

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE DEVELOPMENT OF
WINNIPEG'S SOCIALIST MOVEMENT
1900 TO 1915

by

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INTRODUCTION

Winnipeg experienced a profound transformation in the years from 1900 to 1915, for by the century's turn she had virtually shed the last vestiges of a frontier town, now emerging as a booming commercial city of distribution, retail trade, manufacture, and the nerve centre of a highly productive grain economy.¹

Of cardinal importance to any consideration of Winnipeg's growth in this period is the rapidity of the metamorphosis. Consider the following recollection of an early Winnipeg historian reflecting upon the village of a few hundred souls in 1870, the year of Manitoba's entry to Confederation and only four years prior to Winnipeg's incorporation as a city.

We had no bank, no insurance office, no lawyers, only one doctor, no City Council, only one policeman, no taxes --nothing but freedom; and though lacking the several other so-called advantages of civilization, we were, to say the least of it, tolerably virtuous and unmistakably happy.²

With the passing of a dozen years, characterized by a slow growth in

¹Regarding Canada's "great decade 1901-11," Easterbrook and Aitken feel that "it is important to note that . . . the agricultural revolution . . . was accompanied by a parallel revolution in Canadian industry. This is apparent if account is taken of the fact that over the first decade . . . the proportion of gainfully employed engaged in manufacturing remained almost constant in spite of the great increase in agricultural production, that the value of manufactured goods provided for the home market increased at an even faster rate than the value of agricultural production, and that the ratio of urban to total population increased substantially. It is true that wheat production sparked this industrial development, and that prairie settlement created a strong demand for Canadian manufactures, but without the ability to use the technical advances of the United States in industry, mining and related activities, Canadian economic development as a whole must have experienced a slower rate of change." W. T. Easterbrook and Hugh G. J. Aitken, Canadian Economic History (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1965), p. 483.

²W. J. Healy, Winnipeg's Early Days (Winnipeg: Stovel Company Limited, 1927), p. 14.

the economy and population despite a brief flurry of property speculation in the early 1880's, the young city was still a community of relative social innocence.

The almost entire absence of pauperism, or anything approaching squalor, is a noticeable feature of life in Winnipeg. Everyone from the labouring man up is well and comfortably clad, and seems to be perfectly satisfied with the country . . ., corroborated by the fact that during the past year the City Council were required to expend less than \$150 for charitable purposes.³

Barely three decades later, in 1911, an Eastern Canadian magazine writer gave testimony to the new era which had evolved so quickly from the days of the buffalo hunt, Indian dog-feasts, and river barges.

You are five minutes out of the greatest jostle of polyglottism in the world--the C.P.R. station--when you realize that the 'Peg has neither a British core like Toronto nor a French core like Montreal. Two centuries of fur feudalism and of red men and half-breeds; three decades of railroad, and of wheat and of real estate: then you have modern Winnipeg, which, if one should wake up there suddenly he might think an American city.⁴

Also past was the relatively pacific and homogeneous society of the post-1870 generation, so that on the eve of the 1914 world conflict it was possible to assess pessimistically the social results of fifteen hectic years, in which population and the industrial revolution exhibited a mushroom-like growth.

We have today [1913] in Winnipeg as bad slums as exist anywhere on this continent. They are not extensive perhaps, but leave this matter alone, and that unhappy quality will shortly be attained.⁵

³ John Macoun, Manitoba and the Great Northwest (Guelph: The World Publishing Company Limited, 1882), p. 521.

⁴ Augustus Bridle, "Some Cities I Know," Maclean's Magazine, XXIII (December, 1911), p. 152.

⁵ Anne Anderson Perry, "Digesting the Alien," Dominion, IV (March, 1913), p. 15.

Indeed, urban growth in Manitoba⁶ for the period is something of a legend, especially with respect to Winnipeg. The urban population, including Brandon as well as Winnipeg and St. Boniface, was barely one-fifth of the provincial total in 1901, and this proportion was nearly doubled to 35.36 per cent by 1911.⁷ The same decade saw Winnipeg grow from 42,340 to 136,035, reaching 163,000 by 1916.⁸ About 76 per cent of Winnipeg's people in 1901 were of British stock,⁹ while fifteen years

⁶The province, as a whole, experienced a great population boom. In 1901 Manitoba had 255,211 people, 365,688 in 1906, 461,630 by 1911, and a 1916 total of 533,860. Thus, the provincial population showed a 51.5 per cent increase for 1916 over 1906 alone. Canada, Census of the Prairie Provinces, Population and Agriculture, 1916 (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1918), p. xxiii. As for the Prairie Provinces, "there were fewer than half a million people . . . at the beginning of the decade, most of them in what was then the tiny province of Manitoba. Ten years later the prairie population had trebled." H. Blair Neatby, "The New Century," in The Canadians, 1867-1967, Volume I, ed. J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1968), p. 140. Canada's population "in the quarter century after 1891 . . . expanded from 4,800,000 to 8,000,000. Manitoba's rose from 152,000 to 554,000. British Columbia's from 98,000 to 456,000. The remainder of the North-West, the population of which was just under 100,000 at the beginning of the period, held over a million at its close, and the two provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta had overtaken their older sister communities of the West." Edgar McInnis, Canada, A Political and Social History (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 369.

⁷Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916, p. 22.

⁸Winnipeg, with municipalities, held 140,290 and 176,275 people in 1911 and 1916 respectively. Canada, Census of the Prairie Provinces, Population and Agriculture, 1936 (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1938), p. 5.

⁹Canada, Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Population (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1905), p. 290. According to Alan Artibise the total British population of Winnipeg dropped from 73.8 per cent in 1901 to 62.2 per cent in 1911. Alan F. J. Artibise, "A Social History of Urban Growth, City of Winnipeg, 1871-1921; A Preliminary Study" (unpublished essay, University of British Columbia, 1969), p. 24. It should be noted that, despite the heavy European influx, the majority of immigrants came from the British Isles and the United States. For example, J. S. Woodsworth noted that between July, 1901 and January, 1908 about 1,000,000 immigrants came to Canada. Of these, 440,000 were from the British Isles and 322,000 from the United States. J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909), pp. 22-23. Another

later the figure had shrunk to approximately 67 per cent.¹⁰ By the latter date, due to the heavy immigration from Eastern and Central Europe since the late 1890's,¹¹ such new Canadians made up at least one-quarter of Winnipeg's population.¹²

writer of the period says that "it is not to be inferred that these foreign immigrants were the only settlers who came to Manitoba during the past twenty-five years [since about 1890]. The number of English-speaking settlers has generally exceeded that of the foreign immigrants, . . . from Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, from Great Britain and Ireland, and from the United States." F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba (Winnipeg: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1913), pp. 377-378.

¹⁰Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916, p. 290.

¹¹The European newcomers "formed new communities in Winnipeg and in the railway divisional towns of Portage La Prairie, Brandon, and Dauphin. In Winnipeg they joined in the peopling of the North End between the Canadian Pacific tracks and old St. Johns. There long rows of cheap houses were run up, but never fast enough to house the inflow decently or to furnish cheap lodgings. In squalor and poverty, in a mixture of races living under strange laws and in a strange land, began the life of one of the city's most vigorous and vivid districts, the North End." W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (2nd ed. rev., Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 310. There is a copious amount of literature on the mass immigration to Canada and the United States in this period. Two excellent secondary sources are Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951), and John Higham, Strangers in the Land (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955). For a dramatic fictional account of an immigrant family in Winnipeg, see John Marlyn, Under the Ribs of Death (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1957); and, for a personal reminiscence of the difficulties encountered by the new Ukrainian arrivals in Winnipeg, see Michael Harris (Hrushka), "Excerpts from his Autobiography, 1911-1915; 1928-1935" (an unpublished typewritten manuscript, Public Archives of Manitoba, 1964). For a recent local study of the problems encountered by immigrants, see Morris K. Mott, "The 'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-1923" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970).

¹²Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916, p. xxi. Page xxi of this census discloses that the Jews, who might have come from any of a large number of countries, comprised about 8.3 per cent (13,500 people) of the Winnipeg population in 1916. The percentages of other prominent European groups, and their total population to this date, are as follows: Ukrainians, 4 per cent (6,500); Poles, 3.4 per cent (5,500); Germans, 3.4 per cent (5,600); Austro-Hungarians, 3.1 per cent (6,100); Russians, 2 per cent (3,200). Thus, immigrants from these sources comprised 24.2 per cent of Winnipeg's population by 1916. Referring to page xxii of this census, one discovers that Winnipeg alone held 18 per cent of all the Ukrainians in Canada in 1916.

The beginning of the century also witnessed the growth of Winnipeg as the centre of industry in the Canadian West. In the years from 1901 to 1906 the output of her manufactured goods increased by 125 per cent, their value advancing from \$8,616,248 to \$18,483,290. The city, by the latter date, contained 148 factories and shops and no fewer than 12,000 workers directly employed in these manufacturing concerns.¹³ There were only 4,600 so employed in 1901, and 18,000 by 1914.¹⁴

Coincident to this commercial expansion, the young trade union movement of Winnipeg showed a steady rate of growth throughout the period. In mid-1894, just after the new Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council (W.T.L.C.) was formed as an affiliate of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (T.L.C.), there were thirteen locals with a reported membership of 764 plus an estimated 200 more unreported.¹⁵ By 1900 the number of locals affiliated with the craft union central rose to 30. Winnipeg's union movement was, by this time, "relatively modest" in membership, lacking a firm tradition of political action, and retained strong allegiances to the old parties at election time.¹⁶ Thirteen years later the number of

¹³J. Castell Hopkins, ed., The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1911 (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company Limited, 1912), pp. 539-540. Lionel Orlikow, "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910 to 1920" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1955), pp. 3-4.

¹⁴Canada, Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Volume III, Manufactures (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1905), pp. ix; xii. The Western Canada Labour Review and Manual (Winnipeg and Brandon: The Labour Press Bureau of Western Canada Limited, 1914), p. 12.

¹⁵The Voice, July 21, 1894.

¹⁶A. R. McCormack, "Arthur Puttee and the Liberal Party: 1899-1904," Canadian Historical Review, LI (June, 1970), p. 142.

locals doubled to 62, with an estimated membership of 8,009.¹⁷

Five-sixths of Winnipeg's locals (in total) were concentrated in three industrial areas: the running trades, the building trades, and--to a lesser extent--the metal trades.¹⁸ This reflects the general situation in Canada, for in 1914 the above-named industries comprised 24.9, 18.9, and 8.6 per cent of the nation's trade union membership.¹⁹ Although Winnipeg's union organization was ranked the third largest among Canadian cities by 1914, its membership total was but a small percentage of the total Canadian union membership,²⁰ due mainly to the great concentration of industry and population from the head of Lake Ontario to Montreal.

The gains in the quality of life which the Canadian democracy offered in the fifteen years preceding the world conflict were uneven, marred and interrupted by two economic depressions and by disparities between the skilled and the unskilled, the foreign-born and the native.²¹ Certainly

¹⁷ Another 20 non-W.T.L.C. affiliated unions existed in Winnipeg in 1913, adding about 2,000 more men to the union total. Of the W.T.L.C.'s 62 affiliates, only 48 bothered to report their membership. Canada, Report on Labour Organization in Canada, 1913 (Ottawa: The Department of Labour, 1914), pp. 12; 153.

¹⁸ Report on Labour Organization in Canada, 1913, pp. 114-117.

¹⁹ Report on Labour Organization in Canada, 1914, p. 10.

²⁰ Report on Labour Organization in Canada, 1913, p. 9.

²¹ The end of the boom was signalled in 1912 with the tightening of credit in the London money market, and the turn to domestic development by British investors by 1913. In Canada the depression was characterized by a drop in the price of Canadian export staples in European markets and a growing volume of unemployment. "There was little to cushion the shock of adverse changes in commodity or capital markets" due to the "boom-or-bust tendencies . . . in twentieth century Canada. The economy had been geared to a rapid and sustained rate of growth; as this slowed down to a halt, symptoms appeared of over-expansion in railway construction, agricultural production and manufacturing capacity. The poor prairie crop of 1914 further emphasized the dangers inherent in a staples policy. The outbreak of war and the consequent disruption of

the local socialists favored the abolition of the system which they believed was ultimately responsible for social inequity, but they chose as their means peaceful evolutionary instruments: the ballot, propaganda, and cooperation with the trade unions.

This study is concerned with the development of Winnipeg's socialist movement in the 1900 to 1915 period. It will focus on this small segment of the city's labor movement. It is evident that the mainstream of Winnipeg socialism was involved with the trade union movement, both in terms of dual membership and political activity. The exception to this occurred in the four years from 1904 to 1908, when Winnipeg's Socialist Party of Canada local was involved neither in cooperative nor in independent municipal and provincial politics. It existed as a set of some 150²² dogmatic Marxist propagandists awaiting the inevitable collapse of the capitalist system.

The dominance of this group was short-lived, and the Winnipeg socialists reaffirmed their faith in the democratic-liberal traditions of the British working-class movement.²³ Those European immigrants who became involved in the city's socialist movement after 1907 only helped strengthen

trade and capital movements for a time threatened disaster to an economy already deep in depression." Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, p. 486.

²² See footnote 27, chapter three.

²³ Lionel Orlikow, "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba," p. 61. Canadian unions between 1910 and the late 1930's were generally conservative. They had a "reforming class consciousness" due to their British traditions regarding legislative objectives for effecting changes in working conditions and the right to collective bargaining. "In spite of tentative efforts at direct support, political action mainly took the form of support for candidates who held objectives like those of the unions." A. Kovacs, "A Tentative Framework for the Philosophy of the Canadian Labour Movement," Industrial Relations, XX, No. 1 (1965), 25-46; cited in J. Tait Montague, Labour Markets in Canada, Processes and Institutions (Toronto: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1970), p. 153.

this tradition, for their leadership preferred the parliamentary approach of the socialists in Germany to the uncompromising dogmatism of the Socialist Party of Canada. Indeed, it only made sense that the new European of socialist persuasion ally himself with the older stock, for "a British . . . socialist immigrant to Canada . . . was not an 'alien'. . . . The English-Canadian culture not only granted legitimacy to his political ideas and absorbed them into its wholeness; it absorbed him as a person . . . with relatively little strain, without demanding that he change his entire way of life before being granted full citizenship. He was acceptable to begin with, by virtue of being British."²⁴

The Socialist Party of Canada, especially after 1910, argued that the Social Democrats were lax in their Marxist convictions. Perhaps it would be more reasonable to say that the latter were adapting the ideas of scientific socialism to the realities of twentieth century Canada.

Eduard Bernstein's²⁵ Evolutionary Socialism (1899), whose English

²⁴Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 25.

²⁵"Bernstein left Germany in the year that the Anti-Socialist Laws were passed, spending the next twenty-two years in Switzerland and England before he returned home in 1900. For a time he had been a close associate of Engels and he was regarded as one of the most brilliant of the younger Marxists. But, as the years went on, he became more and more convinced that much of the Marxist analysis of capitalism was either wrong or obsolete. He was also an intimate of some of the leaders of the Fabian Society, and he was considerably influenced by their rejection of Marx and their belief in the gradual evolution of society towards a system of state socialism. . . . Marx was wrong, Bernstein declared, in believing that the collapse of the capitalist system was imminent. . . . The middle class was becoming larger and more important. The advance of political democracy, the emergence of a state which was willing to recognize trade unions, to limit the exploitation of the worker by protective legislation, and to introduce a national system of social welfare and insurance, diminished both the need and the opportunity for the catastrophic change which Marx had anticipated." Norman MacKenzie, Socialism: A Short History (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 105-106. Even

translation appeared in 1909, likely had its effect upon the socialists of Winnipeg. Bernstein contended that, by the new century, the concept of social democracy had rendered violent revolution unnecessary, for "the whole practical activity of social democracy is directed toward creating circumstances and conditions which shall render possible and secure a transition (free from convulsive outbursts) of the modern social order into a higher one." Thus, Bernstein maintained that "Democracy is a condition of socialism to a much greater degree than is usually assumed, i.e., it is not only the means but also the substance. Without a certain amount of democratic institutions or traditions, the socialist doctrine of the present time would not indeed be possible. There would, indeed, be a workers' movement, but no social democracy."²⁶ G. D. H. Cole ably defends the legitimacy of Bernstein's revisionism.

It is, of course, easy under cover of revising Marxism really to abandon it; and this tendency has given all attempts at revision a bad odour among Marxists and driven them toward a defensively dogmatic interpretation of Marx's doctrines. But, in fact, no Marxist can escape revisionism without denying the dialectical principle. For to lay down hard and fast dogmas is to fall back from the evolutionary dialectic into the static categories of Formal Logic.²⁷

The Winnipeg socialist mainstream reflected this revisionist attitude, especially after 1910 when about half of the members bolted the dogmatist Socialist Party of Canada for the new and flexible Social Democratic Party of Canada. Although the new organization could not hope

Engels, by 1895, recognized that revolution by the ballot was now possible, as evidenced by the Social-Democratic successes in Germany. Cited in R. V. Daniels, ed., Marxism and Communism: Essential Readings (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 57-60.

²⁶ Cited in R. V. Daniels, Marxism and Communism, pp. 166-167; 206-207.

²⁷ G. D. H. Cole, What Marx Really Meant (London: Victor Gollancz, 1934), p. 292.

to achieve electoral success in all areas of the city, it did elect one of their number to the city council and the provincial legislature in 1913 and 1915 respectively. The ward and constituency in which these initial victories occurred contained a large proportion of skilled and unskilled wage-earners, and lay in the heart of the growing city's European immigrant district.

