been deplored, there was still the actual fact of the war. And, in truth, this was not a matter that Dixon, and other vocal opponents of registration, could provide a solution for. To say that lagging

recruitment would not have been a problem if the Government had proceeded morally, while perhaps a point upon which there was widespread agreement, by itself did nothing to resolve the ever-pressing problem of declining enlistment. The house was on fire; as long as this was so, putting out the fire was a more pressing problem than either preventing others in the future or nattering about how best to put it out. Manitobans were quick to criticize the efforts of their Government in January of 1917 and to denounce profiteering; they agreed upon the necessity of forming a National Government and in some way taking more appropriate advantage of the nation's wealth. But they were still faced with the unhappy reality of the war and the necessity of victory. Dixon's voice was one of protest which, although eloquent and sincere, and based upon the principles of British rights and liberties which the war was being fought to preserve, did nothing constructive to resolve the military crisis.

CHAPTER 5

"DEAD MEN"

I

The furor caused by the Dixon Recall campaign obscured the fact that during the winter most Manitoba men, despite their reservations about conscription, were quietly filling in their registration cards and returning them to the National Service Board. In total, the Board received 86 percent of the cards it had distributed, and in Manitoba the response was sufficient to prompt Dafoe to write: "very little opposition is being experienced even in those parts of the city where it was more or less expected."¹ Part of the reason for this was that people accepted the idea that an inventory of man-power was necessary to make the Canadian war industry more productive--as R.B. Bennett and his friends at the National Service Board had been insisting all along. There was, however, another reason for the success of registration in Western Canada that had nothing to do with the scheming of the Director of National Service: through the winter it was becoming more apparent that the war had reached a precarious stage. As this fact dawned on Manitobans they became more inclined to comply with the Government's demands.

Again it was in the crucial month of January, 1917, that the extreme seriousness of the Allied position began to reveal itself. A major contributor to this effect was popular minister and author C.W. Gordon, known in his literary guise as Ralph Connor. Gordon returned to Winnipeg from the front in January. He had been serving there as a chaplain, and he was quickly invited to give a series of lectures on the conflict. Embellishing his sermons with grisly and

garish accounts of trench life, Gordon tried to convince people to help defeat the evil of German militarism. "There is no room in Canada," he advised a packed St. Stephen's Church, "for the man who prefers to stand aside indifferent or unmoved while the dread plough is going on."² The accounts of Gordon's meetings were prominent in the Manitoba press, as he was a figure of some repute. He demonstrated his conviction by example, quickly returning to the front when heavy fighting was reported at Verdun.³

Several days after the St. Stephen's meeting, the Free Press reported the story of Dr. Daisy May Burton, a woman who had been an eyewitness to the attrition of Allied nurses in the hospitals of Belgium and Verdun. Down to 100 pounds from 165 pounds, Dr. Burton revealed that of an original contingent of 400 nurses dispatched to Belgium in 1914 only 75 remained alive--325 had been killed by the "Hun" while trying to serve the injured. "All the stories that have been printed up about German atrocities in Belgium in the early months of the war are true," she told the shocked members of the press, "and much more that has never been written up."⁴ In early February, Manitobans read that 41 innocent people had lost their lives when another passenger liner--The California--was sunk by German submarines.⁵ And if all this was not enough to encourage a rising sense of dread, Parliament was still busy, deadlocked in a partisan argument over the unfortunate Ross rifle, while Canadian troops were reportedly being killed when their rifles jammed in action.⁶ The situation in Ottawa was not aided by the sincere but phrenetic statements of former Minister of Militia, Lieutenant-General Sir Sam Hughes, whose support of the Ross rifle was as tactless as his statements claiming that if he were

Canada's Minister of Militia he would not hesitate to invoke the Militia Act.⁷

The rising tide of nervousness created by these words and events was further exacerbated by the presence of returning soldiers. As Fred Dixon was discovering, the experience of khaki, and the first-hand view of front line hardship and heartbreak, had a pronounced effect upon a man's opinion about the war and the ancilliary question of conscription. This was demonstrated by W.J. Hindley, former minister of Central Congregational Church. Hindley was one of Winnipeg's most outspoken ministers; he was active in the Ministerial Association, and he was the one primarily responsible for the Association's recent offer to send three fraternal delegates to meetings of the Trades Council.⁸ Prior to his arrival in Winnipeg during the opening months of the war, he had been the mayor of Spokane, Washington, and he had come to Canada with a reforming spirit born of a missionary's sense of calling.⁹ At the beginning of January, 1917, Hindley resigned his pulpit to become both the chaplain and a captain of the 190th Battallion. He believed that great principles were at stake in the struggle, but he did not feel that conscription was necessary. He argued in a valedictory sermon: "the issue will be decided on the principle of voluntary and not compulsory service. If we have to fall back in the last analysis into compulsory service and drive men into the uniform of the nation; if we have to fall back on weaklings and cowards then our cause is lost."¹⁰ A month later, however, he was back for a brief session in the pulpit--by his own admission "a changed man." He denounced both Fred Dixon and Richard Rigg, claiming that "already Germany was making capital out of the two

prominent men who were defying the government's policy," and he further described the army's reliance on voluntary service as unfair. "There are too many young men," he sputtered, "staying home in the city under the guise of raising wheat for the empire when they should be in France raising hell for the Germans."¹¹ A short month in the service had changed not only his opinion on conscription, but also the colour of his rhetoric.

Far more significant than J.W. Hindley's change of heart was the actual presence in Manitoba of former front-line soldiers. These men, who banded together in a variety of veterans associations, provided the community with a constant reminder of the war's horrors, as well as with a permanent cause to feel guilty. Their memories and stories of front-line butchery, their visible scars and deformities, the apparent indifference of a government too busy catering to capitalists to provide them with proper pension benefits, jobs and medical care: all these things combined to create a climate of sympathy that fortified the sense of the war's moral purpose. Interestingly, the plight of the veterans became the concern of the entire community, regardless of the differing opinions on conscription. Their presence gave everyone insight into what the "war to end all wars" was actually like.

The state of the army was another cause of concern through the winter of 1917. By March it was becoming clear to everyone, not only that the death toll was becoming extravagant, but that enlistments were not keeping pace with needs imposed by such attrition. A set of statistics, compiled in the United States and published in the Manitoba Free Press on March 13th, estimated the number of Allied

troops killed in battle already at a staggering 2,790,400, with an even larger number--5,819,400, listed as either killed, wounded, captured or missing. Just three weeks before, Dafoe had told his readers that recruitment, "as the acutest crisis of the war is approaching," was at a standstill. This was a result, he judged, "of the present administration" and "its wasteful and vicarious methods of recruiting."¹² The Russian Revolution and the resulting uncertainty about the Eastern Front did nothing to ease this worry over the army's potential needs. The extent of the problem was made manifest by the fighting during April, a month which saw victorious Canadians atop Vimy Ridge, and the deaths of 10,602 Canadian soldiers. Total enlistments for the month numbered a meagre 4,761.¹³ Indeed it was an uncertain time, and it would test the conscience of everyone, regardless of his principles or politics.

II

Becoming increasingly clear was the fact that some action to solve the man-power crisis was required on the part of the Government. Borden was aware that any move towards conscription would spark a heated debate and that it would have to be followed by measures to form a National Government and conscript wealth. As a result the Government examined some other alternatives first. In mid-March, the Minister of Militia, Sir Edward Kemp, announced plans to encourage the voluntary enlistment of 50,000 men for home defence. This was in order to release "a like number of overseas troops for active service" from those who were

currently guarding Canada's shores.¹⁴ Ten days later, while speaking to a group in Saskatoon, Arthur Meighen revealed that the Government was looking into the idea of using prisoners to do either home duty, or duty overseas.¹⁵ These plans, however, were justly ridiculed and there is reason to wonder whether the Government was serious, or whether it was simply trying to demonstrate that nothing but conscription would work. In any case, having promised to maintain a force of 500,000 fighting men, and having been impressed with the gravity of the Allied position at the Imperial War Conference during March and April, Borden announced to Parliament on the eighteenth of May that he intended to legislate conscription.

This was not done without first making further attempts to placate potential opposition. The Government, for example, took initial steps towards conscripting wealth. In late April, the Finance Minister, Sir Thomas White, announced plans to revise the business war tax, first imposed in 1916. In its initial form, the Act had been merely symbolic. Under the new schedule, White proposed that the Government would take 25 percent of the profit of a company above 7 percent; 50 percent between 15 percent and 20 percent of capital; and 75 percent over 20 percent of capital. The previous schedule had taxed a modest 25 percent of profits over 7 percent.¹⁶ White also said, taking a position that he would reverse in three months due to public pressure, that the Government was not interested in instituting an income tax because the revenue would be too small and the cost of collecting it too large.¹⁷ On the third of May, in a move that must have heartened the Single Taxers of Canada, the Government imposed an Order-in-Council requiring that "all persons owning land in Canada shall, in the absence of reasonable

grounds to the contrary, engage the same in useful occupation."¹⁸

To answer the critics who had claimed that conscription was undemocratic if imposed by a partisan government without an electoral mandate, Borden asked Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the twenty-fifth of May to join him in a coalition government (on an equal basis outside the office of Prime Minister) and stated his willingness to submit such a government to the democratic judgment of the people.

It is impossible to know just what would have happened if Laurier had accepted Borden's offer, for fearful of the consequences of supporting conscription in the face of mounting opposition in Quebec, and worried about losing the mantle of French Canadian leadership to Henri Bourassa, he declined. Thus for the moment there was conscription but no National Government and no election. In Manitoba the response was predictable, and almost identical to the fuss that had surrounded registration.

J.W. Dafoe, who supported the idea of conscription and believed that it should have been implemented sooner, was adamant that it could only be justified if instituted by a government truly representative of the national interest. "The Free Press," he reminded Borden from the newspaper's editorial page, "has said more than once that neither from the Borden government, nor from any alternative party government, could a program of military service be expected.... The introduction of compulsory service should be the signal for the reconstitution of the Canadian government."¹⁹ When he found out that Laurier had rejected a proposal to make this possible, Dafoe began to use his considerable influence to help bring an alternative coalition into being. His sentiments on democracy were echoed and amplified by a meeting of

Winnipeg citizens at All Soul's Unitarian Church. Called by its minister, Horace Westwood, the purpose of the special Sunday service was to discuss whether conscription was a necessary abrogation of human rights, and whether or not the community should submit to it without demanding a more significant conscription of wealth.²⁰ "The people of Canada," stressed Westwood in his sermon, "have the right to express their wills, and the government has not the right to enforce any conscription measure without a mandate from Democracy."²¹ The meeting, in a manner unusual for a Sunday gathering of church-goers, debated the issues at length and eventually adopted a resolution (with only seven dissenting votes) to send to both Borden and Laurier. It read, in part:

Resolved that this meeting declares itself unhesitatingly opposed to the conscription of manpower by a government having no mandate from the people on the question, and having done nothing to prevent profiteering in war supplies and the necessities of life; and we demand before any steps are taken in the proposed direction, a complete conscription of wealth and a referendum on the conscription of manpower....²²

Clearly, these people were not impressed by the Government's revisions to the Profits Tax, nor were they about to allow their democratic rights to evaporate through application of governmental heat. They were supported in their demand for a referendum by the Trades Council, who passed a resolution deploring conscription, and demanded that it be submitted to the people through a referendum.²³ These opinions could not be ignored in Ottawa. Knowing the nature and extent of the opposition to conscription in Quebec, Borden knew that he needed all the support he could muster from the West in order to make the plan work. Not being racial in character, and related as they were to

long-standing moral and democratic traditions, these complaints had both authority and the potential for appeasement--a fact which Borden understood.

This did not stop the Great War Veterans Association, however, from dispensing its own form of justice to those who opposed the plan. With the recent failure of the Dixon Recall bid still on their minds, and in a dangerous display of things to come, the Veterans marched en masse down to the Labor Temple on an evening in late May to break up an anti-conscription meeting. Fortunately for its possible participants, the soldiers had been given the wrong date.²⁴ When on June 3rd the meeting finally did occur, it was held in the Grand Theatre because its organizers feared for the existence of the Labor Temple. In a conciliatory display, three officials of the Veterans Association were even scheduled to address the assembled crowd of two thousand. Unfortunately they never got the chance, for the passions on the floor got so heated that the chairman, John Queen, realizing the volatile nature of the situation, wisely cancelled the meeting. In the *mélée* that followed the Veterans finally got their hands on Fred Dixon and a group of them proceeded to assault him. He was saved from serious injury only by the alert action of a Winnipeg policeman who came to his aid and escorted him briskly to a taxi.²⁵ It quickly became a piece of local folklore that for months the returned men involved in this event carried around in their pockets pieces of his torn up hat as mementoes of the occasion.²⁶ Postal worker and socialist Bill Hoop was also attacked.²⁷ The Voice described these incidents as "an assault on the dearly won British principles of free speech," and it was quite correct in so doing.²⁸ If anything, this demonstration of hostility merely

strengthened the resolve of the anti-conscriptionists, who could only conclude from the incident that their essential rights were at stake, and who subsequently announced that an Anti-Conscription League had been formed, and more meetings planned for the future.²⁹ There was a call for caution and reason in the midst of all of this. It came from Horace Westwood who wrote in an open letter to the Great War Veterans Association: "At the risk of hurting the feelings of brave men whom I love and honour, I cannot help expressing the conviction that in these events there was an exhibition of 'coercion by terrorism,' which we all so much abhor on the part of our enemies.... It has been said of other wars that the vanquished have often been the real victors since they have succeeded in instilling their own spirit and philosophy in the minds of the conquerors. Thus indeed, we might give our foes cause to rejoice over us. Surely it will not be so in this war! Otherwise we will have defeated the end we have in view."³⁰

The validity of this observation stifled more overt exhibitions of violence on the part of the returned soldiers, although they continued to appear at further meetings of the Anti-Conscription League. Another factor contributing to the viability of the League, however, was the sanction given its philosophical position by the federal Liberal Party. Having decided that his joining a coalition government with Borden was not in the best interests of French Canada, and that conscription forced upon such an unwilling minority was wrong, Laurier still had to propose an alternate solution to the problem of enlistment that would affirm his dedication to winning the war. He chose an argument that was similar to Dixon's:

compulsion was immoral and undemocratic; and without the profiteering, graft and partisan patronage, there would be no need for the recruiting sergeant. The solution, argued Laurier, was voluntary enlistment, administered properly, and his opinion carried a great deal of weight.

Laurier's control of the party bureaucracy, and its Quebec wing, insured that the debate on the Military Service Act would be long and hard. It did not become law until late August. During this time Laurier was also able to carry the party convention, held in Winnipeg on August 7th and 8th. This was a curious and often strained affair, with Western delegates, like Dafoe, scurrying around behind the scenes trying to convince the party faithful to depose their leader. Eventually, Laurier's leadership was endorsed, as was a rather ambiguous resolution calling for the prosecution of the war to the limit of the ability of the resources of the country.³¹ This was an uneasy compromise for Western delegates, who pressed to have it mention conscription specifically. Liberals also listened politely when a delegation from the Single Tax League that included both Dixon and Bland tried unsuccessfully to convince the convention to pass a resolution to conscript wealth through the imposition of a 1 percent tax on unused land.³² These various actions, along with Sir Wilfrid's speech wherein he reiterated his stand against conscription, prompted an enthusiastic Arthur Puttee to remark: "The stand taken by the Liberal convention is a vindication of the attitude of democracy in Canada which was voiced by the labor men in protesting against the autocratic attitude of a reactionary government to shackle industrial and military conscription on the workers without the will of the people--and protect the wealth of profiteers."³³ Two things became obvious to Borden as a result of

the Liberal convention: first, there was considerable opposition to his plans for conscription, as they now stood; second, there were dissatisfied Liberals in the West, who, under the proper conditions, might provide him with the support he needed to proceed.

This simply confirmed what he suspected on May 25th, when he asked Laurier to join with him in forming a coalition government. By July he had already been in contact with various Western Liberals, particularly J.W. Dafoe, who were committed to both conscription and National Government. And while he debated secretly with these men, he instructed the Minister of Finance to unveil another program for their benefit--the Income War Tax Act. "There has arisen in connection with the Military Service Bill," Sir Thomas White told the House of Commons on July 25th, "a very natural and, in my view a very just sentiment that those who are in the enjoyment of substantial incomes should substantially and directly contribute to the growing war expenditure of the Dominion."³⁴ This was Canada's first income tax, and although its rates were moderate it was an attempt to show that the Government was prepared to start conscripting wealth in earnest. A few weeks later the Government also took steps to make the Victory Loans more accessible to small investors, to remove the embarrassment caused by the rather obvious truth of the charge that the Loans were padding the pockets of the already wealthy investor.

These efforts helped to erode the spirit of opposition to conscription, continuously under attack due to the omnipresent war. In June, a workingman named Thomas Beattie voiced the opinion of many who were becoming tired of all the political argument surrounding the matter of conscription. He wrote to the editor of The Voice:

"We all hate war, we detest the thought of enforced military service, and we denounce the rapacity of profiteers. But--what else can we do but fight? This is a fair question to which we finally and inevitably come."³⁵ By August, this sentiment had reached the front page of The Voice in a series of articles written by one-time employee, and active laborite, Thomas Berton Robertson.³⁶

Robertson felt that high principles were at stake in the war; that the army, composed mainly of workingmen, was fighting for them; and that it was losing this struggle, by attrition, while Canadians dallied about with political questions.³⁷ He was one of the first to point out that the Germans could actually win the war--something that three years of continuous trench warfare had tended to obscure. Certainly, he agreed, the Government was full of immoral, corrupt profiteers; but this could not alter the fact that the army was still fighting for "Liberty and Democracy," and that along with these principles for which it was fighting it was in danger of extinction. Support the army at all costs, he argued vigorously and eloquently, and throw the politicians out by forming a new national party dedicated to winning the war. Do not sacrifice the principles in which you believe to a fruitless political argument with those who do not deserve your attention. He saved his most vituperative criticism for his friends in the leadership of the trade union movement. "They are dead men," he told The Voice's readership. "They are neither reassuring the soldiers that labor stands behind the army (itself composed of workmen) nor are they rallying the rank and file of the labor movement to support the army or to free Canada from the predatory politicians at whom a decent man would scarcely now throw a stone. Dead men!"³⁸

This critique brought forth denial, naturally; but a great many readers wrote to the editor in support. Robertson had touched a nerve inside the large but silent group of workingmen who believed that in the last analysis, both winning the war and preserving democracy at home were intrinsically intertwined. The very fact that Robertson's opinions were even printed testifies to their popularity. Puttee had a reputation as an editor more concerned with the truth than with a dogmatic answer, and his inclusion of these articles, prominently displayed on the front page, indicated that there was considerable debate going on in labor circles--a fact well hidden by the more prominent and controversial actions of some of its leaders.

Thus, while the air was rank with criticism of the Government, and a fair number of important people were on record as being opposed to conscription, Borden, with some judicious maneuvering, could see some hope of eventual popular support. By October, with the help of two controversial Orders-in-Council that both disenfranchised aliens and gave the Vote to the female relatives of soldiers, he was able to entice nine former Liberals into a coalition cabinet with himself and ten other Conservatives. Prominent among the turncoats were the Honourable A.L. Sifton, Premier of Alberta; the Honourable J.A. Calder, President of Council and Minister of Railways in the Saskatchewan Government; Thomas A. Crerar, President of the United Grain Growers Company and a well-known farmers' advocate and Single Taxer; and Newton Rowell, leader of the Liberal Party in the province of Ontario. These men were joined by Senator Gideon Robertson, Canada's first labor senator, who was brought into the cabinet as a Minister Without Portfolio to give representation to the aspirations of labor. This,

Borden presumed, along with the Income Tax Act, would be enough to insure victory at the polls, and so the writs were issued for December 17th.

The tactics worked. In the West, opposition to conscription melted away like snow around a flame. People rushed to become Union candidates. In Winnipeg, a Labor-Liberal coalition supported the candidacy of two prominent labor men--Richard Rigg in Winnipeg-North, and R.S. Ward in Winnipeg-Centre. Despite the fact that these were areas of traditional labor support, both men were soundly defeated and lost their deposits. This was a source of some embarrassment for Rigg, who had resigned his provincial seat of Winnipeg-North in order to run federally. The margin of victory for Major G.W. Andrews, the Union candidate in Winnipeg-Centre, was 21,000 votes³⁹--this in a constituency that would consistently vote for a labor-socialist candidate for all but five of the next sixty years.⁴⁰ It was truly a stunning victory for the principle and policies of the new National Government, and it could not simply be blamed on the altered voting regulations. Silent testimony to this fact was the shocked disbelief of the leaders of the anti-conscription movement, who could find little to say after the election. It was left to Arthur Puttee, who earned his living by making commentary, to state the obvious: "It is evident," he admitted, "that the electors were most concerned about the war and the idea of a 'Union Government' appealed to them strongly. But, moreover, they evidently believed the protestations of Hon. Arthur Meighen as to the high intentions of the new regime. It is now for the government to make good."⁴¹

III

The election of the Union Government indicated that as far as Westerners were concerned generally, and Manitobans in particular, the matter of conscription had been dealt with, finally, to almost everyone's satisfaction. Borden knew, however, with widespread opposition to the Military Service Bill in Quebec, that it was essential to maintain the coalition responsible for his victory. As the most sceptical of his supporters all across Canada happened to be workers, he decided to placate whatever unease still existed within the labor movement through a policy of consultation and conciliation.

Accordingly, in late January, 1918, Borden invited most of Canada's prominent labor leaders to a conference to provide them with some confidential insights into the dire nature of the war.⁴² Arthur Puttee and Richard Rigg represented the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council at the meeting, and Puttee was able to report that as a result of the conference a new policy of "recognition and co-operation was developed."⁴³ The Union Government, represented by Borden, Crerar, Robertson and Rowell, showed itself intent upon securing the continued support of labor for its war efforts. Along with the confidential information which they revealed to the delegates, the Government's representatives quite openly invited discussion on such topics as rail nationalization, the creation of a national Labor Bureau, and the need to give labor a more representative role in government.⁴⁴ They agreed with the principle of registering the nation's wealth.⁴⁵ Indeed within a month, as an active demonstration of this conciliatory spirit, and as a symbolic genuflection to Western sympathies, the Government announced

the imposition of a tax on the Canadian Pacific Railway--at 50 percent of its surplus, after "10 percent on common (including watered) stock up to \$7,000,000...not forgetting the payment of fixed charges, pensions and the preferred stock."⁴⁶

Even without this later action, however, the labor representatives were reasonably impressed, although to what extent this was a result of the confidential intelligence rather than the Government's attitude is difficult to guess. The conference agreed to a proposal to register everyone in the country over the age of sixteen, and labor delegates joined with Borden in sending a telegram to Lloyd George assuring him of their continued support.⁴⁷ They also informed Borden, as Puttee put it, that "for the period of the war there would be no serious objection to compulsion provided it [the labor movement] was not to labor for the profit of another."⁴⁸

If delegates to the labor conference were struck by the nature of the confidential information revealed to them relating to the tenuous position of the Allied army, the German offensive of March, 1918, served to drive the implications of it home. In what would prove to be a last, futile, and almost suicidal attempt to win the war, the German command mounted a massive offensive against the Allied position in France. A sober Arthur Puttee reflected on the German offensive as if somehow the apocalyptic terms that others had used to describe the war in years previous had just occurred to him. "It is the culmination of the greatest war in the history of the world," he remarked to his readers, "and is on a scale beyond the imagination.... One thing seems certain, and that is that on the result of this great battle will hang the outcome of the war. If the Kaiser and Hindenburg

cannot break through now and have France at their mercy to the coasts, and England in direst peril, they never can. If they have to slow up and stop without having 'gone through' they will be at last balked and defeated. 'The Day' will have set in a murky night for which there will be no dawn or sunrise."⁴⁹ At the beginning of April, in a gesture that spoke even louder than these words of Puttee's, the other Manitoba delegate to the labor conference, Richard Rigg, enlisted in a railway battalion and asked to be transferred overseas as soon as possible.

This action of Rigg's said a great deal about the actual nature of the organized opposition to conscription--particularly the extent to which it was a defense of the same principles the war was ostensibly being fought to protect, and the way it was eroded by the war's increasingly horrific reality. By 1918, Rigg was probably Winnipeg's most well-known and most well-respected trades unionist. Born in Todmorton, Lancashire, in 1872, while still in grade school he began to work part-time in a local cotton mill, graduating to full-time work at the age of twelve. In 1891 he began theological studies and became a Methodist minister, a vocation he pursued until 1903 when he left his post and emigrated to Winnipeg. There he became a bookbinder and the Trades Council representative of the local Bookbinders Union.⁵⁰ Rigg was a convert to socialism, although he did not believe in revolution, and he helped to found the Social Democratic Party in 1910. In 1912, after a year as the Trades Council President, he was asked to become the Trades Council Secretary, a paid position specifically created to make use of his considerable talents and one which he retained, without opposition, until his resignation in January, 1918.⁵¹ He was the first socialist Alderman elected to City Council; similarly he was the first

socialist Member of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly. He sat on the Municipal Hospitals Commission for the City of Winnipeg,⁵² and by 1917 he was sufficiently respected enough across the country that he was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress.

Rigg was also an opponent of conscription, and along with Fred Dixon, he spoke out often against the measure in the Manitoba Legislature. There was, however, a subtle but significant difference between the two men: Rigg, unlike Dixon, was not a strict pacifist. He was prepared to admit that under certain circumstances, when they were being fought to defend essential rights and liberties, wars were an unfortunate necessity. For Rigg, the integrity of such a struggle was defined by the extent to which these rights and liberties for which the war was ostensibly being fought were encouraged and maintained at home. If they were not respected, then it was clear that the struggle existed only for the benefit of one class--the capitalists--who were using their economic powers of persuasion to coerce workers into fighting for the interests of the bourgeois. As a socialist, Rigg was naturally suspicious of this possibility, but he refused to be dogmatic. He was chosen, as a result of his moderation, to represent the riding of Winnipeg-North for the Labor-Liberal coalition in the Dominion election of 1917,⁵³ over the more flamboyant socialist Alderman, John Queen.

Rigg made it clear during his campaign that his opposition to conscription and the Union Government rested in his feeling that neither represented the human and democratic values upon which the war's integrity had to depend. He proposed, however, that his opposition to conscription could be assuaged by certain moral and

democratic injunctions. As he told a meeting of constituents in early November: "I am utterly opposed to any scheme that involves the conscription of men alone, unless such a scheme is, first of all, democratically submitted to and approved by the electors. If the principle of the referendum is not to be recognized with regard to this subject, then I would be unable to vote for any policy of conscription unless it involved the conscription of money, natural resources and the essential industries of the country."⁵⁴ This was the same cry that had sprung from across the community the previous January in response to the creation of the National Service Board. It was also the same sentiment being expressed by the Liberal Party in the East.

But if Rigg was not yet convinced that the Government was meeting its obligations to "fair play" and democracy, the constituents of Winnipeg-North, most of whom were working-class, certainly were. They voted against him overwhelmingly. So great a disillusionment was this for Rigg that he chose to resign his position on the Trades Council--to the great dismay of its membership who, after trying to convince him to change his mind, presented him with a plaque in an emotional display of their gratitude for his years of service.⁵⁵ They had to break a standing Council rule against such practices in order to do this. Even though he was deeply touched, Rigg allowed that the lack of working-class support during the election campaign was what had caused him the most pain. "You can relish a battle with opponents when you have your class behind you," he lamented to the Trades Council, "but alas! when you have to fight your own sect, when you must bear unjust criticism from those whose rights you are championing, the sneer

from the pedantic element and the real weaklings of the labor movement, whose often plausible criticisms and conclusions are often imaginative, the burden is hard."⁵⁶

Rigg's real problem, however, as the last portion of this statement betrays, was that he was prepared to listen to the arguments of his opposition. His defeat had shown him that most workers supported conscription and Union Government. His only brother was lying near death in an army hospital in France.⁵⁷ When his son Wilfred came to him in January requesting the necessary parental consent to enlist in the Royal Flying Corps, he became convinced that the important battle for freedom and democracy was taking place in France, an opinion that was only further strengthened by the secret information revealed to him at the labor conference. In April, despite the fact that he was forty-six Rigg enlisted in a railway battalion and requested that he be sent overseas immediately. He told his friends: "I joined the army because I think it matters as far as the future welfare of democracy and civilization is concerned whether the Germans succeed or not in their effort to defeat the Allies. I have been coming to this decision for a long time. Three months ago when I signed consent for my son, Wilfred, to join the Royal Flying Corps I came to the conclusion that I had no more justification for giving such consent than to consent to follow his example and enlist myself."⁵⁸ In the final analysis, Rigg was no different from Thomas Beattie, Thomas Berton Robertson, and most other non-pacifist working-men who tried to deal with the inevitable question of what to do about the Germans. The only solution was to fight, and when it became clear that the Government's dedication to justice and democracy was sincere, if not particularly

efficient, this is precisely what they did.