The fact that the Social Democratic Party's candidates were staunch trade unionist moderates with a zeal for social reform does not negate their ultimate aim. Their goal was the abolition of the capitalist system by working within the existing legal institutions of the land. This was a realistic and sensible approach. Different milieus give rise to different means of social revolution, even where the end is the same, namely to correct the balance between privilege and want.

CHAPTER I

WINNIPEG'S LABOR MOVEMENT TO 1900

Prior to 1900, despite her small population and undeveloped industrial sector, Winnipeg developed a base for future labor organization on an international level. A Winnipeg local of the American Knights of Labor¹ was organized in the summer of 1884, and an assembly called the Pioneers appeared in the same year and others were subsequently constituted. The four assemblies amalgamated to form a district assembly. Thus the essence of the central Trades and Labor Council was formed during the winter of 1886-87. This body contained, as a majority of its delegates, members of the assemblies of the Knights. The Knights were responsible

¹Formed by Terence Powderly, "a deaconish machinist who turned to labor organizing after he was blacklisted during the depression of 1873," the organization grew to over half a million by 1885. Despite "doctrinal differences, the Farmers' Alliances, Knights of Labour, socialists, single taxers, even the anarchists, were united by a fear of big business and by an impatience with liberalism's refusal to sanction governmental action on behalf of the poor." By the 1890's the organization "included farmers and tradesmen and stood for a wide variety of reforms," but was giving way to Samuel Gompers' American Federation of Labor. Eric F. Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), pp. 41; 43; 57.

Powderly deemed strikes a "relic of barbarism" and preferred "electoral action and cooperatives." Strikes did occur as "episodic" events but were not encouraged. Thus, "the Knights was an admixture of labor unions and 'general assemblies,' which welcomed not only . . . the working class but . . . the middle class as well--all but bankers, lawyers, gamblers, stock brokers, and saloonkeepers." At its "peak" in 1886, it was able to "carry dozens of adherents to office, even in such far-off places as Leadville, Colorado, and Fort Worth, Texas." On "the wane" by 1893, the large "socialist faction" of its New York assembly led in ousting Powderly. Daniel De Leon of the Socialist Labor Party was instrumental in the coup, and in 1895 "the socialist-led unions withdrew their thirteen thousand members, leaving--as they put it--'the remaining seventeen thousand to find their own way to oblivion.'" Sidney Lens, Radicalism in America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), pp. 166; 177; 182.

For a short, informative, and humorous picture of the eccentric, dapper, and conceited Powderly and his views on labor militancy, see Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morraiss, Labor's Untold Story (New York: United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 1970), pp. 87-91.

for the establishment of a cooperative store and aided in the creation of the Winnipeg Benefit Building Society. However, "internal dissension led to the dismemberment of two assemblies and the weakening of others. The Central Council dissolved in 1887."²

The Knights of Labor in Winnipeg made some minor moves in the direction of facilitating working man's representation through alliances with other reform groups. The local assembly appointed a parliamentary committee in 1886 to confer with the local Dominion Alliance temperance organization with a view to nominating a joint candidate for the provincial elections. . . . The conference failed to result in a union of forces when the Knights insisted on running a Labour candidate.³

By 1892 the Knights had disappeared or declined significantly in most of Canada, the primary reasons being trade union expansion, the suppression of the parent body in the United States, and the attacks by the Quebec church hierarchy.⁴

The fortunes of labor organization in Winnipeg took an optimistic turn in 1894 with the formation of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council

²Martin Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour: 1880-1930 (Kingston: Industrial Relations Centre, Queen's University, 1968), p. 21.

³Ibid., p. 26.

⁴The Canadian Knights originated in Hamilton in 1881, and its Toronto and Hamilton district assemblies included some sixty-five locals. They did receive some early support from the Quebec clergy after modifying their mystic ritual. "The first Canadian locals seemed to have followed trade lines, but the year 1883 marks the genesis of mixed assemblies and the beginnings of easy admission to large numbers who otherwise would have failed to become a part of the labour movement. The presence of the Knights, moreover, meant the practice of dual organization, many trade unionists being also members of the order." Despite an attempt to revitalize itself after its decline in the early 1890's, "at the end of 1901 there were in all Canada only twenty-four local assemblies and three district assemblies," all in Ontario and Quebec. H. A. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada: Their Function and Development (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1948), pp. 50-51. Also see Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, pp. 29-30.

(W.T.L.C.) and its official journal, The People's Voice.⁵ This newspaper's inaugural issue appeared on June 16, 1894, and continued to be edited by founder C. C. Steuart⁶ until May 1, 1897. It was at this time

⁵The W.T.L.C. was affiliated with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. The parent body, a craft organization born at Toronto in 1885, followed a policy of labor movement unity until its convention at Berlin, Ontario, in 1902. This included "two such diverse and opposed elements as the Knights of Labour and the trade unions, the latter affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. . . ." Its 1898 convention at Winnipeg was the first national meeting west of the Great Lakes. Distance proved a formidable barrier, especially in the case of British Columbia. Two or three delegates appeared from the coast in the early 1890's. Winnipeg's first delegation was sent in 1895, consisting only of The People's Voice founder and editor C. C. Steuart. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada, pp. 57-59; Proceedings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, 1895, p. 4. On November 15, 1902, The Voice Publishing Company was incorporated. It continued as a corporate entity until December 31, 1914, when it was allowed to lapse. The five applicants for incorporation were: A. W. Puttee (printer), Gustavus Pingle (printer), George Dales (editor), William Scott (agent), and William Small (carpenter). The first three named were the directors of the company. The total capital stock was the standard \$20,000, with Puttee and Pingle listed for \$9,985 each. The remaining \$30 was distributed equally among the remaining three applicants, \$10 representing the par value per share. The firm was a joint stock company under The Manitoba Joint Stock Companies Act, a now defunct statute. The purpose of the incorporation was "to acquire the business now carried on by the publishers of The Voice newspaper, and to publish . . . The Voice . . . and any other newspaper or publication which may be deemed advisable, and to carry on the general business of printing and publishing and such other business of a like nature. . . ." This information was obtained from the files of the Manitoba government Companies' Branch in Winnipeg.

The Voice is essential to this study because, in the years after 1900, it allotted column space to the Socialist Party of Canada, the Social-Democratic Party of Canada, and their forerunner the Canadian Socialist League.

⁶To date, nothing biographical about C. C. Steuart has been found. He was, at the time of the paper's founding, the Typographical Union's representative to the W.T.L.C. along with Harry Cowan. The People's Voice, June 16, 1894. Hereafter, the paper will be referred to as The Voice. Cowan was born in Beaver Falls, Minnesota, and came to Canada at age five when his father, a lumber worker, migrated to the Ottawa valley. Cowan worked as a typographer in Minneapolis and Vancouver, where he became involved in labor organization. In 1892 he moved from Vancouver to Butte, Montana where he worked as a printer until coming to Winnipeg in the early summer of 1893. In 1894 he became the vice-president of the new W.T.L.C. by acclamation. The Voice, September 1, 1894.

that control of the paper passed into the hands of Arthur W. Puttee⁷ who edited it over the next two decades.

The Voice, a moderate weekly newspaper which was the official organ of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, never attained more than a "guaranteed circulation" of 2,000 copies by subscription, although it began with 1,000 and issued up to 5,000 special editions on some Labor Days and at Christmas. Although its subscription rate remained constant at one dollar per year, it frequently found itself in the position of begging for working-class support, particularly in the years prior to 1900. In November of 1896, a few months before it changed hands and shortened its name, it was operated under the newly incorporated Winnipeg Cooperative Printing and Publishing Company. Six years later the

⁷The Voice, May 8, 1897. Arthur W. Puttee was one of the fixtures of organized labor in Winnipeg and Western Canada. Born on August 28, 1868, in Folkstone, England and educated in local schools, he arrived in Manitoba in 1888 and lived for a time in Brandon. He then spent some time in St. Paul and Seattle, settling in Winnipeg in 1891 to work on the composing staff of the Manitoba Free Press. He returned to England in 1892, ostensibly to marry Gertrude M. Strood in December of that year. When Puttee entered the life of The Voice, he had two early co-editors in Gus Pingle and Harry Cowan, both W.T.L.C. men and printers of whom no biographies have been located. While in St. Paul in 1893, he was one of the organizers of the tenth branch of the International Typographical Union. Puttee held various executive positions with the W.T.L.C. and its political organizations, and was appointed to the Royal Technical Education Commission in 1910. On January 25, 1900, he became Winnipeg's lone M.P., winning a by-election by eight votes as an Independent-Labor candidate. He repeated his victory in the general election of November 7, 1900, this time by 1,183 votes. Puttee, it should be noted, had the blessings of the Liberal party, and his sound defeat by Liberal D. W. Bole on November 3, 1904 brought a close to his career as an office-holder. As an M.P., Puttee introduced legislation favoring the government ownership of railways. Henry James Morgan, ed., The Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 922; The Voice, February 9, 1900; The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (1903), p. 120, (1905), p. 216; and for an excellent study of Puttee's changing fortunes with a split and then reunited Liberal organization, see A. R. McCormack, "Arthur Puttee and the Liberal Party," pp. 141-163.

corporation was changed to The Voice Publishing Company.⁸

Suffice to say that the reprinted articles, the quoted passages of books, the reporting of national and international socialist progress, and the copious space given to the general movement for social reform, all make The Voice read like a who's who of global reform and revolution. As well, The Voice reported and commented upon every major issue of the time which might concern the Canadian worker, be it local, national, or world-wide in significance. So, despite the fact that it was a trade union organ with the motto "In union there is strength," its function was obviously that of informing, with a class bias, of course, any citizens who would bother to read it. In the latter part of 1918 it became the Western Labor News, which in the next year published special editions during the Winnipeg general strike.⁹

One year after the establishment of the W.T.L.C. and The Voice, the Independent Labor Party (I.L.P.) of Winnipeg was born. Although the W.T.L.C. adopted the revised ten point reform platform in April,¹⁰ the

⁸The Voice, June 16, 1894; December 29, 1894; January 12, 1895; August 3, 1895; August 29, 1896; November 14, 1896; November 25, 1898; June 16, 1899; December 21, 1899.

⁹"Practically every considerable trade union organization in North America has its weekly or monthly journal specially devoted to the interests of the union, but all such journals being international . . . [follow] the members throughout the United States and Canada. The majority of members in all cases are south of the line. . . . Thus it happens that there are few craft newspapers in Canada; not more than five Canadian journals may be regarded as representative labour journals since they reflect important elements in the industrial world. In all there are five such journals in Canada, publishing in Toronto [Industrial Banner], Hamilton [The Labour News], Port Arthur [The Wage-Earner], Winnipeg [The Voice], and Vancouver [The British Columbia Federationist]. All are published weekly." Report on Labour Organization in Canada, 1913, pp. 182-184.

¹⁰The Voice, April 20, 1895. The plank omitted called for prohibition. W.T.L.C. president William Small was in favor of the provision but was

affiliated unions did not endorse it until October, with the civic elections drawing near.¹¹ In 1894 W. J. Hodgins,¹² W.T.L.C. president for the latter half of that year, did not feel that Winnipeg's trade union movement was ready for political action at this early time in its life.¹³ Hodgins was opposed in this view by William Small,¹⁴ the man who favored

forced to secure its deletion because of complaints that it was a personal decision which did not belong in a political platform. The Voice, March 23, 1895.

¹¹As late as October 5, The Voice was critical of the W.T.L.C. because its "parliamentary movement" showed a "lack of activity." In turn, the W.T.L.C. rebuked The Voice for its criticism.

¹²Hodgins, the W.T.L.C. president for the latter half of 1894, was a bricklayer by trade. He advocated "reform legislation" and was known as "the prime mover in the organization of the workingmen's party" in Winnipeg. Thus, his stand in 1894 was not in itself opposed to political action, but was merely a tactical view in terms of timing. The Voice, August 31, 1895. Hodgins had actually accepted the demands of the political actionists in the spring. The Voice, April 6, 1895.

¹³The Voice, July 21, 1894; October 6, 1894.

¹⁴William Small, the 1895 W.T.L.C. president, was "well and favorably known" in Winnipeg for some ten years. He was involved with the union movement since its inception, presumably back in the 1880's when the Knights established assemblies in the city. Small was "a thorough believer in the ballot box as the true remedy for the ills of labour."

Of "Scotch" descent, but born in Warsaw, Poland on January 1, 1839, because his father managed an "iron company" in that country, he lived on the continent for fourteen years. At this time, after he "received as good an education as Warsaw provided in those days, Small was sent to Dundee's Meadowside Academy to complete his education. About two years later the elder Small decided to leave Poland and emigrate to Canada. After reuniting in England the family sailed to New York in the spring of 1854. They settled in Huron County (at Port Huron, Michigan) where young William learned his carpenter's trade and worked at it until 1870.

Now in his thirty-first year Small decided to head west, travelling to Winnipeg where he stayed until 1873, returning to Port Huron where he married Marie Annette Worthington in 1875. In 1885 Small returned to Winnipeg to stay, finding employment with the C.P.R.'s car department in 1887. He remained at this job and was one of the senior workers in his section by the mid-1890's.

While with the C.P.R. he joined the Excelsior Assembly of the Knights of Labor, a local "composed of C.P.R. employees." Although "the Knights flourished during these busy days, . . . the fact that this was

reform via the ballot box and "the substitution for our present system of labor by one of co-operation based upon a just and equitable division of profit and loss between employer and employee."¹⁵

not a manufacturing centre [yet] soon had its effect and the order disbanded."

Soon after, Small became the Winnipeg organizer of Eugene Debs' American Railway Union [of Pullman Strike fame in 1894]. In the A.R.U.'s Winnipeg local 100 "he held the highest position." Small took part in the formation of the W.T.L.C. in the early summer of 1894, and he was one of the first members of his union to be a representative to the W.T.L.C. The Voice, August 31, 1895.

¹⁵ The Voice, January 19, 1895; September 15, 1894; July 28, 1894. Before proceeding further, the reader will be acquainted with the backgrounds of a few other W.T.L.C. luminaries. All of these men were, of course, involved with the establishment of the 1895 I.L.P. This biographical information, like that of Hodgins and Small, comes from The Voice, August 31, 1895. The sketches were in honor of the W.T.L.C. men who organized the Labor Day celebrations of that year.

John Manson, W.T.L.C. vice-president in 1895, was born in Caithness, Scotland in 1860. He was educated there and came to Winnipeg as a carpenter in 1882 "during the great [land speculation and building] boom" and helped to organize Winnipeg local 343 of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. His position on the 1895 W.T.L.C. was to test his future leadership potential, but Manson, as the next few years would show, never did achieve a position of prominence in the W.T.L.C.

William White was the secretary-treasurer of the W.T.L.C. in 1895, [and he retained executive posts until 1900]. A member of the same union as Manson, he was president of the local in 1894. White came to Canada from Roxburghshire, Scotland in 1886.

Although the date of his arrival in Winnipeg is not clear, Joe Fahey came to the city from Belleville, Ontario, and was a W.T.L.C. delegate to the T.L.C. of Canada's convention at London, Ontario in 1895. Since 1887, Fahey worked as a C.P.R. conductor, alternately running to Brandon and Gretna. He was instrumental in the affiliation of the Order of Railway Conductors with the W.T.L.C. in the summer of 1895. Joe represented the "North Star branch" of his union at its twenty-fifth annual convention in Atlanta in May, 1895, being his local's "Chief Conductor."

Lieutenant K. Hubbel, the Grand Marshal of the 1895 Labor Day festivities, was born in Kingston, Ontario, in 1831. [His earlier life has been deleted from this biography.] In 1877 he began work with the Grand Trunk Railway but resigned in 1882 to work for the St. Paul M. and M. Railway. That summer he was "removed" to Winnipeg to take employment with the Manitoba Cartage Company under "Ham" McMicken. In the fall of 1883 he was transferred to Moose Jaw for military reasons. It seems that Hubbel had joined the fourteenth battalion (or Prince of Wales Rifles) in 1887 while at Kingston, was made a "gazetted captain" of number two company in 1881, and won an efficiency certificate from B

The W.T.L.C. platform, less the prohibition plank, included: a legal eight hour day; the abolition of overtime, piece work, and child labor under fourteen; free non-sectarian education for children between seven and fourteen; remunerative work for the unemployed and the abolition of contract labor on public works; compulsory voting and the abolition of the non-resident vote; equal pay for equal work regardless of sex; the nationalization of railways, telegraphs, and telephones; municipal ownership of all franchises; establishment of a [free] Labor

Battery, R.S.G. His commission was signed by the Governor-General. He was "gazetted out" in 1883 and came to Winnipeg, where he joined the "Winnipeg Cavalry" the next year. He served with the outfit in the 1885 rebellion [Riel's fatal last attempt to free his people] as a "sergt.-instructor." When the "war" was won he rejoined the C.P.R. and the Conductors' Brotherhood and Brakeman's Association. The local disbanded in 1875 [sic; likely 1885]. Hubbel joined its replacement, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, formed in Oneida, New York. He was an active member of its Winnipeg, Brandon, and Moose Jaw branches until 1892. In that year he entered the Order of Railway Conductors. As well, he was a "secret society" man, belonging to the A.O.U.W. (number five, Regina), the I.O.F. (since 1875), and the Masons (number twenty-three, Moose Jaw).

A. M. Gossel, the 1895 secretary-treasurer of the W.T.L.C. and a "young" member of the Typographical Union, operated a "Rogers Typograph on the Tribune" in 1895 as a second year apprentice. "In the days of the old hand composition he was acknowledged to be the speediest compositor in the city, ranking not far behind the record men of the world."

James Brownlee was born in Hamilton, Ontario, in 1862. He was a mechanic's apprentice on the G.T.R., and then worked in Battle Creek, Michigan for the Chicago and G.T. until 1882 when he came west. Brownlee immediately secured a job with the C.P.R. in Winnipeg and was given the "gift" run to Rat Portage [Kenora]. He aided in the arbitration of the C.P.R. conductors' strike of 1895, the decision being accepted by both parties. He was a representative to his union's convention in the summer of 1893.

Little is known of Richard Anthony, D. Cameron, Arthur Judd, and J. J. McHardy. The first two named were members of the International Association of Machinists, likely railway employees. McHardy was in the Amalgamated Society and Carpenters, while Judd was a foreman for the Manitoba Free Press and the Typographical Union's "pioneer delegate" to the W.T.L.C.

Charles Hislop was also on this Labor Day committee, but his biography will be given subsequently in a discussion of his political career on behalf of the union movement of Winnipeg.

Bureau; and Direct Legislation [all three elements] for all legislation.¹⁶

Yet, as election time approached, the platform was again revised to include the provision "that we are in favor of civic reform, provided that the power be not taken from the people." This rather vague statement may have been intended to water-down the direct legislation plank, the latter having been dropped from the program. Also deleted were the eight hour day, remunerative work for the unemployed, and the nationalization provision. Perhaps this compromise can be traced to the fact that the labor candidates in the election were supported by a group of local merchants who likely found the deleted points objectionable to varying degrees.¹⁷

Confusion reigned during the nomination period. Steuart was to contest the ward four aldermanic seat but stepped down in favor of Charles Hislop at the time of the "joint meeting" of merchants and unionists. Hislop, who had intended to contest a school trustee's seat, withdrew from that race.¹⁸ Steuart was likely deemed too radical for the

¹⁶The Voice, March 16, 1895.

¹⁷The Voice, November 23, 1895. "Mr. Hislop's election is assured, and in him the Retailers Association have a true friend and the Labour element a strong supporter." A joint committee of the W.T.L.C. and the R.A. came to this agreement. Manson, Hislop, White, J. W. Street, and John Appleton represented the unionists. Street, and particularly Appleton, subsequently assumed leading roles in the movement. The merchants were represented by G. Ryan, L. R. Arnett, J. Capel, M. Campbell, and T. D. Deegan, most of whom advertised in The Voice.

¹⁸The Voice, November 23, 1895. Hislop had been unsuccessful in his bid for school trustee in 1894 (ward four), the year in which none of the other candidates "expressed themselves" on the W.T.L.C. platform.

The 1894 platform was, by comparison to 1895's, strictly local. It called for the construction of more sewers, streets, libraries, and the abolition of the \$2,000 property qualification for office-seekers. The Voice, November 10, 1894. Other than mentioning Hislop's loss, the labor paper gave no details of the election. There was little need to do so.

merchants to accept as a candidate. Hodgins was also fearful of Steuart's agreement with one August P. Mulvey who wrote:

I would do all in my power to overthrow a system under which trade unionism is necessary, and under which industrial war is possible. Socialism proposes to do this. Therefore I am a Socialist. . . . I am equally armed with the capitalist. We have one vote each.¹⁹

The election, heralded over-optimistically as "the first civic election in which the Trades Council took a hand as a body," saw Charles Hislop²⁰ elected by a vote of 815 to 457 in ward five. The other candidates of the bourgeois-labor pact lost narrowly, including Small in ward five's trustee election.²¹ Clearly the closeness of these elections indicated that the class collaboration was of no small importance.

¹⁹The Voice, November 30, 1895. One may fairly assume that Steuart agreed with Mulvey's ballot-box revolution, but the merchants and "pure and simple" unionists could not be expected to take lightly the opening phrase of this ambivalent statement. The italics, one should add, are Mulvey's.

In a letter to The Voice, published only three days before the December 17 election, Mulvey explained that he preferred the democratic socialism of the German parliamentarian Wilhelm Liebknecht.

²⁰Charles Hislop was a Scot, born in Edinburgh in 1811 and raised on the "Tweedside" (Innerleithen, Peebles County) from age five to sixteen. His family moved to Ontario [Upper Canada] in 1827, residing in the township of Sunnyside, Simcoe County. He worked as a timber foreman, and then farmed until 1881 when a fire devastated his crop. Now an old man, he went to work with the C.P.R.'s Algoma branch. In the spring of 1882 he escaped a fire on the steamer Manitoulin while en route to Simcoe County to visit his family.

It was at this time that he caught the "Manitoba fever" and took up homesteading at Souris, moving "near Winnipeg" (east of the city) when the C.P.R. main-line bypassed his area. After five more years of farming he moved to Winnipeg so that his family might be educated. (Hislop's wife was a suffragette, and, according to this biography, her prolific husband seems to have had school-age children at about seventy-five years of age. Mrs. Hislop is mentioned briefly in The Voice, March 23, 1895.) He was employed by the C.P.R. in Winnipeg and joined the A.R.U. (local 100), "the pioneer union in Manitoba," acting as its secretary and W.T.L.C. representative for two years. The Voice, August 31, 1895.

²¹The Voice, December 21, 1895.

The remaining four civic election attempts of the century were not as fruitful as the Hislop success and were not much better organized. In 1896 the new Winnipeg Labor Party, with a platform similar to the Manitoba Labor Party's established earlier in the year,²² merely "suggested" which candidates it supported. They all lost, including the lone W.T.L.C. man C. H. Wilson and three small businessmen. The Voice termed the various candidates either "people's candidates" or those of "capitalist and corruption." It would seem that the rhetoric of Bryan and the Populists across the line had inspired Winnipeg's champions of the common man.²³

The Winnipeg Labor Party ran William Small in 1897, but he lost in his bid to succeed Hislop as ward four's alderman. Prior to the election the W.L.P.-W.T.L.C. combination displayed the weakness which was to continue into the first few years of the 1900's. When Small's opponents accused him of representing a "selfish clique," the trade union bodies both declared that Small's candidacy was unofficial, while admitting that he was hopefully to be Hislop's replacement. The W.L.P. had, in fact, endorsed Small. Indeed Small, who lost "by a good majority," was nominated, seconded, and supported by a host of local union luminaries and lesser members.²⁴

The next year saw no W.L.P. candidates entered, and the labor

²²The Manitoba Labor Party, created by the unionists after the provincial election of January 1896 and prior to the federal election in June, was one of a long line of frustrated reform parties. Its platform and early fate will be discussed in short order.

²³The Voice, November 28, 1896; December 19, 1896.

²⁴The Voice, November 26, 1897; December 3, 1897; December 17, 1897; December 24, 1897.

newspaper merely ventured its opinions as to the suitability to labor of those in the contest. In 1899, a year in which a provincial election and an impending federal by-election took precedence, the two labor hopefuls for school trustee were prevented from running because they could not meet the necessary property qualifications. As it turned out, all the trustee candidates were returned by acclamation, thus closing out a rather dull period in Winnipeg's civic politics.²⁵ In 1898, the year of non-candidacy in civic affairs, the laborites could only point to the revelation that, since 1894, every mayoralty candidate which it supported achieved election.²⁶

The W.L.P. was, as Martin Robin says, a "political club" which did not take root until October of 1896; it was "in its early phases an educational body and gentleman's club where progressive labour men and sympathetic observers gathered together to discuss the problems of the day";²⁷ its object was "to study economic subjects affecting the welfare of labour and the promulgation of information regarding same, and also to secure for labour a just share of the wealth it produces by such means as obtaining representation from our own ranks to the parliamentary and municipal bodies of the country."²⁸ As well, its platforms at election time plainly reflected of the era's new progressive fervor, differing only in the specifics related to local matters.

²⁵The Voice, December 23, 1898; December 1, 1899; December 8, 1899.

²⁶The Voice, December 30, 1898.

²⁷Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 38.

²⁸The Voice, October 17, 1896. William Small was the first president of the W.L.P. and immediate past president of the W.T.L.C., resigning the W.L.P. post due to poor health. The Voice, October 21, 1896.

The W.T.L.C.'s municipal political organization was complemented by the Manitoba Labor Party, formed on March 4, 1896 and led by Steuart, Small, and Puttee;²⁹ and by 1900 John T. Mortimer, William Scott, and John Appleton were all active in the organization.³⁰ The party missed the January provincial election in which the Greenway Liberals won eight seats by acclamation, two of them in Winnipeg. As The Voice said: "There is [sic] no labour candidates; we were not prepared for an election; we just thought we were." In fact, the unionists were entirely without any continuous election fund and their organization was virtually non-existent by their own admission.³¹

This inertia marked the M.L.P.'s lack of action in the June federal election, for it ran no candidates. Steuart, one of the party's founders, had declared that the M.L.P. must "advocate Socialist principles if it fulfils its mission,"³² but no one came forth to do battle. On the eve

²⁹The Voice, March 7, 1896.

³⁰J. T. Mortimer was associated with the union movement until his death by drowning in 1909. The Voice, April 30, 1909. John Appleton, who was the W.T.L.C. president from 1897 to 1899 inclusive, and vice-president in 1896, went into the printing business in 1899 and supported a Liberal in the provincial election that December. Yet, in the civic election in the same month, he ran unsuccessfully for ward four alderman with the blessing of the W.L.P. which had expelled him. The Voice, April 7, 1899; October 27, 1899; December 21, 1899.

William Scott was a native of north England's Cheviot Hills, a descendent of shepherds, and a religious man who left the "English Church" to become a Congregationalist. He arrived in Winnipeg sometime prior to 1885. Scott denounced the "capitalist God" of organized religion and, as a wage-earner all his life, believed that "our legislation" tended to "rob the mass of the people" and turn "the good in human society . . . into evil." Scott was an unsuccessful candidate for the fledgling Socialist Party of Manitoba, and the trade unions, in the 1903 provincial election. The Voice, July 10, 1903; July 24, 1903.

³¹The Voice, January 11, 1896; January 4, 1896.

³²The Voice, March 7, 1896.

of the election, Steuart could only state that the industrial revolution had rendered the two-party system "false and misleading and illogical," and that none of the candidates could fight "our cause, no matter how honestly they may desire to do so."³³

In 1897, when Hugh John Macdonald was unseated as Winnipeg's M.P. after the Supreme Court determined that electoral corruption had taken place, Steuart pronounced the two new candidates unfit to represent labor. Labor did not enter a candidate.³⁴ With the death of R. W. Jameson, the Liberal winner of the 1897 by-election, in February of 1899, the W.L.P. immediately set up a committee to consider nominees; and its sister party, the dormant M.L.P., followed suit in May. Later in the month the W.L.P. and the W.T.L.C. reaffirmed their intention in a joint meeting which also suggested that a campaign fund be established. The two finally settled on Puttee, now a vice-president of the W.L.P., to contest the election as an "Independent Labor" man.³⁵ The election platform was the same one promulgated by the W.T.L.C. in January, being a fifteen point reform document which did not include direct legislation, prohibition, or temperance. It included most of the reforms of the previous unionist platforms, and added compulsory arbitration, the lessening of taxes on industry in favor of an increase on land values [a quasi-single tax provision], proportional representation and the cumulative vote, abolition of the Senate, and Chinese exclusion.³⁶

³³The Voice, May 30, 1896.

³⁴The Voice, March 27, 1897; April 24, 1897. The W.L.P., however, offered to cooperate with "other independent bodies" in the federal by-election, but these never materialized. The Voice, April 10, 1897.

³⁵The Voice, February 24, 1899; March 10, 1899; May 12, 1899; May 26, 1899.

³⁶The Voice, January 13, 1899; June 23, 1899; January 6, 1899.

However, Winnipeg was to remain unrepresented until January 25, 1900, when the federal Liberals finally held the by-election, won narrowly by Puttee.³⁷ At the Trades Congress convention in Montreal that September, the national body declared unanimously for political action after a resolution to this effect was submitted by Winnipeg delegates Mortimer and Appleton.³⁸

With the federal government stalling in its duty to set a by-election date, the Manitoba union men turned their attention to the civic³⁹ and provincial elections, both of which were held in December. The platform for the provincial election, unlike the earlier federal document, included the provisions of the past and added the establishment of a Department of Labor to "supervise and regulate all private Industrial operations" to ensure safety, workers' indemnity, reasonable hours and a minimum wage regardless of sex, free employment bureaus, child labor restriction, and the collection of wages without legal costs. Also included in the twelve points were direct legislation, municipal home rule in purely local matters, and the government ownership of railways.⁴⁰

The election, which began a fifteen year Conservative reign, went uncontested by labor. Former W.T.L.C. president Appleton, lately expelled from the W.L.P., spoke at a campaign rally for the Liberal Col. McMillan running in Winnipeg Centre. Appleton's excuse for his action

³⁷ The federal by-election of 1900 will be touched upon in the following chapter.

³⁸ The Voice, September 22, 1899.

³⁹ See footnote 24, this chapter.

⁴⁰ The Voice, December 1, 1899.

was based on the fact of his expulsion from the W.L.P., but this was not acceptable to that organization.⁴¹ Although The Voice continued to affirm its faith in Appleton, an anonymous letter from Vancouver was more on the mark.

The Grits did not want John Appleton printer. They wanted John Appleton, the Labor apostle. . . . Mr. Appleton cannot be a political plugger and a labor apostle at the same time. Such a thing is impossible, whether it is enjoined against in the bylaws of the Labor Party or not.⁴²

The Appleton defection aptly reflected the state of Winnipeg labor to 1900. It was politically weak and financially impoverished. However, this could only be expected of a movement in its infancy, and the population and industrial explosion of the century's first decade would raise it to a position where it would pose a serious political threat to the old parties in selected municipal and provincial electoral districts. Still, the process of growth amid political frustration was to be its lot for at least the next ten years.

⁴¹The Voice, December 8, 1899.

⁴²The Voice, December 15, 1899.

CHAPTER II
THE EMERGENCE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF MANITOBA
1900 TO 1902

The early political affiliates of the W.T.L.C., in 1896, were hesitant to call themselves socialist because of the discredit attached to the word.¹ After a few months of operation the city's new union organization represented only some 1,500 workers. Its official journal was also in its infancy and did not wish to discourage local merchants from advertising. When a new "Nationalists" party was formed in British Columbia to "demand for the producers and wage-earners the full product of their labour," The Voice deemed its program "just"--but "radical."² In its second issue, The Voice published on its front page a poem entitled "Reform," and in the same edition criticized labor violence and declared international unionism a "progressive step."³

The reluctance of Winnipeg's labor men to accept Socialism was explained by Gus Pingle, for a time co-editor of The Voice and on the W.L.P. executive.⁴

Socialism in Winnipeg has increased [1899], but the word seems to frighten some members of organized labor. We should come out for Socialism more pronounced, and educate the people as to its meaning, as the Socialists are doing in the United States.⁵

¹The Voice, March 7, 1896.

²The Voice, June 16, 1894.

³The Voice, June 23, 1894.

⁴No biographical information has been found on Pingle. Harry Cowan, whose background is given in footnote 6, chapter one, was also listed as a co-editor during the early Puttee years of The Voice.

⁵The Voice, December 29, 1899.

There had been a radical Socialist organization in Canada as far back as 1894, when the De Leonist Socialist Labor Party (S.L.P.) established a branch in Ontario. The S.L.P. "was doctrinaire Marxist in ideology and exhibited from the outset an extreme sectarian and anti-trade union orientation. Party members were forbidden to hold office in trade unions and the party rejected trade union officers who applied for membership," and it remained small and ineffectual.⁶

A local of the S.L.P. did exist in Winnipeg for a brief period beginning in January 1900. Its executive, at least, had a distinctly Germanic flavor, including P. Schwitzer, I. Walther, A. Mahler, and R. Baker. The S.L.P. local, in February 1900, reported a "healthy increase" in membership and literature obtained after only one month of operation. It declared that negotiations for affiliation with American socialists were pending the outcome of the power struggle taking place between the

⁶Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 34. Sidney Lens relates that De Leon found George's single tax "half-antiquated, half-idiotic reasoning," and that the Nationalists [Bellamy clubs] interested him for only a short time because it included many "who were timid about Marxian socialism with its thesis of the class struggle." After reading Marx, De Leon joined the S.L.P. in 1889. In the 1870's the S.L.P. talked of "a revolution in the minds of the people," which led some extremists to split and form the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party in 1881. This splinter deemed the ballot "an invention of the bourgeoisie to fool the workers." De Leon believed that political power could be won if the S.L.P. judiciously combined the principles of unionism and the ballot, but should remain separate from the reformist parties. This purist touch of De Leon held that "reforms must not be sought within the hated capitalist system but only as part of the socialist revolution." His attempts to win favor among the Populists, Knights, and A.F.L. failed. Despite his vitriolic condemnation of such "labor fakers," as he put it, "the A.F.L. grew from 265,000 in 1897 to 550,000 in 1900, while the De Leonists dwindled to insignificance. By 1898 it had only 114 affiliates, of which 54 paid their assessments. . . ." De Leon, though "erudite" and "a brilliant thinker even when he was wrong, . . . lacked that rare trait (which Lenin had, for instance), flexibility. It served to isolate him and his party from the main stream of labor as well as from the major class battles of the period." Lens, Radicalism in America, pp. 163-164; 178-187.