The only strident voice raised in Manitoba during the winter was therefore Fred Dixon's. And his complaint was not with the democratically-expressed will of the people (which, given his own views on democracy, he had to accept) but with the fact that the increasingly tense atmosphere was causing further repression of civil liberty. In late January he rose to tell a silent Legislature that two teamsters, members of the International Bible Students Association drafted against conscientious conviction, had been tortured and abused by the military authorities in Winnipeg. According to an affidavit sworn by one of the men, Robert Clegg, he and an associate, David Wells, had been repeatedly doused with cold water and thereafter confined to solitary for indefinite periods of time. "If men are to be treated in this manner for adhering to the dictates of their conscience," Dixon remarked wryly, "and they cannot find a better way to handle them, it would be more humane to line them up against the wall and shoot them."⁵⁹

These were stern and excessive statements perhaps, but they were apparently prophetic. A month later David Wells died while in custody. After a formal request was made for such an inquiry by the Trades Council, an official investigation conducted by the federal Department of Justice revealed that the cause of death was far more insidious than the means that Dixon had prescribed. Wells was a Manic Depressive who, according to the official report, had become "overcome with shame...until finally he broke down...."⁶⁰ This proved to be a sad lesson for the military authorities who had given both men two-year sentences in the penitentiary for failing to report. The prosecutor, a Captain Goddard, had dismissed their claims of conscientious

objection by describing them as "religious fanatics who attempted to hide behind their religion."⁶¹

Dixon also made a point of criticizing the latest Victory Loan in the Legislature. Claiming that the issuing of the latest bond "showed that those in authority still had a greater respect for money than they had for human life," he reminded Members of the paradox inherent in conscripting men to build the army, and then borrowing money to pay for it. "It is grossly unfair," he argued in a manner reminiscent of J.W. Dafoe, "to expect men to go overseas to fight for the country and then compel those who come back to pay interest on a gigantic public debt which has been created because the government dared not conscript the wealth necessary to carry on the war."⁶²

In the first week of March, Dixon also tried to propose a resolution calling for an end to the war through an ethical peace settlement. His speech set out the four basic principles through which he believed an equitable settlement could be reached: there were to be no forcible annexations; no punitive indemnities; no economic wars after peace was declared; and the right of self-determination was to be guaranteed all nations.⁶³ Further, ran his argument:

I can think of nothing that would do greater injury and give more discouragement to the enemy--the military, imperialistic, and despotic rulers of the Central empires--than a frank expression of opinion from the peoples of the Allied nations that their aim is an early and democratic peace on the above basis. For I believe that the reason the rulers of the Central empires are able to induce their people to support them is that those people believe they are fighting a war of self-defence. If we could destroy this belief we should have done something towards getting these people to repudiate their rulers and thus pave the way for a general and democratic peace.⁶⁴

It was also his wish to call for the abolition of secret diplomacy, a policy of disarmament, and the establishment of an international arbitration court to secure further peace. However, he never got the chance. It was a sensitive time, and Members were in no mood to hear about peace. Adding emphasis to his solitude, he was refused the necessary consent to deliver his proposition to the Legislature.⁶⁵

IV

The Great War placed a tremendous strain upon society. It swallowed up thousands of young men. It forced hardship upon those who had to live under the ever-increasing burden of a war-torn economy. And it almost divided the country in two, along racial lines, over the issue of conscription.

It was this latter matter, conscription, which most concerned those who had been active in the Manitoba reform movement. For years prior to 1916 these people had worked for change within society because they felt that morality was subject to certain natural laws, and that everyone was entitled to certain basic individual and civil rights. They had not objected to the war initially, believing it to be a defense of those very ideas. But when the issue of conscription arose, compounded by a two-year history of purported Government corruption and incompetence, these people demanded that such an obvious deprivation of rights was only proper if exacted in all aspects of life, economic as well as physical, and sanctioned by the democratic will of the people. Some were not as satisfied as others with the eventual reaction of the Borden

Government, yet it was in obvious response to these sentiments that Borden took steps to implement both an income and profits tax, form a Union Government, and request a democratic mandate for it from the people. Appalled by the mounting horror of the war, convinced, increasingly, of its unfortunate necessity, even those who were not completely happy with the way the matter had been dealt with maintained silence during the last crucial phase of the conflict.

From the start, only a small group of pacifists had objected to the war in principle. They too used the argument that all men were entitled to certain fundamental individual and civil rights; except they considered that war, by its very nature, was an unnecessary infringement of these rights—exactd by the privileged at the expense of the majority. They were part of the anti-conscription movement, the only part of it, in fact, that remained vocal after the Dominion election of 1917. Some of them were workers, but the most outspoken exponents of this belief were church ministers or Single Taxers. It was ironic that they, like those who simply disputed the ethics of conscription, based their argument on the sanctity of individual and civil rights. These were the same notions—"liberty, justice, and, above all, democracy," to use Thompson's phrase--that Canadians had entered the war to protect.

PART THREE
THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS
1918 - 1920

Our Cause is Just

Never have the workers of Winnipeg had so much confidence in their cause as today. Never has there been such unanimity as to [the] absolute necessity of settling once [and] for all the two points at issue, namely:

1. The Right of Collective Bargaining, and
2. The Right to a Living Wage.

The Western Labor News, May 21, 1919

It is said that this fight is a fight for recognition of the unions. Whether this is so, or is not so, from the labor standpoint, so far as the great mass of unorganized citizens are concerned, it is a fight--their fight now--for the recognition of the rights of the whole community by any and every section of the community.

The Winnipeg Citizen, May 22, 1919

The war and the problem of conscription diverted the energies of Manitobans from the social and economic issues that had pre-occupied them up to 1916 to more national and universal concerns. But by the winter of 1918, in the grip of the knowledge that the outcome of the war rested on whether or not the last great German offensive was successful, most Manitobans had subordinated their discontent and awaited, with trepidation, either victory or defeat. If this brief interlude had changed them in any way it had made them more aware of the need for society to mirror in its institutions the principles being defended by its soldiers on the battlefield.

These high expectations, expanded by the eventual fact of victory, caused industrial unrest for the next two years. Workers in particular had sacrificed their lives, their wages, and their standard of living in an effort to make Canada safe for further social and democratic improvement. Canadian leaders had sought their contribution with the rhetoric of high ideals. As the war drew to a close, however, it began to appear as if the nation that had sent its manhood off to fight for freedom could not supply its working citizens with freedom from poverty once the war was over. The period of reconstruction developed two irreconcilable agendas--one of expectation and another of ability--and social and industrial unrest were the inevitable results.

Workers began to seek restitution for their sacrifices according to the methods that had served them before the war--political action,

and industrial action through the collective bargaining process. But for some workers this process was neither quick nor radical enough. Argument developed and discontent spread as laborites debated the relative merits of evolution versus revolution, political action versus syndicalism. The labor movement quickly became deeply divided, and this split would remain a source of tension and dissension well into the decade of the twenties.

There was one issue, however, with the power to unite even the most resolute combatants--collective bargaining. By 1918, all workers in Winnipeg saw collective bargaining as a natural right of their existence in an industrial society. It was an inalienable human right, part of the individual rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, sanctified by common practice in the best traditions of Common Law. It was recognized as such by Government, and by almost everyone in Winnipeg except the owners of the city's contract metal shops. There was only one condition to this, quite natural for a democratic society: workers could pursue the rights to bargain and strike as long as they did not deprive everyone else of their civil rights in the process.

All these matters would be revealed in the industrial crises of 1918 and 1919. In May, 1918, by a slim majority vote of one, the Winnipeg City Council decided to withdraw the previously recognized right of its civic workers to strike. In defence of a principle they considered to be intrinsic to their lives, workers responded by conducting a gradual reduction of services in sympathy that eventually assumed the proportion of a general strike. The strike was settled, not

through the initiative of the City Government, but instead by the intervention of a collection of citizens who managed to convince the city that the workers' demands were reasonable, and their intention honourable. In this task they were aided by the Federal Government's representative, the Hon. Gideon Robertson.

A year later, in response to the refusal of the city's iron-masters to accept the principle of collective bargaining in their contract shops, workers, despite their considerable differences, closed the city down again. In contrast to 1918, however, they struck immediately and totally. The effect was phenomenal. Approximately 35,000 workers walked off the job on May 15, 1919, bringing the city to a halt and neutralizing the effective authority of the City Government. A Strike Committee was established to insure that essential services were maintained, and this convinced the rest of the city that workers were determined to deprive citizens not on strike of their civil rights. It was an unfortunate choice of tactics. In the first place, workers were not conducting a revolution, as their passive actions, and the later testimony of the Strike leadership, proved. Second, it eventually brought the full punitive force of the State down upon a legitimate grievance that had potential support within the community (as the resolution of the strike the year before had shown). And third, it also forced those people who had traditionally tried to balance the individual rights of the citizen against the civil rights of the community, to make a choice between the two. In 1919, one either supported the individual right of workers to bargain collectively, or one supported the civil rights of everyone

else. Unlike 1918, there was no middle ground.

This was a difficult choice, both for workers who supported the idea of civil rights through democratic decision-making, and for ordinary citizens who respected individual human rights. The polarized community of 1919 was an unnatural creation that for most people did not allow them to express their true opinion of the ultimate principles at stake. This fact would be revealed quite dramatically in June, 1920. Fred Dixon had been arrested during the Strike and charged with seditious libel, but in February, 1920, after conducting an eloquent self-defence, he was acquitted. The foundation of his argument had been the rights and liberties of British subjects, and in the provincial election of June, 1920, the first such contest since the Liberal sweep of 1915, eighty percent of the voting public of Winnipeg placed Fred Dixon's name on a new proportional ballot. It was a stunning burst of political emotion endorsing the position regarding individual and civil rights that Dixon had advocated, not only at his trial, but since his arrival in Winnipeg seventeen years before. President of the Dominion Labor Party, long a defender of the rights of the citizen, Dixon epitomized both major principles in crisis during the Strike. His election reaffirmed the intention of Winnipeggers, whose philosophical loyalties had been tested by the class nature of the Strike, to continue to pursue social and economic improvement through the process of parliamentary democracy.

CHAPTER 6

LABOR DIVIDED

I

In February, 1918, a group of enthusiastic members of the Labor Representation Committee and the Social Democratic Party met with a similar number of unaffiliated individuals in order to form a Manitoba branch of the Dominion Labor Party.¹ The time had come these people felt, after an eight-year hiatus, for labor to once again venture out into the arena of organized politics.

There were a number of reasons for this, chief among them being that unemployment and the cost of living were on the rise, while real wages were falling.² The Labor Representation Committee, with its policy of endorsing candidates before elections, was incapable by nature of providing sufficient day-to-day political pressure to reverse the situation. Indeed it was bankrupt--in debt \$1,600 from its commitments to the Dominion election.³ When the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress called upon workers to form autonomous local branches of a new Dominion Labor Party, this provided the impetus for a new political effort. Manitoba had been without a labor party for eight years, and there was now the feeling, with the economic hardship exacerbated by the war, that such an organization was needed.

The party formed as a result of the meeting of minds in the Labor Temple was similar to the defunct Manitoba Labor Party, under whose banner Fred Dixon had first run for office in 1910. Its initial platform was modest and moderate, calling for such things as the public ownership of public resources, the abolition of child labor under the age of sixteen, and, inevitably, "the transformation of

capitalist property into working class property to be socially owned and used."⁴ In keeping with tradition, a single tax plank would be added later.⁵ A committee struck to draft the party's constitution and by-laws also added planks calling for the furtherance of democracy through "Direct Legislation," "Proportional Representation within grouped constituencies," and "Representation on the basis of Population."⁶ This made the party's resemblance to its earlier counterparts almost complete. Officers elected at the end of March included Harold Veitch as Chairman, W.D. Bayley and S.J. Farmer as Vice-Chairmen, and James Winning as Financial-Secretary.⁷

This new labor party wasted no time in beginning its work. In early April, both Bayley and pacifist preacher William Ivens were dispatched to the West on a roundabout circuit that included stops in Brandon, Moose Jaw, Regina, Swift Current, Medicine Hat, Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon and Yorkton.⁸ At the same time it was announced that Dixon, to whom such activities had already become a regular ritual of the rites of spring, would speak under the auspices of the party in Calgary on May 24th and 25th, and that he would "likely speak at other centres as well."⁹ A party manifesto was issued in late April, through the efforts of prominent laborites Arthur Puttee, Arthur Beech, Fred Tipping, Ernest Robinson and Alex Shepherd, and it listed the three major social concerns of the day as "The New Social Order, the Returned Soldier, and the Crisis of Peace."¹⁰ To inaugurate the first official regular meeting of the party, Fred Dixon was invited to speak on the subject of "The Canadian Commonwealth."¹¹

The decision to ask Dixon to give the direction-setting address to the party membership said something about the Dominion Labor Party's outlook and ambitions. Dixon was a politician, not a trades unionist; similarly, he was a Single Taxer and not a socialist. It was well known that all of his social, economic, and political views were based upon a faith in the existence of intrinsic human rights. These facts neither discouraged the leadership of the new Labor Party from asking him to chart the party's future course, nor did they deter the membership from responding to him with enthusiasm. After he had once again unfurled his familiar claim that Canada from its beginnings had been built through a lust for property and profit, he called upon members to help form "a real Commonwealth with equal rights to all and special privilege to none."¹² They answered by requesting that the speech be put into pamphlet form and distributed, and by telling him to deliver the same message on the Labor Party's behalf when he went out on his annual rural speaking tour.¹³ Within several months they would make him a Vice-Chairman of the party,¹⁴ and by the spring of 1919 he would be its Chairman.

If the formation of the Dominion Labor Party was renewed indication of a desire within the labor movement to pursue social and economic change politically, then the Labor Church, formed in July, provided workers with the moral and ethical sanction for their demands and demonstrated the extent to which many still believed in the existence of an absolute moral authority. The Labor Church was a curious contradiction, being both secular and Christian. It was an attempt, within a new formal structure, to take Christian

social ethics and apply them to the new industrial environment.

The formation of the Church was precipitated by the removal of pacifist William Ivens from the pulpit of McDougal Church.¹⁶ Ivens, along with Horace Westwood and J.S. Woodsworth, was one of Manitoba's most outspoken advocates of social Christianity, and he was well known to the readers of The Voice and the labor community alike for his controversial pacifist opinions. So did he excite the more conservative members of his North-end congregation that the Church Board asked the Methodist Stationing Committee to remove him. It complied, although it offered Ivens a new charge, but by this time he had had enough of trying to bring about social change while representing the opinions of the Methodist bureaucracy.¹⁷ He accepted a job as the editor of the Western Labor News, a new newspaper created by the Winnipeg Trades Council to replace The Voice.¹⁸ Even before he accepted this position offering him much needed financial stability he had been prevailed upon by some friends to accept the leadership of Winnipeg's first Labor Church.¹⁹ "We believe," said a representative of the congregation at the second meeting of the new church in the Labor Temple, "that the one great reason why you find yourself without a pulpit is not because you are a pacifist, as is so loudly proclaimed by your enemies, but because you have dared to champion the cause of the exploited and oppressed in every realm of human life as against the exploiter and oppressor. For have we not seen Dr. Bland, who is not a pacifist but a strong militarist, placed in a similar position by the same element that turned you out of your pulpit? And had this not been for many years in a measure the experience of every man who has taken a foremost place in the fight for real liberty and justice for the toilers

and oppressed?"²⁰ This laudation was accompanied by a financial donation from the congregation to substantiate its commitment to the enterprise.²¹

The Labor Church, which was to become extremely popular during and after the 1919 Strike, was certainly a curious phenomenon, and its creation was indicative of just how deeply social values in 1918 were tied to theological concepts. Within weeks the Church had grown to the point where it was necessary to hold more than one service: the Labor Temple was just too small for the swelling crowds.²² The Church quickly became the spiritual adjunct to the Dominion Labor Party, and on the third Sunday after its creation Fred Dixon was asked to preach on "The Power of Ideals."²³ Other leaders of the Labor Party also became frequent oratorical contributors to the Sunday fare, and a symbiotic relationship soon developed between the two organizations, with Ivens and the Labor Church supplying the spiritual justification for social improvements, and the Dominion Labor Party providing the political vehicle. In their quest to return to the successful days of the reform movement, however, they were opposed, naturally, by the Socialist Party of Canada.

The SPC had always considered moderate labor parties to be a far greater menace to the cause of eventual revolution than either the Liberals or Conservatives. Therefore, the fact that the Dominion Labor Party bore a strong resemblance to its earlier counterpart, the Manitoba Labor Party, did not escape its notice. But the SPC was a party that had changed much over the years. Gone was the impossiblism of earlier propagandists. While remaining as irascible as ever, an invigorated leadership had adopted a more pragmatic ideology, dedicated

still to eventual revolution, but committed to democratic political change.²⁴ In regard to labor relations they advocate syndicalism rather than craft unionism (although they called it industrial unionism), a fact which set them apart from the Social Democratic Party.²⁵ And they saw in the Dominion Labor Party not only the reflection of an earlier nemesis but also the primary opposition for control of an increasingly leaderless trade union movement. Sensing new incentive for the possible control of the political voice of organized labor they carried their antipathy for the new party to the floor of the Trades Council, led by the charismatic figure of R.B. Russell, Western Canadian Organizer for the International Association of Machinists.²⁶

Of all the members of the Socialist Party of Canada to be immortalized by their activities in Winnipeg in 1919, Russell was the most popular. He was a highly principled man of great humanity with a compelling mastery of the talents of speech and leadership. Born in Glasgow in 1888, he came to Winnipeg in 1910 and he began work in the machine shops of the Canadian Pacific Railway.²⁷ He quickly became involved in the Winnipeg local of the International Association of Machinists (Local 122), something which brought him into contact with fellow machinist and SPC member, R.J. Johns, and both of them began to rise in the union hierarchy. He contributed a regular column in the Machinists' Bulletin, from which he carried on a vitriolic campaign against capitalism, and by 1918 he was asked to become Western Canadian Organizer for the International Association of Machinists.²⁸

Russell was also a committed socialist. Upon arriving in Winnipeg he had joined the Social Democratic Party, feeling that it best represented his own evolutionary view of the proper road to the socialist state. Impatient, he lasted in its ranks for only three months, abandoning it instead for the Socialist Party of Canada.²⁹ This had a profound effect upon the latter, for he quickly began to assume positions of leadership within it, and by 1918 he had helped to give it a more rational, practical appearance. Gone was the old antipathy toward the trade union movement; gone also was the idea that election campaigns were only useful as vehicles for spreading propaganda.³⁰ Under the leadership of Russell, and to a lesser degree, Johns and Armstrong, the Socialist Party of Canada began arming itself for action with the intention of hurrying the inevitable demise of capitalism. It was with this in mind that it began to wrestle for control of the trade union movement with the Dominion Labor Party.

What made this struggle all the more significant were the stakes: the organized labor movement was essentially leaderless, having lost in the space of six months the three men most responsible for giving it direction over the previous ten years. The most important labor man of the decade had been Rigg and he had resigned his Trades Council post in order to enlist. Arthur Puttee, who had been a stalwart of the labor community since he began publishing The Voice in 1894, raised the ire of many by counselling caution during a strike of civic workers in May. As a consequence, rebellious members of the Trades Council branded him a traitor and convinced the Council to

begin publication of a rival newspaper, The Western Labor News, to better represent its point of view.³¹ This meant the death of The Voice and the virtual banishment of Puttee. The third influential laborite to leave the active workings of the movement was R.S. Ward. Ward, who had come to Winnipeg from New Brunswick, first became an officer of the Trades Council in 1907, and in 1909 he served as its President.³² Like Russell he was a machinist, although he worked for a rival railway, and in 1918, at the time of his resignation, he was Secretary-Treasurer of District Number 2 for the United Association of Machinists(Canada wide).³³ He was also Russell's editor at the Machinists' Bulletin.³⁴ Long interested in the workings of Winnipeg's first Co-operative store, opened on the corner of Hargrave and Cumberland in 1913,³⁵ he resigned his positions within the labor movement in May to become its manager.³⁶ Ward in his quiet way had exerted quite an influence in the labor movement, particularly among the machinists where now, with his absence, the impetuous Russell was free to roam.

All three of these men were socialists who were at the same time dedicated to craft unionism. They saw trade unionism as a way in which workers could exert some force in questions of work and wages. To them, trade unionism was a worker's legitimate right in the world of industrial capitalism, but it was not a political weapon. While they recognized that any form of industrial organization had political implications, they felt that the job of making substantive changes in the nature and structure of society belonged to a democratically-elected parliament. These traditional sentiments had

guided the labor movement in Winnipeg for over twenty years, much to the chagrin of the Socialist Party of Canada, and the formation of the Dominion Labor Party only promised to enshrine them further. Russell, Johns and Armstrong, however, were well aware that the way to change all this was to fill the vacuum in the Trades Council created by the loss of its formative leadership. It seemed a golden opportunity both to take over the direction of the Trades Council, and to destroy the Dominion Labor Party. While the SPC did not have many specific goals, apart from the overthrow of capitalism, it was clear that success in these initiatives would force the organized labor movement to take a much more militant political stance.

II

In truth, the Dominion Labor Party was unaware that it faced any real competition from the Socialist Party of Canada. The latter had always been small, with only twenty to thirty active members, and until Russell began to wield his influence it had seemed always more interested in arguing Marxist theory than in soliciting support.³⁷ Even if its leaders had made an open declaration of their intention to take over the Council and destroy the DLP no one would have taken them seriously. It was, therefore, almost under a veil of obscurity that the SPC began the campaign that would eventually lead to the industrial crisis of May, 1919.

The first person to suffer in this guerilla war was the President of the Trades and Labor Council, Fred Tipping. Tipping had the

misfortune of being appointed to a Royal Commission set up to intervene in the summer dispute involving the metal trades. Led by Russell, the metal trades workers were demanding not only parity between the railways and the contract shops but also recognition of their common bargaining agent, the Metal Trades Council.³⁸ Given the history of stormy relations in the Manitoba contract shops, the workers were adamant that this new principle of industrial unionism be recognized--something that the owners, led by former Winnipeg mayor, T.R. Deacon, stoutly refused to do. The differences appeared irreconcilable, and for this reason the Union Government appointed Justice T.G. Mathers, Alderman George Fisher, and Tipping to investigate the situation and recommend a possible solution.³⁹ When the militant Metal Trades workers led by Russell and Johns refused to meet the Commission or hold off strike action until after it had made its report, Tipping was forced to agree with the other members of the tribunal that the strike was ill-advised.⁴⁰ This quite enraged Russell who set about after the strike had failed to depose Tipping from the chair of the Trades Council. Tipping, already annoyed with Russell and the other leaders of the metal trades, resigned amidst great sound and fury and then proceeded to condemn the metal workers for not being prepared to take what they could get through the Commission.⁴¹ If Tipping's resignation was cause for the SPC leaders to celebrate, their excitement proved to be short-lived. He was replaced as Trades Council President by Harold Veitch, Chairman of the Dominion Labor Party.⁴²

Undaunted by this setback, as well as by the failure of the metal trades strike, Russell and the SPC carried the war against

moderation and co-operation to the September meeting of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. There, along with other SPC members, they sparked a lively debate over the Congress's current amicability with the Union Government, manifest particularly by Congress Secretary Draper's acceptance of a position on the National Registration Board.⁴³ Even more significantly, they also pressed for a national general strike to stop the importation of Asiatic labor, something that was opposed by the majority of the Congress.⁴⁴ It was important to them that the general strike become recognized as a legitimate political tactic, dedicated as they were becoming to this tool of syndicalism, and this was why they pressed for it so vigorously on an issue around which labor had traditionally been united. By the time the meetings ended they had succeeded in convincing some Western delegates that the Congress did not represent the feelings of Western Canadian workers. It was the hope of the SPC's national leadership, of which Russell was an integral component, that a Western Labor Conference held later in the winter could be convinced to endorse the principle of the general strike and the creation of a Canadian counterpart to the Industrial Workers of the World. With the claim instead that such a conference should meet in order to discuss strategy for the next meeting of the Congress, the leadership of the SPC set about the task of planning to engineer support for its industrial and political ambitions.⁴⁵

This gave Winnipeg's SPC members much to do, and little inclination for the moment to joust with the Dominion Labor Party. As a result, for the rest of the fall, as the Armistice approached, they allowed

both the DLP and the Labor Church to prosper unimpeded. The Church was meeting with such success that it spent the fall moving in and out of a succession of theatres, having outgrown the limited confines of the Labor Temple.⁴⁶ Under Ivens' direction it was taking on many of the affectations of traditional Sunday worship--there was a choir, hymns were sung and a collection taken.⁴⁷ For its part, the Dominion Labor Party was looking forward to contesting its first election as the time drew near once again to select a mayor and city council. Half of the fourteen aldermanic positions were up for re-election, one in each of the city's seven wards. As well, two important by-laws were being put forward for consideration, one to procure funds for the construction of a new hospital, and another to secure the opinion of the electorate on whether the five hundred dollar election deposit and the property qualification should be abolished as conditions of running for alderman. The Labor Party supported this latter proposal particularly, and its membership, long impatient for action, attacked the business of campaigning with great delight.

The Party had already established local organizations in every ward, hoping that by distributing responsibility and leadership it would get its message out to the community efficiently and encourage full participation by its members. Local organizations met regularly, and were particularly powerful in the northern wards--Wards Five, Six and Seven--where most workers lived. In the municipal election, DLP leaders entertained no illusions about capturing seats in southern Winnipeg, but they were confident of their support in the city's north-end. And they realized as well, with the recent abolition

of the Board of Control, that the city's central ward, Ward Four, might ultimately hold the key to a balance of power in future Councils. It was here, then, that they nominated the well-respected Ernest Robinson, successor to Richard Rigg as Secretary of the Trades Council, and concentrated their efforts.⁴⁸

The Dominion Labor Party platform, drawn up specifically for the civic campaign and based upon the principles articulated at its creation, quickly dispelled any fears within the community that this new party might seek to overthrow the Government. Its planks--"at large voting by preferential ballot; all changes in government to be submitted in referendum form to electors; tax reform by reducing the taxes on homes and increasing them on land values; a Home Rule Charter for Winnipeg; the Initiative and Referendum; free text books and the use of schools as social centres; the municipalization of hospitals and further development of the Bureau of Child Hygiene (including free medical); the right of organization for civic employees, and the right of equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex; the public ownership of public utilities; and the establishment of municipal trading, cold storage plants, etc., to stop profiteering"--were modest, practical, and emphasized democratic problem-solving.⁴⁹ Once again, as in 1910, there was a Single Tax plank, no doubt due to the persistent influence of Dixon and Farmer. The most interesting plank, because it was a point of ideological import upon which all labor would soon demonstrate its agreement, was the one calling for recognition of the right of civic workers to organize. Both because it was a civic election and because the

matter of the right to organize by civic workers had been challenged during a labor dispute the previous May, the DLP felt it necessary to refer to "civic employees." But they were saying more than this, for inherent in this statement was the more general philosophical view that all workers had the "right" to organize for the purpose of bargaining collectively. It was a logical extension of each worker's natural individual right to "life", and it was just as inalienable. In other words, the Dominion Labor Party was telling the City of Winnipeg that it would not countenance any erosion of the fundamental rights of those employees under the council's control: organization was a right of all workers in a capitalist society and as such was not negotiable. Ironically, this idea would unite the DLP and the Socialist Party of Canada, in days to come, at a time when their more natural inclination was to fight one another.

When the votes were finally counted on November 30th Dominion Labor Party supporters found much to celebrate. Their candidates, W.B. Simpson and J.L. Wiginton, had retained Wards Six and Seven for labor on the DLP ticket. As for the race in the pivotal Ward Four, Ernest Robinson had defeated the incumbent, J.J. Vopni, 1,346 votes to 932⁵⁰ ---a fact which soon cost him his job at Columbia Press, which Vopni owned.⁵¹ It was the largest margin of victory secured by any of the Labor Party candidates. All three men joined Social Democratic Party Alderman A.A. Heaps (who had been elected by acclamation) on the new City Council.⁵² And to add to the euphoria, the controversial by-law regarding the abolition of the election deposit and the property qualification passed.⁵³

Harold Veitch, head of both the DLP and the Trades Council, was ecstatic. "The results, both in Winnipeg and Transcona" [Ward Seven], he told the press, "is [sic] merely a reflection of what is taking place throughout the world. The war has brought the working classes to a clearer conception of their power and ability to take their place in the administration of civic and national affairs."⁵⁴ At a meeting held a week later to celebrate the victory, Fred Dixon called for a Dominion Labor Convention so that labor could play its necessary role in reconstruction, and he suggested that the local party assume the leadership in developing such a policy. So great was the optimism of the meeting that laborite Ed McGrath proposed that the DLP hire a full-time organizer to propagate the message more expeditiously.⁵⁵

Certainly the main reason for the success of the Dominion Labor Party in the municipal election was the way in which it had portrayed itself as both progressive and reasonable. This fact was attested to when The Western Labor News published a list of DLP contributors two weeks after the election. Nestled among the more likely donors was the name of J.W. Dafoe, which, had it become universally known, would have caused the Free Press editor much future embarrassment.⁵⁶ Dafoe's financial contribution was small, but its real significance was symbolic. Apparently he was not yet convinced that every laborite was a "red", or that every strike was a step towards revolution. In these thankful days, three weeks after the Armistice, Dafoe found the Dominion Labor Party platform democratic, moral, and consistent with his conscience. Politically, except for his brief excursion into

the making of a national government, Dafoe was a Liberal; and it was the DLP's ability to attract such support, in a campaign in which neither of the major parties ran candidates, that insured its success.

All of this jolted Russell and the Socialist Party of Canada back into action. At a fractious meeting of the Trades Council in early December, one week prior to the Trades Council elections, the SPC got down to work in earnest. With the help of Bill Hoop and John Queen, Russell and Armstrong called upon the Council to make some form of demonstration against the recent Orders-in-Council prohibiting the political activities of "aliens."⁵⁷ For a brief time these notorious laws had also restricted strike activity and made membership in the Social Democratic Party illegal. While the latter measures were rescinded with the Armistice, aliens were still being arrested for political activity and threatened with deportation without trial. It was suggested that a general strike be held in protest, but this idea was dismissed in favour of holding a public meeting in the near future.⁵⁸ If the radicals were disappointed by this turn of events they did not show it. They managed instead to pass a motion making the calling of a general strike easier and faster, so that in future such a measure could be sanctioned by a simple majority of the Trades Council.⁵⁹

Other matters, however, were less to their liking. Direct affiliation between the Trades Council and the Dominion Labor Party was debated, although a decision was deferred until individual unions could be consulted.⁶⁰ More significant to the SPC leadership was the Council executive's announcement that it did not favour the

idea of a Western Labor Conference because it was too expensive, although it acknowledged there was support on the floor for the issues involved.⁶¹ As all of the future hopes of the SPC rested in dominating such a conference, Russell and his colleagues were naturally dismayed. They struck back at the prevailing forces of moderation by mounting an immediate assault against William Ivens and The Western Labor News. Claiming that the newspaper was nothing more than an organ of the "Labor Party and the Labor Church," they branded its editorial policy as "reactionary" and Ivens as "incompetent."⁶² They then insisted that a committee be established to investigate these charges. It was true that the Labor News was not nearly as well organized as The Voice had been; there were even occasional, and unforgivable lapses in the reporting of the news. But as the committee appointed to investigate the allegations subsequently discovered, Ivens had raised the circulation of the newspaper from 1,600 to 10,000 and had paid for the office equipment--all within six months.⁶³ For the first time ever, the official labor newspaper was on a secure financial footing. When this was revealed, three weeks later, an embarrassed Council endorsed Ivens' editorship with only one dissenting vote.⁶⁴ But at the time of the dispute SPC members were more concerned with strategy than they were with accuracy. On the defensive, they wanted to strike out at the moderate faction, and Ivens, editor of The Western Labor News, guiding light of the Labor Church and influential member of the Dominion Labor Party, was a logical person to attack.