S.L.P. and the Social-Democratic Party in that country.⁷

The Voice, noting that the Canadian S.L.P. advocated step-by-step revolution and the gradual limitation of private property through the gains of reform, urged its readers not to confuse its platform with anarchism, and it was not averse to publishing letters from that party's "Karl Marx, Jr."⁸ By mid-1895, however, the W.T.L.C. paper noted that "on May 1st, 1894, there was but one section of the Socialist Labor Party in Canada, now there are seven. . . ." Its slow growth was likely due to its being "too radical" for Canadian workmen.⁹ Besides, noted a later edition:

As in the States, so there is [sic] in Canada today Old Trades Unionists, New Trades Unionists [political action], Socialists, Single Taxers and other reformers in like proportion to the population, each following a particular groove of their own and each striving to take advantage of the other. Why not form A UNION OF THESE FORCES, and come together now. Unionize. Unionize! and Educate.¹⁰

⁷The Voice, January 5, 1900; September 21, 1900; February 16, 1900. David Shannon, in his fine study of American socialism after 1900, commenting on the formation of the Socialist Party of America at Indianapolis in the summer of 1901, notes that "representatives of dissenting groups that had fought one another for decades now sang together the revolutionary air ['Marsellaise'] that for them symbolized leftist unity. . . . Only the Socialist Labour Party, led by that master of political invective Daniel De Leon, and destined to remain a small and doctrinaire sect of Marxist purists, remained outside the organization. Also outside was a small group of well intentioned but ineffectual social reformers who in their more daring moments called themselves 'Fabian Socialists'." Like their English counterparts, they "accepted many of the implications of Marxian socialism" but "were repelled by its class-struggle thesis and refused to join a party which made it an article of faith." David A. Shannon, The Socialist Party of America (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), pp. 1; 2-3. The square brackets are Shannon's.

⁸The Voice, October 27, 1894; November 10, 1894; December 22, 1894.

⁹The Voice, June 29, 1895.

¹⁰The Voice, November 23, 1895. The italics are mine; the capitals belong to The Voice.

Henry Ashplant, editor of the London Banner (Ontario), set himself the task of organizing S.L.P. locals in Western Canada in early 1895, calling it a utopian party in the tradition of Owen, St. Simon, and Fourier, but not revolutionary.

Hence our red color [flag] is symbolical only of international solidarity and universal brotherhood, and the fact that a similar emblem is adopted for the party emblems of physical force [is not relevant to the S.L.P.].¹¹

The 1895 T.L.C. convention had narrowly upheld the right of the S.L.P. to be represented on the national union body, but reversed the decision in 1896.¹² Ashplant had likely sealed his party's fate when he called D. J. O'Donoghue, leader of the powerful Toronto T.L.C., a "non-progressive fake." The Torontonian revelled in the expulsion, describing Ashplant in a letter to The Voice as "Swift's yahoo-d [sic] creature whose filth became the more apparent the higher it flew."¹³

John Appleton, as one of the Winnipeg delegates to the convention, tried to defend the S.L.P. He pointed to its fifteen reformist "demands" and maintained that the union movement would only alienate a friendly organization if it expelled the S.L.P. on the basis of untrue charges. His argument fell upon deaf ears.¹⁴ After its expulsion from the Trades Congress The Voice made no mention of the S.L.P. until the formation of the short-lived Winnipeg local in 1900.

Although the S.L.P. failed to become viable in Winnipeg, another

¹¹The Voice, January 25, 1896; February 22, 1896.

¹²The vote was 16 to 15. Proceedings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, 1895, p. 21. The vote expelling the S.L.P. was 36 to 6. Proceedings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, 1896, p. 25.

¹³The Voice, October 31, 1896.

¹⁴The Voice, October 17, 1896.

version of Socialism met with success in this area. As 1899 entered its waning days some Winnipeggers decided to apply for a charter from the Canadian Socialist League (C.S.L.).¹⁵ Pingle of The Voice reported that "a purely Socialist organization has been organized in this city within the last few days, and a charter has been sent for. It has about twelve members, and bids fair to do a good work. . . . At present the Socialist movement is of an educational nature and branch leagues . . . will be given the power to draft their own constitution and platform providing that recognized Socialist principles are adhered to."¹⁶

Unlike the Marxist S.L.P., the C.S.L. was an organization which "advertised a mild form of Christian Socialism," interpreted by George Wrigley as "applied Christianity," on the basis that "Christ was the first Socialist."¹⁷ The "Christian Commonwealth" would be attained when "public ownership superseded private and government ownership," for the Wrigley logic held that "government ownership was socialist but it was not socialism. So long as the corporations owned the state and

¹⁵The C.S.L. was formed in Toronto in 1898 by brothers George and G. Weston Wrigley, publishers of the moderate Christian socialist Citizen and Country. The paper first appeared on March 15, 1898. A Montreal local was formed simultaneous to the Toronto venture, and by the end of 1899 locals also existed in Hamilton, Ottawa, Malton, elsewhere in Ontario and Quebec, and in Golden, British Columbia. Also see Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 34.

¹⁶The Voice, December 29, 1899.

¹⁷Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 34. Writing to the International Socialist Review in 1901, Wrigley claimed a broad base for the C.S.L.'s seventeen branches. Pointing to the S.L.P. as a De Leonite group which refused to allow trade union officers to join its ranks, and to its ideological obstinacy, he noted the C.S.L.'s "harmony with trade unions" and its "co-operation" with the "radical element of the Canadian clergy." The article also mentioned its prominent members. G. Weston Wrigley, "Socialism in Canada," International Socialist Review, I, No. 11 (May, 1901), pp. 686-687.

parliament, Canada would have government ownership." The way for the Canadian people to gain "public" control was through the system of direct legislation.¹⁸

Wrigley's insistence on cooperation with trade union organizations was well-founded, especially at this time. By 1900 the W.T.L.C. and W.L.P., with a needed assist from the Liberals, succeeded in electing Puttee of The Voice as Winnipeg's Independent-Labor M.P. Puttee, who would hold the seat until the Liberals abandoned him in 1904, won by only eight votes in the by-election of January 25 but solidified his position with an easy victory in that year's November 7 general election.¹⁹ Not long after the general election, C. Wooley, a Toronto printer and S.L.P. member, contested his city's mayoralty on an anti-trade union platform, polling under one per cent of the total vote.²⁰

While the C.S.L. sought to develop a closer relationship with the

¹⁸Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, pp. 34-35. Wrigley's Christian Socialism, mild and supposedly inoffensive, would have met with stern opposition from the Liberal Manitoba Free Press. Concurrent with the stirrings of the C.S.L. in Winnipeg, the Free Press wrote that "some people have the delusion that the labor classes are Socialists. There was never a greater mistake, emphasized as it is by Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, who says that Socialism is the enemy of trade unions. Under Socialism the stimulus to effort would be removed, once the maintenance of a man's wife and family was taken off his hands. Drones would receive as many rewards as the skilled and industrious. Competition is the condition of social progress, and Socialism is, therefore, the enemy of progress. The honest and industrious artisan has no use for Socialism. The atavistic forces of nature will continue to give us dishonesty and indolence, and with these industrious and progressive artisans can never join hands in Manitoba any more than elsewhere." Manitoba Free Press, December 25, 1899.

¹⁹The Voice, February 29, 1900; November 9, 1900. For the details of this entire issue, the reader is once again referred to A. R. McCormack's illuminating article. For the exact reference see footnote 7 in the previous chapter.

²⁰The Voice, January 11, 1900.

W.L.P. during 1901, this only succeeded after a bit of difficulty. A small faction existed within the W.L.P., which, although favoring the C.S.L., wished the W.L.P. to declare itself a socialist organization. The group's motion to have the W.L.P. change its name to the Social-Democratic Party failed, and, despite this minority objection, it was clear by the end of 1901 that a Winnipeg C.S.L. local would have to work in cooperation with the union movement without any serious chance of dominating it.²¹

Some two years elapsed before the C.S.L. decided to act upon the Winnipeg request for affiliation.²² In the spring of 1902 the C.S.L. dispatched J. M. Cameron to the prairie capital, a man who had "organized a large number of leagues in the West." Cameron was successful in "rounding up" enough interested men, to whom he explained the objects and principles of the league at a "fairly well attended" organizational meeting. The gathering was chaired by the W.L.P. president, William Scott, thus establishing an immediate rapport between the city's union movement and the C.S.L. The meeting resulted in the formation of C.S.L. local 62, after Cameron had addressed the assembled on the "social, ethical, and economic phases of scientific socialism."²³

Winnipeg was to be the C.S.L.'s headquarters for Manitoba and the North-West Territories (modern Saskatchewan and Alberta). The principles to be followed by the Winnipeg local were to generally conform with the central body in Toronto, for the C.S.L. constitution permitted local

²¹The Voice, November 15, 1901; November 29, 1901.

²²See footnote 15, this chapter.

²³The Voice, March 7, 1902; March 14, 1902. No biography of Cameron has been found.

autonomy if it did not conflict with "recognized Socialist principles."²⁴

Local 62 met quite regularly from its inception on March 11 until mid-November of 1902, when it merged with the newly-formed Socialist Party of Manitoba. Speaking to the infant local in the weeks preceding his departure from Winnipeg,²⁵ Cameron warned of the dangers which could befall "the worker with the capitalist mind,"²⁶ and the few opportunities which existed under the present system whereby the working class might improve its economic position.²⁷ Thus, Cameron maintained, "true political liberty" must be preceded by "economic liberty," i.e. collective ownership. This would result in "production for use," rather than "profit," thereby correcting the problem of low wages paid by the greedy capitalist.²⁸

Despite Cameron's efforts the Winnipeg local did not seem to flourish, nor did it manage to convince the trade unionists that a socialist system was the answer to industrial strife. Within one month of the local's creation, Cameron expressed concern over the fact that only two

²⁴The Voice, April 18, 1902.

²⁵J. M. Cameron remained in Winnipeg until the last day of June, when he departed for Victoria, B.C. His home was in Vancouver. The Voice, June 27, 1902; March 7, 1902.

²⁶The Voice, March 14, 1902.

²⁷The Voice, March 28, 1902.

²⁸The Voice, May 16, 1902. Robin points out that such concerns on the part of "radical" groups had developed in Canada as the industrial pace accelerated in the 1890's, shifting the blame "away from the 'idle and speculative' classes and towards the industrial capitalist class. . . . Profit rather than rent formed the core of exploitation. According to the new criticism, the misery of the working class could be alleviated only when a new social system, based on production for use, succeeded the old which produced for profit. A socialist organization and movement was needed in order to implement the transition." Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 33.

or three people had helped him in the task. He conceded that those who attended the early meetings had shown interest, but was disappointed because the turnout was "very small."²⁹ Just prior to his departure for the west coast he spoke to a meeting of the W.L.P., making "a strong plea for Socialism as the only logical and effective defense of labor against the crushing power of capitalism." His exhortations were received rather coolly, for the W.L.P.'s only response was to pass a unanimous resolution "expressing the party's appreciation of Mr. Cameron's work in Winnipeg."³⁰

In October of 1902 the various socialist organizations in British Columbia amalgamated to form the Socialist Party of British Columbia (S.P.B.C.).³¹ The merging bodies included the province's S.L.P., C.S.L.,

²⁹The Voice, April 14, 1902; March 28, 1902.

³⁰The Voice, June 27, 1902. Greener pastures awaited Cameron in British Columbia, for Socialism was undergoing a "real expansion" there in 1902. The Wrigley brothers had moved to Vancouver, and The Citizen and Country was renamed the Canadian Socialist. Robert Parm Pettipiece, who had come to the coast in the early 1890's, merged his radical Ferguson Eagle with the new Wrigley publication. The Vancouver socialist paper reflected admiration for Winnipeg M.P. Purtee and for B.C.'s new socialist M.L.A.'s, Parker Williams and J. H. Hawthornwaite. The success of these men, elected in 1903, has been attributed to that province's "social structure which concentrated radical coal and metal miners in key constituencies."

Commenting somewhat disdainfully on the changing attitude of Winnipeg labor toward Socialism, Wrigley's press noted that "many members of the Winnipeg Labor Party are advocating the amalgamation of that organization with the recently formed Socialist League No. 62. Others want to wait until Socialism becomes more popular. True Socialists do not ask 'Is it popular?' but 'Is it right?'"

Incorporating the more radical position of the west coast socialists, then, the movement's centre of gravity had shifted to British Columbia. In 1904 the "British Columbia vanguard" held the balance of power in the B.C. legislature, wringing such concessions as "amendments to the Coal Mines Regulations Act, a Boiler Inspection Law, Settlers' Rights Act, and the eight hour law in the coal mines." The Voice, June 20, 1902; November 28, 1902; Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, pp. 40; 42; 44.

³¹The Voice, October 17, 1902.

and the United Socialist Labor Party.³² This new party would have a direct effect upon the future course of socialism in Winnipeg.

The S.P.B.C. was organized by Ernest Burns, a former executive member of H. M. Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation of Great Britain, and an active Populist until Bryan's defeat in the presidential election of 1896.³³ The British Columbian party adopted the tenets of the Socialist Party of America.³⁴ Earlier in 1902, a radical group from

³²The U.S.L.P. was actually a small S.L.P. splinter group which had formed in 1900, disagreeing with the latter's moderation view that "the ballot box supported by the strike" could "bring the revolution, which should in every respect be quiet and orderly." Paul Fox, "Early Socialism in Canada," in J. H. Aitchison, ed., The Political Process in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 91.

³³Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 41. The S.D.F. was founded by Hyndman in 1881, and because it claimed to be "the only consistent exponent" of Marx's scientific socialism, it failed "to provide a provisional or transitional programme." Rather than reform palliatives, "its sole purpose was to create a socialist state after the cataclysm of capitalism's overthrow." Thus, it alienated the British worker because it did not "answer his questions about food, shelter, and work for today." These "English Marxists" were, as well, unwilling to cooperate with "other socialist or semi-socialist organizations." They had attended at the formation of the British Labour Party in 1900, but withdrew their affiliation within two years. During its brief romance with the B.L.P., "on almost every issue, S.D.F. spokesmen managed to hit upon a consistent but unpractical stand." Between 1885 and 1910, "it met with a singular lack of success" at the polls. J. H. S. Reid, The Origins of the British Labour Party (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), pp. 47-52.

³⁴See footnote 7, this chapter. The pre-war Socialist Party of America was "a broad political organization representing all shades of leftist conviction" and without the "rigid party lines" and "doctrinal purity" that developed after 1918. Of its leaders, "Debs believed firmly in industrial unionism in the economic field and militant Socialist agitation in the political field. Most of the differences between Debs and more conservative Socialists such as Hillquit, Maurer, and Victor Berger, leader of the Milwaukee organization, were differences of emphasis." The conservatives spoke softly on industrial unionism "for fear of antagonizing some elements in the A.F.L.; all of them believed in the immediate demands of the Socialist platforms, but the conservatives, in the hope of attracting non-Socialist reformist votes, often made these demands paramount and minimized the distinctly anticapitalist aspects of the Socialist program, much to the disgust of Debs." It was, in sum, a party of regional diversity and embraced "a wide variety of social

Nanaimo had formed the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Canada. This party insisted, uncompromisingly, upon the "immediate emancipation" of the working class.³⁵ However, these differences were resolved long enough to result in the formation of the S.P.B.C. in October after a referendum at the Vancouver unity convention.³⁶

The S.P.B.C. platform called for the transformation from private to collective property, the "thorough" and "democratic" management of industry by the workers, the production for use rather than profit, and the existence of a class struggle. Most noteworthy was their concession to gradualism, for "collective property" could be established via "political action," i.e. any legislation which "advances the interests of the workers in their struggle against capitalism."³⁷

Winnipeg's C.S.L. local reacted swiftly to the events in Vancouver. After two open meetings at the committee rooms of The Voice in late October and early November, the Socialist Party of Manitoba (S.P.M.) was born, and on November 14, 1902, The Voice published its platform and constitution.³⁸

The S.P.M.'s seminal document was preceded by an illustration in which a muscular proletarian-like forearm held high a blazing torch. The caption beneath was the popular battle cry of Marx's Communist Manifesto: "Workingmen of all countries unite. You have nothing to

philosophies," illustrating "the fact that the Socialist comrades were strange bedfellows." Shannon, The Socialist Party of America, pp. 6; 17; 42.

³⁵ Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, pp. 40-41.

³⁶ The Voice, October 17, 1902.

³⁷ The Voice, October 17, 1902.

³⁸ The Voice, October 24, 1902; November 14, 1902.

lose but your chains, and you have a world to gain." The torch would be the S.P.M.'s symbol in the years to come, heading the party's columns which appeared regularly in The Voice.

Central to the long document was its object: "The Socialization of the means of Production, Distribution, and Exchange, to be controlled by a Democratic State in the interests of the entire community and the complete emancipation of Labor from the domination of Capitalism." Its seven point platform and thirteen immediate demands reflected virtually every grievance--local, national and international--of the world labor movement, including the kind of reform legislation demanded by the various W.T.L.C. and W.L.P. platforms of the latter 1890's. Heading the list of immediate demands was "the public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of hours of labor of the employees and to the improvement of services."

The reforming spirit of the S.P.M. and the S.P.B.C. to date was in keeping with the prevalent drive for social justice in North America.

The Western Clarion perhaps summed up the attitude of the new socialist parties.³⁹

The Socialist Party is not a half way party . . . it aims at peaceful revolution. While the Socialist Party aims ultimately to secure working class ownership of government, to have collective ownership of all means of producing and distributing wealth, to end the class struggle . . . to abolish wars . . . to give the workers the full product of their toil, the socialist legislators

³⁹ The Western Clarion began publication in July, 1902, at Nanaimo under the management of H. Buckle, and edited by J. E. Norcross. The Voice, August 1, 1902.