SPC fortunes were to decline even further on the eve of the

Party's first significant success. The following week, in the Trades Council elections, both Russell and Johns were defeated in their attempts to secure positions as officers of the Council. Running for President against the moderate and pedantic James Winning, Russell lost by 81 votes to 50. Johns, who was after the more strategic post of Secretary long held by Richard Rigg and occupied currently by Alderman Ernest Robinson, was defeated even more soundly: 99 votes to 25.⁶⁵ Despite the disappointment caused by these events, the meeting held some good news for SPC supporters: it was announced that the Trades Council, in conjunction with the SPC, had organized a meeting at the Walker Theatre for Sunday, December twenty-second, to protest the Orders-in-Council.⁶⁶

III

The Walker Theatre meeting was a triumph for the SPC, both in the planning and in the event. Most Trades Council members were still unaware of the SPC's intentions, and saw the increasing acrimony of the Council meetings as nothing more than a difference of opinion. When the committee composed of Russell, Armstrong, Hoop, and Queen recommended that some action be taken to protest the Orders-in-Council, they agreed to the meeting, little suspecting that the SPC had either the intention or the ability to use the occasion to promote its own propaganda. This was precisely what happened, as Russell, Johns, and Armstrong strove to dominate both the staging and the action of the

meeting. When it was held on December 22, John Queen of the Social Democratic Party was in the chair, and Fred Dixon and William Ivens of the Dominion Labor Party were on the list of speakers.⁶⁷ But at the meeting's end, most of the people left the theatre under the impression that it had been called by the Socialist Party of Canada.

It seemed to have been planned to give this impression. First of all the agenda of the meeting had been expanded to deal not only with the Orders-in-Council but also with the release of the "political prisoners" held under their authority.⁶⁸ This was a logical extension of the first resolution and was therefore quite natural, but a third resolution was not so easily explained. Calling for the withdrawal of Allied troops from Russia, it was ostensibly designed to express the support of the Winnipeg labor community for the right of Russia to self-determination--something the moderates did not oppose because of their belief in the principle, and their general sympathy for the plight of the Russian working-class. Russell knew, however, that such a resolution could be made to imply support for the notion of revolution. He made certain, therefore, that he would propose it, and that it would come last on the agenda. For emphasis he recruited SPC radical Sam Blumenberg, a florid rhetorician who appeared for the occasion replete in red tie, to second the resolution.⁶⁷

There were other more subtle ways in which the SPC was able to make sure that it dominated the meeting. It was decided, for example, that George Armstrong would second the motion on the Order-in-Council, and that postal worker Bill Hoop would deliver the actual resolution. Hoop was an interesting choice. Purged from the SPC in 1916 in a

dispute over orthodoxy, he had been a leading member of the party for over ten years; he was someone who, if no longer associated with the SPC, was still connected to it in the public consciousness.⁷⁰

William Ivens and Fred Dixon were chosen to deliver and second the resolution regarding the release of political prisoners. It was notable that while both were leading figures within the Dominion Labor Party, only Ivens was a member of the Trades Council, and this was simply because he was the editor of the official newspaper. He had not been a member for long. Thus by the time matters were all arranged the Trades Council, under whose partial auspices the meeting was being held, was being represented by members or former members of the SPC. Even Alderman John Queen, who occupied the chair for the event, had never been a member of a trade union.⁷¹ And in the audience, ready to make as much noise as possible, sat every member of the Winnipeg branch of the Socialist Party of Canada.

It was no surprise, therefore, that the Walker Theatre meeting appeared to those not present as a radical if not revolutionary event. While the audience of 1,700 cheered the speakers promoting the first two resolutions, and obviously supported the ideas behind them, it was Russell and Blumenberg who attracted the most attention.⁷² By the time they were finished they were able to exhort the assembled to give three cheers for the Russian Revolution. Cries were heard declaring: "Long Live the Russian Soviet Republic! Long Live Karl Leibnecht!" It was also decided that a telegram should be sent, direct to Bolsheviki, congratulating them on their revolution.⁷³ Russell was more than pleased. Within a week the party had attracted more

interest and financial support than it had ever had before, and he gloated in a letter to E.E. Stevenson, National Secretary of the Socialist Party of Canada: "The movement here is developing rapidly. We are fast knocking hell out of the labor party...."⁷⁴

The Walker Theatre episode finally alerted the Dominion Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party to the fact that a political battle was underway. When Ivens declared several weeks later that the meeting had been a success because it had allowed workers the opportunity to express their long-suppressed frustration, he was articulating a view with which most Trades Council members agreed.⁷⁵ But they realized all the same that they had been duped by the SPC into staging an affair to promote its political designs. Up until this time Council members had maintained a tradition of keeping their Trades Council activities separate from their politics. With the SPC apparently intent on carving its political aspirations out on the floor of the Council chamber, this would become increasingly difficult to do. The Council was no longer a neutral area where different political opinions could work comfortably side by side.

Consequently, when SPC members came to the Trades Council a week later with the idea of holding another mass meeting at the Walker, representatives from both the Dominion Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party demanded a hand in the planning. This necessitated a change in tactics, and the SPC went ahead and made arrangements to rent the Walker Theatre on its own. In the wake of the previous furor, however, with the labor movement apparently screaming for revolution and blood in the streets, theatre managers

throughout the city were becoming nervous about renting their facilities to labor groups (as the Labor Church was learning). For one reason or another, therefore, the management of the Walker cancelled its contract with the SPC, and Armstrong rose boldly in the Trades Council and accused the Council Secretary, Ernest Robinson, of being in league with the management of the theatre to deliberately sabotage the event. This so enraged Fred Tipping, still stinging from the radicals' rebuke of the previous summer, that he jumped up immediately and denounced Armstrong as "senile."⁷⁶ With this exchange, acrimony began to flow freely back and forth until finally the SPC members declared that they had scheduled another meeting, without the Trades Council's endorsement, at the Majestic Theatre. Russell considered all of this to be a considerable victory. In another letter to SPC National Secretary, Stevenson, he wrote: "At a meeting of the Trades and Labor Council we had a great victory and killed the Labor Party for sure."⁷⁷

The Majestic Theatre meeting proved to be an even better opportunity to strike out at the Labor Party, there being no one there to defend it. Along with Johns and Blumenberg, Russell continued his relentless attack. In his speech, according to a Macdonald Agency detective who was to later testify at his trial on charges of seditious conspiracy, Russell "...blamed the Labor Party for doing nothing, stating labor would never do anything by legislation, but that it must be by revolution. He stated that labor had never got anything by legislation and never would, and branded labor leaders as insincere."⁷⁸ These were curious sentiments indeed coming from someone who would claim at this same trial that the aims of the Socialist Party of Canada

were "to spread propaganda...and secure a distinctive change of system by the ballot."⁷⁹ But Russell appeared determined to destroy the DLP at all costs, including that of his own credibility, something that he would suffer for later as a result.

For its part, the Dominion Labor Party carried on its affairs in a more predictable and traditional manner. It continued to hold regular ward meetings, despite the fact that the civic election campaign had been over for months. Dixon by now had become involved to the point where his influence could be seen when party policy was publicly declared. In early January the Labor Party unanimously adopted a Plan for Reconstruction. This had been Dixon's idea in the first place, and it clearly bore his mark. It read, in part:

To facilitate the establishment of equal rights for all to the use of land the Labor Party favours a progressive tax on land values to be increased annually until the whole rent of land shall be taken into the public treasury. Concurrently with the increase of taxes on land values the taxes on the necessities of life can be decreased. This policy will make both land and food more easily obtainable.⁸⁰

The Labor Party also proposed to the Social Democratic Party that the two parties affiliate, a notion that was given sanction by the Dominion executive of the SDP who recommended this as a general policy to locals across the country.⁸¹ At least one local sought affiliation immediately.⁸² Meanwhile Dixon took the DLP cause to the Legislature where he criticized the Government's financial statements, claiming that they were padded to obscure waste.⁸³ He proposed a bill to abolish the provincial election deposit of \$200, and he put forward another to improve the pay and working conditions for student nurses.⁸⁴

By this time the financial obligations requisite in maintaining a family of four had forced him to do something about his own pay and working conditions. In January he began to sell life insurance on a part-time basis for the Confederation Life Insurance Company.⁸⁵

It therefore seemed that despite the elaborate claims made by Russell the SPC was not causing any serious inconvenience to the DLP. The Walker Theatre meeting, however, with its radical rhetoric and pledges of support for the Bolsheviks, had created problems for the Labor Church. Ivens' participation at the Walker had convinced a number of theatre owners that the Labor Church was a hot-bed of revolution, and so by February the Church had been denied access to the Walker, the Majestic, the Columbia, the Dominion, and the Rex, and the 400 faithful were once again back to meeting in the Labor Temple.⁸⁶ This did not dampen their enthusiasm, or their propensity to innovate. Women were already being asked to preach regularly, and on one such Sunday in mid January this task was shared by Winona Flett Dixon, who spoke on the subject of "Women's Work," and her sister, Lynn Flett, who spoke about "The Religious Significance of the Women's Movement."⁸⁷ Both women, quite apart from being related to Fred Dixon, had been stalwart members of the Political Equality League; they felt, however, that the struggle for sexual equality had only begun with the granting of the franchise. Their participation in the Labor Church was yet another sign that the spirit of the reform movement was not dead, but was instead continually being maintained by new and different institutions.

There was an important group of workers who wished to have nothing to do with the argument between moderates and radicals: the

returned veterans. By now, all those workers who had gone to fight, and had remained alive, were back in Winnipeg looking for work.

Unfortunately, there was none, and this fact, along with the lack of vocational training and the spectacle of "aliens" working, angered many veterans.⁸⁸

As a consequence they marched en masse to an SPC rally in Market Square, held after the Majestic Theatre meeting, and routed the "aliens" they perceived were assembled there. In the process they also destroyed the central offices of the SPC.⁸⁹

The more cerebral of these discontented soldiers and sailors decided to form their own party, despite the efforts of Trades Council President, James Winning, to convince them that "the interests of workers and soldiers were identical."⁹⁰

It was called the Returned Soldiers and Sailors Labor Party, and by December, 1919, it boasted 4,000 members.⁹¹

With this development, there were four different labor or socialist parties vying for the support of the labor movement. Into all of this confusion came the announcement from Victor Midgley, an SPC leader from Vancouver, that the long-debated Western Labor Conference was now scheduled for Calgary's Labor Temple on March 13, 1919.⁹²

The matter of the Western Labor Conference had last been discussed formally by the Trades Council in December when the executive gave its opinion that such a meeting was both untimely and too expensive. At the time the Trades Council leadership knew that there was widespread discontent in Winnipeg about the way the Dominion Labor Congress was dominated by the union of the east. But they were also aware that those people plotting an early meeting of Western delegates, supposedly to discuss strategy for the upcoming September meeting of

the Congress, had to have a more political purpose in mind if they were going to meet eight months before the event. As dedicated craft unionists, they feared that the SPC, whose leaders were the most outspoken advocates of such a convention, would try to convince such a gathering to secede from the Congress and establish one large industrial union along the lines of the Australian One Big Union, or the American Industrial Workers of the World. This might have been an astute observation, but it did nothing to diffuse the discontent that had prompted the call for such a meeting in the first place; and the SPC leaders were a determined group. Therefore, when the notice came that such a meeting had finally been arranged there was the general feeling among the Trades Council's rank and file that Manitoba representatives should go.⁹³

They did go, forty-five strong, with instructions from the Council both to vote for a resolution of the matter of industrial unionism, and to call for a thirty-hour week to "better distribute surplus labor and safeguard against unemployment."⁹⁴ They were led by Russell and Johns, both of whom had been instrumental in setting up the Conference. Dominated by SPC leaders who had managed to insinuate themselves into positions of prominence, the Conference endorsed the principle of the One Big Union: a single all-encompassing organization which used the general strike as its single weapon.⁹⁵ Delegates were already certain that industrial unionism was the next step in the development of labor relations, the euphoria of the moment, the frustration of the times, and the powerful rhetoric of the SPC spokesmen convinced them that the One Big Union was simply the ultimate industrial union. The previous year had seen the threat

of the general strike in use, with apparently no adverse effect, and the workers gathered in Calgary assumed that this implied that the general strike was not a threat to the authority of the State. The Conference did not actually establish the OBU; it merely endorsed it in principle and set up a method whereby a referendum on the matter could be conducted among the existing union organizations. But it was an important step nonetheless as Western workers prepared to set sail in previously uncharted waters. To indicate the extent to which the SPC was in control, all five members of the referendum committee, set up by the Conference to poll the opinions of Western workers, were members of the party.⁹⁶ Russell and Johns returned to Winnipeg in late March with the task before them of convincing the members of Manitoba's craft unions to abandon their International leadership in favor of the One Big Union.

They were faced with the opposition of the Trades Council leadership, the DLP, and, for the moment, a majority of the Trades Council. But the balance on the floor of the Council chamber was changing. With the increasing problems of the post-war economy, and the exciting yet unknown industrial and economic possibilities of the OBU, the temperament that had elected the moderates to lead the Council in December was no longer quite so dominant. And the SPC, while still uncertain of the political implications of both the OBU and the general strike, knew that these were the most formidable weapons yet devised to destroy the position of the moderates in the Trades Council, and their political voice, the Dominion Labor Party.

IV

Thus, by April, 1919, any laborite looking forward to the summer could only hope that the movement would not immolate itself completely in a fit of acrimonious fury. There were four different political parties in existence, all purporting to represent some or all of the interests of labor. Although a modest accommodation had been reached between the Dominion Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party, relations among the rest were increasingly bitter and rancorous. There was even a major split in the ideology of trade unionism, with the radical socialists advocating syndicalism and the One Big Union, and the moderates holding to the time-honoured policy of craft unionism in conjunction with political action. Returned soldiers of the working-class wanted absolutely nothing to do with those workers who had remained behind when the national existence was in peril. Labor leaders squabbled back and forth: some, like William Ivens and R.J. Johns, were well-known not to enjoy being in the same room together.⁹⁷ Moreover, the whole situation was exacerbated by the disappointment and disillusionment of a post-war society that could not operate according to the high ideals it had exhorted its sons to die for.

At the beginning of April, 1919, it was hard to imagine a movement more divided--more seemingly intent on self-destruction. Yet this was the same labor movement that six weeks later would unite in an impressive display of solidarity over the issue of the workers' "right to strike."

CHAPTER 7

TWO STRIKES: A QUESTION OF RIGHTS

On May 15, 1919, in Winnipeg, approximately 35,000 workers walked off the job in a display of working-class solidarity that has since become legend. Known as the Winnipeg General Strike, it lasted for six weeks until it was finally suppressed by the State. Polarizing the community, it led to distrust, fear, and bitterness that became a legacy for future generations.

Given the deep divisions in the labor movement in April, 1919, it was difficult to imagine how such a demonstration of class solidarity was possible. All workers, however, organized or otherwise, considered collective bargaining to be an inalienable right of their existence--something that they were prepared to defend together regardless of their differences. This individual human right--collective bargaining--was at the heart of the Winnipeg General Strike, as it had been in a near-general strike the year previous. This prior dispute, which foretold the events of 1919, was the first serious attempt in over ten years to examine just what the phrase "collective bargaining" had come to mean.

I

The 1918 strike had appeared to begin as a simple dispute over wages. Five of the city's unions--representing the electrical workers, the waterworks employees, the teamsters, the firemen, and the clerks

and office workers of the Civic Federation--had contracts which expired May 1.¹ Ignoring the schedules submitted to it by the unions, and disregarding as well an agreement in principle reached between the electrical workers union and John G. Glassco, Manager of the City Light and Power Company, the Board of Control recommended to the City Council that the City give its wage increases through a series of war bonuses. This decision was reached on April 29, just one day before the contracts were about to expire.² The bonus system, long rumoured, had already been rejected by the unions because it pointedly did not recognize the right of the unions to negotiate a settlement.³ It appeared as if some members of the City Government wanted to raise the issue of whether workers should have the capacity to organize and go on strike in critical areas of the public service. For the employees, the dispute represented an attempt by the City to deprive them of the right to bargain, something which they believed they had already won.

The whole business of collective bargaining in the public service depended on trust and good faith. Everyone agreed that cessation of an essential service was undesirable, and that such occurrences, if frequent, would jeopardize the viability of both the Government and the unions. Consequently, it was a traditional point of agreement that civic workers would not go on strike until all the other available alternatives had been exhausted. The firemen, because theirs was a particularly essential service, had gone so far as to volunteer to forego their right to strike when they applied to City Council to have their union recognized as a bargaining agent.⁴ But just as workers were obliged by the nature of the situation to avoid

precipitous action, so too the City was obliged to bargain with the workers' representatives in good faith. It was a breakdown in this traditional understanding that caused the ensuing strike to begin.

The first union to react was the Civic Federation. It agreed to delay strike action until the matter could be submitted to some form of conciliation or arbitration.⁵ The other unions were far less accommodating. One by one they announced plans to go on strike-- starting with the electrical workers who voted to walk out on May 2-- and followed in quick succession by the waterworks employees on May 3, the teamsters on May 6, and the firemen on May 10.⁶ If this was unreasonable and provocative, so too was the response of the City Council: it advised its heads of department to engage new men permanently to fill the positions vacated by the strikers.⁷ Neither party was being terribly helpful in providing a means by which a settlement could be reached amicably.

On May 8 an overflow crowd of five hundred, gathered under the auspices of the Dominion Labor Party, declared:

This meeting of workers, having heard the statements of the civic employees now on strike pledges fullest support for the unions involved. We demand that the city council give the unions complete recognition. We condemn the war bonus as savoring of charity, because of its uncertain and temporary character and because it undermines the whole principle of collective bargaining. We call upon the labor representatives in the city council to give their undivided support to the demands of the strikers, such demands being based upon the fundamental principle of organized labor.⁸

There was reason to hope that this statement in defence of labor principles would appeal to a constituency of support outside the working community. After all, the Liberals had made a point of consulting

the appropriate labor agencies when they had put together the reform package in 1916. The Federal Government had declared its intention, by Richard Rigg's description, to follow a policy of "recognition and cooperation" in regard to its labor relations. Expressing the opinion of the ecclesiastical world on matters of labor policy, in March, 1917, a delegation from the Winnipeg Ministerial Association had met with the City Council and announced its unanimous support of the "proposition for a union among firemen."⁹ The group's leader, Salem Bland, disclosed that a similar motion had passed through the Methodist Ministerial Association and he reminded the Council that the right of workers to organize was "one of the fundamental human rights."¹⁰ All of these endorsements pointed to public acceptance.

So too there was a certain amount of understanding within the labor movement for the position of the City. Not surprisingly this was shown particularly by the labor representatives in the Civic Government. Controller Arthur Puttee told the Dominion Labor Party meeting of May 8: "I do not think it was a well advised move for the electricians to come out on May 3. The strike is a last resort, and here it was used as the first. The strike as a first resort is the I.W.W. plan. This is not the line we have been working under."¹¹ He went on to laud the members of the Civic Federation whose policy of moderation had already secured it a board of conciliation.¹² Puttee was sure, as he had good reason to be, that labor's position was strong enough that any form of conciliation was bound to support the right of labor to organize and bargain. In fact, Puttee had even supported the war bonus scheme in the Board of Control, feeling that

it gave more money to those who needed it most.¹³ In this he was not alone, as Aldermen Wiginton, Queen, and Heaps also eventually agreed with the proposal and even managed to have it amended when it reached City Council to add a further \$27,000 to the proposed disbursement.¹⁴ It was only after the May 8 Dominion Labor Party declaration, when Puttee and Wiginton continued to counsel caution, that Queen and Heaps appeared to be taking a more radical course. This politically unfortunate turn of events would eventually cost Puttee the editorship of The Voice and his position of favour in the labor movement.

Charting a middle course was J.W. Dafoe. "The conclusion is inevitable," he ambiguously declared on May 4, "that where the people are the employers the obligation rests upon the employees to bring their complaints, in the last resort, to the judgment of the people themselves rather than the test of financial or physical endurance. The agitation by which alone the complaints can be brought to public attention must be preceded by some form of impartial adjudication upon the merits of the original dispute. In most cases the latter would be sufficient."¹⁵ Any form of arbitration, however, he mentioned some days later, should be set up so as to protect "labor's essential rights," something which included organization and collective bargaining.¹⁶

So even before the first serious attempt was made to end the strike it was clear that there was considerable public sympathy for both matters in dispute. There was a good deal of support within the city for labor's right to organize, even in the public service. There

was also support for the opinion that immediate strike action within essential public services, without full recourse to conciliation and arbitration, was irresponsible and ill-advised. Despite this fact it was going to take the influence of the Federal Government, and a committee of private citizens, to effect an eventual compromise.

At first it appeared that a quick solution, satisfactory to everyone, was possible after all. At the insistence of Aldermen Heaps and Queen, a committee of city councillors consisting of Mayor Davidson, Controller Puttee, and Aldermen Heaps, Sparling, Hamelin, and Fisher was established to meet with striking workers with the provision that such a meeting would only be held if the strikers requested it.¹⁷ Some subtle manipulation carried out on the committee's behalf, by City Clerk C.J. Brown, brought both sides to the bargaining table without either of them losing face, and very quickly an agreement was reached.¹⁸ The word "wages" was to be substituted for "bonuses," thereby dispensing with the controversial problem that had started the dispute in the first place. The wage settlements agreed to were about twelve percent--in line with the original demand of the electrical workers, although three percent under what the firemen had asked for.¹⁹ As for the concern of the City over the potential for strikes in essential services, the unions agreed to a conciliation clause whereby schedules would be submitted within sixty days of the expiration of an agreement, and strike notice would be given fifteen days in advance of a proposed work stoppage to enable either side to apply to Ottawa for a board of arbitration. Everybody seemed happy with the agreement: the City's representatives approved it unanimously, and the workers

began returning to work.²⁰ All that remained was for the City Council to ratify its own committee's report.

This it did not do. At a drawn-out regular meeting on Monday, May 13, the Council instead adopted an amendment to the agreement, proposed by Alderman F.O. Fowler, which denied civic employees the right to strike, and stipulated that all future labor disputes involving the City, including the one in question, should be settled by arbitration. After much vacillation by the more conservative members of the original negotiation committee, the amendment passed, narrowly, 9 to 8.²¹ This only served to make the workers more determined than ever, and it gave credence to their fears.

It would take another two weeks to settle the dispute. Picking up the gauntlet thrown down by the Council, the Trades and Labor Council began to involve itself directly: a Strike Committee was established, and it began planning a gradual sympathetic strike which would, if the need arose, involve all Trades Council members in a general strike.²² In order to maintain essential services like the Fire Department, a group of concerned citizens met at the Royal Alexandra Hotel on May 16, and decided to form a citizens' committee to oversee the provision of volunteer services and get the negotiations for a settlement back underway.²³ Called the Committee of One Hundred, this body was formed the following day, and a Conciliation Sub-Committee was recruited almost immediately. This committee was chaired by Rev. C.G. Patterson and had upon it a cross-section of prominent citizens, including ex-judge Robson, the Rev. Horace Westwood, and A.L. Crossin, Manager of the Winnipeg office of the Toronto General Trusts Corporation and Chairman of the Committee of One Hundred.²⁴

Westwood was there because he felt betrayed by the firemen whose cause he had championed a year earlier on the understanding that they would only go on strike after every other avenue had failed. "I felt therefore," he wrote later to the union, "and you will admit the natural justice of this feeling that your participation in the general strike meant a breaking of your pledge; a course of action that not only affected yourselves but the honour of those individuals, (myself included) who had used their influence on your behalf."²⁵ Along with pacifist Westwood, these men were inclined to find an equitable solution for all parties that satisfied the moral demands of the situation. Their eventual success was a proper measure of their sincerity.

While all of this was going on the Federal Government was coming under increasing pressure to intervene. Appreciating the fact that extensive civil strife was likely to harm the war effort, the Minister of Labor, Hon. T.W. Crothers, instructed Winnipeg lawyer David Campbell to attempt to get the two sides together.²⁶ When this initiative proved unsuccessful, Prime Minister Borden asked labor Senator Gideon Robertson, Minister Without Portfolio, to go to Winnipeg and use his sympathies and talents to bring an end to the dispute as soon as possible. Robertson arrived in Winnipeg at 10:30 PM Wednesday, May 22, and met with the striking workers that same evening.²⁷ By this time nearly 15,000 men and women were on strike.²⁸

Robertson's sympathies were clearly with the strikers, as he went around in the following days exerting pressure upon the City Government to submit to their legitimate demands to organize, bargain and strike.

But by now the workers had also managed to communicate both the sincerity and justice of their position to the public. J.W. Dafoe, who had taken a middle road in the dispute, was by now fully convinced of this. He wrote on May 22, the day of Robertson's arrival: "Most of these men are taking a course which is personally distasteful to them, because they think the sacrifice is necessary for the defence of something dear to them, which they have been told is in danger. The thing to do is satisfy them that they are in this mistaken; that there is no plan, intention, conspiracy or desire to challenge or limit the right of labor to organize, bargain collectively, and ultimately to strike."²⁹ The most conclusive proof, however, of the growing sympathy for the workers' position was in the willingness of the Conciliation Sub-Committee of the Committee of One Hundred to bring an end to the strike.

It was during the direct negotiations between the Sub-Committee and the Strike Committee that a solution to the crisis was finally evolved. Indeed, an easy cordiality began to develop between these two bodies which both sides found rewarding.³⁰ Eventually it was decided that the former agreement, reached by the City Council committee on May 11, would remain the basis for the settlement--with a more specific set of conciliation and arbitration procedures put in place.³¹ Firemen would agree once again to go on strike only under "severe provocation," and officers of the Fire Department would waive the right to strike to better facilitate the formation of a volunteer brigade in the event of a future walkout.³² Once the City Council agreed to this proposal, and the inevitable questions of reinstatement were

resolved, the strike was officially over. With relief, everyone returned to work.

The fact that both sides were able to claim victory points out that the solution was an apt one. While there were those on either side who deplored the idea of compromise, most of the community rested content with the result. In fact the real significance of the May strike was the intelligence of the compromise itself. It had been reached in such a way as to recognize the individual rights of the workers and the civil rights of the rest of the community. As far as labor was concerned, the successful result revealed that the movement could expect to excite public sympathy when it was fighting to protect its right to bargain collectively. It also demonstrated the practical use of the general strike as an industrial weapon. Both of these lessons would play a part in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

II

Unfortunately, one of these lessons was based upon a misconception. The 1918 strike had not been a general strike in any serious sense of the expression. It was a gradual reduction of services, performed under provocation, that neither threatened order in the city nor challenged the authority of the Civic Government. A.E. Johnson, who has studied the strike in detail, summarizes it this way:

In 1918, labor men appeared to be on strike because of a genuine concern for labor principles, and seemed amenable to the ideas of conciliation and arbitration. The gradual involvement of other unions, to build up a general strike, did not look

like an attempt to take over the government but rather, like a new kind of trade union activity. It was generally recognized that the rate of inflation made wage increase absolutely necessary, and that what the workers were demanding was quite reasonable. Except for the criticism that the strike action had been taken precipitately, it was the Winnipeg City Council which appeared unreasonable and intransigent. Because of all these factors, the strikers gained the support of Gideon Robertson, who, knowing the overall labor situation and the sensitivity of the Winnipeg area to the war effort, forced a settlement favourable to the workers.³³

The failure of workers to recognize the difference between this and the sudden and total removal of services, essential and otherwise, was their one great mistake in the spring of 1919. It was caused by a combination of factors. First, there was the memory of success the previous year. Second, the enthusiastic promotions of the Socialist Party of Canada, and the recent Calgary Conference endorsing the One Big Union-general strike concept, encouraged the spread of radical ideas. Third, and it was this factor which effectively silenced the voice of the Dominion Labor Party moderates, the issue of collective bargaining once again reared its head.

More precisely, it was the concept of industrial unionism which became the issue. During its twenty-five years of organized existence the Manitoba trades union movement had been dominated by the local shop craft unionism of Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor. But it did not take a wizard to see that the next logical step beyond craft organization in industrial relations was industry-wide bargaining--either through the unification of all the locals in a particular craft, or by bringing together the various trades who by nature performed a communal function (like putting up a building).

It was sympathy for this idea that the SPC radicals, led by Russell and Johns, had managed to exploit during the Calgary Labor Conference in March. But the OBU was not the issue in May, 1919, at least not as far as the workers were concerned. The General Strike arose out of the unrequited demands of both the Winnipeg Metal Trades Council and the Winnipeg Building Trades Council to be recognized as the official bargaining agents for their respective industries. For the Metal Trades the matter had an even more basic significance: the iron-masters of the city contract shops had not yet allowed their employees to organize into local craft unions and affiliate with the Trades Council.

It was no surprise to anyone, therefore, that the metal workers took the lead in demanding union recognition. The Metal Trades Council, composed of representatives from both the railways and the city's private contracts shops, was led by Russell and Johns, and had been after recognition, wage parity between the two sections of the industry, and an eight-hour day since it first struck for them, unsuccessfully, in the spring of 1917.³⁴ The railways had traditionally paid higher wages than the contract shops, and they had already begun, after a fashion, to accept the principle of industrial unionism.³⁵ It was hoped that pressure on Canada's rail service would help force the iron-masters to capitulate. The owners of the contract shops, however, were formidable opponents, and by 1919 they had still not budged in their obdurate refusal to recognize any form of union. Led by T.R. Deacon of Manitoba Bridge, and L.R. Barrett of Vulcan Iron, the owners had sought injunctions in both 1917 and 1918 to restrict picketing, and had complained that the workers were trying to take advantage

of the trials of a nation at war.³⁶ When the Metal Trades Council submitted its schedules for the coming year in late April, 1919, Barrett wrote an open letter to his employees reiterating his refusal to recognize the union and advising them to begin bargaining through their shop committees.³⁷ It was a case of the irresistible force meeting the immovable object, except this time it was felt by both sides that the collision must be decisive.

The situation in the building trades was slightly different. The various unions had already united in a formal way in 1903 in an organization called the Winnipeg Building Trades Council.³⁸ It had not served as a bargaining agent, however, until the spring of 1919 when the Winnipeg Builders Exchange agreed with apparent amicability to bargain with it for purposes of efficiency.³⁹ The Builders refused to recognize the union, but only after it demanded a twenty-cent per hour increase when they were prepared to offer ten.⁴⁰ They then declared their preference to deal with the shop committees instead. This inflammatory act legitimized the principle of industrial unionism, and then revoked it, making workers feel that they were being denied something that was rightfully theirs. This was foolish and had much to do with exalting a principle of collective bargaining that was still in the process of being properly defined. In any case, the 1,400 Winnipeg building trades members joined the metal trades on strike, and by the first of May it was obvious that the City was in for another difficult summer of labor turmoil.⁴¹

Not all Winnipeg unions were experiencing difficulty negotiating contracts. Under the formula worked out the year before both the

recently organized policeman's union, and the telephone workers, settled without argument.⁴² A threatened strike of street railway workers was averted when the workers themselves requested arbitration.⁴³ But it had been a difficult year. The end of the war had promised a new society that had not yet materialized. Real wages had continued to drop, and returned veterans could not find work. It was not a time for capitalists to be stubborn, particularly when it came to a matter so central to working-class interests as collective bargaining. A meeting of the Trades and Labor Council on May 6, infused with moral purpose, debated whether a general strike should be called in support of the Metal and Building Trades Councils. The moderates, led by Harry Veitch, argued against it claiming that such a demonstrative act would only stimulate the repressive forces of the State and negate the gains made recently.⁴⁴ Russell, speaking for the radicals, extolled the advantages of the opposite view brushing all such trepidations aside. Now was the time, he insisted, with 6,000 building trades workers on strike in Toronto, for labor to present a common front and get what it rightfully deserved.⁴⁵ Russell's panegyric rhetoric captured the crowd and it was decided to hold a strike vote without delay. A week later, on May 13, the results were announced--the overwhelming majority of laborites supporting the call for a general strike. It was decided to begin the strike at eleven o'clock Thursday, May 15.⁴⁶

This decision placed the moderates who had argued against it in an awkward position. Some, like Richard Rigg, saw the proposed general strike not as a spontaneous call to defend labor rights but as part of the unrelenting campaign on the part of the radicals to champion the OBU and destroy the Internationals and the Trades Council.⁴⁷

But to oppose the strike was to tacitly agree with the stand taken by the employers in the metal and building trades in their opposition to union recognition. Considering the fact that the iron masters had not yet allowed even craft unions into their shops, this was something, despite their qualms, the moderates could not do. They acquiesced, therefore, to the democratic will of the majority and joined forces with the radicals. In fact, Veitch, Winning, and J.L. McBride became part of the first Central Committee, along with Russell and Johns, set up to administer the labor effort.⁴⁸ McBride's participation proved how compelling the matter of the unionization of the contract shops was, for he was well-known as an opponent of industrial unionism even though as chief negotiator for the City's electrical workers he had advised strike action the previous spring.⁴⁹

Throughout the Strike it was the policy of the moderates both to emphasize that the Strike was really less radical than it appeared and to reiterate that the central issue was collective bargaining, not control of the State. This latter matter was not easily accomplished. Unlike its predecessor the 1919 Strike was immediate and total: 35,000 workmen either walked off the job or refused to go to work on Thursday morning. The truly serious effects were not felt until the next day when the usual deliveries of milk and bread were not made, and the Strike Committee found itself being accused of infanticide and other related horrors. This development dismayed the strikers who, although quite delighted with the fact of their new-found power, did not want to cope with the potential tragedy its application implied. Milk and bread deliveries were quickly resumed, with the delivery trucks

adorned with signs stressing that they were on the road by permission of the Strike Committee. Major problems and related decisions like this required some form of governing body and so the original Central Committee of five was expanded to fifteen, and a larger body of 300, composed of representatives from all of the unions involved, was created.⁵⁰ These organizations had all the appearances of a rival government, since they had been established to make decisions about what services the citizens of Winnipeg would or would not get, and their creation caused excited Winnipeggers to proclaim that a "Soviet" had been established in their midst. This was an over-zealous reference to the Russian Revolution, perhaps, but it was the apparent logic of this claim which sowed the seeds of eventual defeat.

It did not in fact matter whether the Strike Committee actually intended to usurp authority from democratically elected institutions. Out of the necessity to maintain order during the first few days of the Strike, this is precisely what it was forced to do. Someone, for example, had to tell the policemen to go back to work---it was apparent that they were not paying any attention to the demands of the City Council. Ironically, such actions to restore authority were in themselves declarations of a new authority. And so, just as the moderate members of the labor movement had been forced to join radical workers in support of an essential right, even though they disagreed with the method employed in its defence, so too those non-working-class citizens who might have been sympathetic to the workers' arguments---those who had supported labor interests in years past---were forced to make an uncomfortable choice between the right of labor and their own civil

rights. Most, quite naturally, chose to defend their own civil rights.

One influential citizen alienated in this way was J.W. Dafoe. Dafoe, who had eventually come out in support of the strikers in 1918, was a well-known Liberal. He was less well-known as a subscriber to the Dominion Labor Party's 1918 civic election campaign. On May 15, the first day of the Strike he wrote: "It is a time for patience, for good temper and the openness of mind that can see both sides of a difficult question."⁵¹ A day later he set down a series of proposed guidelines to be followed in labor disputes which recognized the right of workers to strike, the sanctity of the collective bargaining process, and the right, under certain conditions, to hold sympathetic strikes. Under his guidelines, he argued, the present strike would not have happened--the wage demands would first have been submitted to arbitration with the right to strike reserved until after such a hearing, and both contentious bargaining agents would have been duly recognized. Labor's right to collective bargaining, he emphasized, as proven acceptable by common practice, could not be arbitrated.⁵² These words of support for the right to bargain were the last words that Dafoe would have to say on the matter of the Strike for a week. On the evening of the sixteenth, the Free Press stereotypers and pressmen walked off the job at the instruction of the Strike Committee.

This apparent suppression of the right of free speech transformed Dafoe's sympathies completely. When the newspaper finally returned to the streets a week later Dafoe was apoplectic. He ranted:

The forced suspension of the Free Press was not a part of the general movement to block the varied industrial activities of the city as a supposed protest against the failure of

the Metal Trades council to come to terms with the employing iron-masters.

This, of course, is the general opinion of the public, including ninety-five per cent of the members of the organized labor unions themselves. Their view is that the Free Press like plenty of other innocent businesses, was caught in a storm, and that the resulting damage, while regrettable, was an inevitable incident in the general disturbance.

This is an entire misconception. The Free Press WAS NOT THE VICTIM OF THE "GENERAL STRIKE" movement. Nor was the Free Press sacrificed for the purpose of vindicating the right to "collective bargaining" by the worker--A PRINCIPLE WHICH IS NOT IN QUESTION WITH THE FREE PRESS EITHER IN THEORY OR IN PRACTICE. No; the Free Press was the POLITICAL VICTIM of the soviet government. It was "suppressed" by a ukase from the revolutionary head centre because they did not like its views and feared its influence AT THE MOMENT WHEN THEY WERE ATTEMPTING REVOLUTION. They recognized it as an obstacle to the success of the revolution; and they accordingly removed it by an arbitrary and illegal application of force.

All this is in keeping with the doctrines and practices of Lenin and Trotsky, the High Priests of the Winnipeg Reds who were responsible for this conspiracy.⁵³

This was decidedly irrational, but it was an opinion that Dafoe would hold for the rest of his life.⁵⁴ There was little room for ambiguity in 1919, and passions ran high. It was not altogether surprising that the Strike was eventually suppressed by the State.

Without a moral middle-ground from which a compromise could be forged, this was precisely what happened. Senator Robertson, who once again was asked to intervene in the dispute, and the Citizen's Committee of One Thousand, which was set up like the Committee of One Hundred to coordinate the efforts of volunteers in providing essential services, became agents for the defence of the State. The year before they had stood between the two combatants and had helped to resolve the conflict. This time they had to choose sides--and they opted for self-defence through maintenance of the current institutions of political

authority. The strikers, because they were not really revolutionaries at heart (despite the revolutionary appearance of their actions), contributed to their own demise by maintaining just enough civil order and authority to allow for the organization of their defeat. The events leading to the end are well-known: the parades; the Labor Church meetings in Victoria Park; the fruitless negotiations where neither side would bargain until the other side had capitulated; the war of propaganda between the two rival newspapers---The Western Labor News (Special Strike Edition) and the Winnipeg Citizen; passage in Federal Parliament of the notorious amendments to the Immigration Act; the arrest of Strike leaders Ivens, Queen, Heaps, Russell, Bray and Armstrong, in the dark hours of the morning, June 17; the riot of Saturday, June 21, since called "Bloody Saturday," in which two men were killed and thirty-six others injured; the arrests of Woodsworth and Dixon for continuing publication of the Western Labor News after it had been banned and its editor, Ivens, arrested; and the eventual capitulation and return to work on June 26.⁵⁵ It is a chronicle of idealism, poor judgment, and setback for a labor movement struggling in the wake of industrialization and world war to maintain and extend its power over its own affairs. In strictly practical terms, it was a failure in all respects.⁵⁶

It was vindication, however, for the moderates of the labor movement who had correctly divined the results of such dramatic and precipitous action. Ivens, in one of his first editorials after the Strike, reminded workers of this fact. "The Winnipeg Strike has been classed as an attempted revolution," he wrote, "and doubtless, there are those who are convinced that such was the real purpose of the strike.

That the strike leaders time and time again denied these charges goes for nothing in view of this obsession and the terror of those who face a revolution. This was the reason that many volunteered for the militia, and so many others were so fearfully bitter against the strikers.... In the meantime we are all agreed that our solution lies in the realm of political evolution and not in political revolution."⁵⁷ He went on to say: "These things do not mean that economic action will be neglected. No, No, the workers will go right on and form still more effective organizations. The two things must go side by side. And they will."⁵⁸

III

Ivens' statements foreshadowed another product of the Strike: victory for the moderates of the labor movement over the radicals. Indeed, it was a blow from which the radicals would never recover. The institutions which became the focus of working-class activity immediately after the Strike were the Labor Church and the Dominion Labor Party; and while the One Big Union had actually been formed at the same time as the Strike was in full-swing, (thus taking formal shape without two of its principal architects, Russell and Johns), the moderates would manage to restore the influence of the Trades and Labor Council in labor affairs within the year. The OBU would remain intact, with Russell at its head, until 1956; but by 1920 it had already become a languishing force in Canadian labor relations.⁵⁹

The Labor Church, which had announced plans on May 1, 1919, to

establish a \$50,000 building fund, boasted a steady membership of 400 two weeks before the Strike.⁶⁰ By the time the Strike had ended there were seven different churches meeting throughout the city.⁶¹ The Church had provided labor with moral justification during the Strike, and it was the natural institution in which to continue to express a solidarity born of righteousness. The Labor News described this metamorphosis:

For the past year Mr. Ivens has been addressing the Mother Labor Church. This was a sort of cave of Adullam in which revolvers from the orthodox churches found refuge--the audiences were composed predominantly of working-men. It was a downtown Sunday night working-peoples meeting. But the strike has changed all that. In Victoria park as many as ten thousand men and women gathered to gain strength and encouragement for the coming week's fight. The church became a 'movement'--a spontaneous movement of the people--an insistence of a social code of ethics--a revolt against denominationalism and formality and commercialism in the churches--a hunger after righteousness and spiritual truth, a sense of fellowship in suffering and inspiration.⁶²

On its first anniversary, in July, named for the sake of posterity, "Defence Sunday," twenty-five meetings were held throughout the city along with a mass meeting at the Industrial Bureau in the evening. The proceeds went to the Defence Committee, set up to raise money for the defence of the arrested leaders, and the evening speakers included: Dixon, Ivens, Russell, Woodsworth, and Bay of the returned soldiers.⁶³ Two weeks later it was announced that Woodsworth, who normally lived in Vancouver but who was obliged to remain in Winnipeg to face charges arising out of his participation in the Strike, was starting a School of Social Service under the auspices of the Labor Church, and giving classes in economics and religious occupation.⁶⁴ The Church was so

popular, in fact, that Woodsworth began to share leadership duties with Ivens--a fortunate, although not necessarily fortuitous, occurrence considering that Ivens was about to go to jail. Its congregation grew from 400 in May to 5,000 in late August when Salem Bland returned to the city to speak on behalf of the now-imprisoned strike leaders' right to bail.⁶⁵ The Church settled in to a regular routine of holding nine separate weekly meetings throughout the city. Woodsworth and Dixon were regular contributors, and the other arrested leaders, when they were not in jail, spoke as often as they could. The Church also served as something of a labor central bank--gathering money from laborites and distributing it to various labor causes.⁶⁶ In this regard, during the summer, its primary aim was to raise money for the upcoming Strike trials.

A similar recipient of working-class attention after the Strike was the Dominion Labor Party. At a meeting held in the first week of July, it was decided to open an office in the Labor Temple and staff it in the evenings in order to handle all the recent requests for membership.⁶⁷ A month later, with interest at an all-time high, the idea of hiring a full-time employee was revived, and R. Ringland was elected in a close vote over J.S. Woodsworth as the Party's first official organizer.⁶⁸ The regular Wednesday night meetings were now often supplemented by musical and social evenings, and civic ward meetings were resumed on a regular basis at a rate of two per week.⁶⁹ So communal had the spirit of comradeship become that members began to address one another affectedly as "brother."⁷⁰ At a meeting at the Winnipeg Skating Rink in September, 4,000 people gathered to

condemn the captivity of the yet untried Strike leaders and listened to Dixon compare the situation to the days of Charles the First and the Star Chamber. This message was supplemented by further remonstrances from Woodsworth, Winning, Hoop, J. Grant, and Helen Armstrong--wife of imprisoned socialist, George Armstrong.⁷¹ But it was the 1919 civic election where this renewed emphasis on political action eventually bore fruit.

The 1919 elections were the first of any kind to be contested after the Strike, and as such, they were approached with a potent combination of optimism and determination by the labor movement. There were currently five labor representatives on a City Council of fifteen. In a convention which included delegates from the OBU, the Jewish Socialist Labor Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the ex-Soldiers and Sailors Labor Party, the Dominion Labor Party chose candidates to run in all wards, and nominated William Ivens to run for Mayor.⁷² Demonstrating the practical attitude of the meeting, Harry Veitch put S.J. Farmer's name forward in opposition, not, he declared, because he had anything against Ivens personally, but because he thought Farmer's lack of notoriety would stand him a better chance of winning.⁷³ Ivens secured a narrow victory nonetheless. In the end, however, Ivens, who had been nominated in absentia because he was on an eastern speaking engagement to raise money for his upcoming trial, declined to run and requested that Farmer do so in his place. He had no property of his own, he argued, and he could not be a rentor from his wife. Furthermore, the votes for Farmer had convinced him that there was opposition to his running which he could understand.⁷⁴

With this settled, a platform was approved--identical in almost all respects to the list of practical demands drawn up a year earlier. There were three additional planks reflecting events of the past year and the influence of Single Taxers Dixon and Farmer in the leadership. All civic workers discriminated against by the recent strike were to be reinstated; the property qualification, supposedly scheduled for abolition because of the by-law passed the year previous, was to be removed, finally, as a qualification for voting and holding public office; and all homes assessed at \$3,000 or less were to be exempt from taxation.⁷⁵

The Mayor, C.F. Gray, running for re-election, asserted during public meetings with Farmer that the issue was whether Winnipeggers wanted "anarchy or law and order;" he pointed out that Ivens had originally been nominated to run against him, and that Farmer was, therefore, merely a front for the same Red element responsible for the Strike.⁷⁶ Farmer, on the other hand, insisted that the Dominion Labor Party platform was the central issue in the campaign. He elaborated upon it further by insisting that the City respect the rights of its civic workers to organize, a right recognized in 1918 but one being increasingly denied in reaction to the General Strike. As a Single Taxer he proposed that the deficiencies in the civic budget should be made up through a system of land values taxation. Tax the idle land held by the railroads and the churches, he argued, and \$42,000,000 could be raised and devoted to the public treasury.⁷⁷ As his campaign gained momentum, 4,000 people gathered at the Industrial Bureau one night in early November to hear him speak alongside some of the other labor candidates; two weeks later, at a meeting

of the Central Labor Church, another 4,000 men and women assembled to cheer him as he addressed the Church on the issues of the campaign.⁷⁸

When the votes were finally counted, Gray was found to have defeated Farmer by 3,164 votes---15,678 to 12,514.⁷⁹ But far more significant for labor than this close call was the victory of labor candidates in Wards Five, Six, and Seven. Queen retained his seat in Ward Five, but Wards Six and Seven were gains; there was now a 7 to 7 split on the City Council with the Mayor holding the balance of power.⁸⁰ Asked to comment, as President of the Dominion Labor Party, Dixon pointed out that "these victories were won despite the inequities of the property qualification, which allows owners to vote in as many places as they have property, and denies the franchise to women and laborers who rent."⁸¹

If in the aftermath of the Strike the labor movement seemed to have abandoned the radical ideas that it had adopted so easily the previous spring, there was yet one battlefield where the war between moderates and radicals was still going on. This was the Trades Council, where the Strike had interrupted plans for its proposed reincarnation as a local of the One Big Union. In May, just days before the Strike, Russell had enthusiastically announced the results of a poll of locals taken to test the waters of opinion regarding the desire of Winnipeg laborites to join the OBU. Not one union, he claimed, except the typographers (who refused to vote), had more than eleven people voting against it.⁸² During the Strike steps had been taken by a conference of Western workers meeting in Port Arthur to bring the OBU officially into existence. It was left, therefore, to Winnipeg workers to decide,

after the Strike was over, just what to do about this state of affairs. At this point, Richard Rigg, feeling that much of his life's work was being scuttled by an exuberant band of extremists, decided to exert some influence. Acting on behalf of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress he joined the battle on the side of the Internationals of the American Federation of Labor, under whose royal authority the current Trades Council was officially constituted. He declared optimistically at the Strike's conclusion: "I believe the lessons learned in the recent strike have been sufficient, and that it will not be necessary to take any drastic action such as the cancellation of the charter of any trades and labor council. That would be a most regrettable necessity, and I do not anticipate any such contingency anywhere in Western Canada."⁸³

But, of course, Rigg was talking straight through his hat, as he well knew. The time for intimidation of this sort had passed. At a regular Trades Council meeting in the middle of July the final vote that Russell had referred to in May was announced. OBU supporters outnumbered opponents by a margin of 8,841 to 705.⁸⁴ With this determined, delegates took up the much more complicated task of deciding how to break away officially from the American Federation of Labor. A new body, the Central Labor Council, was established, and discussion swirled around whether or not the return of the Trades Council Charter would perform the vital task of disassociation. By now, Rigg had had enough. Rising from his place he denounced the OBU, taking time in passing to describe the General Strike as ill-advised and doomed to failure. Strikes, he continued, were only to be used as a last resort, and

although the next evolutionary step in the Trades Union movement was industrial unionism, the OBU was not such an organization.⁸⁵ With that he declared the actions of the new Central Labor Council illegal and announced that he was going to call a meeting of the real Trades Council. Minus the turncoats, this meeting took place a few days later: the American Federation of Labor was endorsed, and James Winning and Ernest Robinson were re-confirmed as President and Secretary, respectively.⁸⁶ Thus there were now two rival organizations purporting to be the legitimate voice of the organized labor movement. Each eventually had its own newspaper, The Western Labor News and the OBU Bulletin, and each had what it considered to be impeccable claims of legitimacy. But Rigg had been astute in noticing how, through the failure of the General Strike, the single weapon of the OBU had been discredited. He was confident that the spirit of aggressive defiance manifest in the formation of the Central Labor Council would evaporate quickly once workers recognized this. In the meantime, as long as the Trades Council was still officially in place, it could survive the storm. And, to give him credit, this was what eventually transpired.

IV

The industrial crisis of 1919 had a diversity of roots--from dissatisfaction over wages and working conditions in a post-war society, to more fundamental questions of principle regarding labor's right to bargain. Its overall effect, however, was to divide the city into two parts, with one side defending its individual right to bargain, and

the other side defending its civil rights by protecting the institutions of democratically invested authority. This polarity became even more pronounced as a result of the repressive means employed to end the Strike, and it was evident in the municipal elections of 1919.

But it was neither a fair reflection of a society which had just fought a war to protect both liberty and democracy, nor was it representative of traditions that had developed prior to 1919 manifest in the reform movement, the response to conscription, and the civic workers strike of 1918. Winnipeg society was frightened and suspicious after the General Strike of 1919, but the Strike could not divest it of its past. This the provincial election of June 20 would reveal.

CHAPTER 8

AN ADDRESS TO A JURY

I

Because he had defended his point of view during the war with compassion and purpose, regardless of the abuse directed at him, Fred Dixon had never managed to lose the complete respect of the community. He even shared the personal tragedy resulting from the slaughter, losing his brother George on a battlefield in Flanders.¹ Certainly no one could accuse him of having an ulterior political motive in condemning something that the mass of the people supported. It was probably true that almost everyone disagreed with Dixon's critique of the Great War; but at the same time, few doubted his integrity--despite the brief flurries of rhetorical hostility directed against him by the returned soldiers. Furthermore, to many in the labor movement, this steadfast adherence to principle demonstrated his independence from the Liberals, an aspect of his political career that had always provoked suspicion.

All of these things helped to convince the executive of the Dominion Labor Party that Dixon was the appropriate person to address the Party at its inauguration at the beginning of May, 1918. As a legislator with labor sympathies who was neither a union member nor a delegate of the Trades Council, he was the obvious person to invite in order to demonstrate the Party's desire to represent broad, social-democratic ideas, rather than the inclusive desires of the organized labor movement. This fact more than any other excited Dixon's interest in political parties once again, and the Dominion Labor Party, for its part, was only too happy to accept his leadership. He quickly became

a Vice-Chairman of the Party, and by the time Russell rose to denounce the DLP at the Majestic Theatre in January, 1919, he was its Chairman.² Still an opponent of strict socialism, it was not so much that he had finally fallen back in step with the labor movement, but rather (reminiscent of 1910) that a portion of it had fallen back in step with him.

At the same time he became involved in the newly-formed Labor Church, a pulpit made to order for his natural law philosophy. At its second meeting, on July 14, 1918, he delivered an address entitled: "The Power of Ideals," in which he argued that it was a time for idealism, based upon the principles of "Justice, Liberty and Love."³ He was particularly concerned with the Federal Government's proposals to re-settle the returned veterans, with whose cause he had always been sympathetic, regardless of their propensity to attack him. "My blood boils," he told the congregation: "when I think that returned soldiers, who have defended all the land in Canada, are offered as their share of it the leavings of the land grabbers. There should be no talk of settling returned soldiers in the backwoods or on the far horizon while millions of acres of fertile land, near railways and centres of population are producing nothing but weeds and unearned increment."⁴ This criticism bore with it what were for Dixon the self-evident truths of Henry George. As for the argument of "practical politicians" that "these lands were given away by our ancestors and the contracts they have made must be respected," he replied, "You by order-in-council have cancelled the titles of certain young men to life. If you have the will, you have the power to also cancel the

titles of certain men to land by order-in-council."⁵

Dixon carried his philosophical doctrines beyond the political platform and the pulpit. Postponing his annual rural speaking tour for a month, he had stayed in Winnipeg during the civic workers' strike in May of 1918, and after the City Council passed the Fowler Amendment he went around to the meetings of union locals urging workers to defend their right to bargain.⁶ "The Strike," he wrote in The Voice on May 24, "is simply a symptom that the workers are dissatisfied with the present form of society. That dissatisfaction will continue until the form is changed. The workers are right in hanging on to the right to strike. It is their only available weapon of defence under the present form of society. So no matter what the city council may say or do there will be strikes and rumors of strikes until there is a radical change in society."⁷

When he returned from the country at the end of June he became involved in the strike of federal letter carriers, whose incomes, he pointed out, had fallen behind the cost of living over the previous six years by thirty-eight percent.⁸ Making the matter particularly galling for Dixon was the recently-published letter from the Minister of Labor, Hon. T.W. Crothers, to the General Manager of one of the larger concerns in Canada, in which Crothers insisted that it was "the duty of the employer himself to adopt such means as may be found necessary for the maintenance and peace and contentment among his workmen."⁹ Both Dixon and Major G.W. Andrews, federal Member of Parliament for Winnipeg-Centre, spoke at a public demonstration held on behalf of the carriers at the Industrial Bureau, July 5, 1918, and

Dixon quoted figures from the Government's own Labor Gazette to prove that the men were making five dollars less per week than was necessary to provide a family with essentials.¹⁰ Many were making as little as seventy-three dollars per month. He reminded the gathering that many of those now working for the postal service were returned veterans: "The rankling injustice of the case is aggravated by the fact that a large percentage of the men who are getting the miserable pittance of 73 per month for their labor are returned soldiers. They have done their bit for the nation and it is now up to the nation to do a bit for them." "The government," he continued, "cannot say that it has not the money for the post office is one branch of the civil service that more than pays its way. Last year it made a profit for the government of about \$3,500,000."¹¹

Statements and actions like these helped prepare the way for Dixon's return to public respectability. Clearly, he bore no malice, even to those who were most responsible for abusing him. With the war's end in November, 1918, Dafoe's criticism that he was "an obstructionist" no longer held any meaning. His public image was no longer subject to the scars inflicted as a result of his pacifism and he continued to speak out aggressively on behalf of human and democratic rights, an appeal which drew him to the Walker Theatre on December 22, 1918.

By this time he was one of the two Vice-Chairmen of the Dominion Labor Party, and one of its most well-recognized spokesmen. He was asked, therefore, along with William Ivens, to deliver the resolution calling for the release of the "political prisoners" still held under

the controversial war-time Orders-in-Council. His address was a reasoned argument in favour of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom to hold unpopular opinions--a discussion that he would resurrect in days to come--and it was in sharp contrast to the more ideologically-oriented speeches of Russell, Armstrong, Hoop and Blumenberg. "The imprisonment of those who hold unpopular opinions," he told the crowd, "is the negation of democracy.... It is easy to stand for free speech for those who think as we do...but the acid test of our faith in democracy is that we insist on free speech for those whose ideas are contrary to our own.... Nor is it in the interest of the nation that unpopular ideas should be suppressed. Time and time again ideas unpopular when first promulgated have finally become popular and have been put into practice with beneficial results. Human beings are not infallible and we should be careful that in attempting to destroy what we believe to be false ideas we do not strangle some great truth."¹²

Not that this was something new. He had used the same logic in his own defence in 1915.

Even before the Winnipeg General Strike, Dixon had therefore emerged as the political leader of the moderate faction of the labor movement. This was curious, perhaps, considering that he was not even a trade unionist, but it indicated the extent to which the Dominion Labor Party had become an ecumenical organization, philosophically bound to broad social and democratic principles which transcended strict considerations of class. The Strike, and the nature of his participation in it, strengthened both the argument for moderation and Dixon's position as its chief exponent.

Not being a member of the Trades Council he played no part in getting out the ballot or arranging for the Strike. On Thursday, May 15, however, the day it began, he went down to the Labor Temple to see if there was anything he could do, and was immediately conscripted by James Winning to speak to a large rally of assembled strikers in Victoria Park.¹³ Following this he offered to serve as a reporter for The Western Labor News, now being issued in a Special Strike Edition, and in this capacity in days to come he attended the meetings between the Strike Committee and the Citizen's Committee of One Thousand.¹⁴ As the Strike progressed he became a fixture at Victoria Park where the Labor Church (which was providing moral authority to the position of the workers), was attracting large crowds. On Sunday evening, May 25, he spoke to a crowd of five thousand men and women reminding them that "Jesus was a carpenter's son, not a lawyer, financier, or iron master...."¹⁵ Two weeks later before ten thousand people he likened the Committee of One Thousand to the "scribes and Pharisees who devoured widow's houses and for a pretense made long prayers."¹⁶

When Ivens was arrested along with all the other Strike leaders on June 16, Dixon and J.W. Woodsworth put their heads together and agreed to continue publication of the Labor News, with Woodsworth acting as editor. On June 23, they reported on the Saturday riot, and a day later the newspaper was made illegal for allegedly having contained "objectionable material which is seditious, inflammatory, and inciting to riot...."¹⁷ Woodsworth was subsequently arrested, and Dixon went into hiding, continuing to publish the newspaper, first as The Western Star and then as The Enlightener, until Ivens was released.

At this point, with the Strike at an end, he turned himself in to the police.