[Williams and Hawthornwaite in B.C.] are pledged to introduce and vote for all legislation which aims to improve the material condition of the working class.⁴⁰

Paralleling the emergence of the S.P.M. was the formation of the Labor Representation League (L.R.L.) on November 17. The L.R.L. was another of those civic election parties endorsed by the W.T.L.C. and the W.L.P. Although the socialists regarded this attempt at labor unity for electoral purposes with mixed feelings, they generally agreed that the idea was "essentially class-conscious and a distinct step in advance."⁴¹

It was to be expected that the executives of the S.P.M. and the L.R.L. all served the W.T.L.C. at one time or another during this period.⁴² With the dawning of 1903, it was evident that Winnipeg's new socialist party was moderate, and thus prepared to cooperate with the trade union movement and its affiliated political organizations. That moderation was plainly stated at the beginning of the first "Socialism" column to appear in The Voice, with the declaration that the class struggle could be won by "the ballot, not the strike."

⁴⁰Western Clarion, May 7, 1903. Cited in Walter D. Young, Democracy and Discontent (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969), p. 10.

⁴¹The Voice, November 21, 1902; October 10, 1902.

⁴²William Scott, George Dales, John Street, C. Bettsworth, A. Mahler, and E. Siemon made up the central committee of the S.P.M. Scott was the W.T.L.C. president in 1902, and Dales sat on the executive committee. [Scott contested the provincial and municipal elections of 1903 as an L.R.L.-S.P.M. candidate, a matter to be discussed in the following chapter.] The Voice, November 14, 1902; November 21, 1902.

CHAPTER III

SECTARIAN INTERLUDE: 1903 TO 1908

The new S.P.M. lost no time in its quest to cooperate, with the L.R.L., in the movement to achieve political representation for Winnipeg labor. George Dales, the party secretary, was selected by the L.R.L. to contest the ward four council seat. Reflecting upon their candidate's very poor showing, the S.P.M. described themselves as a party of "principle," and deplored the fact that working men still persisted in voting for the wrong class. They took solace in the revelation that "reform and tinkering only intensify the evils" whose remedy lay in the ownership and control of "the means of life" by the "producers." Nevertheless they were still prepared to give the ballot another chance.¹

At the beginning of March the two labor parties announced that William Scott and Robert Thoms² would run in the July 20 provincial

¹The Voice, December 13, 1902; December 20, 1902; January 9, 1903.

²For a biographical sketch of Scott see footnote 30 in chapter one. Robert Thoms was born in the parish of Hawkinge, County of Kent, in June of 1870. This shepherd's son was orphaned at an early age, escaping the workhouse "experience of Oliver Twist" through the kindness of relatives who saw to his maintenance and education. At age twelve he went to work for a Folkstone printer [Puttee was also trained in Folkstone] for five years. Thoms emigrated to Manitoba in 1889, working in Brandon for a year at his trade. He then moved to St. Paul, Minnesota where he joined the Typographical Union. After "a couple of years" of working in the Pacific coast states and British Columbia, he returned to Winnipeg.

Thoms noted that his "education as a labor man" began in B.C., and during his eleven years in Winnipeg [since 1892] he was "actively engaged" in working for his union local and for the W.T.L.C. For him the cause of labor was a "religion." As he put it: "I know that ultimately the cause of labor must prevail, and the workers will, through governments elected by the people and for the people, receive that measure of justice, which, in the past, has been denied to them." The Voice, July 10, 1903.

election,³ the former in Winnipeg Centre and the latter in Winnipeg North. Winnipeg South was wisely left to the two old parties.⁴ Scott and Thoms concentrated their campaigns in the five weeks preceding the election, particularly at meetings held in Selkirk Hall on June 14 and in a tent on the grounds of the Manitoba Exhibition on June 30.

Speaking at the first meeting, the candidates favored full adult suffrage for the province. Scott, dealing with the issue of temperance as well, contended that Winnipeg was not yet firmly in favor of a prohibition law. He suggested that publicly operated saloons be established, the profits to be applied to civic improvements.⁵

³The Voice, March 6, 1903. A. G. Cowley, the W.T.L.C. president for 1903, was selected as an alternate candidate.

⁴The Parliamentary Guide, 1903, pp. 401-402.

⁵The Voice, June 19, 1903. The S.P.M. and the L.R.L. were just echoing the platform of another reform organization, formed earlier in the year. "On February 13th, the Political Reform Union--an independent organization founded and largely controlled by Mr. R. L. Richardson, ex-M.P., of the Winnipeg Tribune--held a Convention in the Provincial capital, elected Mr. Alex MacDonald, President, and Mr. A. W. Puttee, M.P., Vice-President, and reiterated its policy as including the granting of the right of initiating, ratifying, or vetoing legislation to the electorates of the Province and the Dominion; ownership of public franchises; abolition of the spoils system in public appointments; and abolition of the sale of liquor for profit."

The opposition Liberals denounced the Conservatives' handling of the Prohibition issue, and merely pledged "to introduce from time to time such further restrictive legislation as will be in conformity with the growing temperance sentiment." The government defended its Prohibition policy. In 1892 the Greenway Liberals had done nothing after a plebiscite had given Prohibition a large majority. In 1898, the year of a Dominion plebiscite, Manitoba reaffirmed her earlier opinion but no action was taken. "Then the Conservative government of Mr. H. J. MacDonald had prepared--by the hands of a Prohibitionist lawyer--what was thought to be a thorough and effective measure, passed it through the Legislature and eventually obtained the constitutional confirmation of the Privy Council. By this time, however, the Opposition press and speakers had so minimized its value and so consistently deprecated its usefulness that the Roblin Government [after October 29, 1900] determined to submit the question of its actual enforcement to the people at large . . . by means of the Referendum and the majority against the

At the meeting later in the month, Scott ~~hammered~~ at the need for such reforms as direct legislation and free compulsory education.⁶ He praised the agitation in the Commons by Winnipeg M.P. Puttee on behalf of a transcontinental railway, built and owned by the government.⁷ In his concluding remarks Scott lauded the socialist successes in the German elections,⁸ and declared that "the Labor Party stood for practical and desirable reforms, while the other parties stood for nothing." Thoms repeated Scott's conclusion and remarked that his Conservative opponent, Sampson Walker, had declared himself a man for all the people. Thoms noted that "the idea of a man pretending that he could represent the C.P.R. and the workers of this city was absurd."⁹

measure had been 6,857. The Government considered this to have settled the matter." The Canadian Annual Review, 1903, pp. 185; 187. A comprehensive treatment of the Prohibition issue may be found in John Herd Thompson, "The Prohibition Question in Manitoba, 1892-1938 (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969). A well-documented and fascinating book on this subject is Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition, The Era of Excess (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962).

⁶The Voice, July 3, 1903.

⁷Puttee's efforts were to prove fruitless later in the year. On September 1 Mr. N. Boyd introduced an amendment to Laurier's long-debated bill to build the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway by private contract. Boyd's amendment, which lost by 119 to 68, favored "extending and developing our system of Government railways and of placing the operation thereof entirely beyond the region of party politics." Puttee then moved another amendment, namely the adoption of "a definite policy of Government construction and operation of railways." It was rejected by 135 to 50. The Canadian Annual Review, 1903, pp. 32; 43-44.

⁸The Social Democratic Party received 32.6 per cent of the total vote in the Reichstag elections of 1903, winning 79 seats. The German socialists discovered, early in the century, that "the abstinence from contacts with other parties was an impossible policy." Carl Landauer, et al., European Socialism: A History of Ideas and Movements (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 362-364.

⁹The Voice, July 3, 1903. Thoms also indicated that, for the sake of economy, day labor for public works should replace contract labor. Puttee, speaking on the candidates' behalf, cited the St. Andrew's rapids

The Voice published a full-page spread in which the candidates addressed their respective electors. Both men repeated the themes already discussed. Thoms, whose presentation was the shorter by far, noted that "North Winnipeg is essentially an industrial constituency, eighty per cent of the voters being wage-earners." Perhaps most interesting, because it reveals the emphasis placed on reform politics, is the fact that neither man referred to his socialist affiliation. The S.P.M. was very much a reform party at this time, but the candidates preferred to give only their L.R.L. credentials. Scott's long statement of various reforms included a description of Canada's immigration agents as the "slave hunters" for a government which bowed to the capitalists' desire for cheap labor. Selectivity, he said, would "end strikes, as it would take out of the hands of employers . . . their only weapon--starvation, and make arbitration the only means of settling labor disputes," returning to trade unions their "legitimate function."¹⁰

Scott, with a little more Christ and a little less Marx, maintained

contract as an example of a project being stalled because the contractor had tendered too low. Puttee made some comments on the Commons' G.T.P. railway debate; he declared that the infant problems of capital and labor in Winnipeg could best be solved by a non-partisan approach; and he called for provincial redistribution to correct the situation whereby Winnipeg, with one-sixth of the Manitoba population, had but three of the forty legislature seats. The Voice, July 3, 1903.

¹⁰ At their Brockville convention later in the year, the T.L.C. issued a protest to the federal government regarding immigration policy. At the heart of their discontent was the unskilled or indigent Briton, cash bonuses to transportation companies, false advertising of Canada's virtues, and the lack of more stringent provisions for the exclusion of "undesirable" classes. [The last point was a catch-all which could include various psychological, physical, social, and racial types.] Proceedings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, 1903, p. 44.

Scott also called for direct legislation, full adult suffrage, compulsory free education, redistribution, a legal eight hour day, volume coal purchase by city council on behalf of her citizens, and public control of the liquor trade. The Voice, July 3, 1903.

that a labor programme was the only way to solve "the most distracting social problems."

It can only reconcile the ethics of Christianity with its practice and lift the pall of despair from the conscientious preacher . . . and let the light of true manhood and womanhood shine forth. We place before you the way of life and the way of death. Those opposing me in Centre Winnipeg, being party men, known and acknowledged as such, are in favor of THINGS AS THEY ARE. Make your choice.¹¹

The choice was made, but the blind and the heathen remained quite unconverted. Scott, running against former mayor Thomas W. Taylor and Dr. J. A. MacArthur, polled 422 out of 2,821 total votes. Thoms, defeated by Sampson Walker and J. W. Cockburn in the more hospitable northern constituency, managed only a pittance better by garnering 590 out of 2,795 ballots.¹²

Following the provincial election the S.P.M. stated its intention to field the next candidate in the Winnipeg area, but without necessarily collaborating with other labor organizations.¹³ Late that autumn the S.P.M. announced that William Scott would contest the ward four council seat. Three weeks later, however, the L.R.L. declared itself for Scott, thus reinforcing the entente that had existed in the

¹¹The Voice, July 3, 1903.

¹²The Conservatives swept the three Winnipeg seats and were easily returned to power in the rest of Manitoba. Winnipeg's results were: Winnipeg Centre; Taylor (C.) 1,276 (re-elected), MacArthur (L.) 1,123, Scott (Ind.) 422. Winnipeg North; Walker (C.) 1,106, Cockburn (L.) 1,057, Thoms (Ind.) 591. Winnipeg South; J. T. Gordon (C.) 1,807 (re-elected), J. D. Cameron (L.) 1,633. The Parliamentary Guide, 1903, pp. 401-402.

¹³John P. Morgan and James Stott announced this intention to run candidates under the S.P.M. banner alone. The Voice, July 24, 1903; October 23, 1903; October 9, 1903.

earlier elections.¹⁴ As John G. Morgan had written: "Now most Socialists are members, and active members as a rule, of the various trade unions."¹⁵

Scott's platform was, like its predecessor, practical rather than ideological. The key to his reform proposals was the "public ownership of municipal franchises."¹⁶ Despite the reforming tone and the continued unity of the labor movement, social amelioration was not yet an important factor--even to workingmen. Scott won but 135 out of ward four's 1,441

¹⁴Indicative of the cooperation within the labor movement during the 1903 provincial election was the fact that contributors to the L.R.L. fund included "Spartacus," one of the anonymous authors of the S.P.M. column in The Voice. L. E. Nauer, an S.P.M. and W.T.L.C. executive, signed Scott's nominating papers along with Harry Albert, the W.T.L.C. vice-president. Three other union men completed the slate of nominators. The Voice, July 10, 1903; July 17, 1903.

¹⁵The Voice, November 13, 1903; October 23, 1903.

¹⁶This was not surprising, since the first immediate demand listed in the S.P.M. constitution was public ownership. The Voice, November 14, 1902; November 27, 1903.

In the remainder of his platform Scott opposed the city council's bargain with the C.P.R. for the construction of the Main Street underpass, for, as he maintained at the Winnipeg Theatre in a Town Hall-style meeting, "the city council gave its property to the company, but the private owners sold at good figures." He was against the effective establishment of a segregated vice district in the lower North End's Point Douglas area due to the non-enforcement of bawdy house laws, because "bad as things were we were not prepared to legalize prostitution in Winnipeg." The Voice, November 20, 1903.

Regarding the city's housing shortage, Scott suggested that "the council acquire a large area of land to lease to workmen to build upon, or better still, let it itself dig up the brick earth that underlay all this district and build houses to rent at a rate that will pay interest and sinking fund charges." The Voice, November 27, 1903. An economic historian, citing Sessional Papers 25, 1904, says: "In . . . Winnipeg . . . building increased enormously. On a single day in September, 1903, within the city limits, 1016 buildings were under construction, over 700 of which were dwelling houses." Mary Quayle Innis, An Economic History of Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943), p. 247. Scott also wished to see the provincial Factories Act and the Early Closing by-law maintained and enforced. The Voice, November 27, 1903. A discussion of government-union antagonism over the labor laws may be found in Lionel Orlikow, "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba," pp. 79-80.

ballots,¹⁷ and thus the socialist-unionist combination saw 1903 pass with a dearth of electoral support at the provincial and municipal levels. However, the crushing blow to labor's political aspirations was yet to come.

With 1904 the year of a federal election, the L.R.L. was of course anxious to have Arthur Puttee retain his seat.¹⁸ Puttee's loss in the November third election may be traced to the fact that the reunited Liberals had rejected him in favor of their own candidate. Furthermore, Puttee's campaign had abandoned the broad appeal of past contests in favor of a "class" line. John Appleton, by now the author of a "Labour Topics" column in the Manitoba Free Press under the name of John Laborson, jumped at this chance. "Appleton's readers, a significant proportion of whom had always been suspicious of anything more than the labour political movement's most limited 'economic' objectives, were informed that Puttee and his associates were 'revolutionists' and 'assassins.'"¹⁹

¹⁷The Voice, December 11, 1903. In the ward six aldermanic race, Cox defeated Nicholson of the Carpenters and Joiners Union by 306 to 183, notwithstanding the latter's endorsement by the S.P.M.-L.R.L. coalition. Mayor-elect Sharpe almost doubled the vote on his nearest rival Mitchell, the latter having been touted by the L.R.L. as "free from corporate and other interests." The labor men could take some pride in the fact that Mitchell had outpolled his two opponents in the northerly wards five and six, and that McCharles, the lesser of two evils to labor, had won narrowly over Davidson for ward four's council seat. The Voice, December 4, 1903; December 11, 1903.

¹⁸The L.R.L. expressed its hopes for Puttee by circulating a letter to all Canadian Unions in solicitation of campaign funds. The Voice, July 29, 1904.

¹⁹A. R. McCormack, "Arthur Puttee and the Liberal Party," pp. 160-162. Appleton, three times the W.T.L.C. president in the late 1890's, had been ejected from the W.L.P. in 1899 for supporting a Liberal in that December's provincial election. The Voice traced his fall from grace to the spring of 1898, when, after receiving an appointment to the Crow's Nest Commission investigating freight rates, he "tasted the sweets and blandishments of pay and patronage and henceforth became the Grit heeler." The S.P.M.

In a bitter editorial, The Voice (Puttee) stated with accuracy that "the labor vote is still as unstable as water," and a week later despaired of labor's chances in the 1904 civic elections.²⁰ The S.P.M. concluded that Puttee's head had been "chopped off" because he had "refused to be a servile supporter of Laurier."²¹ Winnipeg's socialists had, through 1903 and 1904, come to the realization that the unionist-led labor movement just did not have the support of its own class. This, along with developments within the movement in British Columbia during the period, prompted the Winnipeg socialists to turn away from political activity in favor of a sectarian and propagandist policy.

The formation of the S.P.B.C. in 1902 attempted to bring together

dubbed him a "disciple of Judas," a "political potwalloper" with "his little Grit broom . . . trying to stem the world-tide of Socialism."

Just after the 1903 provincial campaign he denounced open-shop strikes as labor "tyranny," and he lauded the hostility shown by St. Boniface citizens to the "obnoxious doctrines" of the S.P.M. A week later he attacked John G. Morgan's socialism as "lawless and revolutionary," with the intent of creating "class antagonism and hatred." Morgan replied that theirs was a class conscious, but "evolutionary" movement, and defended their "soap-box" orators as noble men. The Voice, December 23, 1904; April 1, 1904; April 16, 1904; November 27, 1903; August 7, 1903; August 14, 1903; September 4, 1903; September 25, 1903. Manitoba Free Press Evening Bulletin, September 5, 1903; September 12, 1903; September 19, 1903.

The result of the 1904 federal election in Winnipeg was: D. W. Bole (L.) 4,308, W. S. Evans (C.) 4,032, A. W. Puttee (Lab.) 1,290. The Parliamentary Guide, 1905, p. 216.

²⁰The Voice, November 4, 1904; November 11, 1904. Part of the despair was based upon the losses, by substantial margins, of labor candidates in Rainy River, Cape Breton, Nanaimo, Vancouver, Victoria, and Yale-Caribou. The Voice, December 16, 1904.