Throughout the Strike, Dixon was able to avoid the trap of philosophical contradiction that eventually imprisoned the members of the Strike leadership. He never appeared to be attacking the authority of the State; indeed it could be said that he had never appeared to question it, as Russell had, for example, in the months leading up to the Strike. All of his articles and public addresses had advocated peace and order, as well as the inherent justice of the Strikers' demands. Ivens acknowledged this after the Strike's conclusion:

The arrest of F.J. Dixon MLA for Centre Winnipeg last night of the charge of publishing a seditious libel is another nail driven into the coffin of the present industrial system. Dixon has never been called a 'Red'-- His utterances in parliament and on the platform are on record from one end of Canada to the other. He is a clear, moderate, progressive thinker. His championship of reform has never wavered. Whether his policy was popular or unpopular made no difference as long as he believed he was right. No one who knows him doubts his manliness, integrity and steadfastness. Still the government arrests him.¹⁸

The articles which prompted Dixon's arrest were published after the riot on Saturday, June 21, and were entitled: "Kaiserism in Canada," "Bloody Saturday," and "Alas! the Poor Alien."¹⁹ As he would prove to the satisfaction of the jury at his trial, they were reasoned discourses decrying the use of force and discrimination to break the Strike. Such tactics, he said in the articles, were an offence to the principles which the authorities themselves had always claimed the war was fought to protect. But the Crown was determined to discredit everyone of

public prominence involved in the Strike. For this reason it charged J.S. Woodsworth with the same offence. Included in the eventual indictment against Woodsworth was a quotation from the prophet Isaiah, a fact which would only underscore a later irony. These two men, who were extremely close friends, had urged peace rather than revolution;²⁰ they were pacifists, as everyone knew, not violent men; and their arrest would do more for their political careers, and thus for the cause of social democracy, than any other single event, before or since.

With the Strike leaders in and out of jail during the summer, as the Crown proceeded with the more serious charges of seditious conspiracy, Dixon and Woodsworth became masters of the labor ship. Dixon led the Labor Party, and Woodsworth, in Ivens' absence, led the Labor Church. Both organizations became outlets for the energy which had been released by the Strike and its forceful suppression. But the two men inherited more than this from the Strike. Used to dealing with constituencies broader than the labor movement, they had not alienated themselves from those outside the working-class who were normally of progressive mind, but who had objected to the tactic of the general strike. Included in this group, at least as far as Dixon was concerned, were farmers, with whom he had enjoyed a friendly relationship for years. In July, Woodsworth accompanied him on his annual prairie tour, and the two of them spent much of the month in Saskatchewan speaking to Grain Growers, explaining the issues of the Strike, and raising money for the recently established Defence Fund.²¹ As the two alleged criminals most continuously out of jail, this latter job was a major responsibility. In August, at a Grain Growers picnic at Manitou Beach,

Manitoba, one thousand people listened to them denounce the imprisonment of the Strike leaders and the recent amendments to the Immigration Act. This hastily-passed legislation made possible the deportation of British subjects without trial, something that these people found distasteful enough that a petition address to the Minister of Justice was circulated demanding trial by jury for the Strike leaders. In addition, forty dollars was contributed to the Defence Fund.²² Indicating the potential for a union of interests between farmers and workers, two months later a farmer-labor alliance swept into office in the Ontario provincial election.²³

The size and extent of his audiences did not alter the nature of Dixon's message, or the foundations of his philosophy. At a meeting of the Labor Church in July, he spoke of the erosion of British liberties and demanded that the right of trial by jury, suspended by Parliament during the Strike, be restored. A dominant feature of the address was the reiteration of his faith in the wisdom of ordinary people:

...We too are suffering from a government that is reactionary in politics while the people are progressive in knowledge. Ultimately we shall sweep this reactionary government from power and replace it with one that more nearly represents the democratic aspirations of the Canadian people.... In the long run we shall win. We shall make the profiteers disgorge their ill-gotten gains. We shall demonstrate once more that a reactionary government cannot long delay the march of a progressive people.²⁴

Several months later, as his trial was getting under way, he again spoke to the Labor Church on the need for idealism. "We can hasten the coming of the new and better day," he urged the congregation, "by getting high conceptions of justice, liberty and love, and living up to them."

"Liberty," and here he quoted Henry George, "is a word to conjure with, not to vex the ear with empty boastings. For liberty means justice, and justice is natural law, the law of health and sympathy, of fraternity and co-operation."²⁵

II

Without the capacity to foresee the results of such an action, the authorities arraigned Dixon and Woodsworth at the beginning of December, 1919, charging them, respectively, with three and six counts of seditious libel.²⁶ The trial was postponed until the new year to allow the Crown to dispose of the case of R.B. Russell, whose trial on charges of seditious conspiracy had begun a few days earlier. Represented by a bevy of powerful lawyers led by A.J. Andrews, the Crown had been dallying around for months plotting the strategy through which convictions could be secured against the eight alleged conspirators and the two purveyors of libel. It took some time because the charges were deceptively difficult to prove. While there was much public sentiment that at least some of these men were guilty of something, they had done nothing demonstrably illegal, besides which, prior to the Strike, they had been too busy arguing amongst themselves to conspire against the State. It was decided, therefore, after months of discussion, to try to prove that Russell, the man with the most militant reputation, had conspired with members of the Socialist Party of Canada to promote revolution. The others could then be proven guilty because of their associations with Russell. For Dixon and

Woodsworth this meant that they would be tried for conspiracy while charged only with libel.

This last piece of strategy was dubious enough that it was decided to try it out on Dixon first. Then, if it proved successful, it would be used on Woodsworth. Woodsworth, after all, was a resident of British Columbia, and he had arrived in Winnipeg when the Strike was half over. There was some natural scepticism about whether, in the mind of a jury, he could possibly be seen as connected to a conspiracy that had been hatched in his absence. No such impediment, however, obstructed the Crown in securing Russell's conviction on the conspiracy charge. Andrews introduced evidence to show that Russell had consorted with other members of the Socialist Party of Canada to bring about the Calgary Conference and the formation of the OBU-- two actions which, as a result of the General Strike, were seen by many people as revolutionary. Russell found also that he had to live with the inflammatory rhetoric he uttered at both the Walker and Majestic Theatres. In his own defence he claimed that both he and the SPC were only concerned with bringing about social change through the ballot box.²⁷ But he was in a tricky spot, typical of anyone who says something he does not mean. He was either a revolutionary or a liar, and neither characterization was going to endear him to the jury. He was convicted the day before Christmas, 1919, and sentenced three days later to two years in jail.²⁸

With this accomplished, the prosecution decided to proceed with the trials of the other men. Dixon's trial began on January 29, 1920, before Justice Galt of the Court of King's Bench. In order to make

efficient use of both witnesses and evidence, the trial of the seven alleged conspirators was carried on down the hall before Justice Metcalf. Dixon, who had elected to serve as his own counsel, was confronted by Crown attorneys Hugh Phillips and Archibald Campbell.²⁹ He was not completely ignorant of matters of legal practice, having received advice from both E.J. McMurray and a close friend from Birtle, with whom he had spent Christmas, Lewis St. George Stubbs.³⁰ Another friend, lawyer Hugh Cutler, sat beside him in the courtroom to answer questions about the more intricate points of law.³¹ Very quickly it became apparent that the prosecution's case depended entirely upon proving Dixon's complicity in a conspiracy. For his part, Dixon was determined to remind the court at every opportunity that this was not the offence for which he was formally being tried.

It did not take long to see that the Bench was partial to the argument of the Crown. "A writer," intoned Phillips on the first day of the trial, "may freely criticize an officer of the state in a fair manner and without malice. But as soon as his writings become malignant they are seditious."³² With this he announced his intention to call forty-two witnesses whose testimony, he claimed, would prove that Dixon was involved in promoting an illegal strike.³³ When he mentioned the Majestic Theatre meeting, the Calgary Conference, and the OBU, Dixon protested that he had played a part in none of these things. In fact, he argued, in the matter of the Majestic Theatre he, and the Dominion Labor Party, had actually been the subjects of abuse. Galt, however, admitted the evidence.³⁴ When the subject of the Walker Theatre was raised, the Crown witness confessed that he had not actually heard Dixon speak because he had arrived late at the Theatre. This

testimony was heresay, claimed Dixon, and therefore inadmissible. Once again, however, his Lordship allowed the presentation of the evidence.³⁵ Finally, after five days of such jousting, the Crown introduced R.B. Russell's personal correspondence into the record--- letters that had passed between Russell and other members of the Socialist Party of Canada concerning the Calgary Conference. When Dixon objected that none of the letters had been written to him, and that at least one of the letters should in any event be inadmissible because it was anonymous, Phillips replied that there was precedent for the use of such evidence when applied to a charge of seditious conspiracy. Dixon asserted, again, that he was not charged with such an offence, to which the exasperated judge replied that the evidence was indeed admissible because "the crown was ultimately trying to prove that he [Dixon] was a conspirator with the other strike leaders who were being tried...."³⁶

And so it went, with Dixon refusing to allow that the Crown's case of seditious conspiracy had anything to do with him. In fact, the cosy relationship between the Crown and the Bench began to work to his advantage. When Dixon cross-examined the Mayor, he asked: "What had all this evidence you have been giving to do with seditious libel?"--to which Gray could find no suitable reply.³⁷ On February 8, in an act of self-contradiction, Galt responded to another objection regarding admission of evidence concerning events where Dixon was not present by reiterating "that all matters pertinent to the alleged conspiracy towards the strike of 1919 are relevant, as the crown is endeavoring to show that you were a party to a general conspiracy."

Dixon retorted: "But my Lord, I am not charged with conspiracy, but seditious libel and I wish to make objection." Bored by now with the persistence of this logic, Galt could only agree, stating ambiguously: "Quite so, Mr. Dixon, you are quite right."³⁸ By now the case was provoking major interest, and the courtroom was jammed daily beyond capacity.³⁹

The true strength of the Crown's case was revealed by the fact that it took twelve days to get around to the substance of the indictment. Furthermore, after dealing with the alleged libel, Phillips announced that the Crown was about to sum up its case. Appearing almost disappointed, Dixon objected that thirty-eight people, whom the Crown had given him notice it would call, would not now be presenting evidence. Phillips confidently claimed that calling all of the witnesses to appear would only mean a "needless repetition of evidence." Galt asked Dixon what he proposed to do about this, and he answered seriously: "The crown must take its own responsibility in the matter."⁴⁰ Knowing that calling witnesses in his defence would appear to give some credibility to the charge, he announced that he would waive this right.

Thus the stage was set, for his final address to the jury.

But first the Crown gave its summation. Phillips had been trying for two weeks to present Dixon as a conspirator, a promotor of revolution, and a generally suspicious, untrustworthy character. His lack of success was evident in his final argument. He proceeded methodically through the various aspects of the Strike, stressing the events leading up to it, paying particular attention to the Walker Theatre where Dixon

had actually assembled with most of the other alleged conspirators. In the end, however, he claimed that Dixon was guilty, not because of anything he did but because of what he did not do. His complicity with the conspiracy, which Phillips implied had been proven to exist by virtue of the conviction of R.B. Russell, was evident because he did nothing to stop the Strike from taking place.⁴¹ This line of reasoning was in keeping with the previous two weeks of prosecution, and it depended upon the logic that the articles mentioned in the injunction were libelous because of their context rather than their intrinsic nature.

Herein Dixon could see the direction necessary for his defence. If he could show the jury that the Winnipeg General Strike was a strike and nothing more, and if he could prove that all his public utterances leading up to and including the alleged libels were in keeping with his peaceful democratic approach to social improvement developed over fifteen reputable years of social advocacy, he could hope for acquittal. It was no small task. But it gave him the opportunity to display the philosophy and character which had motivated him throughout his life.

At 2:30 in the afternoon, Friday, February 13, 1920, Dixon rose to a crowded but silent courtroom to make his final statement. He had prepared for the moment by giving the address in outline three times before the critical eye of E.J. McMurray.⁴² McMurray, who was serving as defence counsel for some of the Strike leaders, was one of those who had encouraged Dixon to conduct his own defence; he advised him to develop a relationship with the jury and to remember that his best defence was his own personality and public record. "You must tell the

jury something about F.J. Dixon and what he stands for in this community," he urged, realizing that the Crown had failed to portray him irrevocably as a criminal despite the fourteen days of prosecution.⁴³

With all this in mind, Dixon turned to the jury and began to address the court. "My Lord and Gentlemen of the Jury," he began:

We have been together now for some two weeks, and I would remind you at this time, that when the jury was being chosen there was a question asked with regard to the juror W.P. Jamieson "If there would be evidence at the trial connecting Dixon with the strike would the prejudice apply?" to which his lordship replied: "I don't know that this is a question to ask; we are not trying him for the strike." Now I shall leave it up to you to judge all the evidence that has been put in here in connection with the strike and you will understand, if I take up more time than you would wish to stay, it is because a great deal of irrelevant matter has been admitted into this case, and you will understand it is not my fault....⁴⁴

Dixon was concerned from the outset to remind the jury that the Crown's case had very little to do with the charge, and that the matter of his guilt or innocence was up to its good judgment, rather than that of the Crown or the Bench. He read his address of July 20, 1919, delivered at the Labor Church in support of the right of the arrested Strike leaders to trial by jury. Entitled "Trial by Jury has been Abolished," it spoke of his faith in the jury system.⁴⁵ He also took time, before getting to the specifics of the Prosecution's case, to point out that the significance of this trial went beyond the question of his personal liberty:

We hold in British countries that we are free to criticize the government, in fact it has been called government by discussion, and if we are going to

have government by discussion we must have an opportunity of criticizing the government. In order to purify the government we must have the power to criticize men who may be in power for a short time. Men come and go, but the government remains and we must retain the right to criticize the action of men if we are to preserve the boasted honor of British institutions.... I want you to remember that your own liberty is also involved, for if I had not had the right to make these remarks then no one in Canada had a right and you have your own liberties to consider as well as the liberties of everyone in this Canada. It is a big question, and you will deal with it according to your conscience and judgment.⁴⁶

After discussing briefly the legal history of seditious libel he began to deal with the evidence that had been put forward against him. This he did, throughout his address, in two ways. Where he had been accused of contributing through his actions to a climate of revolution, he simply read his articles and speeches carefully to the jury, patiently pointing out that there was nothing either seditious or libelous in them. The Crown, he noted, had made much of his participation at the Walker Theatre. He therefore read his speech calling for the release of political prisoners. Far from being seditious, he emphasized, the address had been a plea for the return of British rights and liberties.⁴⁷ As for the charge that along with Russell and Blumenberg he had cheered the Soviet government, he denied it, reminding the jury that the Crown had not been able to produce a single witness from among the many in attendance who had seen him do so.⁴⁸ He used this same method of defence to explain his speech to the Labor Church in Victoria Park of June 8, 1919.⁴⁹

Where evidence had been produced on matters that he had played no part in, Dixon attempted to point out the inherent contradiction

in the use of it as proof of his collusion. Patiently he asserted that the Majestic Theatre meeting, the Calgary Conference, and the formation of the One Big Union had reflected his fundamental disagreement with the issues involved. He reminded the jury that at the Majestic Theatre Russell had denounced the very Labor Party of which he was President, yet the Crown expected them to believe that this implicated him in a conspiracy with Russell and the Socialist Party of Canada.⁵⁰ In a similar way, he continued, it was significant that none of the letters from Russell to his colleagues in the SPC, submitted as evidence, made any mention of him--other than to say that he had been at the meeting at the Walker Theatre. What better evidence was there to prove that he was not in league with these men to call the Calgary Conference or form the OBU? He interspersed these remarks with references to others of his public utterances, all of which revealed his dedication to the same principles of British justice and democracy that the Crown was arguing would be best served by putting him in jail. As he finished reading the text of his July 14, 1918, address to the Labor Church on "The Power on Ideals," in which he advocated the virtues of "Justice, Liberty and Love," the clock struck five and the court adjourned until 10:00 o'clock the next morning.⁵¹

When court resumed Dixon began by summarizing his argument regarding the theory of conspiracy, developed the previous day. Turning to the jury, he said:

I am going to ask you to conclude in this case there was no conspiracy and ask you how it would be possible for a man like Ivens, the disciple of Dr. Bland to conspire with

a man like Pritchard who is alleged to have used the words "the late member, Mr. Christ." I ask you how it is possible for me to conspire with George Armstrong who ran against me in two elections. I of the Dominion Labor Party and Armstrong of the Socialist Party of Canada, and Russell engaged in knocking hell out of the Labor Party. It is suggested that in some way we had prevented them from getting the Walker Theatre on the Sunday after the 22nd of December, 1918; and that we had thrust a monkey wrench in the machinery. Russell said the Labor Aldermen should have a bottle of glue to get them to stick together with the other Aldermen in the City Council. How is it possible for these men to have a common design? 52

Furthermore, he argued, if the Crown was really convinced that the Strike was the product of a conspiracy, where were the men--Winning, Hay, McBride, and Robinson--who had issued the Strike notice? The fact that they had not been charged with conspiracy demonstrated how silly the whole business was. 53

He then went on to examine the Strike itself, to show that it was just that--a strike--and not an attempted revolution. As his pedagogical tool he used the articles from the Strike Bulletin, submitted by the Crown as evidence. With the aid of these articles, many of which he had written himself, he discussed the iron-masters' refusal to recognize the right of their workers to organize, despite the fact that Trade Unions were accepted in law as a legitimate part of the system of industrial relations. To emphasize this latter point he referred to the strike of 1918, in which the right of workers to organize and strike had been acknowledged. The 1918 strike had also demonstrated that sympathetic strikes were acceptable practice, proving that the 1919 General Strike was quite legal. 54 And he read in full the speech delivered by Major G.W. Andrews, MP for Winnipeg-Centre, in the House of Commons on June 2, 1919. 55 Andrews, who

was a member of the Union government, had told Parliament that the Strike was not an insurrection but a struggle for collective bargaining and a living wage. Many of the men involved, he had stated with some emotion, were his close friends. And as far as the issue of the propriety of the sympathetic strike was concerned, he had claimed that it exemplified the same spirit of co-operation and brotherhood that these very men had shown him in France. Slowly but surely, Dixon was impressing the jury that, as he had put it the day before, the Crown had built its case "with painted paper bricks."⁵⁶ As the court recessed for lunch, it remained for him only to deal with the articles which were the substance of the indictment.

As far as these three articles were concerned his strategy was simple: he read them. He did so slowly, line by line, asking the jury to remember that they had been written the day after a brutal riot in which one man had been killed and many others injured. After delivering each sentence he expanded upon its meaning and then asked the jury if it represented something seditious. "Kaiserism in Canada," the article with which the Crown had taken greatest offence, was, he argued, a defence of the best principles of British tradition, for in it he had observed that the actions of the "special police" were more a function of Kaiserism than British justice.⁵⁷ The article, "Bloody Saturday," was an accurate description of the actual events of the riot, as everyone was by now aware.⁵⁸ As for the third article, "Alas! the Poor Alien," it was simply an expression of his dislike of the discrimination and authoritarianism inherent in the amendments to the Immigration Act. Was it sedition, he wondered aloud to the court, to

have written: "If an alien is brave enough to fight in Flanders for British law and British justice he is entitled to all the privileges of British citizenship."⁵⁹

By this time it was mid-afternoon, and he began his summation. Having dealt with the alleged conspiracy, the Strike, and the indictment he began to discuss what he had mentioned at the outset--that the jury was really faced with the question of whether British subjects had the right to liberty of speech and opinion. It was perhaps his most eloquent moment, and from a spectator's point of view, his most memorable:

You are the last hope as far as the liberty of the subject is concerned. The crown counsel and learned judge on the bench they handle the law. I am only asking from you justice according to the evidence that has been laid before you, and according to your conscience and your judgment. In your hands is placed the question of the liberty of speech. Whether a man has a right to criticize government officials or not. I want to quote again the man who spent the greater part of his life defending men from charges of publishing seditious libel--Erskine said: "Other liberties are held under government, but liberty of opinion keeps governments themselves in due subjection to their duties."⁶⁰

He paused briefly and approached the jury box:

Gentlemen, I do not want to take up much more of your time. I am nearly through. As I said at the beginning, I am not being tried for the strike. There has been a great deal of that laid before you. If I have taken rather more time than I would have under other circumstances it is because I felt I must remove those paper bricks with which this case has been built up. If there is any crime it must be found within the four walls of the indictment. If there is any seditious intent, it must be expressed, within these articles. If there is any doubt it must be in my favour. I ask you to read these articles and see if there is any seditious intention expressed. It must be expressed as the

intention of the farmer is expressed on his farm or the artist in his picture. I want you to take the indictment, and not look at the trimmings and insinuations. Look at it and say if there is any sedition expressed or whether in your opinion it is the language used by an honest man trying to express an honest opinion; there may be a sharp word or mistake, but were they written with an honest intention? One learned man said: "We don't send men to jail unless they have a guilty mind." I want you to look me square in the eye. You have watched me for two weeks and heard some of the articles I have written and speeches I have made. Do I look like a criminal with a guilty mind? Is my demeanor that? Do these articles express a guilty mind? I ask you to think that over before you express your verdict....61

By now he was leaning slightly against the rail of the jury box, speaking in slow, measured tones to the men behind it:⁶²

I want to say to you gentlemen, that whenever in the course of my life I have had to decide on a question of principle, there is one question I invariably ask myself--"Now Dixon, supposing you were going to die tomorrow, what would you do in this case?" I can tell the answer to that question has been a very safe guiding rule regarding conscience. Now gentlemen, I ask you to think in the same way; put the same question to yourself. What would you do in this case if you were going to die tomorrow? What would you do in this case--if you were going to meet your maker in the morning. I may die tomorrow; you may die tomorrow. I am going to ask you how you would feel if, when you appear before the judgment throne, some stern accuser should want to hold you responsible for the actions of other people. I say, gentlemen, we shall have enough to do to answer for our own sins. I want you to think it over in that light, and having in view your oath, and using your best judgment in giving the decision, give your decision as you would if you knew you were going before the throne of your maker tomorrow morning.63

These last words, according to the Manitoba Free Press reporter present, "died slowly away into the tense silence of the court."⁶⁴

It was an impressive display, and one which stirred almost everyone in the courtroom except the judge and the Crown Counsel. Galt, in his final instructions to the jury, went so far as to exceed his responsibility, so concerned was he that Dixon might go free. "I believe," he told the jury, "that the case has been sincerely and fairly summed up by crown counsel, the evidence is uncontradictory, there is nothing against it. It clearly shows that the matter was one of the most infamous conspiracies that I have known in my experience in Canada; conceived in Quebec by men whose names you have heard, later hatched in Calgary, and consummated in Winnipeg."⁶⁵ That such a thing should have the sanction of a church made him livid: "It makes one's blood boil to hear that Ivens went down to that church and offered up prayer, and then proceeded to stir up strife."⁶⁶ And finally, regarding the matter at hand, he said of Dixon: "The man who came before you with so much skill, so much ability, what did he mean by associating with such fellows on the platform, advocating such principles. The only thing I have to say in his favour is 'Is it possible?'"⁶⁷ With this advice the jury retired to reach its own conclusion.

It took a day and a half, but it returned with a verdict. Leaving the courtroom at 4:50 in the afternoon, Saturday, February 14, the jury took until 10:00, Monday morning to reach a decision. Dixon was judged to be not guilty. He had maintained that he had been able to convince eleven men of his innocence, and that it took nearly two days for those eleven to convince the twelfth.⁶⁹ It was probably not that simple, but the verdict was, nonetheless, a remarkable accomplishment--especially since it was achieved despite the open hostility of

the Bench, by a man defending himself without benefit of any legal training. McMurray speculated that the result was due not just to Dixon's personality and the way he had conveyed its aspects to the jury but also to the way he had conducted the very difficult task of cross-examination. "Fred Dixon's cross examination of the witnesses at his trial," he wrote some days later, "would do credit to any experienced capable counsel. To begin with, he had this advantage, and his only advantage, that he knew his subject better than any man in the court room.... With fine dignity he, as a layman, differed with the Judge's ruling, but never offensively. He adopted the same attitude to opposing counsel. He did not allow them to suppress him or make him a small man before the jury (which is very important). His cross examination was at the same time discussions with witnesses, sometimes arguments, really progressive addresses to the jury; educating them as to the fact that there was nothing more involved in this case than a strike. That it was not in any way seditious, and he was involved in nothing more than a strike."⁷⁰

III

Dixon's acquittal transformed him overnight into a local folk-hero. As far as workers were concerned, he had successfully defended the position that the Strike had been a struggle for collective bargaining, not an apprehended insurrection. That he had done so against tremendous odds only made the victory more profound. Particularly for people who had not had much to celebrate since the crushing of the Strike, the

acquittal provided the opportunity for a much-needed catharsis, and workers celebrated the occasion in whatever way they could.

But the verdict also elevated Dixon's stature in the eyes of many others in the community. The city had been divided during the Strike, split by the forces of fear and misunderstanding, and since that time the two sides had existed, side by side, in an atmosphere of mutual distrust. The conviction of R.B. Russell confirmed for many that there had been a conspiracy to intimidate, if not to overthrow, the State. Dixon's acquittal, however, and more particularly his argument for freedom of opinion, showed that there were some people connected with the Strike who cherished, and could even speak passionately about, the institutions that had supposedly been threatened. Here at last was a man who could be trusted, someone who understood and appreciated both of the matters at stake in the Strike. At a time when bitterness and cynicism were the rule, his eloquent articulation of the nobility of British liberty gave the community something in which to believe again.

For these reasons people turned out in droves to see him at the first regular meeting of the Dominion Labor Party after the trial. Held at the Strand Theatre, there were so many people in attendance that the overflow filled two rooms in the Labor Temple.⁷¹ The enthusiastic crowd began to cheer the moment Dixon entered the theatre and for a long time they would not let him speak. After several attempts to do so had been interrupted by applause, he thanked the crowd for its support and told it that his trial had confirmed his respect for trial by jury, and the enduring nature of British liberty. He then called upon labor men, farmers, and returned soldiers to band together to "clean out"

the Government and bring about a new Canada of greater liberty and opportunity.⁷² There was a symbolic significance to this speech, considering that, in essence, it was the same one (given under the title of "The Canadian Commonwealth") that he had delivered at the Party's first regular meeting in May, 1918. Nor was this simply fortuitous; there was a provincial election scheduled for the end of June, and he was providing an energetic call to arms.

Two weeks after this tumultuous reception, the Dominion Labor Party, at its annual meeting, confirmed his leadership by acclamation. They did the same for first Vice-President, S.J. Farmer, and then elected William Ivens to the other post of Vice-President by majority vote.⁷³ By this time the DLP had already begun a series of educational meetings to explore the possibility of joining forces with the emerging farmers movement.⁷⁴ As a Single Taxer, Dixon had always hoped for such a coalition because he felt that farmers and workers shared a common enemy---privilege. He was himself the epitome of such a union, being at the same time the leader of the Dominion Labor Party and a self-admitted part-time farmer who regularly spent September bringing in the harvest.⁷⁵ Through participation in the Single Tax League of Western Canada he had become acquainted with a number of leaders of the farmers movement, and men like Thomas Crerar and R.C. Henders (both late of the Union Government) and J.W. Ward had become his close friends.⁷⁶ Dixon believed that there were certain interests, such as those of which he spoke in his Address to the Jury, which transcended the barriers of class; it was his ambition to bring those people who were committed to these interests together in an effective political union. As he said

in The Western Labor News, just days after his trial: "...we must push with renewed vigour toward the goal--which is a new Canada in which manhood shall be more regarded than money, in which liberty will be more highly regarded than property, in which the laborer shall receive the full product of his toil, in which those who build houses shall inhabit them and those who plant vineyards shall eat the fruit thereof. All the producers of this country, whether they work with hand or brain, should unite in the political field to improve social and economic conditions by the intelligent use of the ballot. I am hoping for a Farmer-Labor combination that will sweep the old parties from the hustings and lift the political life of this nation to a higher plane."⁷⁷

But there was still the matter of the Strike trials. On April 6, 1920, the same week that the Robson Report investigating the causes of the Strike was published, five of the seven men were sentenced to one year in jail, convicted on all counts of seditious conspiracy. Only A.A. Heaps was acquitted, while R.E. Bray was convicted on one count of being a public nuisance and sentenced to six months in the penitentiary.⁷⁸

It was not a happy result for the friends and families of the men, particularly seen in the light of the Robson Report, which confirmed that the Strike had been caused by the refusal of the iron-masters to deal with the Metal Trades Council. Robson pointed out that the Strike vote was held illegally, at least according to the charter of the Trades Council, but that there was substance to the claim that the discontent had been sparked by the economic problems of the times. He recommended, first, that attitudes change on all sides, and second, that better education be provided for working people and relief provided

for those who could not find work. To achieve this, Robson argued: "...there should be a scheme of taxation of those who can afford it and application of wealth to the reasonable needs of others in the community whose life has not been favoured."⁷⁹

These two events intensified the desire of workers to acquire some power in the Legislature beyond their current representation of one. At a convention of the Dominion Labor Party held on Saturday, April 10, delegates passed various resolutions regarding the innocence of the Strike leaders and the incompetence of the Government, and a platform for the upcoming campaign was adopted.⁸⁰ A fundamental plank calling for the "transformation of capitalist property into social property and production for use instead of profit" outlined the platform's general aim, while individual planks called for the right to bargain collectively, proportional representation in grouped constituencies, abolition of election deposits, abolition of property requirements for trustees in all school boards in Manitoba, Direct Legislation through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, a better workman's compensation law, proper financial provision for widows and children, improvements in the Mothers Allowance Act, state banks, and public ownership of natural resources. At a later session a clause was added to this last provision calling for a "progressive tax on land values to facilitate the breaking up of land monopoly and as a more equitable way of raising public revenue."⁸¹ With this decided, the only matter left was to nominate some candidates.

This required some thought, however, because for the first time in the history of the province Members of the Legislative Assembly

from Winnipeg were to be elected through a new system of proportional representation.⁸² It was a complicated system, but one which was seen as a remedy to previous corruption. All of the constituencies in the city were abandoned and the city itself became one big constituency electing ten members. A candidate was required to get ten percent of the total number of votes cast in order to be declared elected. Because very few people were likely to achieve this on the first ballot (since there was a large slate of candidates), it was necessary for voters to list in order of preference the ten people they wished to see represent the city. After the first votes had been counted the person who received the least was crossed off the list; his second choices were transferred to the people named, and the votes were counted again. This went on until ten people were elected. Preferences were used up as the votes were transferred, and then transferred again. It this was complicated, there was another aspect to it which made it almost impossible. Surplus ballots--those votes received by a successful candidate in excess of his ten percent--had to be apportioned. This was done by counting all of the winner's second choices, then reducing those totals by the factor of the excess. If a candidate needed only five votes to win, and he secured ten, the second choices on all ten ballots were tallied and then reduced by the factor of the excess--in this case by 5/10 (one half). If another candidate received six out of ten second choices he was given three votes. All things considered, the system was a returning officer's nightmare.