²¹The Voice, December 16, 1904. D. W. Bole, the Liberal victor, had promised to use his influence to bring the new G.T.P. railway's shops to Winnipeg. He pointed to Winnipeg's wage rates, which might reach \$4.00 per day. Puttee not only lost his deposit, but his vote in the city's North End dropped from 71 per cent in 1900 to 21 per cent. A. R. McCormack, "Arthur Puttee and the Liberal Party," p. 162. The fact is that only Liberal-supported "labor" men won in 1904. Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, pp. 51-52.

the various elements of the socialist movement, and although this was achieved by using the model of the Socialist Party of America, the west coast party soon afterward deleted the list of immediate demands from its platform.²² By the latter part of 1903 the American Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners, and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, were openly combatting the T.L.C. and the American Federation of Labor. The A.L.U. was a western organization with headquarters at Butte, Montana. In the winter of 1902-03 its organizers entered British Columbia and "brought serious dissension into the ranks of labour by its challenge to the principles and forms of unionism then existing." In Victoria it was thwarted by the opposition of the international unionists, while in Vancouver it managed to bring about the V.T.L.C.'s withdrawal from the T.L.C. of Canada in March of 1903.

Although the A.L.U. and the U.B.R.E. were to lose power after the failure of the strike against the C.P.R. and the subsequent condemnation of their revolutionary "industrial socialism," they left their legacy on the west coast.

The story of their turbulent and pretentious stand in British Columbia is interesting as being the first of the radical movements finding a field of operations in the West and threatening the complacency of the main movement of Canadian unionism. While the two organizations formally withdrew, doubtless the impression left upon the labour philosophy of the province had a bearing upon subsequent radical movements that were to find favour in this section of Canada.²³

²²Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, pp. 41-42.

²³Proceedings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, 1903, pp. 50-51. H. A. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada, pp. 297-298; 159. Also see Norman J. Ware, "The History of Labor Interaction," in H. A. Innis, ed., Labor in Canadian-American Relations (New York: Russell and Russell, 1937), pp. 20-23.

Regarding the B.C. labor troubles and their instigating parties,

When the S.P.B.C. held their convention in Vancouver on December 31, 1904, the S.P.M. applied for affiliation. Thus was born the Socialist Party of Canada (S.P.C.).²⁴ Jacob Penner reveals that although the program of the Vancouver socialists was "accepted at that time," it was to prove inadequate to the real needs of workers striving to improve their working and living conditions.

The majority of the members in the Socialist Party of Canada here in Winnipeg and particularly in B.C. even looked with contempt on the struggle of trade unions for higher wages and improved working conditions.²⁵

The Manitoba affiliates thus accepted the uncompromising revolutionary approach of the west coast socialists, and this new position of impossibilism was to turn the Winnipeg section into a propaganda and debating society, aloof from labor organization and electoral participation. By the fall of 1906 the S.P.C. and the T.L.C. would come to an official parting of the way, after the Congress Convention in Victoria resulted in "the first direct encounter between the supporters of labour representation and the socialists."²⁶

The new socialist group in Winnipeg was dominated by 150 members

D. A. Carey and A. W. Puttee reported that "we have no intention of excusing overt acts, extreme revolutionary methods or breaches of faith or contracts by organizations either of employers or employees." Carey and Puttee, however, denied the B.C. royal commission's contention that union men have no right to strike even if non-union labor is used by the employer. Proceedings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, 1903, p. 66.

²⁴The Voice, January 13, 1905.

²⁵Jacob Penner, "Recollections of the Early Socialist Movement in Winnipeg," The Marxist Quarterly, No. 2 (Summer, 1962), p. 27.

²⁶Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 79.

of British and Canadian origin,²⁷ but their doctrine of the revolution's inevitability was not shared by many of the same Anglo-Saxon background. The East and Central Europeans, who had been arriving in the Canadian West en masse after 1900, were now becoming familiar with the democratic brand of politics in their new homeland. The small number of socialists among them would join with the realists among their English-speaking counterparts and challenge the impossibilist S.P.C. local. The socialist movement in Winnipeg, as well as the Canadian nation at large, would be affected profoundly by this "third force."

²⁷The Voice, December 28, 1906; January 18, 1907.

CHAPTER IV
EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION AND THE
SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN WINNIPEG

1907 TO 1910

The new European immigrants were, in the main, poor, semi-literate, and downgraded by their new countrymen.¹ It was, therefore, natural for them to continue their cultural activities in the new land, particularly

¹The Ukrainian newcomer was described as "lovable because he is immature. He has little power of continued mental growth." Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1929), p. 176. Allowing that the "Galicians" in Winnipeg were exploited by local con men, another writer commented that "they have not the Canadian regard for life, liberty, and sanitary surroundings, and have to be regulated accordingly. . . . If the children escape immorality [likely a reference to venereal disease] they will become incorrigible and be more trouble in future than their parents." George F. Chipman, "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot," Canadian Magazine, XXIII (May-October, 1909), pp. 415; 416. On the eve of the great migrations, prior to the creation of a North End ghetto in Winnipeg, a locally-published magazine argued that "their morality has been called into question without reason; also their sobriety, in which respect they are neither better nor worse than our own people, for, though by no means total abstainers and occasionally perhaps a little quarrelsome in their cups, they are, in the main, a well-conducted people, and give little trouble." "Our New Immigrants--The Galicians," Great West Magazine, CXXXIII (December, 1898), p. 224. Winnipeg's, and likely Canada's, chief moderate spokesman for selectivity and assimilation wrote that "we must divest ourselves of a certain arrogant superiority and exclusiveness, perhaps characteristic of the English race. . . . We must not expect the foreigners at once to abandon the old in favor of the new. . . . We must in many ways meet these people half-way--seek to sympathize with their difficulties, and encourage them in any forward movement. Only those who in time can take their place as worthy fellow citizens should be admitted to our Canadian heritage." J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, pp. 288-289. Woodsworth, a Methodist minister destined to become the moderate leader of social democracy in Canada by the 1930's, founded the Canadian Welfare League prior to 1914. Recognizing that the immigration waves were only one facet of the social upheaval, the organization called for a general policy of social welfare, augmented by professional and untrained workers and a cooperative amalgamation of existing community services. It proposed that a study be made of the social problems which emerged

those of Ukrainian, Jewish, and Russian background.²

Those who remained in Winnipeg tended to group themselves according to their own nationality since the only language they could converse in so soon after their arrival was their own mother tongue. Soon they organized their own clubs and associations and began pursuing cultural activities of the kind they had brought over from their former homeland.³

A small number of these newcomers, most of whom were likely active in various revolutionary movements in Europe, became involved with the socialist movement in their adopted country.⁴ The Ukrainians were the

from the great heterogeneous immigration, the rapid growth of industrial urban centres, the stagnation of some rural areas, "and generally our entrance into a fuller national life." "Canadian Welfare League," The Dominion, V (April, 1914), p. 29.

A present day historian gives the following view of the "melting pot" in Western Canada during the "early decades" of this century. "The immigrant was made plainly aware that his language and his culture were his badges of inferiority, and a continuing obstacle to assimilation. In the newspapers of the day, a Ukrainian wedding--that joyful expression of an intense sense of community--was attacked as a debased orgy. The immigrants had been accustomed to using wine and spirits. But in the view of the good ladies of the W.C.T.U., the custom offended their evangelical values; and they had no difficulty in linking foreigners, liquor dealers and politicians in a chain of corruption and degradation. There was constant concern over the manner in which these new citizens would exercise the franchise. The newspapers were endlessly speculating about what they called, in a contradictory, but tremendously revealing phrase, the 'foreign vote'." E. Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society," found in Prairie Perspectives (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Limited, 1970), pp. 50-51.

²Jacob Penner, "Recollections of the Early Socialist Movement in Winnipeg," pp. 25-26.

³Ibid.

⁴"The precursor of the communist movement among the Ukrainian Canadians was the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, which under the influence of social democracy in the Austro-Hungarian empire was established in Lvov, Galicia, in 1896. For a while the group formed a wing of the Ukrainian Radical party whose programme had been formulated by Mikhalo Drahomaniv (Dragomanov), an exiled constitutional socialist, who had been expelled from the University of Kiev by the Russian overlords. In 1899 the more pronounced Marxists broke away from the Radical party and formed a separate Ukrainian Social Democratic party which won a following among the urban industrial workers and sent two

most populous among the continental Europeans to come to the Canadian West after 1900,⁵ and a Ukrainian socialist organization existed in the lower North End of Winnipeg as early as 1903. This club, organized by Paul Rudyk, was a "Socialist reading group"; and "in 1904 a Socialist circle in the home of Cyril Genik performed a folk play. The Socialists, at that time, met in the Baptist Church on Manitoba Avenue in Winnipeg."⁶ Some of these people had studied the writings of Karl Marx. . . . They maintained contact with their fellow radicals in the old country and subscribed to socialist and progressive periodicals from there."⁷ By

representatives to the Vienna parliament. With the rise of the Soviets, some of the Social Democratic leaders, notably Semen Vityk, migrated to Soviet-occupied Ukraine and joined the Bolshevik cause." Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), pp. 96-97.

⁵From 1896 to 1914 over 170,000 "Galicians," "Bukovinians," and "Ruthenians" arrived in Canada according to the immigration authorities. This total is exclusive of those Ukrainians listed as Austrians, Russians, Roumanians, and Poles. This confusion of nomenclature, both before and after the First World War, is explained by Charles H. Young. Citing the 1921 census Young notes that, because of the post-war national and racial alignments in Central and Southeastern Europe, "a number of people who are reported as Ukrainian stock in 1921 were described in 1911 as Galician, Bukovinian, Ruthenian, or Russian." Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto: Nelson Publishing, 1931), pp. 4; 41.

⁶Vera Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947), pp. 118-119.

⁷John Weir, "The Flaming Torch." An unpublished account of the Ukrainian socialist press in Canada. Winnipeg, circa 1957 (typewritten), p. 6. Paul Yuzyk, in his The Ukrainians in Manitoba, identifies him as "John Weir (Wevursky), a prominent leader and Moscow-trained Communist now the editor of the Ukrainian Canadian in Toronto." Watson Kirkconnell, another anti-communist Slavic scholar, points to Weir's connection with the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association. As Weir described the U.L.F.T.A. in The Worker of January 10, 1931, the organization "began its existence as the legal cover [it was formed in 1917 as a cultural and educational body] for the then underground Socialist groups, and the first hall was built to enable publication of the revolutionary paper." Quoted in The Seven Pillars of Freedom, Kirkconnell's 1944 "exposure" of the Soviet world conspiracy and its fifth column in Canada.

the second decade of the century the "Ukrainian progressive cultural organizations . . . began building their own premises. They literally dotted the West, both in cities and in the countryside with 'Labour Temples'. . . ." ⁸

By 1907, the S.P.C. in Winnipeg had attracted not only Ukrainians but also Jews, plus lesser numbers of Russians, Germans, Poles, Latvians, and Finns. ⁹ The Jewish socialists were led by Herman Saltzman, a Russian exile. ¹⁰ At a meeting of the Jewish local in early January of 1915, it

⁸ Penner, "Recollections," p. 26.

⁹ The Germans, Finns, and Russians were given only bare recognition in two 1907 editions of The Voice; February 27 and October 18.

¹⁰ Saltzman was born in 1882 and, in 1904, graduated from a college in his native province of Kamanetz-Dodolsk. Saltzman arrived in Winnipeg in 1906, exiled because of his revolutionary activities. He studied both law and engineering in Canada, sitting for his B.Sc. finals at the University of Manitoba in 1912. When the Social Democratic Party was formed in late 1910 as the result of a schism in the S.P.C. ranks, Saltzman became prominent in the new organization, enjoying the "reputation of being a heavyweight in the councils of the party." Winnipeg Tribune, December 2, 1911. Besides being a leader and political candidate for the S.D.P. in the 1910 to 1914 period, Saltzman was generally influential in Winnipeg's Jewish community. Simon Belkin, in Through Narrow Gates, relates that Saltzman and "others" founded the Hebrew Immigration Aid Society (H.I.A.S.) in 1912. Belkin names some of the "others," including prominent Liberal S. Hart Green and future C.C.F. M.L.A. Morris A. Gray. The H.I.A.S. was dedicated to the settlement of newly arrived Jews, and it opposed the restriction of Jewish immigration. The H.I.A.S. became instrumental in Jewish war relief work and "the backbone of a movement for an all Canadian Jewish Congress in Western Canada." "In 1915 the Winnipeg society organized a free employment bureau and also a free dining hall. During that year the society became a truly representative organization of all Jewish communities in Western Canada. H. Saltzman was engaged as an organizer, travelling through the Prairie Provinces, British Columbia, and even as far east as Port Arthur and Fort William to organize branches of the society." Belkin and Saltzman were sent to Europe by the Western Canadian Relief Conference in November 1920. They were active in Europe until 1921, acting on behalf of the Federation of Ukrainian Jews in Great Britain and, "in actual fact, we were representing all Jewish War Relief organizations in Canada." The aim was to get Jews out of the Ukraine, and "Saltzman . . . cooperated to attain this end throughout his sojourn in Soviet Russia until his departure in

was disclosed that their membership stood at 96.¹¹ At the time of its formation some four years earlier, the organization numbered between 30 and 40.¹² By the latter date, the local had also formed an affiliate, the Young Socialist Organization. Saltzman, in his unsuccessful attempt to win a legislative seat in 1914, received contributions from the United Garment Workers local 208 and the Arbeiter Ring.¹³ The Arbeiter Ring (Workers' Circle) was formed in late 1910, when virtually all the members of the Jewish S.P.C. local went over to the fledgling S.D.P. The Ring was affiliated with the S.D.P. until 1922. A great majority of the Ring's members joined the communist Workers Party of Canada in that year.¹⁴

Regarding the Polish affiliate in the city, historian Victor Turek maintains that "it is significant that the Polish left-wing group in Winnipeg came to birth and developed prior to the war of 1914-1918 with a comparatively stronger participation of Polish intelligentsia than other Polish movements in this city, in which the proportion of educated members was never high." Turek attributes this radicalism to the "social

January 1921." Simon Belkin, Through Narrow Gates (Montreal: The Eagle Publishing Company Limited, 1966), pp. 48; 83; 87; 89; 93-94; 111; 142.

Some other "names" which graced the Jewish socialist ranks were Louis Orlikow, J. Tessler, M. Tessler, I. Tessler, L. Geller, W. Baum, L. Cohen, E. Elkun, J. Waslavsky, J. Donner, and S. Almasoff. The Voice, January 18, 1907; August 14, 1908; October 9, 1908.

¹¹The Voice, January 8, 1915.

¹²An interview with Jacob Penner, tape-recorded by Roland Penner. Winnipeg, Summer 1965. Subsequent to my use of this document in 1967 it was transcribed by Brian McKillop, a graduate student at the University of Manitoba. Copies of this document are in the possession of Mr. McKillop, the University of Manitoba Department of History, and the Public Archives of Manitoba.

¹³The Voice, August 21, 1914.

¹⁴Interview with Fred Donner. Winnipeg, March 19, 1968.

inferiority and low economic status of the Polish working class in Winnipeg." Also, "the relative weakness of Polish radicalism in Canada, particularly in Manitoba, is explained by the original composition of the immigrant group, which had emanated from the traditionally conservative peasants, passionately attached to Catholicism." The group was "combatted by the Catholic camp" because "it represented a secular trend in education and social life, opposed the claims of the priests to a leading role in the life of the community." During the war it "advocated patriotic aims, and was ideologically in tune with the section of political and social thought in Poland combining the social radicalism with national objectives and the struggle for independence. This group gave support to Joseph Pilsudski and his movement."¹⁵

Information concerning the Latvian socialists in Winnipeg is virtually non-existent. In a short unpublished essay, one is informed that "the Latvian-Canadians were a recognizable force in the Canadian Socialist Party, which was organized wherever Latvians lived in substantial numbers; for instance in Fernie, B.C., Medicine Hat, Alberta, Winnipeg, Lac du Bonnet, Lettonia, Man., and Porth [sic] Arthur, Ont., Wancouver, [sic] B.C. These socialist groups were also aligned to the National Lettish Organization of the Socialist Party of America. Boston which was the center of Latvian socialists, supplied the Canadians with Latvian literature since very few were able to speak and think in English."

Akmentins says that "in 1911 teacher Jānis Smitds arrived in Winnipeg from Great Britain to organize the first Latvian Friendly Association (Vinipegas Latviešu Sadraudzības Biedriba/, [sic] 171 Sinclair St., Win-

¹⁵Victor Turek, Poles in Manitoba (Toronto: Polish Alliance Press Ltd., 1967), pp. 146-147.

nipeg. Its purpose was to unite the socialists with the believers [sic] in order to end the quareling [sic] between the various factions, to aid in translating, to provide books, and other literature, and also to organize concerts and lectures. In 1913 this society published its first periodical 'Kanādietis' (The Canadian/ [sic] with J. A. Smid [sic] as editor. The organization tried to further its aims with the aid of this magazine. However, this periodical also ran short of financial support, and it ended its work with the 23 rd [sic] issue. That was the last Latvian periodical in Canada till 1948."¹⁶

Meetings of the S.P.C. throughout 1907 in Winnipeg could boast that "the larger part of the audience was plainly foreign born."¹⁷ On May 5 a meeting of "the combined socialist organization of the city was held at Trades Hall."¹⁸ S.P.C. columnist "Sansculotte" hailed the event as a "surprise to the English-speaking Socialists . . . in terms of numbers and enthusiasm. . . ."¹⁹

The Russian, Jewish, Polish, and Ruthenian locals were all well represented and speeches were made in all those languages. . . . A closer affilitation of the various organizations was mooted and is likely to materialize in the near future. This will undoubtedly strengthen the propaganda of Socialism. Although none of the speeches were intelligible to the whole of the audience at any one time, yet in every speech reference to the founder of

¹⁶Osvalds Akmentins, "Latvians in Canada, 1897-1947." This five page essay reposes in the Settlement Collection of the Public Archives of Manitoba.

¹⁷The Voice, April 12, 1907; February 22, 1907. These meetings in the first quarter of 1907 were, in the main, protests over the trial of Big Bill Haywood, et al., of the I.W.W. On April 10 a noted anarchist, Emma Goldman, delivered the first of a series of lectures on her view of socialism.

¹⁸The Voice, May 3, 1907.

¹⁹The Voice, May 10, 1907.

scientific Socialism, Karl Marx, was noted, thus demonstrating a common source of inspiration and proved that the questions discussed were from a strongly proletarian viewpoint.²⁰

Jacob Penner,²¹ who was resident in Winnipeg for some sixty years, recalls the importance of the immigrant contribution to the movement.

Our small socialist group [S.P.C.] in Winnipeg was growing, and being constantly on the lookout for new recruits we concluded that there was a likelihood of finding some socialist-minded persons among European immigrants, since the labor movement in Europe at that time was on a higher level than in Canada. Since I could speak the language of some of these immigrant groups, I was delegated to contact people in their organizations as part of our recruiting endeavors. I began attending concerts and other cultural activities arranged by these immigrant organizations, became personally acquainted with many of their numbers and some were quite enthusiastic . . . and became active supporters of our aim.²²

On September 22, one day after the end of the week-long T.L.C. of Canada convention in Winnipeg, the S.P.C. held a public meeting at the Bijou Theatre.²³ The event attracted men like Robert Parm Pettipiece and Henry Wise Wood.²⁴ Pettipiece, a Vancouver delegate and S.P.C.

²⁰The Voice, May 10, 1907.

²¹Penner, who came to Winnipeg from the Dnieper Valley via Riga and Liverpool in August of 1904, died in 1965 at the age of 85. He served as an alderman (communist) for Winnipeg's ward three for three decades, succeeded by Joseph Zuken in 1961. For a lengthy account of his early days in the Winnipeg socialist movement see the Brian McKillop transcription of the tape-recorded interview. An evaluation of Penner's career in the middle 1930's may be found in Brian McKillop, "Citizen and Socialist: The Ethos of Political Winnipeg" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970).

²²Penner, "Recollections," p. 26.

²³The Voice, September 20, 1907.

²⁴Wood, a Missourian who came to Alberta in 1905, was a trained Campbellite clergyman who became a farmer in various states of the trans-Mississippi West. The Populist defeat and the failure of the Farmers' Alliance which he helped form in the 1880's, soured him on the political activity of farmers' organizations. However, once in Alberta,

organizer, "made a strong appeal to the workers to organize in a socialist party," while Wood "held the meeting spellbound" as he spoke "mainly on the need for the farmers to organize as the workers had organized in trade unions to fight for their needs."²⁵

Reports were made of considerable activity among the various nationalities represented in Winnipeg, Hebrew and Polish local branches of the party having been recently started, and in addition to this there has been a large growth of the older locals. About thirty members were received. . . .²⁶

Indicating the growing importance of the immigrant peoples to the city's socialist movement was the formation of a night school, to be "held thrice a week to teach foreigners the English language and Canadian

he joined the Society of Equity in 1906 and the United Farmers of Alberta in 1909. In 1915 and 1916 he ascended to the vice-presidency and presidency, respectively, of the latter organization. "He brought to that office not only the accidental quality of a personality of great force, but a large body of experience in agrarian organization and politics and a body of ideas distilled from that experience" unmatched by few Canadian farm leaders. "The superficial resemblance between Wood's 'groups' and the 'soviets' of the Russian Revolution, rather than Wood's knowledge of Marxism, lay behind Col. A. J. Currie's description of him as 'an American radical, steeped in the doctrines of Karl Marx.'" Wood had some acquaintance with Marxist thought, considerable for his day and circumstances, but it does not seem to be extensive and it certainly was not sympathetic." W. L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 38-39.

²⁵Penner, "Recollections," pp. 26-27. A day earlier, in the waning moments of the T.L.C. of C. convention, a motion by Pettipiece was rejected by 51 to 39. Pettipiece's motion called for "absolute independent action on the part of the working class--with the collective ownership of the means of life as its ultimate aim." It also proposed that the T.L.C. of C. should act in the "best interests of the working class . . . by granting provincial autonomy in the matter of political affiliation. . . ."

Thus, for the second year running, Pettipiece's attempt to have the unionists recognize the S.P.C. platform was felled. In 1908 the Congress agreed to hold a unionist-socialist convention to resolve the issue but, as Martin Robin points out, "the meeting was never held." Proceedings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, 1906, pp. 82-83; 86-87; 1907, p. 77. Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 91.

²⁶The Voice, October 4, 1907.

history . . . , [and] . . . socialist lectures on two other nights of the week. . . ."²⁷

By the middle of October the foreign locals had "decided to become affiliated" with the S.P.C., to publish a weekly newspaper with only one page in English, and to establish a cooperative drug store in the North End.²⁸ The meeting also elected an ethnically-mixed provincial executive.²⁹ In January, 1908, a new executive was elected, again reflecting the ethnic principle.³⁰ The addition of Ukrainian members added a relatively large number of members to the party. On October 13, 1907, this branch reported having 225 members and its own printing office, and voiced its intention to begin publishing a Ukrainian language paper on November 1.³¹

²⁷The Voice, October 4, 1907.

²⁸The Voice, October 18, 1907.

²⁹The revised 1907 Provincial executive included Saltzman, M. Houston, N. Ragowsky, E. Betsworth, H. Avrin, and H. Cameron. Its duties involved the administration of the party in Manitoba and the selection of acceptable candidates for the civic election, but no candidates were ever entered. The Voice, October 18, 1907.

³⁰The S.P.C. officers for 1908 were W. H. Hoop (secretary), Lawrence Picup (recording secretary), T. D. Houston (organizer and press correspondent), K. Koanats (assistant secretary), J. Lessler [Tessler] (treasurer), and J. Penman [Penner] (literary agent). Bert McClung was a later addition, along with Cameron, Saltzman, Stepchinko [Slipchenko], Orokko [Orlikow?], and Palakar. The Voice, January 3, 1908; February 14, 1908.

³¹As well, the Russian branch claimed 34 members plus library and clubroom facilities. Plans were underway to establish a German branch with 64 charter members. Also, the organizer of the Ukrainians had visited Portage La Prairie to organize a Ukrainian local. The Voice, October 18, 1907.

According to Steve Ambrosiak, a one-time member of the Portage group, the rural local had grown to some 100 members by 1915. This group adopted an exotic title, The Order of Zorah (the "Star," according to Ambrosiak) and received speakers and literature from the parent Ukrainian body in

The Ukrainian contribution to the socialist cause in Winnipeg, as well as other Canadian centers, must be considered in tandem with its persistent labor press. Paul Crath, Bill Holowacky, Myroslaw Stechishin, and H. Slipchenko were its first publishers.³²

Winnipeg. Interview with Steve Ambrosiak, February 28, 1968.

Vera Lysenko, in Men in Sheepskin Coats, p. 119, says that "in 1907, Socialist clubs, more social than political in character, existed in Winnipeg, Portage La Prairie, and Nanaimo, B.C., . . . The organization of these clubs in the political sphere was slight, since they had no clear-cut programme of action." William Kolisnyk, who was elected as a ward three alderman in 1926 on the communist ticket, recalls joining The Educational Society of Taras Shevchenko as early as 1904. W. N. Kolisnyk, "In Canada Since the Spring of 1898," Marxist Review, XVII (Jan.-Feb., 1961), p. 37.

John Weir, "The Flaming Torch," p. 8, gives a more positive assessment of the Shevchenko organization. "In Winnipeg, the capital of the Ukrainians in Canada, in 1906 [1904 according to Kolisnyk] there was organized and for some years there flourished a cultural-educational society named after Taras Shevchenko. It had its own building (on the corner of Manitoba and Powers Streets), with a stage and auditorium, where as many as 200 gathered at meetings [the Ukrainian S.P.C. affiliate had some 225 members by the fall of 1907, according to The Voice, October 18, 1907], and a large library of Ukrainian-language books. The Socialists and Radicals (that is, the supporters of that trend in the 'old country') were the guiding force of the society, but among the numbers were also supporters of the Narodniki (Populists), whose views were along bourgeois-nationalist lines (that is, in favor of Ukrainian capitalism in the homeland, owing to the existing 'way of life' in Canada)." The square brackets are mine, the parentheses appear in the original.

³² Yuzyk describes these men as anti-clerical ("especially the Catholic variety"), "and advocated Marxian socialism, free thought (atheism), and the general enlightenment of the exploited masses. They were the first to popularize the term 'Ukrainian' in Canada."

Crath, Holowacky, and Stechishin eventually deserted the movement, becoming respectively: "a Presbyterian minister in 1915"; "a Russelite minister in 1912; and "later editor of the nationalist Ukrainian Voice." Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba, p. 97.

The Winnipeg Tribune of November 21, 1947, provides a brief obituary on Stechishin. He was born in the Western Ukraine (Hlezcza) in 1883 and emigrated to Winnipeg in 1902. He then journeyed to California, where he lived for three years, returning to Winnipeg in 1905. Although this obituary gives a long list of the Ukrainian nationalist and church organizations to which he belonged (including his editor's post on the Ukrainian Voice from 1926 to his death in 1947), it says nothing about his socialist days.

The Ukrainian S.P.C. local issued its first newspaper, the four page Chervony Prapor (Scarlet Banner), on November 15, 1907.³³ Crath, the movement's "troubleshooting agitator," was its first editor.³⁴ The inaugural edition headlined Marx's famous call to the workers, to end their bondage via a united struggle against capitalism. The newspaper proclaimed itself "the organ of the Socialist Party of Canada, . . . directed to that section of the Canadian workers that speak the Ukrainian language and has undertaken the task of helping this section by education, enlightenment and organization to a clear understanding of the universal ideal of socialism. The Chervony Prapor will lead the laboring masses into battle against injustice, exploitation and slavery, to sunlight and life over the ruins of capitalism."³⁵ The first issues included a series on Canadian History and a lengthy outline of the history of the S.P.C. by Stechishin; as well as letters from homesteaders, miners, and workers in general who complained of harsh working conditions.³⁶

³³Weir, "The Flaming Torch," p. 9.

³⁴Ibid. The description of Crath's role was provided by Jack Tymochek in a discussion on March 19, 1968.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid. The working conditions and poverty of the Eastern Europeans in America are well described in Peter Roberts, The New Immigration (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913), pp. 104-105. Like other authors of that day, Roberts means well despite his lapses into racial superiority. Particularly interesting is his observation on why these immigrants might find socialism attractive:

"Everywhere the bugaboo of socialism is associated with the foreigner. Operators and members of the leisure class again and again say: 'They are dangerous--they are socialists and anarchists.' Those who know the foreigners also know that there is no cause for apprehension in this respect, providing the door of opportunity is kept open to the alien. When a corporation hems in on all sides its employees, so

Although the Ukrainians had nine S.P.C. branches and the Winnipeg weekly newspaper a circulation of 2,000, it closed down on August 8, 1908, after only eighteen issues.³⁷ Crath, unwilling to endure the irregularity of his wages, resigned. His successor, Holowacky, fared no better in this respect.³⁸

However, this setback was short-lived, for barely nine months after the closing of Chervony Prapor, a new paper was started, the Rabochy Narod (Toiling People). Its premier issue appeared in May, 1909, under editor Myroslaw Stechishin. The new paper began as a monthly and charged its subscribers fifty cents a year.

At the same time its appeal was broader than its predecessor--it was published by the Ukrainian Publishing Company (whose conditions stated that its editor must be a member of the Socialist Party of Canada and that the viewpoint expressed in the paper must "adhere to the

that they can call nothing their own, is it strange that the men listen to advocates of some other industrial scheme in which the individual may have a better chance to come to possession of something other than moveable chattels? . . . When men thus situated talk about socialism and communism, and long for some plan by which they, as sons of earth, may call a part of it their own, and have a voice in the management of the community, is it a strange thing?--are not their longings right and just?"

Weir, referring to the Canadian West, says that "Workers were killed or maimed by the hundreds in mines, woods, on jobs of all kinds (immigrants kept pouring in, life was 'cheap'). . . . The immigrant also learned the 'blessings' of helpless starvation when there was no job for him, and even in 'good times' he never seemed to be able to get rich as he had been led to think he would. He nodded his head when he heard the jingle 'I work to get money to buy food so I can work to get money to buy food,' as [sic] infinitum. The Marxist analysis made good sense to him."

An illuminating contemporary account of the problem is given in Edmund W. Braden, The Bunkhouse Man (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928).

³⁷Weir, "The Flaming Torch," p. 9. Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba, p. 97.

³⁸Weir, "The Flaming Torch," p. 9.

general definition of social-democracy on the basis of historical materialism"). And the new paper was to serve the Ukrainians in the United States as well as Canada.³⁹

The Ukrainian S.P.C. affiliates, at a meeting in Winnipeg on November 12, 1909, decided to consolidate all branches under the Federation of Ukrainian Socialist Parties (F.U.S.P.). This plan was effected in February, 1910. The national executive of the S.P.C. refused to recognize the F.U.S.P., which nevertheless continued with the Rabochy Narod as its official organ.⁴⁰

The turbulent era of hectic social change provided the backdrop for Winnipeg socialists' return to politics, but without union endorsement. The federal election of October 27, 1908, was the first political contest in which the S.P.C. was involved in almost five years. Labor, exclusive of the socialists, ran Kempton McKim in the provincial election held on March 7 of the previous year.⁴¹ However, McKim, running in the new

³⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁰ Ibid. Old-timer Jack Tymochek confirmed this show of ethnic autonomy.

⁴¹ The 1907 provincial election, held on March 7, saw the Conservatives at the peak of their power. They held a 28 to 13 edge in seats over the Liberals, due mainly to what Morton calls the "irresistible combination" of "its administrative record, its championship of popular causes, its fighting partisanship. . . ." At their convention in March, 1906, "the Liberals had drawn up a platform that was either merely critical of, or in accord with government policies, . . . [and] the election was fought on the government's record, on the burning question of boundary extension, on the perennial issue of the voters' lists and the 'thin red line' charges that federal Liberal returning officers had stricken Conservative names from the voters' lists and that on appeal the action had been condoned by Liberal appointees on the Bench. . . . The truth was that both parties practiced flagrant electoral corruption, that all appointments to the Bench and civil service were political, and that Manitoban politics were the scene of an unrelenting struggle between the provincial political machine and its federal rival." W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, pp. 293-295.

constituency of Winnipeg West, received not quite 20 per cent of the vote.⁴²

Perhaps the most interesting facet of the 1907 provincial election in the city was the new immigrant factor.⁴³ Despite the claim of the losing Liberal hopeful in Winnipeg North, that "foreigners"--especially "Hebrews"--could not be bought,⁴⁴ reports indicated that there was "corruption in North Winnipeg." Beer was flowing at a "foreign church" on College Avenue, government employees were working openly for the Conservative nominee, and it was allowed that the Liberals were merely less corrupt than their rivals in the North End. At any rate, it was clear that "foreigners are being purchased in batches and are being voted together by the election agents of the Conservative candidate." An "enormous foreign vote" was noticeable, especially in the vicinity of Dufferin and Selkirk where "fully nine-tenths are foreigners." One Conservative tactic consisted of this. A Tory worker would hold a sample ballot with a large red "X" marked opposite his man's name. This would be shown to the "foreigner," with the instruction that he mark his ballot in the same manner.⁴⁵

⁴²The Conservatives won the other three seats in Winnipeg by relatively close margins. The results in Winnipeg West, the only three-cornered election, were T. H. Johnson (L.) 2,011; T. W. Sharpe (C.) 1,785; and Kempton McKim (Lab. Cand.) 939. The Parliamentary Guide, 1908, pp. 386-387.

McKim, the 1907 W.T.L.C. president, died in early July of 1908 of what was reported as "paralysis of the brain." He was 35 years old. The Voice, July 10, 1908.

⁴³This was a source of difficulty for the socialist-labor candidates in future elections.

⁴⁴Manitoba Free Press, March 5, 1907.

⁴⁵Winnipeg Tribune, March 7, 1907.

Although the local S.P.C. emerged from its isolation in 1908 and ran J. D. Houston⁴⁶ in Winnipeg riding, it was noted that he "hardly expects to head the poll on this occasion as his candidature is purely in the nature of a feeler as to how Socialism stands in Winnipeg." Furthermore, the socialist candidate's campaign lacked the organization of his opponents, including the "automobiles, carriages, and horse vehicles" to drive voters to the polls.⁴⁷

The Winnipeg Tribune reported complaints of corruption against both old parties, while the partisan Liberal Manitoba Free Press trumpeted: "Tory Committee Rooms Fairly Swimming in Beer,"⁴⁸ and complained of "The Use of Liquor in the Winnipeg Campaign." One issue was highlighted by a large photograph of a guilty whisky bottle, beneath which appeared the caption: "The Argument That Won."⁴⁹

Houston's nomination papers were signed by both Anglo-Saxons and European immigrants, the most prominent of the latter being Jacob Penner. He had also been endorsed by Saltzman, Orlikow, Crath, and William Scott in the weeks preceding the election.⁵⁰ Virtually every campaign meeting held by the socialists was confined to the North End of Winnipeg. Representative of the campaign was a gathering at Selkirk Hall on October 23. Entering the hall, Houston received a "storm of cheers" which "indicated the composition of the audience." The Conservative was met

⁴⁶No biography of J. D. Houston has been found.

⁴⁷Winnipeg Tribune, October 26, 1908.