It also meant an immense ballot and the necessity for each party to nominate a slate of candidates. The Dominion Labor Party met in

mid-April to discuss the matter, and it was proposed that the convicted men make up part of the labor slate. Fred Tipping observed that there was a growing sympathy within the community against the incarceration of the Strike leaders, and putting forward the names of the men in jail would not hurt the possibility of electing labor candidates.⁸³ The meeting was of the general mind that election of the men would "demonstrate their innocence before the crucible of democracy."⁸⁴ The only problem was that Pritchard, Russell, Johns, Armstrong, and Queen were not members of the Dominion Labor Party---and they were not about to join.

It took a month of discussion, primarily with the Socialist Party of Canada, before a slate of candidates was agreed upon. The Labor Party nominated Dixon, Ivens, Tipping, and W.A. James;⁸⁵ the Social Democratic Party nominated John Queen;⁸⁶ the Ex-Soldiers and Sailors Labor Party put forward W.A. Cartwright;⁸⁷ and the Socialist Party of Canada nominated Pritchard, Johns, Russell, and Armstrong.⁸⁸ But the old hostilities were beginning to reappear. At the meeting where the SPC candidates were officially endorsed, the Labor Party was denounced and trade union activity scorned.⁸⁹ It was a return to the division of the past. The other side was equally impolite, as The Western Labor News accused the Socialists of "repudiating the nomination of prisoners as prisoners, although it is willing to use the sympathy aroused by their unmerited punishment for the advancement of its propaganda."⁹⁰ It was in this typically confused state that the labor movement approached the coming election.

Despite the rumblings of disquiet the campaign focused on Dixon.

This was perhaps to be expected. He was not only at the peak of his popularity because of his reputation as a defender of British liberty, but he was the only candidate from all those who had been nominated due to their arrest for participation in the Strike, who was not in jail. At a mass meeting for all the Labor Party candidates in early June, Dixon attacked the Government for overspending while at the same time neglecting matters of necessity. Workman's compensation payments in Manitoba were twenty-five percent smaller than those in Ontario, he argued, and he reiterated that it was time to abandon the old-line parties who should be told to "remember the viewpoint of human rights, not that of property rights."⁹¹ Three weeks later, at a rally at the Industrial Bureau, he appeared before two thousand people along with W.D. Bayley (who had been nominated to run for the Labor Party in Assiniboia),⁹² Fred Tipping, and his wife Winona. She called upon women to support the cause of labor; Dixon condemned both of the traditional parties because they represented the same monied interests. Using the analogy of a duck and a hunter he noted that one's opinion on hunting depends upon one's point of view. "How can men of wealth," he asked, "be expected to understand what it is like to be without such things?"⁹³ And with this he urged the people to support the Farmer-Labor coalition.

The results of the election were absolutely stunning.⁹⁴ Running against forty other candidates, Dixon led the field with 11,586 first-place ballots. This was approximately twenty-five percent of the 47,427 total votes cast, and it put him well ahead of both second-place finisher, Tom Johnson, who received 4,386 votes, and third-place finisher, George Armstrong, who received 2,767. Of the forty-one candidates,

excluding Dixon, twenty-five polled less than one thousand votes; twelve polled between one thousand and two thousand; two received between two and three thousand. Then came Johnson with just over four thousand. Dixon received ten times as many votes as most of the candidates. His electoral fortunes also rubbed off on his friends. When his huge surplus was apportioned, 3,600 votes went to Ivens, 851 went to Queen, 493 were added to Russell's total, 436 went to Cartwright, and 420 went to Armstrong. Of these five men, three of them-- Ivens, Queen, and Armstrong--were eventually elected. As the official report of the returning officer indicated, they would probably not have done so without the Dixon surplus.⁹⁵

The actual magnitude of Dixon's achievement was difficult to appreciate, so large was his victory. Besides leading the polls in first-place votes, it was estimated later that eighty percent of all the ballots carried his name.⁹⁶ Out of the 135 polls in the city he won 101. Johnson came next, winning 23; Armstrong captured 9; and Queen took 2.⁹⁷ In most of the polls that he did not win he came a close second or third. There was no large geographical discrepancy either. While Johnson was certainly more popular in South-Winnipeg than he was in the North, and the same was true of Armstrong in reverse, Dixon polled well throughout the city--extremely well in some cases. At Poll No. 491, Osborne Street, he received 225 votes to his nearest rival's 24. At Poll No. 256, Morley Street, Dixon accumulated 281 votes, while his nearest competitor, Johnson, secured only 41. At Cecil Rhodes School in working-class Weston he led George Armstrong 385 votes to 57. In all of these cases, most of the other candidates received votes in single figures. It was a popular victory, to say

the least, one which reflected the general will of the city. The Western Labor News called it "a phenomenon in Canadian politics" and this was not a mere statement of prejudice.⁹⁸ Dixon's election probably stands as the most substantial political victory in the history of Manitoba politics.⁹⁹

IV

There were two matters of particular note in Dixon's victory. First, more than any of the other labor candidates, he received the support of the working community. His sweep of the labor polls was underlined by the fact that the other three labor candidates elected--Ivens, Armstrong, and Queen--all owed their success to being listed on Dixon's ballots as a second choice. Apparently laborites wished to repudiate those in the leadership of the movement who had urged them to take the precipitous action of the previous spring. This was manifest also in the defeat of Socialist candidates, Pritchard, Russell and Johns. (The militant Johns suffered the embarrassment of accumulating only 52 votes on the first count.) Workers had been led into the Strike without knowing the extent to which their collective action would directly challenge authority, and they had lived to regret the consequences. Never intending, through the Strike, to threaten and terrify the city, their support for Dixon was a way of both endorsing the justice of their cause, which he had consistently advocated, and their belief in democracy, which he had defended at his trial.

The other significant factor in the victory was the support Dixon

received from outside the working-class. He had, after all, been arrested for his participation in the Strike, and he had been tried for having been part of a seditious conspiracy---a conspiracy that to uncritical Winnipeggers had been proven later to exist. But his Address to the Jury had demonstrated his belief in the justice of the strikers' demands for collective bargaining and a living wage, and it indicated as well that his entire life had been dedicated to building up the institutions of British democracy which preserved the civil rights of the entire community. That people outside the working-class voted for him subsequently proved how much fear the Strike had provoked. Nor was this simply a capitalist's fear of profit loss. It was a deep-rooted fear among ordinary people who were frightened by chaos, disorder, and the possibility of loss of life; and their fears were not relieved by the constant exhortations of The Western Labor News, urging workers to keep the peace. These people feared the loss of their own human rights, and their only guarantee of safety was to maintain the democratic institutions which insured them their rights. This fact was revealed by their support of Dixon in the June election: he was the one person around who clearly revered both issues in crisis.

Seen together, these two matters suggest something about the philosophical assumptions of most Winnipeggers. Dixon's Address to the Jury was published soon after his acquittal, and was sold to raise money for the Defence Fund. But the trial had been reported extensively in all the local newspapers, and there can be little doubt that the story of his single-handed struggle against adversity quickly developed the kind of legendary reputation of which one may be sceptical but one

cannot help but be aware. The integrity and idealism that he displayed during his trial excited the public mind at a time when it was still possessed by fear and distrust. More than that, in articulating his faith in the high ideals at the root of the natural order, inherent in the principles of British justice and liberty, he was touching upon something in which most of the population believed. Ironically, these principles were the essence of both the Strike and its suppression--a fact recognized and reconciled by his victory, in an outburst of grateful political emotion.

EPILOGUE

1920 - 1931

Here is the conclusion of the whole matter: That we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us--that we should respect the rights of others as scrupulously as we would have our own rights respected, is not a mere counsel of perfection to individuals, but is the law to which we must conform social institutions and national policy if we would secure the blessings of abundance and peace.

Henry George, Protection or Free Trade, (1904)

We need idealism today. Only by being true to the ideals of justice, liberty and love, can we hope to build a better world. Justice means the golden rule; a square deal all round; equal rights for all and no privilege for anyone; equal sacrifice and equal reward; and Canada for the common people.

Fred Dixon, The Single Taxer, June, 1918

Dixon's election, and the election of the three imprisoned Strike leaders, provoked an immediate and excited response within the Winnipeg labor community. On July 11, 1920, in a manner reminiscent of the days of the Strike, two thousand people gathered in Victoria Park to celebrate the second anniversary of the Labor Church. Newly-elected labor representatives Dixon, Bayley, and A.E. Smith addressed the crowd and a letter from the imprisoned Ivens, included in the hymn sheets, was received with great emotion. A day or two later, three thousand people assembled at the Industrial Bureau and passed a resolution urging the Dominion Government to release the jailed Strike leaders, the fact of their innocence having been accepted by their recent election to public office. Dixon decided to make this representation in person, so in August, along with A.E. Smith, he journeyed to Ottawa to see the Minister of Justice, the Honourable Hugh Guthrie, and the Minister of Labor, the Honourable Gideon Robertson.

This effort did not meet with success, but it did demonstrate the way in which Dixon had assumed the leadership of the new Labor group in the Legislature. Given his popularity and his experience he was the natural choice, and the results of the election had put Labor representatives in a position to exert some political influence. Across the province, eleven Labor candidates had been elected, one fewer than the United Farmers of Manitoba and ten fewer than the Liberals. The Conservatives, once the power of the Legislature, had

captured only seven seats. Four had gone to Independents. With such chaos, co-operation was going to be necessary if any business was going to get done, and laborites could hope for better times ahead.

But if Dixon seemed destined to higher offices of power and influence, tragic events were about to shorten his career. They would force his premature resignation from the Legislature in 1923, and result in his death in 1931 at the relatively young age of fifty. During his last three years of active politics, however, he was able to fashion what would become an appropriate memorial to his years in public life. This was the first permanent labor party in the province's history--the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba.

I

By the summer of 1920 the tenuous unity of the labor movement established by the common cause of collective bargaining had all but disappeared. During the election campaign, the old hostilities between the Dominion Labor Party and the Socialist Party of Canada had resurfaced with vigour and venom. Festering in the background, the rivalry between the Trades and Labor Council and the Central Labor Council of the OBU was forever threatening to break out into open conflict. Finally, on August 6, 1920, at a meeting called to air their differences, this was precisely what happened.

With Dixon in the chair trying to maintain a semblance of order, Joseph Knight of the OBU and Bill Hoop of the Trades Council proceeded to do battle for their respective organizations. Knight began by

insisting that the sole purpose of the OBU was to promote industrial unionism. Hoop, with an argument borrowed from the Citizen's Committee of One Thousand, declared this to be nonsense and pointed to the General Strike as a measure of the OBU's true purpose. In 1919, he expanded, "the OBU was out to smash the state and put in its place a Russian soviet system, and only a fool would expect the state to do otherwise. The workers paid and will do so for some time for monkeying with the OBU. It has but one plank in reality, and that is revolution. All the other stuff is camouflage and the workers might as well know it."¹ This statement, supported later by the Trades Council, did nothing less than agree with the Crown's contention that the General Strike was a seditious conspiracy, and it revealed the extent of the bitterness still felt by that segment of the labor movement forced to support the Strike while aware of its probable consequences.

With this kind of talk in front of a partisan audience Dixon was kept busy and he was later complimented by both sides for keeping the audience, "which threatened to become unruly at times," in order.² The meeting was a signal, however, that the industrial argument between the International trade unions and the One Big Union was about to spill over into labor politics. Hoop was a member of the Dominion Labor Party, as were most of the leaders of the Trades Council, and these men were determined not to lose control of the Party to the radicals, even if this entailed contradicting the declared political objectives of the Party. Emphasizing the DLP's bi-partisan nature, Dixon, Farmer and Ivens, the three most important members of the executive, were not members of either Labor Council, something which should have warned those like Hoop to be careful.

In any event, Hoop's statements provoked anger within the ranks of the DLP because of what they implied about the actions of Dixon and Ivens. By suggesting that in 1919 there was a conspiracy to set up a soviet, Hoop was suggesting that Dixon and Ivens had been either involved in the conspiracy, or had been too stupid to see it. The opinion of a committee set up to establish whether Hoop should be disciplined was divided, with the minority arguing that the matter was an industrial one and therefore none of the Party's business, and the majority taking umbrage and demanding appropriate punishment. In its report, the latter group recorded the nature of the insult:

In contrast to those statements by Bro. Hoop we have the past and present declarations of Bros. Dixon and Ivens that the Strike of 1919 was for "Collective Bargaining" and a "Living Wage." By their words and actions they have invariably advocated nothing but constitutional action. In our opinion therefore, Bro. Hoop by identifying the OBU as he describes it with the real spirit of the General Strike and neglecting to make any exceptions in the case of any of the prominent supporters of the Strike, has placed Bros. Dixon and Ivens, elected representatives of this party in the legislature, in one of two categories: (1) They were and are deceived as to the true nature of the Strike, or (2) They are willfully and persistently continuing to try and deceive the people. In short, Bros. Dixon and Ivens are either fools or knaves.³

Before a decision could be reached about what to do with Hoop, the Trades Council endorsed his statements and claimed that any censure of Hoop would be a censure of the Trades Council. It was decided, therefore, to defer the matter until January to give tempers a chance to cool.⁴ The dispute had gained a momentum of its own, however, and by January it had already reached a climax and passed on toward resolution.

Two events in particular brought matters to a head. In late October

Dominion Labor Party organizer and secretary, R. Ringland, announced his intention to resign, claiming that the executive was no longer confident in his ability to do his job.⁵ This was probably true. Ringland was an influential member of the Trades Council, known to favour membership in the Party through trade union rather than individual affiliation; and this became the focus of the debate over acceptance of his resignation. In support of Ringland, Hoop argued that the Dominion Labor Party owed its birth to the International movement and should be prepared to formalize those ties. Hoop was opposed by S.J. Farmer, who reminded the membership that "the whole aim of the executive was to keep the party free from factional disputes on the industrial field." Farmer could not see why three men, one an International, one a member of the OBU, and another an unaffiliated worker could not keep their differences out of the political field if they were agreed on political principles and policy. "Industrial affiliations," he emphasized, "should not be the determining factor in political action."⁶ There the matter rested for the moment.

A week later, however, the DLP began choosing candidates for the upcoming municipal election, and in a display of the general will Farmer was nominated to run for mayor.⁷ Not to be outdone, the Trades Council faction nominated Hoop to run for alderman at one of the smaller local ward meetings. Their persistence, combined with the symbolic significance of Hoop's name on the ballot, finally convinced both Dixon and Farmer that the broad interests of labor could no longer be served by the Dominion Labor Party.⁸ As a result, after Farmer's narrow loss to Edward Parnell, they resigned along with the rest of the executive and called a meeting for December 16th to discuss the possibility of

forming another party.⁹ That evening the Centre Branch of the Independent Labor Party was formed, and two weeks later, with Dixon in the chair, S.J. Farmer was elected Chairman.¹⁰ Plans were begun to start locals in the other two municipal wards.¹¹ Dixon became the ILP's first official leader in the Legislature. The party manifests declared:

The Independent Labor Party of Manitoba is formed for the purpose of giving political expression to the aspirations of all workers, regardless of industrial affiliation, who believe in the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth with production for use instead of profit as its economic base.

Planks two and three called for "Abolition of taxes on buildings and the necessities of life, and increased taxation of land values;" and, "Direct Legislation, through the Initiative Referendum and Recall."¹²

Naturally, those who remained faithful to the DLP resented this. Alderman W.B. Simpson, temporary editor of The Western Labor News, wrote: "A few weeks ago F.J. Dixon, speaking at a Labor Church meeting, spoke of the necessity of the political unity of Labor. 'There can be nothing achieved without unity,' said he. Mr. Dixon and several of his friends have withdrawn from the Dominion Labor Party and have formed a secessionist party. Perhaps Mr. Dixon will tell the workers of Winnipeg whether we judge him by his words or by his actions."¹³ This was followed by a formal denunciation from the DLP, as a committee under the chairmanship of Arthur Puttee accused Dixon and W.D. Bayley (labor representative from Assiniboia) of "betraying their trust and founding a secessionist movement for personal gratification of ambition."¹⁴ At the root of this bitterness was the fear of extinction, as DLP members suddenly realized that without a base in the Legislature the Party had

lost its credibility. Already members were starting to resign in alarming numbers.¹⁵ In their quest to control the Dominion Labor Party, Hoop and his cohorts had finally been successful, but they had misunderstood the nature of their party in the process. A good portion of the membership, and this included most of the elected representatives of labor, were not trade unionists. Of the four representatives from Winnipeg in the provincial Legislature, Dixon, Queen, and Ivens did not belong to a trade union, and Armstrong belonged to both the OBU and the Socialist Party of Canada. Now that the DLP was in the hands of the Trades Council its members began to realize that victory in this skirmish had left them without the weapons to proceed with the war.

Contrary to the charges of his critics, Dixon's actions were quite consistent with his long-held philosophical and political beliefs. A fundamental faith in natural laws prescribing natural human rights had led him to Henry George, and George had taught him that there were two kinds of people: those who worked for a living, and those who profited by doing no work at all. This latter group, composed of land speculators, was depriving all those who worked of their natural individual and civil rights, and because these rights defined the meaning of such concepts as justice, liberty and democracy, land speculation had to be abolished. Dixon believed that all those who worked--as he was fond of saying, "with hand or brain, industrial or agricultural"--had a common interest (human rights) and a common enemy (privilege). They also had a common political interest in achieving the former and disposing of the latter.

Thus, in Dixon's view a labor party's constituency included all those who worked (in the broad way that he defined it) and felt at the same time the compulsion to strive for social justice. Such organizations

were by necessity coalitions, however, and it was important that everyone remain true to the mutual political interest. He knew that as soon as one group saw fit to imperil the general need by pursuing its own specific interest under the aegis of the party, the party was in danger of disintegration from within. As Chairman of the DLP, Dixon had tried to keep it free from such conflicts while at the same time expanding its borders to include such non-traditional working-class groups as farmers. When the Trades Council appeared intent upon controlling the Party for the sake of its own interests, Dixon realized that this contradicted the Party's general goal; hence the need to create a labor party whose name was prefaced symbolically by the word "Independent." In 1909, in a debate with the socialists, Dixon had stated that "the most perfect state of society will be one in which free individuals will voluntarily co-operate to secure justice for all by respecting the equal rights of each other to life and liberty in the pursuit of happiness in as far as it does not interfere with the equal rights of everyone else."¹⁶ This also applied to his view of how political parties should operate. Indicating the consistency and sincerity of this belief, Dixon's first act in the 1921 Legislature was to propose that a group government be formed on the basis of proportional representation.¹⁷ A motion to this effect, proposed by A.E. Smith, was defeated, but only with the help of the Speaker.¹⁸

An incident in 1921 demonstrated how determined the Independent Labor Party was to keep industrial disputes out of the political field. During the annual meeting of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, held in Winnipeg in August, James Simpson of Toronto convened a meeting of representatives from the provincial labor parties in existence across

Canada to discuss the possibility of forming a national Canadian Labor Party.¹⁹ Delegates from both the DLP and the ILP were present, and the formation of the Canadian Labor Party was approved in principle, as was a manifesto and platform.²⁰ Dixon was even elected provisional Vice-President, such was his reputation, and his influence was apparent in the Party's declared "General Object," which read: "To unify the political powers of the workers, whether by hand or brain, for the purpose of obtaining the full fruits of their industry, and generally to promote the political, social and economic emancipation of the people."²¹ Planks of the new Party's platform included Direct Legislation and Taxation of Land Values.²²

It was left to the provincial parties, however, to discover a way of uniting in a provincial organization of the new CLP, and once again the Trades Council leadership of the Dominion Labor Party insisted on industrial rather than individual affiliation.²³ Over this issue Dixon and the ILP withdrew from the Canadian Labor Party, even though they agreed with the Party's platform and principles, and this was enough to insure its demise in Manitoba.²⁴

In the next two years, thanks to Dixon's foresight, the Independent Labor Party strengthened its position as the political voice of labor. His philosophy of "voluntary co-operation to secure justice for all" suited the curious collection of Farmer and Labor candidates elected to the Legislature. As far as the Farmer group was concerned, it had decided in July not to support the Norris Liberals and had announced instead that it would seek some form of informal alliance with the Labor representatives.²⁵ This was rendered difficult, despite Dixon's

assurances that the DLP platform was designed to accommodate farmers, because of the squabble over affiliation that consumed the Party through the autumn.²⁶ No such ambiguities existed with the ILP, and Dixon was a part-time farmer himself who shared the farmer's traditional concern about remaining above the dogmatism of formal party discipline. A coalition of convenience developed with Farmer and Labor members volunteering to co-operate with one another when it suited them. Its spirit was reflected in the vote on the motion regarding Dixon's proposal for group government. It took a curious alliance of Liberals and Conservatives, and the vote of the Speaker, to defeat the combination of Farmer-Labor M.L.A.s.

As for the Labor representatives themselves, seven of them were from rural Manitoba (some had even been nominated by combined meetings of farmers and laborers) and they too had been confused by the argument emanating from the hierarchy of the Dominion Labor Party. Dixon's style was more in keeping with their tastes, and the ILP was obviously designed to include them in a way the DLP could not. They joined enthusiastically, and when Dixon was criticized for not having consulted his colleagues before making his suggestion of group government they wrote angrily to The Western Labor News to deny that Dixon had provoked a split in Independent Labor Party ranks.²⁷ The Labor representatives from Winnipeg, with the exception of George Armstrong, who already had clear political commitments, also became involved after their release from prison. Ivens and Queen were not trade unionists, so there was no room for them in the DLP, and the ILP appeared capable of accommodating socialists of Queen's moderate variety. Indeed, Queen went on eventually to become the Party leader.

The ILP members in the Legislature obeyed the same rules of voluntary co-operation inside the Party as they did with the Farmer group. Near the end of March, 1921, on a vote to amend the Election Act, the rural members voted in support of the Government while Queen and Ivens voted against it. Dixon waited until it appeared that the Government was about to be defeated before he voted in favour of the bill. He rose with the vote twenty-five to twenty-four against and so with the help of the Speaker the Government was sustained.²⁸ What was significant was that the Labor group had voted three ways: for the bill, against the bill, and finally, in Dixon's case, for the Government. Such was the style of voluntary co-operation manifest by both the Farmer group and the ILP in the 1921 Legislature.

The ILP moved successfully into the field of federal politics in the fall of 1921. Running on behalf of the Party in the constituency of Centre-Winnipeg, Dixon's close friend J.S. Woodsworth was elected in a five-way fight, initiating a political career that would span two decades.²⁹ It was Woodsworth who eleven years later would take Dixon's notion of workers "agricultural or industrial" and mould it into a movement called the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation. The Regina Manifesto, which turned the movement into a political party in 1933, declared the CCF "a democratic movement, a federation of farmer, labor and socialist organizations, financed by its own members and seeking to achieve its ends solely by constitutional means," something which revealed its resemblance to an earlier counterpart.

There were two other political events which further solidified the position of the ILP as the political voice of labor. The first was the provincial election of 1922, precipitated by the defeat of the Government

on a motion of censure. The 1922 session had been proceeding in its usual anomalous way--Labor and Farmer representatives had united behind a Dixon motion regarding land speculation, thus threatening to bring down the Government;³⁰ George Armstrong and Conservative John Haig had joined forces to try to reduce the estimates of the Government's Joint Council of Industry from \$9,465 to \$1.00.³¹ P.A. Talbot, the former Liberal who had broken with the Government in 1916 over the Amendments to the Education Act, finally put forward a motion of censure claiming that the Government had not acted upon its promise to abolish the Public Utilities Commission. The Government was defeated, although with the help of Dixon and some of the Labor members it was able to vote supply, and the election was called for July 25th.³²

The election results in Winnipeg endorsed Dixon and the ILP, and at the same time repudiated the Dominion Labor Party, the Socialist Party of Canada, and the OBU. Dixon led the polls with a total of 7,971 votes--3,941 more than his nearest rival, Government candidate, R. Jacobs--and his large surplus helped elect fellow ILP candidates William Ivens, Seymour Farmer, and John Queen.³³ (Farmer received 1,063 second-choice votes, Ivens received 1,115, and Queen received 377.) Conspicuous in defeat were George Armstrong, of the SPC-OBU, and Dominion Labor candidates James Winning, Fleming McGill, and Arthur Puttee. Armstrong was eliminated on the second-to-last count, but the DLP candidates suffered a much greater indignity: Winning was the recipient of only 502 first-place votes, McGill followed next with 142, and Arthur Puttee, long a stalwart of the labor community, trailed with 135. The election was a bit of a disappointment, however, for Dixon, who had hoped to see a permanent Farmer-Labor coalition. Twenty-seven

United Farmer candidates had been elected this time, enough to form a Government, and five of the seven Labor seats outside the city of Winnipeg were lost to Farmer candidates. Manitoba farmers apparently had not been impressed by the alacrity with which the Labor block from Winnipeg had "volunteered" to support their interests, and they therefore repudiated its rural counterparts. The Farmers meant no insult to Dixon by this. They invited him to become leader of their group in the Legislature--a job which, had he undertaken it, would have made him the Premier of the province. He declined--for reasons of health, and because of his obligations to the ILP. The Farmers invited John Bracken to become their leader instead, assuring Bracken a political career as Premier of the province that would span two decades.³⁴

In Winnipeg, however, ILP dominance was complete, and four months later, in December, 1922, after establishing itself as the labor party of provincial and federal politics, it took over the municipal field as well. After several years of trying, Seymour Farmer was finally elected mayor of the city of Winnipeg by a margin of 3,850 votes.³⁵

II

It was in 1922 that Dixon's personal misfortunes began to intrude upon his public career. Two years earlier, in November, 1920, he had lost his young son James to a lingering illness.³⁶ On May 15, 1922, just two months before the provincial election his wife of seven years--Winona--died of pneumonia, leaving him to care for a two month-old baby and a seven year-old daughter.³⁷ Nor was Dixon well himself. He had been born with a caul over his head, his mother having given birth to him at the age of fifty, and a pimple that had remained on

his forehead after the doctors had removed the caul had turned to cancer.³⁸

The loss of his wife, the extent of his own sickness, and the need to provide for the future welfare of his daughters Doris and Eleanor placed a tremendous drain upon his time and energy during 1923. Finally, on July 3, 1923, after nine years of public service, he announced his retirement from the Legislature.³⁹ He had been working part-time for the Confederation Life Insurance Company since 1919, believing that life insurance offered a poor man the opportunity to gain an estate, and now he began to work for the Company full-time.⁴⁰ His close associates in the ILP were stunned, and from more hostile quarters of the labor movement came the accusation that he had compromised himself in order to accept a position on the provincial Liquor Commission (a charge which he denied).⁴¹ He was offered various inducements to return to politics--a federal nomination, the Winnipeg mayoralty, even the leadership of the provincial Liberal Party.⁴² He declined them each time, causing many to wonder why his crusading zeal for social justice had so suddenly evaporated.

But no one knew the painful and terminal nature of Dixon's illness--principally because he did not make a point of letting it be known. Only as the nature of his treatment for the disease became more extensive did people begin to understand his feelings of obligation to his family. Suddenly, in 1924, tragedy struck him two more quick blows: in the space of a few months he lost both his first-born daughter Doris, aged nine, and his mother-in-law, Mrs. Flett.⁴³ Mrs. Flett had assumed the role of mother to the children after Winona's death and Dixon was once again confronted with the prospect of having to care for a young two year-old

daughter by himself. This time Winona's sister, Lynn Flett, moved in to help.

As time passed, it became apparent that Dixon was bearing the trials of his own life with the same courage and selflessness that had characterized much of his public career. He underwent several serious operations which left him bed-ridden for months at a time. Despite these problems, in 1927 he was named by the Provincial Government to serve on a commission investigating the causes and possible remedies of seasonal unemployment, and, in the same year, he was appointed to the Workmen's Compensation Board.⁴⁴ In October, 1929, after having returned from Memorial Hospital in New York where he had undergone his most serious operation to date, he was confronted at his home by a group of friends, led by Seymour Farmer, Fred Tipping and Lewis St. George Stubbs, who presented him with an honorary Address bearing the signature of 1,200 people, and an accompanying purse of \$2,500.⁴⁵ The Address was signed, according to the Winnipeg Tribune, by "men and women prominent in every walk of life in Winnipeg and the province, including members of the House of Commons, of the legislature, the city council, the bench, the civil and civic services," and it read:

Many of your innumerable friends desire to convey to you their deep appreciation of the contribution you have made to the progressive life of this community, to the upbuilding and advancement of democratic ideals in Western Canada.

Your unselfish labors in the cause of the common people, your staunch adherence to principle, often in the face of strong opposition, have earned you the love and loyalty of hosts of men and women whose standard bearer you have been, and the respect of friend and foe alike.

Your courage, your vision and your zeal are today both inspiration and guide to others who would also serve the common good.

Those whose names are inscribed herein ask you to accept the accompanying gift as a slight token of their high personal regard.⁴⁶

Dixon was quite overcome by this. There had been no public canvass; signatures had not been solicited; and much of this substantial sum of money had come from Winnipeg trade unions.⁴⁷

He continued to work when he could, and to play golf during the summer, under the constant threat that he did not have long to live. Finally, in February, 1931, after many years of uncertainty, he was confined to bed at his home at 907 Riverwood Street, Fort Garry. There he died, three weeks later on March 18th, just two months after his fiftieth birthday.⁴⁸ Such was the respect for him at City Hall that policemen had been assigned to patrol his street during these last weeks to insure that he was not disturbed.⁴⁹ Four days later he was buried next to his wife at Brookside Cemetery.

In order to properly understand the effect of Dixon's life upon the community it is necessary to look at the response to his death. In the Legislature, where he had fought many of his battles for the things in which he believed, the Premier moved a motion of condolence for his daughter and sister-in-law and said that few men were more widely known or more genuinely respected by all who knew him.⁵⁰ Lieutenant-Colonel F.G. Taylor, K.C., leader of the Conservative Party, said that Dixon's death "brings to an end a career that was nothing short of brilliant in the leadership of the Labor Party."⁵¹ Liberal leader, J.W. Breakey, took pride in the fact that he had seconded the original Workmen's Compensation Bill introduced by Dixon in 1916.⁵² John Queen, now leader of the Independent Labor Party, closed by saying: "In very truth he will live long in the hearts of those whose privilege

it has been to fight side by side with him, and in the indelible influence left by him upon the social and political life of the country."⁵³

The newspapers were full of condolence and regret, but two such expressions were of particular note. The OBU Bulletin, representing the radical opinion against which he had often fought, wrote: "...it will be hard to find anyone to fill his place. His integrity, his noble well-spent life, given without stint in the cause of the oppressed, is a worthy example of those who are left to struggle on."⁵⁴ John Dafoe of the Manitoba Free Press, a man who continued to believe that the Winnipeg General Strike had been an aborted revolution, wrote of Dixon the day after his death:

It was F.J. Dixon's fortune, or his fate, to be an idealist on the side of labor, and of humanity; and in advancing and advocating his principles he became one of the most conspicuous, picturesque, and powerful personalities of the city.... His sincerity was apparent to his opponents as clearly as it was to his friends, and when the mists of trouble were finally scattered, Fred Dixon had the respect and confidence of all classes in his own community. He was placed above party and political differences and esteemed for his own high personal qualities.... It was his human qualities that caught the admiration of his fellow citizens, and it is by them he will be remembered.⁵⁵

But beyond all of these expressions of admiration from the community's leaders lay the silent testimony of the hundreds who appeared at the Fort Rouge Labor Hall on Saturday, March 21st, to pay their last respects. The crowd was so large that it spilled out the doorway of the Labor Hall and went for quite a distance down both Osborne and Brandon Streets.⁵⁶ Those outside were so insistent upon hearing the eulogy that J.S. Woodsworth, who had travelled quickly from Ottawa to conduct the service, was forced

to climb up on a truck and repeat it. The casket was brought outside so that everyone could file past. Woodsworth claimed that he had come from Ottawa to perform the service not simply because he and Dixon had been close friends but because Dixon was a great man, one who had laid the foundation of the labor movement in Winnipeg, and he wished to testify to his greatness.⁵⁷ Giving a brief synopsis of Dixon's career interspersed with anecdotes, Woodsworth read from the Address to the Jury and then concluded: "In my judgment, to him faith was essential as was confidence in an ideal. Mr. Dixon ordered his life on his faith in a better future for humanity, ready to risk himself in his confidence in the future. Fred Dixon was a man of whom it might truly be said that he made the world better for having lived."⁵⁸

But perhaps the best expression of both the paradox and significance of Dixon's life came from Thomas Berton Robertson. Writing in the Free Press on the Monday after the funeral, Robertson pondered:

This is the curious position in which we are left. F.J. Dixon's intellectual masters were recognized monuments in ancient and modern thought. His aims were for the advancement of our social condition. He wanted children to start well in life and have a happy youth. He wanted to insure decent protection and comfort for old age. He wanted peace in the world and friendship among human beings generally. And with these as his objectives he was in a battle during all the years of his public career.

It was his masterful advocacy of these ideals during his life that drew out the crowd of men and women last Saturday to see him borne away to the dark chamber into which we must all finally descend. People might differ on the means to be adopted, they might not see the light as he did, or solve the riddle by the same answer; but no one disagrees with the leading idea. It is the hope of everybody that ampler times await us in the future, and that we are on the way to the world's great age of truth and justice.

Fred Dixon spent his life serving the great

humanitarian ideals. He was misunderstood, and denounced, and opposed; he had his bitter brew to drink; but his character was enlarged and enriched by adversity, and he came out of the storms recognized by the people of Winnipeg as one of their most outstanding and best citizens.⁵⁹

Such was the form and substance of the consensus which undergirded Manitoba life during twenty of its most tumultuous years--captured in Fred Dixon's character and career. Dixon had stood at the centre of the three great upheavals of the era. Motivated by a deep concern for public welfare, he had advocated Direct Legislation and the Single Tax, denounced the Great War and conscription, and defended the right of working people to organize, strike, and earn a living wage, all without concern for personal gain or popularity. He had done so driven by the moral necessity of individual and civil rights, and by a sympathy for the innate dignity of man in a confused, industrializing world. He had given expression to these principles throughout his life, and while people often disagreed with him philosophically over the means of bringing them to bear on the human condition, their continuing respect for him, manifested particularly in 1920, and at his death, confirmed their support for the ends he had in mind.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

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PART ONE

1. Ruben Bellen, Winnipeg First Century; An Economic History. Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1978, pp. 71-77.
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6. J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, (Social History of Canada Series, edited by Michael Bliss), 1972. pp. 11-12.

Chapter 1

1. The source for this biographical information about Dixon's early life is: Roy St. George Stubbs, Prairie Portraits. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1954, pp. 85-118.
2. Henderson's Winnipeg Directory, 1905.
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5. This biographical material on Henry George is from the following sources: Arthur Birnie, Single Tax George. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1939; G. Ramsay Cook, "Henry George and the Poverty of Canadian Progress," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, 1977; Steven B. Cord, Henry George: Dreamer or Realist. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965; George R. Geiger, The Philosophy of Henry George. New York: Macmillan Company, 1933; Henry George Jr., The Life of Henry George. Toronto: The Poole Publishing Co. 1900; Jacob Oser, Henry George. New York: Twayne Publishers Inc. 1974; Edward J. Rose, Henry George. New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1968.
6. Henry George, quoted in: Henry George Jr., The Life of Henry George, p. 210.

Chapter 1 (Cont'd)

7. Henry George, Progress and Poverty. New York: D'Appleton Co. 1879. This was George's most important work, and his most popular, but it was not the only writing of significance. In fact, he wrote volumes of material that not only pointed out his Single Tax views, but went a long way towards turning the subject of political economy into a social science. An influential work in this regard was his book, The Science of Political Economy. Toronto: George N. Morang, 1898.
8. Further illustrating this point, Jacob Oser comments: "The book sold over two million copies in the United States and was translated and published in thirteen foreign languages." Jacob Oser, Henry George, p. 32.
9. For George's reception in Canada see G. Ramsay Cook, "Henry George and the Poverty of Canadian Progress," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, 1977. pp. 142-156.
10. A.R. McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement 1899-1919. pp. 53-54.
11. A.R. McCormack, in Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries, points out that in Winnipeg radical reformers were the dominant force, their philosophical beliefs founded on the twin rocks of Christianity and parliamentary democracy.

The most moderate radicals, the labourites, founded their indictment of capitalism on Christian ethics, Gladstonian radicalism, and Marxism. Although some envisioned the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth, labourites were primarily reformers, committed to an immediate amelioration of social conditions under capitalism. Products of Britain's evolutionary and orderly political culture, they depended exclusively on political action - founding parties, requesting votes, and running candidates. Indeed they perceived the state as the basic vehicle for social change. p. 16.
12. Arthur Puttee became the first M.P. elected on a Labor ticket. His success was due to a split in the ranks of the Liberal Party. For a full description see A.R. McCormack, "Arthur Puttee and the Liberal Party 1899-1904," Canadian Historical Review, June, 1970.
13. See the report on the Labor Party formed four months previous, in The Voice, March 23, 1907.
14. The Voice, January 17, 1908.

Chapter 1 (Cont'd)

15. The Voice, February 7, 1908.
16. The Voice, February 7, 1908.
17. The Voice, February 28, 1908.
18. A.R. McCormack, Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries, p. 89.
19. A.R. McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries, p. 89.
20. The Voice, June 26, 1908.
21. A.R. McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries, p. 89.
22. This column appeared in the spring of 1908, and it continued as a regular feature in The Voice until the paper's demise in July, 1918. Dixon was the author of most of the material in the column up until 1915. When he began to work as an M.L.A., he allowed other Single Taxers to take some of the burden for propoganda while he continued to solicit material and edit it. Also, in 1915, the Single Taxers began their own newspapers, named appropriately--The Single Taxer--and Dixon contributed heavily to this new tabloid as well.
23. The Voice, March, 26, 1909.
24. The Voice, March 26, 1909.
25. The source for this material on Joseph Fels is: The Grain Growers Guide, May 28, 1910.
26. The Voice, January 13, 1911.
27. Alan Artibise, Winnipeg; A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914, p.223.
28. Alan Artibise, Winnipeg; A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914, p.223.
29. The Voice, October 18, 1907.
30. The Voice, October 18, 1907.
31. The Voice, October 18, 1907.
32. The Health League conducted an active campaign against smallpox vaccination during the winter of 1908. At a meeting in early January, in the midst of what they described themselves as an epidemic, they unanimously adapted a resolution condemning the practice. (The Voice, January 17, 1908.) A week later, it was announced that the Health League had organized a debate, to be held in the Trades Hall, resolved to debate "that vaccination is a delusion and its enforcement

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- a crime." (The Voice, January 24, 1908.) Members heard their President, Alan Muir, address the subject a week later. "Every brand of vaccine," he argued, "has a history of horror and suffering hidden as deep from publicity as virus makers and their representatives sitting in offices can possibly make them. See how smallpox has spread in Winnipeg, throughout Manitoba and Ontario by vaccinated persons." (The Voice, January 31, 1908.)
33. Using a biological metaphor indicative of his view that society, like the body, was an organism, Dixon often compared poverty to diseases like tuberculosis, "in the way it controls society as T.B. does the body." The cure for social disease was simple--the use of Henry George's Single Tax. The Voice, April 24, 1908.
 34. The Voice, November 1, 1907.
 35. The Voice, November 8, 1907.
 36. For examples of such diverse topics see: The Voice, November 15, 1907; December 27, 1907; January 17, 1908.
 37. The Voice, November 29, 1907.
 38. The Voice, August 28, 1908.
 39. Roy St. George Stubbs, Prairie Portraits, p. 95.
 40. This would be the legal opinion upheld by the Manitoba Court of Appeal in 1916 when asked to rule on the constitutionality of a proposed Initiative and Referendum Act.
 41. See Dixon's address to the Presbyterian Synod in November of 1911. This is reported in The Voice, November 17 and 24, 1911.
 42. The popularity of this movement, particularly among farmers, has been described by W.L. Morton, who sees it as a non-partisan precursor to the Progressive Party. W.L. Morton, "Direct Legislation and the Origins of the Progressive Movement," Canadian Historical Review, 1944-45, pp. 279-288.
 43. The Voice, August 6, 1909.
 44. The information that follows on the Social and Moral Reform Council is from Lionel Orlikow, "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba 1910-1920," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba 1955, p. 30.
 45. This mirrors the experience of the American progressive reform movement as delineated by Robert Wiebe, Samuel Hays, Dewey Grantham, Peter Feline and John D. Beunker. Arguing within the scope of the consensus view of American history, these men have concluded that

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there was no such thing as a typical Progressive, identifiable either by class or political position. Instead they propose that the era of reform in the United States known as the "Progressive Era" was characterized by shifting coalitions of people, uneasy about the effects of urbanization, immigration and industrialization, and interested in bringing some sort of order out of the resultant chaos. In an article entitled: "The Progressive Era: A Search for Synthesis", John D. Beunker summarized this view:

The dimensions which a comprehensive definition of the Progressive Era ought to encompass, then, seems reasonably clear. It must first of all recognize that no one group or party could possibly have been responsible for the myriad of legislation which characterized the period. It must acknowledge that divisions along cultural and geographical lines were often as important as economic differences. It must admit that pragmatic coalitions based upon temporary harmonies of interest were more compelling considerations than any unified philosophical system of reform. In short, it must proclaim that there was not really one "Progressive Movement", but several concurrent attempts at all levels of society by those seeking to cope with the circumstances of the new environment.

A year later, in 1970, Peter Feline wrote: "The progressive era seems to be characterized by shifting coalitions around different issues, with the specific nature of these coalitions varying on federal, state and local levels, from region to region, and from the first to second decades of the century." Samuel Hays, in The Response to Industrialism 1885-1914. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957, first put forward the idea that progressivism was stimulated by a need to respond to the trio of evils: urbanization, immigration, and industrialization. Robert Wiebe in The Search for Order 1877-1920. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967, suggested that the progressive movement was really a collective response from all segments of society: an effort to restore order at a time of great social dislocation. (John D. Beunker's article, "The Progressive Era: A Search for Synthesis," first appeared in Mid-America, July 1969, pp. 175-193. Peter Feline's article "An Obituary for the 'Progressive Movement'", first appeared in American Quarterly, Spring 1970, pp. 20-34.)

46. The Voice, May 7, 1909.
47. See the list of officials of the Free Speech Defence League in The Voice, May 14, 1909.
48. This was particularly true of Puttee and Richard Rigg, both prominent members of the Trades Council, arrested several times under this curious bylaw.

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49. The Voice, May 6, 1910.
50. See the platform of the Manitoba Labor Party in the Dixon Papers, P.A.M.. Not everyone, however, saw these two principles as compatible. Dick Rigg, a leading socialist laborite, was described as having claimed this to be "an attempt to combine individualistic and socialistic principles," something that could not be done. The Voice, May 20, 1910.
51. The Voice, June 10, 1910.
52. The Voice, June 10, 1910.
53. The Voice, March 26, 1909.
54. The Voice, March 25, 1910.
55. The Voice, March 25, 1910.
56. The Voice, March 25, 1910.
57. A.R. McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries, p. 87.
58. The Voice, July 8, 1910.
59. The Voice, July 15, 1910.
60. The Voice, July 15, 1910.
61. A.R. McCormack, "Radical Politics In Winnipeg: 1899-1915," in Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transactions, 1972-73, p. 90.
62. See an article entitled: "Won Another Victory," originally published in the Socialist Party of Canada's official newspaper, The Western Clarion, and reprinted in The Voice, July 29, 1910.

Chapter 2

1. The Voice, August 12, 1910.
2. David Bercuson has written of the SPC: "The Socialist Party of Canada in Winnipeg was a small elitist organization which placed a premium on its members' knowledge of Marxism theory. In late 1918, the membership of the Winnipeg branch of the party was rarely greater than fifty and only twenty to thirty of them were very active." (David Bercuson, "Labour in Winnipeg: The Great War and the General Strike," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of

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Toronto, 1971, p. 250.) This was at the peak of the SPC's influence, as G. Friesen has pointed out in "Yours in Revolt: the Socialist Party of Canada and the Western Canadian Labour Movement," Labour/Le Travailleur, Volume 1, 1976. Ernie Chisick has pointed out why the Social Democratic Party more appropriately represented the attitudes of Winnipeg socialists. "Concerning the socialist movement itself," he says "The Socialist Party of Canada radicals had fought the upstart Social Democratic Party moderates in the half decade after 1910, but to no avail. The tradition of social revolution within the existing institutions of liberal democracy was too strongly rooted in Winnipeg's socialist movement. This had been established as early as the middle of the 1890's, and the trend continued into the following generation and the fifty years following the First World War." (Ernie Chisick, "The Development of Winnipeg's Socialist Movement 1900-1915," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972, p. 133.)

3. For a study of Bernstein, the origins, meaning, and impact of German Revisionist Socialism and the problems of power, see Peter Gay, The Dilemma of Modern Socialism. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. (reissued 1962.)
4. The Voice, January 27, 1911.
5. Direct Legislation League letterhead, Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
6. The Voice, December 2, 1910.
7. The Voice, December 2, 1910.
8. The Voice, December 23, 1910.
9. The Voice, January 27, 1911.
10. By 1914, Dixon was receiving 1500 dollars per year from the Direct Legislation League. (See the annual report for 1914 reported in The Voice, January 1, 1915.)
11. The Grain Growers Guide, June 22, 1910.
12. The Grain Growers Guide, July 6, and 13, 1910.
13. The Voice, December 2, 1910.
14. The Voice, December 15, 1911.
15. The Voice, February 17, 1911.
16. W.L. Morton, "Direct Legislation and the Origins of the Progressive Movement," Canadian Historical Review, 1944-45, p. 281.

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17. The Voice, February 7, 1913.
18. The Voice, February 7, 1913.
19. See Dixon's letter to the Trades and Labor Council, reprinted in The Voice, February 14, 1913.
20. The Voice, November 1, 1912.
21. The Voice, November 8, 1912.
22. The Voice, December 20, 1912.
23. The Voice, December 12, 1913.
24. The Voice, January 16, 1914.
25. Joseph Fels died of pneumonia on February 22, 1914, in Philadelphia. He had withdrawn support from the Direct Legislation League a year earlier claiming that it was necessary to re-trench. (The Voice, February 28, 1913.) He continued to contribute smaller amounts to both associations which, by this time, were on a solid enough footing to survive by themselves. This is evidenced by the financial statements published in The Voice, (the Single Tax League on April 25, 1913, and the Direct Legislation League on August 29, 1913.)
26. The Voice, April 24, 1914.
27. The Voice, June 19, 1914.
28. Wedding announcement in The Voice, October 16, 1914.
29. Statistics from The Voice, July 17, 1914.
30. Dixon's Speech to Electors, Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
31. Dixon's Speech to Electors, Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
32. Winnipeg Telegram from Hansard Scrapbook, September 12, 1914-September 19, 1914, Legislative Library of Manitoba, p. 105. Hereafter described as Hansard.
33. Manitoba Free Press, Hansard, p. 100.
34. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957, p. 341.
35. Alexander I. Inglis, "Some Political Factors in the Demise of the Roblin Government: 1915," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1968, p. 19.

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36. Manitoba Free Press, Hansard, p. 101.
37. An account of Dixon's speech on the matter of foreclosures and his proposed amendment can be found in The Voice, September 18, 1914; also in the Manitoba Free Press and Winnipeg Telegram, Hansard, pp. 105, 108, and 117.
38. The Voice, September 25, 1914.
39. The Voice, September 18, 1914.
40. The Voice, October 16, 1914.
41. The Voice, October 16, 1914.
42. The Voice, October 30, 1914.
43. The Voice, December 4, 1914.
44. This biographical material on Waugh is from Alan Artibise, Winnipeg; A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1915, pp. 31-32.
45. Artibise's thesis in Winnipeg; A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1915, is that a group of businessmen ran City Council for their own financial purposes, paying little attention to the social needs of its citizens. He is correct, but as Waugh demonstrates, all generalizations have their exceptions. He includes Waugh as one of the barons of the Winnipeg elite, which he certainly was; Waugh's interests, however, like J.H. Ashdown's, often went beyond the scope of his pocketbook.
46. The Voice, September 18, 1914.
47. The information that follows on the Forum movement comes from The Voice, October 23, 1914.
48. The Voice, October 23, 1914.
49. The Voice, November 13, 1914.
50. The Voice, October 23, 1914.
51. Reported in The Voice, October 29, 1915; also in Woodsworth's annual report of April 1916.
52. The Voice, September 25, 1914.
53. The Voice, October 29, 1914.
54. The Voice, January 1, 1915.

Chapter 2 (Cont'd)

55. W.L. Morton has documented the movement's popularity in, "Direct Legislation and the Origins of the Progressive Movement," Canadian Historical Review, 1944-45, pp. 279-288.
56. The Voice, December 18, 1914.
57. The Voice, January 8, 1915.
58. In the 1914 election, Winnipeg's constituency boundaries were changed. Instead of having four constituencies (as had previously been the case, Winnipeg under the new regulations was to have only three: Winnipeg-South, Winnipeg-Centre, and Winnipeg-North. Each was divided, however, into two, called seats A, and B. These were not geographical distinctions; this was only a way of putting forward two slates of candidates in each constituency. In Winnipeg-Centre, voters elected Dixon and Johnson; Dixon took Seat B, running against McArthur and Armstrong, while Johnson carried Seat A running against Andrews and Hoop. The new system was the source of some dispute when the Conservatives maintained that they had the right to decide who ran against who.
59. Manitoba Free Press, from Hansard Scrap Book February 3 - April 2, 1915, p. 6. Legislative Library of Manitoba (hereafter referred to as Hansard.)
60. Manitoba Free Press, from Hansard, p. 15.
61. The Voice, February 19, 1915.
62. Manitoba Free Press, from Hansard, p. 55.
63. Manitoba Free Press, from Hansard, p. 55.
64. Manitoba Free Press, from Hansard, p. 87.
65. Manitoba Free Press, from Hansard, p. 81.
66. The Voice, February 26, 1915.
67. The Voice, December 10, 1915.
68. Manitoba Free Press, from Hansard, p. 65.
69. Manitoba Free Press, from Hansard, p. 85.
70. Alexander I. Inglis, "Some Political Factors in the Demise of the Roblin Government: 1915", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1968, p. 75. Aside from giving much of the detail surrounding the actual fall of the government, Inglis delves into the constitutional aspects inherent in the reaction to the crisis.

Chapter 2 (Cont'd)

71. Alexander I. Inglis, "Some Political Factors in the Demise of the Roblin Government: 1915," p. 75.
72. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 342.
73. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 342.
74. For a full description of these events see both Inglis and Morton.
75. The Voice, March 19, 1915.
76. The Voice, June 4, 1915.
77. The Bill of Supply for the spring session of 1916 lists the total salaries of members as \$73,500 indemnity, and \$1,300 mileage, for a total of \$74,800. Among the forty-nine members, evenly distributed, this works out to an annual salary of \$1,526.50, just about the same amount Dixon had received from the Direct Legislation League in 1911 (\$1,500). This salary was comparable to that of a skilled tradesman working a 44-hour week - 70¢ per hour, and it must be remembered that Dixon, unlike almost all MLA's, did not have another source of income. His was a problem common to all workers who wished to run for public office. (Statistics from the Bill of Supply are originally from Manitoba Statutes 1916; statistics on workers wages from the Fair Wage Schedule for 1916, published in The Voice, July 14, 1916.)
78. The Voice, April 2, 1915.
79. The Voice, April 9, 1915.
80. The Voice, June 25, 1915; The Voice, July 2, 1915.
81. The Voice, July 9, 1915.
82. The Voice, July 9, 1915.
83. The Voice, July 9, 1915.
84. The Voice, July 9, 1915.
85. The Voice, July 21, 1915.
86. In September of 1914, the Social Democratic Party officially affiliated itself with the Trades Council, sending two fraternal delegates to its meetings. (The Voice, September 18, 1914.)
87. The Voice, July 9, 1915.
88. The Voice, July 16, 1915.
89. The Voice, May 21, 1915.

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90. Election Records, Legislative Library of Manitoba. This may also have been because the SPC lacked the financial resources to enter a full slate of candidates.
91. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 348.
92. Election Records, Legislative Library of Manitoba.
93. A.R. McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries, p. 96.

Chapter 3

1. This was Rigg's contention, put forward in his maiden speech in the Legislature and reported in The Voice, January 14, 1916.
2. "Recount in Winnipeg North," in The Voice, August 20, 1915.
3. The Voice, February 11, 1916.
4. He was a financial contributor to the Social Democratic campaign. (See published receipts and expenses, The Voice, October 22, 1915.)
5. W.L. Morton emphasizes this point in his book, Manitoba: A History. Referring to the election he says: "The Norris government had an enormous majority and a sweeping mandate with which to carry out its legislative program. No mere party victory could have been so complete." p. 348
6. The Voice, September 10, 1915.
7. The Voice, September 10, 1915.
8. For reports of Dixon's travels see: The Voice, October 1, October 29, December 3, and December 10, 1915.
9. The Voice, November 5, 1915.
10. The Voice, October 1, 1915.
11. See J. Michael Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War One," Canadian Historical Review, September, 1968; and Richard Allen, The Social Passion.
12. This fall series was featured quite prominently in the fall issues of The Voice. For a biography of Westwood see the Manitoba Free Press, January 20, 1917, p. 11.
13. The Voice, September 24, 1915.

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14. The Voice, October 22, 1915.
15. The Voice, October 22, 1915.
16. The Voice, November 26, 1915.
17. Manitoba Free Press, January 15, 1917.
18. The Voice, December 10, 1915.
19. These figures are Richard Rigg's, part of the Trades Council Secretary's annual report, January, 1918. Resigning as Secretary, Rigg released the following figures regarding Trades Council membership:

1911 - 5,444	1914 - 6,815
1912 - 6,457	1915 - 4,900
1913 - 8,009	1916 - 6,203

"From the above record," he noted, "...during the first seventeen months of the war, the council sustained a loss of 3,109 members." The Voice, January 18, 1918.

20. Rigg was a good example of this tendency. He severed all his ties with the labor movement in January, and joined a railway battalion, just one month after contesting the Winnipeg-North seat in the Dominion election of 1917.
21. A.R. McCormack has described the extent to which workers aided the war effort, at the expense of their class:

Also disturbing to radical labour leaders was the tendency on the part of many workers to place nation before class. The union members who enlisted, some 26,000 by the end of 1917, became soldiers or veterans first and trade unionists second. This transition was a source of concern to many western leaders. Bill Hoop, the impossiblist organizer of the Winnipeg trades council observed, no matter how "red" you are when the military band passes, the primeval instincts are aroused; a great majority of the men overseas have developed the master class mind. Even some of those workers who remained at home tended to place the war effort before the objectives of the labour movement.... For a movement which depended upon group consciousness and hoped to achieve class solidarity, this was a development fraught with danger. (Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries, pp. 123-124.)

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22. Statutes of Manitoba, 1916.
23. The Voice, March 3, 1916.
24. Statutes of Manitoba, 1916.
25. The Voice, January 28, 1916.
26. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 282.
27. The figures are from: W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 349.
28. The Voice, March 31, 1916.
29. The Voice, March 10, 1916.
30. The Voice, March 10, 1916.
31. The Voice, February 11, 1916.
32. John Keegan, The Face of Battle. New York: Vintage Books, 1977.
33. Statutes of Manitoba, 1916. What follows is a summary of the legislation called the Initiative and Referendum Act, herein contained.
34. The Voice, May 5, 1916.
35. The Voice, February 25, 1916.
36. The Voice, May 5, 1916.
37. The Voice, April 7, 1916.
38. This paraphrase is from a report in The Voice, December 29, 1916.
39. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 349. See also: "Direct Legislation and the Origins of the Progressive Movement," Canadian Historical Review, 1944-45, for details of origins.
40. The Voice, December 29, 1916.
41. The Voice, December 29, 1916
42. What follows is from Statutes of Manitoba 1916, The Voice and Manitoba Free Press for January and February, 1916, and a particular article in The Voice detailing Richard Rigg's report on the Legislative session, printed March 3, 1916.

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43. Rigg and Dixon adamantly opposed the measure to allow thirteen-year olds to work claiming that students would therefore be too tired to study. They recognized that many working families needed the extra income; however, they believed that the long-term benefits of education outweighed even the consideration of present poverty. The Voice said of this new legislation:
- The Act, as passed, is a great advance on the old act which it replaces, and it is said that there is no such measure of its class in advance of it in any province or British country. (The Voice, February 11, 1916.)
44. The Voice, August 3, 1917.
45. The Voice, January 28, 1916.
46. Under the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act, a workman could receive up to 55% of his total earnings if through an accident he was partially disabled. It had been shown that a government scheme with lower overhead, not interested in profit-making, could insure benefits of 80% to 90%. At least three recent commissions in Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia, had recommended public insurance to their governments, based upon this logic. The Voice, February 18 and 25, 1916. Also: The Voice, March 9, 1916.
47. James Gray, in The Boy from Winnipeg, describes the situation at Strathcona School during his brief attendance there: "The Strathcona school year was a towerless Babel and during my short attendance I often felt completely out of place because I spoke no language but English." James Gray, The Boy from Winnipeg. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970. p. 36.
48. For an account of the problems of immigrant education from 1900 to 1920, as well as a portrait of W.J. Sisler, see Sybil Shack, "Education of Immigrant Children During the First Two Decades of this Century," in Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transactions, No. 30, 1973-74, pp. 17-32.
49. Examples of this attitude can be found in such contemporary works as: Wellington Bridgman, Breaking Prairie Sod. Toronto: Musson, 1920. Charles William Gordon, The Foreigner, A Tale of Saskatchewan. Toronto: Westminster Co. Ltd., 1909, (published under the pseudonym Ralph Connor). J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates. Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909. Bridgman's book is an example of this idea taken to its extreme; Woodsworth's is more moderate and sympathetic; C.W. Gordon's book is probably reflective of much of the agonized Anglo-Saxon opinion, centered on the immigrant problem. All these men agreed, however, that the only way to remedy the situation was to teach everyone English.

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50. Statutes of Manitoba, 1916.
51. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 350.
52. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, pp. 350-351.
53. The Voice, February 11, 1916.
54. See Dixon's report on the Legislative session in The Voice, April 7, 1916. Also W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, pp. 354-355.
55. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 355.

PART TWO

1. Robert C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921; A Nation Transformed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974, p. 235.
2. Manitoba Free Press, March 13, 1917, p. 11.
3. Manitoba Free Press, March 13, 1917, p. 11

Chapter 4

1. The Voice, December 29, 1916.
2. The Voice, December 29, 1916.
3. The Voice, December 29, 1916.
4. Manitoba Free Press, January 1, 1917, p. 5.
5. The Voice, December 29, 1916.
6. Opinion on the matter of compliance was divided, with individual locals like the Typographers and Stonecutters voting in favour, and others, like the Machinists and Painters, voting against. Manitoba Free Press, January 8, 1917, p. 1; and The Voice, January 5, 1917.
7. The Voice, January 5, 1917.
8. The Voice, January 5, 1917.
9. Manitoba Free Press, January 12, 1917, pp. 1 and 2. Also: John H. Thompson, The Harvests of War; The Prairie West, 1896-1921, p. 122.
10. The Single Taxer and Direct Legislation Bulletin, February, 1917. pp. 6 and 7.
11. The Single Taxer and Direct Legislation Bulletin, January, 1917. p. 2.
12. Manitoba Free Press, January 22, 1917, p. 5.
13. Manitoba Free Press, January 16, 1917, p. 4.
14. Manitoba Free Press, January 13, 1917, p. 5.
15. Manitoba Free Press, January 25, 1917, p. 4.
16. Manitoba Free Press, January 26, 1917, p. 5.

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17. Manitoba Free Press, January 12, 1917, p. 6.
18. Ramsay Cook, The Politics of J.W. Dafoe and the Free Press. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963, Chapter 5.
19. Manitoba Free Press, January 2, 1917, p. 9.
20. Manitoba Free Press, January 6, 1917, p. 13.
21. Manitoba Free Press, January 3, 1917, p. 9.
22. Manitoba Free Press, March 24, 1917, p. 17.
23. The Voice, April 23, 1909.
24. The Voice, September 10, 1909.
25. Speech entitled: "Peace," from Stubbs Papers, courtesy of Stubbs family. It is possible that this speech was delivered in 1912.
26. Letter to Borden, from Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
27. See Chapter 3.
28. The Voice, October 1, 1915.
29. The Voice, Land Values Column, November 20, 1914.
30. Testimony from Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 19, 1919, p. 8.
31. The Voice, November 13, 1914.
32. The Voice, July 9, 1915.
33. The Voice, November 6, 1914.
34. The Voice, September 24, 1915.
35. Manitoba Free Press, January 5, 1917, p. 1.
36. Manitoba Free Press, January 15, 1917, p. 11.
37. Manitoba Free Press, January 18, 1917, p. 1.
38. Manitoba Free Press, January 18, 1917, p. 1.
39. Manitoba Free Press, January 18, 1917, p. 1.
40. Manitoba Free Press, January 19, 1917, pp. 1 and 2.

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41. Manitoba Free Press, January 19, 1917, pp. 1 and 2.
42. See the response to Dixon's speech by J.W. Wilton, Manitoba Free Press, January 20, 1917, p. 1.
43. Manitoba Free Press, January 26, 1917, p. 1.
44. The Voice, March 9, 1917.
45. Manitoba Free Press, January 23, 1917, p. 9.
46. The Voice, January 19, 1917.
47. Manitoba Free Press, January 19, 1917, pp. 1 and 2.
48. Manitoba Free Press, January 8, 1917, pp. 1 and 4.
49. Manitoba Free Press, January 12, 1917, p. 6.
50. Manitoba Free Press, January 22, 1917, p. 8.
51. Manitoba Free Press, January 31, 1917, pp. 1 and 11.
52. Manitoba Free Press, February 7, 1917, p. 4.
53. Manitoba Free Press, February 7, 1917, p. 4.
54. Manitoba Free Press, February 7, 1917, p. 4.
55. Manitoba Free Press, February 5, 1917, p. 5.
56. Clipping from The Voice, March 30, 1917, found in Dixon Papers, P.A.M.. Also, The Voice, February 16, 1917.
57. Clippings from the Winnipeg Telegram, and replies from Dixon, in Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
58. Clipping entitled: "Recall is Fake," from Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
59. "Recall is Fake," from Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
60. Manitoba Free Press, January 24, 1917, p. 9.

Chapter 5

1. John H. Thompson, The Harvests of War; The Prairie West, 1914-1918, p. 118.

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2. Manitoba Free Press, January 15, 1917, p. 1.
3. Manitoba Free Press, January 27, 1917, p. 1.
4. Manitoba Free Press, January 17, 1917, p. 5.
5. Manitoba Free Press, February 8, 1917, p. 1; and February 9, 1917, p. 1.
6. Manitoba Free Press, February 3, 1917, pp. 1 and 7.
7. Manitoba Free Press, January 29, 1917, p. 1.
8. The Voice, September 15, 1916.
9. Manitoba Free Press, January 4, 1917, p. 1.
10. Manitoba Free Press, January 10, 1917, p. 4.
11. Manitoba Free Press, February 5, 1917, p. 5.
12. Manitoba Free Press, February 22, 1917, p. 9.
13. Donald Creighton, Canada's First Century. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970, p. 146.
14. Manitoba Free Press, March 17, 1917, pp. 1 and 9.
15. Manitoba Free Press, March 26, 1917, p. 1.
16. Manitoba Free Press, April 25, 1917, p. 1.
17. Manitoba Free Press, April 25, 1917, p. 1.
18. The Voice, May 3, 1917.
19. Manitoba Free Press, May 21, 1917, p. 9.
20. See advertisement, The Voice, May 25, 1917.
21. The Voice, June 1, 1917.
22. Manitoba Free Press, May 28, 1917, p. 4.
23. The Voice, June 1, 1917.
24. The Voice, June 1, 1917.
25. The Voice, June 8, 1917.

Chapter 5 (Cont'd)

26. Winnipeg Citizen, (1919 Citizen's Committee Strike newspaper), June 10, 1919, in a biographical sketch of Dixon.
27. The Voice, June 8, 1917.
28. The Voice, June 8, 1917.
29. The Voice, June 15, 1917.
30. The Voice, June 8, 1917.
31. The Voice, August 10, 1917.
32. The Voice, August 17, 1917.
33. The Voice, August 10, 1917.
34. Robert C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921; A Nation Transformed, p. 232.
35. The Voice, June 15, 1917.
36. The articles appeared under the pseudonym: "Christopher Columbus." Mary Jordan, in Survival; Labour's Trials and Tribulations in Canada. Toronto: McDonald House, 1975, identifies Robertson as the mysterious "Columbus" (p. 79). Robertson had just left The Voice to go to work at the Free Press, where in later life, he would enjoy a distinguished career.
37. This series of articles ran through August in The Voice, and this is a synthesis of the ideas expressed.
38. The Voice, August 24, 1917.
39. John H. Thompson, The Harvests of War; The Prairie West, 1914-1918, p. 140.
40. This remarkable series of victories does not appear likely to end either. The seat has been held, first by J.S. Woodsworth and then by Stanley Knowles, since 1920, with the single exception of the Diefenbaker years - 1958 to 1963.
41. The Voice, December 21, 1917.
42. The Voice, February 1, 1918.
43. The Voice, February 8, 1918.
44. The Voice, February 8, 1918.
45. The Voice, February 8, 1918.

Chapter 5 (Cont'd)

46. The Voice, March 22, 1918.
47. The Voice, March 1, 1918.
48. The Voice, February 8, 1918.
49. The Voice, March 29, 1918.
50. The biographical information concerning Rigg's early life comes from Ernie Chisick, "The Development of Winnipeg's Socialist Movement, 1900-1915," p. 74.
51. The Voice, April 12, 1918.
52. The Voice, April 12, 1918.
53. The Voice, November 16, 1917.
54. Manitoba Free Press, November 12, 1917, p. 8.
55. He resigned his position on the Trades Council during the first week of January according to The Voice, January 4, 1918. On January 18, The Voice reported his intention to resign from the Dominion Trades Congress. The ceremonial Trades Council meeting was reported in The Voice, February 15, 1918.
56. The Voice, February 15, 1918.
57. Manitoba Free Press, April 11, 1918, p. 10.
58. Manitoba Free Press, April 11, 1918, p. 10.
59. The Voice, January 25, 1918.
60. The Voice, April 19, 1918.
61. The Voice, January 25, 1918.
62. The Voice, January 25, 1918.
63. The Voice, March 8, 1918.
64. The Western Labor News, November 1, 1918.
65. The Voice, March 8, 1918.

PART THREE

Chapter 6

1. The Voice, February 1, 1918.
2. For analysis of this see Henry Joseph Sutcliffe, "The Economic Background of the Winnipeg General Strike Wages and Working Conditions," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972.
3. The Voice, February 1, 1918.
4. The Voice, February 1, 1918.
5. The Western Labor News, November 1, 1918.
6. The Voice, March 1, 1918.
7. The Voice, March 22, 1918.
8. The Voice, April 12, 1918.
9. The Voice, April 12, 1918.
10. The Voice, April 26, 1918.
11. The Voice, April 12, 1918.
12. The Voice, May 3, 1918.
13. The Voice, May 3, 1918.
14. The Western Labor News, December 27, 1918, (Labor Party column).
15. See Dixon's Address to the Jury; An Argument for Liberty of Opinion, Israelite Press, 1920, p. 33.
16. The Voice, June 21, 1918.
17. He was not alone. A week later, J.S. Woodsworth resigned as well.
18. The Western Labor News, August 2, 1918.
This was made necessary because the Council was angry with Puttee for the position he took during a labor dispute in May.
19. The Voice, July 5, 1918.
20. The Voice, July 12, 1918.
21. The Voice, July 12, 1918.
22. The Voice, July 26, 1918.
23. The Western Labor News, August 2, 1918.

Chapter 6 (Cont'd)

24. Russell's own testimony, Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 18, 1919, p. 5.
25. David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, p. 98. Gerald Friesen in "Yours in Revolt: The Socialist Party of Canada and the Western Canadian Radical Movement," Labor/Le Travailleur, Volume 1, 1976, p. 145, argues that the SPC was incorrect in describing its aim as syndicalism.
26. For a biography of Russell see: Mary Jordan, Survival; Labour's Trials and Tribulations in Canada.
27. Russell's own testimony, Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 18, 1919, p. 2.
28. Russell's own testimony, Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 18, 1919, p. 2.
29. Russell's own testimony, Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 19, 1919, p. 3.
30. Russell's own testimony, Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 18, 1919, p. 5.
31. The Western Labor News, August 2, 1918.
32. Manitoba Free Press, May 3, 1919, p. 1.
33. Manitoba Free Press, May 3, 1919, p. 1.
34. The Voice, February 15, 1918.
35. The Voice, May 6, 1918.
36. The Voice, February 15, 1918.
37. David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, p. 84.
38. The Voice, July 26, 1918.
39. The Western Labor News, August 2, 1918.
40. David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, p. 75.
41. David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, p. 76. Another reason for Russell's fury was that he too opposed the strike, as he revealed at his trial, but unlike Tipping he had supported his class anyway. See Russell's own testimony, Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 18, 1919, p. 5.

Chapter 6 (Cont'd)

42. Manitoba Free Press, November 30, 1918, p. 10.
43. Martin Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour; 1880-1930. Kingston: Industrial Relations Centre, Queen's University, 1968, p. 161.
44. Martin Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labor, p. 160.
45. One such letter to Joseph Knight, read: "I promised Rees that I would write to you and try to get you to propagate the holding of the conference of Western organizations so that you can readily realize we could pack it with Reds and no doubt start something - Yours in Revolt. R.B. Russell". Correspondence used as evidence in Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 1, 1919, p. 10.
46. The Labor Church moved first to the Dominion Theatre, then to the Rex, and finally, at the end of December, to the Columbia: The Western Labor News, October 11, 1918, November 15, 1918, November 29, 1918, and December 20, 1918.
47. The reason that the Church moved from the Rex to the Columbia was to give the choir more room: The Western Labor News, December 20, 1918.
48. See final election results: Manitoba Free Press, December 2, 1918, p. 12.
49. The Western Labor News, November 1, 1918.
50. See final election results: Manitoba Free Press, December 2, 1918, p. 12.
51. The Western Labor News, January 10, 1919.
52. See final election results: Manitoba Free Press, December 2, 1918, p. 12.
53. See final election results: Manitoba Free Press, December 2, 1918, p. 12.
54. Manitoba Free Press, November 30, 1918, p. 10.
55. The Western Labor News, December 6, 1918.
56. The Western Labor News, December 13, 1918.
57. The Western Labor News, December 13, 1918.
58. The Western Labor News, December 13, 1918.

Chapter 6 (Cont'd)

59. David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, p. 83.
60. Western Labor News, December 13, 1918.
61. The Western Labor News, December 13, 1918.
62. The Western Labor News, December 13, 1918.
63. The Western Labor News, January 10, 1919.
64. The Western Labor News, January 10, 1919.
65. The Western Labor News, December 20, 1918.
66. The Western Labor News, December 20, 1918.
67. The Western Labor News, December 27, 1918.
68. The Western Labor News, December 27, 1918.
69. The Western Labor News, December 27, 1918.
D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950, p. 4.
70. The Voice, March 17, 1916. This fracas over Hoop's alleged statements caused SPC local No. 1 to be dissolved, and another, local No. 3, formed: The Voice, July 28, 1916.
71. Queen points this out in his address before sentence. The closest he got was as advertising agent for The Western Labor News, a post given him in July, 1918, to supplement his alderman's salary. He took the post, he claimed, because "I had to have a job." The Western Labor News, March 19, 1920.
72. Figures from David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, p. 86.
73. The Western Labor News, December 27, 1918.
74. Correspondence submitted as evidence in Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 2, 1919, p. 12.
75. David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, p. 86.
76. The Western Labor News, January 24, 1919.
77. Correspondence submitted as evidence in Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 2, 1919, p. 12.
78. Testimony from Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 2, 1919, p. 12.

Chapter 6 (Cont'd)

79. Russell's own testimony during Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 18, 1919, p. 5.
80. The Western Labor News, January 3, 1919.
81. The Western Labor News, February 14, 1919.
82. The Western Labor News, February 28, 1919.
83. The Western Labor News, February 28, 1919.
84. The Western Labor News, February 28, 1919.
85. The Western Labor News, December 27, 1918.
86. The Western Labor News, January 31, 1919.
87. The Western Labor News, January 17, 1919.
88. The Western Labor News, January 31, 1919.
89. The Western Labor News, January 31, 1919.
90. The Western Labor News, February 7, 1919.
91. Manitoba Free Press, December 20, 1919, p. 26.
92. The Western Labor News, February 7, 1919.
93. The Western Labor News, February 7, 1919.
94. The Western Labor News, March 14, 1919.
95. For a transcript of the proceedings see the Supplement to The Western Labor News, April 4, 1919. For accounts of it see David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, pp. 90-102; and Gerald Friesen, "Yours in Revolt: The Socialist Party of Canada and the Western Canadian Labour Movement," Labor/Le Travailleur, pp. 139-157.
96. David Bercuson, in Confrontation at Winnipeg, p. 100, gives the names of the committee members. Gerald Friesen, "Yours in Revolt: The Socialist Party of Canada and the Western Canadian Labour Movement," Labor/Le Travailleur, p. 140, identifies them as members of the SPC.
97. Russell's own testimony, Russell Trial: quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 19, 1919, p. 3.

Chapter 7

1. The Voice, May 10, 1918.
2. Bonuses were to be given according to the following schedule: \$3/week for a man, married and earning up to \$1200; \$2/week for married men earning between \$1200 and \$1600; and \$2/week for single men earning up to \$1600. Manitoba Free Press, April 30, 1918.
3. This was reiterated by workers in attendance at the Council meeting. Manitoba Free Press, April 30, 1918.
4. So revealed in a letter from Horace Westwood to the firemen, printed in The Voice, July 26, 1918.
5. Meeting of civic clerks, Manitoba Free Press, May 3, 1918, p. 4.
6. Electrical workers' vote reported in the Manitoba Free Press, May 2, 1918, p. 1; water workers' vote reported in the Manitoba Free Press, May 3, 1918; teamsters' vote reported in the Manitoba Free Press, May 6, 1918, pp. 1 and 7; firemens' vote reported in the Manitoba Free Press, May 10, 1918, pp. 1 and 2.
7. Manitoba Free Press, May 4, 1918, pp. 1 and 2.
8. Manitoba Free Press, May 9, 1918, pp. 1 and 2.
9. Manitoba Free Press, March 13, 1918, p. 5.
10. Manitoba Free Press, March 13, 1918, p. 5.
11. Manitoba Free Press, May 9, 1918, pp. 1 and 2.
12. Manitoba Free Press, May 9, 1918, pp. 1 and 2.
13. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918; The Prelude to 1919?," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978, pp. 69-70.
14. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," pp. 66-70.
15. Manitoba Free Press, May 4, 1918, p. 13.
16. Manitoba Free Press, May 16, 1918, p. 11.
17. Manitoba Free Press, May 10, 1918, pp. 1 and 2.
18. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," pp. 102-104.
19. Manitoba Free Press, May 11, 1918, pp. 1 and 8.
20. Manitoba Free Press, May 13, 1918, p. 1.

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21. Manitoba Free Press, May 14, 1918, p. 1.
22. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," pp. 138-144.
23. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," pp. 144-148.
24. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," p. 148.
25. The Voice, July 26, 1918.
26. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," p. 153.
27. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," p. 160.
28. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," p. 1.
29. Manitoba Free Press, May 22, 1918, p. 11.
30. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," p. 170.
31. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," p. 163.
32. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," p. 163.
33. A.E. Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May 1918," p. 182.
34. David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, pp. 54-77.
35. David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, pp. 69-72.
36. The Voice, June 22, 1917.
37. The Western Labor News, April 25, 1919.
38. David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, p. 8.
39. David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, p. 109.
40. The Western Labor News, May 2, 1919.
41. The Western Labor News, May 2, 1919.
42. The Western Labor News, May 2, 1919.
43. The Western Labor News, May 9, 1919.
44. The Western Labor News, May 9, 1919.
45. The Western Labor News, May 9, 1919.
46. D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike, pp. 41-42.

Chapter 7 (Cont'd)

47. The Western Labor News, July 18, 1919.
48. D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike, p. 45.
49. D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike, pp. 45-46.
50. D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike, p. 46.
51. Manitoba Free Press, May 15, 1919, p. 11.
52. Manitoba Free Press, May 16, 1919, p. 11.
53. Manitoba Free Press, May 22, 1919, p. 1.
54. Ramsay Cook, The Politics of John W. Dafoe, p. 101.
55. For details see David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, and D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike.
56. David Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, p. 178. Says Bercuson: "Thus the battle which many had pinned their hopes on, the struggle which would culminate in better wages, union recognition, and management's acknowledgement that workers were a power to be dealt with, had ended in total failure."
57. The Western Labor News, July 4, 1919.
58. The Western Labor News, July 4, 1919.
59. David Bercuson, Fools and Wise Men; The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1978, pp. 215-216.
60. The Western Labor News, May 1, 1919.
61. The Western Labor News, June 27, 1919.
62. The Western Labor News, July 11, 1919.
63. The Western Labor News, July 11 and July 18, 1919.
64. The Western Labor News, August 1, 1919.
65. The Western Labor News, August 22, 1919.
66. See record of receipts and disbursements, The Western Labor News, August 1, 1919.
67. The Western Labor News, July 11, 1919.
68. The Western Labor News, August 15, 1919.

Chapter 7 (Cont'd)

69. The Western Labor News, August 22, 1919.
70. The Western Labor News, August 29, 1919.
71. The Western Labor News, September 12, 1919.
72. The Western Labor News, October 10, 1919.
73. The Western Labor News, October 10, 1919.
74. The Western Labor News, October 17, 1919.
75. The Western Labor News, October 24, 1919.
76. The Western Labor News, November 7, 1919.
77. The Western Labor News, November 14, 1919.
78. The Western Labor News, November 14, 1919. The Western Labor News,
November 21, 1919.
79. The Western Labor News, December 5, 1919.
80. The Western Labor News, December 5, 1919.
81. The Western Labor News, December 5, 1919.
82. The Western Labor News, May 9, 1919.
83. The Western Labor News, July 11, 1919.
84. The Western Labor News, July 18, 1919.
85. The Western Labor News, July 18, 1919.
86. The Western Labor News, August 15, 1919.

Chapter 8

1. Dixon's Address to the Jury; An Argument for Liberty of Opinion.
Winnipeg, Israelite Press, 1920, p. 31.
2. This is implied in the Address to the Jury, p. 27.
3. Address to the Jury, p. 33.
4. Address to the Jury, pp. 31-33.
5. Address to the Jury, pp. 31-33.

Chapter 8 (Cont'd)

6. Dixon's testimony in Russell Trial: quoted in the Manitoba Free Press, December 20, 1919, pp. 19 and 26.
7. The Voice, May 24, 1918.
8. Speech in support of the letter carriers, Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
9. Speech in support of the letter carriers, Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
10. The Voice, July 12, 1918; speech in support of the letter carriers, Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
11. Speech in support of the letter carriers, Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
12. Address to the Jury, pp. 21-22.
13. Dixon's testimony in Russell Trial: quoted in the Manitoba Free Press, December 20, 1919, pp. 19 and 26.
14. Dixon's testimony in Russell Trial: quoted in the Manitoba Free Press, December 20, 1919, pp. 19 and 26.
15. Norman Penner, Winnipeg 1919; The Strikers' own history of the Winnipeg General Strike, Second Edition. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1975, p. 70.
16. The Western Labor News, Special Strike Edition, June 10, 1919.
17. Letter from A. J. Andrews to Winnipeg Printing and Engraving Co. Ltd., The Western Star, Special Edition, June 24, 1919.
18. The Western Labor News, July 4, 1919.
19. Address to the Jury, pp. 80-92.
20. The intimacy of their relationship is described by Kenneth McNaught in A Prophet in Politics; A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959, p. 121. "It is probably correct to say that Woodsworth valued Dixon's friendship above that of any other of his political associates, and was very close to him until a tragic death by cancer terminated Dixon's career in 1931."
21. The Western Labor News, July 18, 1919.
22. The Western Labor News, August 15, 1919.
23. The Western Labor News, October 24, 1919.
24. The Western Labor News, July 25, 1919.
25. Manitoba Free Press, February 2, 1920, p. 7.

Chapter 8 (Cont'd)

26. The Western Labor News, December 5, 1919.
27. Russell's testimony during Russell Trial: quoted in the Manitoba Free Press, December 18, 1919, p. 5.
28. The Western Labor News, December 26, 1919. D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike, p. 120.
29. Manitoba Free Press, January 30, 1920, p. 1.
30. Roy St. George Stubbs, Prairie Portraits, p. 108-109.
31. Manitoba Free Press, January 30, 1920, p. 1.
32. Manitoba Free Press, January 30, 1920, p. 1.
33. Manitoba Free Press, January 31, 1920, p. 2.
34. Manitoba Free Press, February 2, 1920, p. 9; and February 4, 1920, p. 10.
35. Manitoba Free Press, February 2, 1920, p. 9.
36. The Western Labor News, February 5, 1920.
37. Manitoba Free Press, February 7, 1920, p. 7.
38. Manitoba Free Press, February 9, 1920, p. 1.
39. Manitoba Free Press, February 7, 1920, p. 7.
40. Manitoba Free Press, February 12, 1920, p. 4.
41. Manitoba Free Press, February 13, 1920, p. 6.
42. Roy St. George Stubbs, Prairie Portraits, p. 111.
43. Roy St. George Stubbs, Prairie Portraits, p. 111.
44. Address to the Jury, p. 3.
45. Address to the Jury, pp. 4-5.
46. Address to the Jury, p. 6.
47. Address to the Jury, pp. 20-23.
48. Address to the Jury, pp. 24-25.
49. Address to the Jury, pp. 27-29.

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50. Address to the Jury, p. 27.
51. Address to the Jury, pp. 31-34.
52. Address to the Jury, pp. 38-39.
53. Address to the Jury, p. 39.
54. Address to the Jury, pp. 48-52.
55. Address to the Jury, pp. 63-65.
56. Address to the Jury, p. 13.
57. Address to the Jury, pp. 80-85.
58. Address to the Jury, pp. 85-90.
59. Address to the Jury, pp. 90-93.
60. Address to the Jury, p. 93.
61. Address to the Jury, pp. 94-95.
62. Manitoba Free Press, February 16, 1920, pp. 1 and 3.
63. Address to the Jury, pp. 95-96.
64. Manitoba Free Press, February 16, 1920, pp. 1 and 3.
65. Manitoba Free Press, February 16, 1920, pp. 1 and 3.
66. Manitoba Free Press, February 16, 1920, pp. 1 and 3.
67. Manitoba Free Press, February 16, 1920, pp. 1 and 3.
68. Roy St. George Stubbs, Prairie Portraits, p. 114.
69. Roy St. George Stubbs, Prairie Portraits, p. 114.
70. E.J. McMurray's "Comments on the Cross Examination," from Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
71. The Western Labor News, February 27, 1920.
72. The Western Labor News, February 27, 1920.
73. The Western Labor News, March 12, 1920.

Chapter 8 (Cont'd)

74. The Western Labor News, March 26, 1920.
75. Dixon's testimony during Russell Trial: quoted in the Manitoba Free Press, December 20, 1919, pp. 19 and 26. The Western Labor News, September 5, 1919.
76. Two days after his acquittal, Dixon went to a banquet sponsored by the Single Tax League of Western Canada in honour of Tom Crerar. Manitoba Free Press, February 19, 1920, p. 10.
77. The Western Labor News, February 20, 1920.
78. The Western Labor News, April 2, 1920; April 9, 1920.
79. The Western Labor News, April 2, 1920.
80. The Western Labor News, April 16, 1920.
81. The Western Labor News, April 16, 1920.
82. This explanation comes from the Manitoba Free Press, February 2, 1920, p. 15; and from the official report of the returning officer, Election Records, Legislative Library of Manitoba.
83. The Western Labor News, April 16, 1920.
84. The Western Labor News, April 16, 1920.
85. The Western Labor News, May 28, 1920.
86. The Western Labor News, June 4, 1920.
87. The Western Labor News, June 11, 1920.
88. The Western Labor News, June 4, 1920.
89. The Western Labor News, June 4, 1920.
90. The Western Labor News, June 4, 1920.
91. The Western Labor News, June 4, 1920.
92. The Western Labor News, June 11, 1920.
93. The Western Labor News, June 25, 1920.
94. Report of the returning officer, Election Records, Legislative Library of Manitoba.

Chapter 8 (Cont'd)

95. Armstrong, despite running third in the first round of balloting, was the eighth person elected. He did so without acquiring the requisite ten percent, missing by 42 votes. He won by attrition. Ivens was elected right away, given Dixon's 3,600 vote surplus, but he had been favoured with only 1,958 first-place votes. Queen started with only 1,258 votes, and so Dixon's surplus was crucial. Election Records, Legislative Library of Manitoba.
96. The Single Taxer, August, 1920, p. 1. Kenneth McNaught in A Prophet in Politics quotes the Canadian Forum, December, 1920, with this figure also.
97. These poll by poll results were published in the Manitoba Free Press, July 1, 1920, first section.
98. The Western Labor News, July 2, 1920.
99. With the possible exception of his friend Stubbs in the 1936 provincial election.

EPILOGUE

1. The Western Labor News, August 13, 1920.
2. The Western Labor News, August 13, 1920.
3. The Western Labor News, September 10, 1920.
4. The Western Labor News, September 10, 1920.
5. The Western Labor News, October 29, 1920.
6. The Western Labor News, October 29, 1920.
7. The Western Labor News, November 5, 1920.
8. Allen Mills, "Single Tax, Socialism, and the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba", Labour/Le Travailleur, Spring, 1980. p. 48
9. Entry of December 16, 1920, Minute Book of the Independent Labor Party--Center Branch, P.A.M. (cited hereafter as ILP Minute Book).
10. ILP Minute Book, December 16, 1920; December 30, 1920.
11. ILP Minute Book, January 13, 1921.
12. Constitution and Platform of the Independent Labor Party, Dixon Papers, P.A.M..
13. The Western Labor News, January 7, 1921.
14. The Western Labor News, January 25, 1921.
15. The Western Labor News, January 14, 1921.
16. The Voice, March 26, 1909.
17. The Western Labor News, February 25, 1921.
18. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 337.
19. The Western Labor News, August 26, 1921.
20. The Western Labor News, September 2, 1921.
21. The Western Labor News, September 2, 1921.
22. The Western Labor News, September 2, 1921.

23. The Western Labor News, October 7, 1921.
24. The Western Labor News, October 14, 1921.
25. The Western Labor News, July 30, 1920.
26. Dixon gave a speech in Brandon on Labor Day with A.E. Smith of the Labor group, and George Little of the United Farmers, and here he defended the DLP platform. Western Labor News, September 19, 1920.
27. The Western Labor News, March 4, 1921.
28. The Western Labor News, April 1, 1921.
29. Kenneth McNaught, A Prophet in Politics, pp. 149-153.
30. The Western Labor News, February 10, 1922.
31. The Western Labor News, February 24, 1922.
32. This sparked debate within the ILP--see Allen Mills, "Single Tax, Socialism, and the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba", Labour/Le Travailleur, Spring, 1980, p. 51.
33. For all results see the Report of the Returning Officer, July 25, 1922, Election Records, Legislative Library of Manitoba.
34. Roy St. George Stubbs recalls this from discussions with his father, Lewis St. George Stubbs, one of Dixon's closest friends.
35. The Western Labor News, December 1, 1922.
36. The Western Labor News, November 5, 1920.
37. Winnipeg Tribune, May 16, 1922; Western Labor News, May 19, 1922.
38. Letter from F.J. Pratt, courtesy of the Stubbs family.
39. Manitoba Free Press, July 4, 1923, p. 5.
40. Manitoba Free Press, July 4, 1923, p. 5. His opinions on life insurance were recalled by Roy St. George Stubbs.
41. Manitoba Free Press, July 4, 1923, p. 5.
42. Letter from F.J. Pratt, courtesy of the Stubbs family.
43. Winnipeg Tribune, March 18, 1931; Manitoba Free Press, March 19, 1931, p. 3.
44. Manitoba Free Press, March 19, 1931, p. 3.

45. Winnipeg Tribune, October 15, 1929.
46. Winnipeg Tribune, October 15, 1929.
47. Winnipeg Tribune, October 15, 1929. In modern terms this sum would be worth about \$10,000 (see cost of living index).
48. Manitoba Free Press, March 19, 1931, p. 3; Winnipeg Tribune, March 18, 1931.
49. Recalled by Roy St. George Stubbs.
50. Manitoba Free Press, March 19, 1931. p. 3.
51. Manitoba Free Press, March 19, 1931, p. 3.
52. Manitoba Free Press, March 19, 1931, p. 3.
53. Manitoba Free Press, March 19, 1931, p. 3.
54. Manitoba Free Press, March 23, 1931, p. 4.
55. Manitoba Free Press, March 23, 1931, p. 4.
56. Manitoba Free Press, March 23, 1931, p. 4.
57. Manitoba Free Press, March 23, 1931, p. 13.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

NEWSPAPERS

The Grain Growers Guide

Manitoba Free Press

The One Big Union Bulletin

The Single Taxer and Direct Legislation Bulletin

The Voice

The Western Clarion

"The Winnipeg General Strike Papers," Legislative Library of Manitoba

The Winnipeg Labor News

Winnipeg Telegram

Winnipeg Tribune

PAPERS, RECORDS, AND DOCUMENTS

Dixon Papers, P.A.M..

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