⁴⁸Manitoba Free Press, October 26, 1908.

⁴⁹Manitoba Free Press, October 27, 1908.

⁵⁰The Voice, October 23, 1908; October 9, 1908; September 4, 1908; August 14, 1908.

by "uproarious vocal salvos," while the Liberal arrived a bit late to "scattered cheering mingled with loud boos."

Houston characterized his opponents as a conspiracy "to fool, to rule, and to rob the people" by means of "over-production" for profit, rather than production for use. He left his audience with the admonition, "Don't scab at the polls."⁵¹ In all, Houston led in only eight of Winnipeg's 82 polls. Six of the eight were located north of the C.P.R. tracks, while the two others were in the vicinity of the C.P.R. shops.⁵² The socialists, winning six of the seventeen North End polls, emerged from the contest with no more insight than they had likely had beforehand. In the future they would be obliged to concentrate their efforts in the north and north-central areas of the city, particularly the former, where the poverty of her new masses could be translated into a victorious protest vote. Finally, and of no less importance, some understanding would have to be re-established with the city's union movement.

By the summer of 1910, intra-party disagreements, led by the foreign language locals, were to divide Canada's socialist movement into two distinct parties. At this point one must return to the earlier years of the century to see the developing schism; a rift which resulted in about half the members of Winnipeg's S.P.C.⁵³ joining the ranks of the Social Democratic Party of Canada.

⁵¹Winnipeg Tribune, October 23, 1908.

⁵²Manitoba Free Press, October 27, 1908. The results were: A. Haggart (C.) 8,747; D. C. Cameron (L.) 6,729; J. D. Houston (Socialist) 1,977. The Parliamentary Guide, 1909, p. 215.

⁵³Penner, "Recollections," p. 29.

CHAPTER V
THE SPLIT OF 1910

On December 31, 1904, the Socialist Party of Manitoba (S.P.M.) affiliated with the Socialist Party of British Columbia (S.P.B.C.), resulting in the birth of the Socialist Party of Canada (S.P.C.). By 1910 the following could be said of the S.P.C.

Endowed with an exclusive set of propositions, summoned by the impersonal forces of history to spread the light among the blind and heathen, the pure and simple academic theoreticians gained hegemony within the Party and guaranteed its isolation from the mainstream of Canadian labour. . . . Its ideological and organizational isolation from the trade union movement was reinforced by isolation from political power.¹

This uncompromising sectarian attitude had been developing in British Columbia since the turn of the century and became manifest when the S.P.B.C., in its October, 1902, platform, deleted a list of immediate demands which had been proposed in May. The S.P.M., formed in November, 1902, did not formally follow the British Columbian example until December, 1904, when it joined with the S.P.B.C. to form the S.P.C.²

Within a year of its founding the S.P.M., through columnist "Spartacus," declared that "a man either accepts or rejects Socialism, he becomes a socialist or he remains a non-Socialist, there is no 'moderate' half-way house."³ Back in January, 1904, the same writer, in a polemic on the superiority of the Marxian analysis of the relationship between

¹Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 103.

²See chapter three, footnotes 22 to 26.

³The Voice, October 20, 1905.

capital and labor, concluded that "the economic emancipation of the propertyless class [was] shown to be inevitable."⁴ These statements are but early indicators of what was to follow after the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada convention at Victoria in September, 1906.

The T.L.C. gathering, in a move that was to become commonplace in the next two years,⁵ refused to pass R. P. Pettipiece's motion that "the principles and programme of the S.P. of C. be endorsed by the Congress."⁶ Instead, by a vote of 68 to 7, the reformist Canadian Labor Party (C.L.P.) was established; and The Voice noted that "the Socialist delegates voted with the majority. The seven votes for the substitution of the Congress platform by the Socialist platform represents the Impossiblist section of the Socialists. . . . It is not a numerous section, however, and the Socialists of Canada will be found as part and parcel of the Labour Party . . . without sacrificing any part of their principles."⁷

Whether numerous or not in terms of the landslide vote at Victoria, Winnipeg's S.P.C. local began to evince a hatred for reform not hitherto expressed. Evaluating the September visit of Ramsay MacDonald, secretary of the British Labour Party, "Proletary" accused the English entourage of coming "to judge of men and conditions here by what they see through a car window and at pink tea functions, [and] you must excuse us if we consider . . . their Socialism not of the right sort and refuse to waste our efforts getting up meetings at which they make a display of ignorance

⁴The Voice, January 22, 1904.

⁵See footnote 25, chapter four.

⁶The Voice, September 28, 1906.

⁷The Voice, September 28, 1906.

and egotism."⁸

That December, when the endorsees of the Independent Labor Party (the local C.L.P. branch) lost badly in the civic elections, "Proletary" gloated that the losses were "so emphatic" that "we are possessed of the gravest fears that the infant political party will not be able to survive the shock, and would warn all concerned to expect the worst, if they have not already ordered crepe and flowers. This, too, at a time when we had about become convinced that working class emancipation could best be accomplished by 'a step at a time'."⁹

By October, 1907, the new continental European socialist groups were affiliated with the S.P.C.¹⁰ They were to oppose the impossibilist stance of the English-speaking local from the earliest days of their

⁸The Voice, November 23, 1906. MacDonald, in regarding "society as an organism analogous to the animal organism, . . . rejects class warfare and revolutionary action. . . . At any rate, it is quite evident that MacDonald is a social reformer, averse to all struggles. . . . He, therefore, is of opinion that no well-defined socialist party, no dogmatic programme, is needed and that it is quite sufficient to have a broad socialistic movement which would consider all public questions from the point of view of socialism as that stage to which we are approaching. With these views as his guide, MacDonald was the best possible secretary of the Labour Party in the first years of its existence. The trade unions, which had to be gradually weaned from Liberalism, were essentially of the same opinion, though they could not have expressed it in biological terms. All they wanted was social reform and democracy. They could not have stood yet a clear-cut socialist programme, based on the theory of class warfare or on any other doctrinal substructure." Max Beer, A History of British Socialism (London: Allen and Unwin, 1940), pp. 313-314.

⁹This derisive attitude was likely intensified by the fact that the local C.L.P. campaign had included, as an issue, the right of citizens to smoke tobacco on street cars. As "Proletar," added: "The bold demand for the 'right' to smoke on street cars on the part of labor's champions is a reform . . . too far in advance of its times. . . . We suggest that a start be made by working for the right to chew tobacco on street cars on condition that those who do this shall expectorate in their pockets or in their sleeves--or on one another--but not on the car floor." The Voice, December 14, 1906.

¹⁰See footnote 26, chapter four.

official association.¹¹ Earlier, in May, a split occurred in the S.P.C. of British Columbia, and the breakaway faction promptly formed the Social Democratic Party of British Columbia (S.D.P.B.C.).¹² About six months prior to the west coast rift, the Winnipeg foreign locals had but temporarily accepted the S.P.C. program.

At a later date when we became more mature politically we saw that . . . the program . . . actually led the working class to passivity, since it reflected the need of workers to engage in struggles for bettering their living conditions. The majority of the members in the Socialist Party of Canada here in Winnipeg and particularly in B.C. even looked with contempt on the struggles of trade unions for higher wages and improved working conditions. . . . This false concept held that the sole activity of the S.P. of C. should centre on the education of the working class on Marxist principles, and when that had been accomplished the workers would elect a majority to Parliament which would then establish a Socialist Canada. . . . The S.P. of C. did not comprehend that the essential factor in

¹¹"The International Congresses of the 'nineties' had shown that most of the leaders of European Socialism had accepted the necessity of political action inside existing bourgeoisie society, even though that society was in fact doomed by the inexorable process of the Dialectic." James Joll, The Second International: 1889-1914 (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1966), p. 76.

¹²The Voice, May 10, 1907. The west coast rift was led by E. M. Burns, of late a follower of H. M. Hyndman in England. Hyndman, the leader of the S.D.P. in Britain, had orthodox Marxist (impossibilist) convictions at the time he attended the divided inaugural Congress of the Second International in Paris in 1889. Yet, due to a feud with William Morris and Eleanor Marx-Aveling of the rival British Socialist League, Hyndman chose to attend the possibilist section of the split Congress. Hyndman, an Eton and Cambridge graduate of the English upper middle classes, opted for the path of reform socialism. H. M. Hyndman, Reminiscences of an Adventurous Life (London, 1911), p. 442.

The S.D.F. changed its name to the S.D.P. in 1907, and to the British Socialist Party in 1911. The B.S.P. "was an attempt on the part of Hyndman to keep the dissatisfied elements in the Socialist movement loyal to the parliamentary principle [Hyndman himself always believed in Parliament] and to discourage the appeal to 'direct action.'" Joseph Clayton, The Rise and Decline of Socialism in Great Britain: 1884-1924 (London: Faber and Gwyer, 1926), pp. 140-142. The square brackets are Clayton's.

a socialist revolution is the class consciousness of the toiling masses which can only develop as a result of their struggles for their daily needs and for their pressing problems.¹³

The "majority of the members" to whom Penner refers were, in the main, of the foreign locals. When the S.P.C. split in 1910, it was evident that the new S.D.P. which emerged was strongly European in tradition.

The S.D.P. was a mass type of organization and its membership was predominantly composed of immigrant workers --Finnish, Ukrainian, Polish, Russian, and Jewish. Knowledge of the 1905 Revolution against tsarism illuminated the thinking of many of them. Despite the Socialist Party's emphasis upon what its members accepted as Marxist orthodoxy, the S.D.P. was closer to the workers. Among its leaders were revolutionists who had some knowledge of Lenin's teachings.¹⁴

The Ukrainian S.P.C. section in Winnipeg had, by February, 1910,

¹³Penner, "Recollections," pp. 27-28.

¹⁴Tim Buck, Canada and the Russian Revolution (Toronto: Progress Books, 1967), pp. 52-53. Buck's evaluation of the Europeans' role in the S.D.P.C. is not an overestimation. A few words should be given, however, to the intellectual effect of the 1905 Revolution upon the new Canadian element. This event "reminded socialists everywhere that revolutions of a violent kind may still be possible without waiting for . . . the inexorable working of the historical process." Joll, The Second International, p. 27.

Winnipeg's foreign locals were no doubt influenced by the fact that they were operating in a country with Britain's parliamentary tradition and with an ever-growing trade union sector. After its formation in 1910, the S.D.P. preferred to follow the electoral path of the German Social Democrats and the tradition of labor representation in England. In practice, then, their Marxism was not rigid or orthodox. As well, they seemed to follow the advice of Lenin at the time of the 1905 crisis in Russia; namely that "there must be a considerable interval between the first revolution [liberal-bourgeois] that is to establish political liberty and the second that is to establish socialism; there can be no 'permanent revolution.'" Carl Landauer, European Socialism, p. 429. Lenin later justified the direct move from Czarism to socialism. His argument held that an opposition socialist party might discredit itself with the masses and alarm the less revolutionary Russian bourgeoisie into reaction. This was a tactical argument, and a good example of Lenin's tendency to interpret Marxian theory with a view to achieving practical ends. H. B. Mayo, Democracy and Marxism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 122-123.

been instrumental in the formation of the Federation of Ukrainian Socialist Parties (F.U.S.P.).¹⁵ The S.P.C. was displeased with the creation of such an ethnically oriented national body,¹⁶ and little wonder; for Ukrainian leaders like Matthew Popovich¹⁷ felt most bitterly toward the S.P.C. Said Popovich:

It took no part in the struggle for the immediate needs of the people, holding that the quicker the living standards of the workers deteriorate, the sooner they will come to understand the necessity of overthrowing the capitalist system. That's why it opposed a program of immediate demands . . . , opposed a program of reforms. It also refused to join the Second International, considering it to be an organization that was too reformist. It also took a negative attitude to the workers' trade union movement. . . . That's why it became an organization of academic-philosophic debating clubs, incapable of guiding the political and economic struggle of the working class.¹⁸

As the criticisms of the S.P.C. grew stronger their position seemed

¹⁵Weir, "The Flaming Torch," p. 11. Also see footnote 40, chapter three.

¹⁶At the 1910 Congress of the International at Copenhagen the "difficulties of practical cooperation between members of different nationalities" appeared. "It also showed that the International itself was unable to much influence the course of development followed by its member parties. . . . In fact, from time to time dissident groups tried to use the Bureau of the International to back their own views and force their rivals to conform, but normally without success." Joll, The Second International, p. 121.

¹⁷A brief biography of Popovich and his role in the movement appears in chapter six, pp. 98-99.

¹⁸The tag of "too reformist" certainly indicates that the S.P.C. seemed to ignore the dogmatism which appeared in the Second International. "The members of the European Socialist movement between 1880 and the Second World War were constantly faced with situations where they might have asked themselves whether Marxism and democracy were compatible, and whether Marxism provided a suitable basis for practical political action. Too often they were content simply to reaffirm Marxist dogmas without testing their validity; and, where they achieved political success, it was often in spite of, rather than because of, their assertions of doctrine." Joll, The Second International, p. 195.

only to become more obdurate. On April 30, 1909, The Voice published the platform of the S.D.P. faction in British Columbia, commenting that if the reasoning of the Social Democrats "cannot penetrate the S.P. of C., then so much the worse for that party."¹⁹ "Spes" of the S.P.C., in a reply not lacking in wit, maintained that "there is a slight distinction between demanding and getting. The S.P. of C. most emphatically does not believe in immediate demands, but will cheerfully take all they can get as immediately as possible."²⁰

It was at this critical period in the life of the movement that Richard A. Rigg emerged as a leading figure. The Manitoba Free Press characterized him as "for a long time the outstanding figure in the labor and radical world of Winnipeg," a man who "was never afraid to act on his convictions."²¹ To the Winnipeg Tribune he was "one of the most unique figures in Manitoba politics."²²

Rigg was born in 1872 at Todmorton, Lancashire. While in grade school he worked half days in a cotton mill, becoming a full-time worker at age twelve "at a mere pittance." He began theological studies in 1891 and became a Methodist preacher in Leeds. Rigg left this post in 1903 and came directly to Winnipeg²³ where, by 1909, he became the W.T.L.C.

¹⁹The Voice, April 30, 1909.

²⁰The Voice, May 7, 1909.

²¹Manitoba Free Press, April 11, 1918.

²²Winnipeg Tribune, January 28, 1916.

²³Winnipeg Tribune, January 28, 1916. By 1912 Rigg was president of the W.T.L.C., he served on the Royal Commission on Technical Education, and he had been an unsuccessful socialist (S.D.P.)-unionist (L.R.L.) candidate in the 1911 federal election. Rigg managed to win a ward five aldermanic seat in 1913, and in 1915 he became the M.L.A. for Winnipeg

representative of the local Bookbinders' Union,²⁴ sat on the organizing and municipal committees of the W.T.L.C.,²⁵ and was closely associated with the W.T.L.C. president Turnoch.²⁶ In that same year Rigg and Turnoch, along with Arthur Puttee and W. H. Hoop, tried in vain to convince the S.P.C. to adopt a policy of cooperation with the unionists for electoral purposes.²⁷

Rigg, along with a few English-speaking socialists, was familiar with the foreign language locals by early May.²⁸ In mid-November Rigg, along with unionist R. S. Ward and single-taxer Fred J. Dixon, headed

North's "B" seat. He was defeated in the 1917 federal election, running as an Opposition and Labor candidate. By 1918 he was the vice-president of the T.L.C. of Canada and a member of the Municipal Hospital Commission, resigning both positions to enlist in the Royal Construction Corps at the age of 46. An undated Ottawa Citizen clipping, likely in April, 1918, lauded his enlistment. The feeling was that, although "one of the most radical of Canadian labor men," he could better serve the nation "as minister of labor in the Dominion Cabinet," to "link up the forces of labor with the state." Rigg believed that the Germans must lose "so far as the future welfare of democracy and civilization is concerned." Manitoba Free Press, April 11, 1918; Winnipeg Tribune, January 28, 1916.

After the war Rigg reasserted his belief in the international union movement and repudiated the O.B.U. "Correspondence and Clippings of Richard A. Rigg, 1918-1953"; a letter from Rigg to T.L.C. president Tom Moore, August 22, 1919, Public Archives of Manitoba. After a short period as western superintendent of the Employment Service of Canada, he was elevated to Canadian Director in 1922. Ottawa Citizen, August 15, 1922. He retired from this post in 1940 due to ill health.

²⁴The Voice, July 30, 1909.

²⁵The Voice, February 5, 1909.

²⁶The Voice, February 11, 1909.

²⁷The Voice, February 11, 1909. Hoop was an S.P.C. member at that time, and also the Letter Carriers' representative to the W.T.L.C. Hoop was born in Durham County, England, in the shipbuilding district of Leeds in 1876. He travelled all over Britain for some years as a foreman in bridge and blast furnace construction plants. He arrived in Winnipeg in 1893, gradually working his way into the civil service to secure permanent employment. Winnipeg Tribune, December 2, 1911.

²⁸The Voice, May 7, 1909.

the Workmen's Municipal League.²⁹ This organization, dedicated to total labor movement cooperation in the civic elections, was repudiated by the

²⁹The Voice, February 18, 1910. Fred J. Dixon was born at Englefield, Berkshire, England, January 20, 1881, the son of Thomas and Hannah Dixon. He worked as a horticulturalist on a large estate in south England, emigrating to Winnipeg in 1903 where he made his living as a designer and engraver. A social reformer at heart, Dixon was a popular exponent of the Single Tax "as a fundamental step in social and economic progress" and "gravitated naturally" to the position of organizer for the Direct Legislation League in 1911. He, like other opponents of the status quo, came into mild conflict with the civic authorities over soap-box oratory on Main Street corners near the city hall.

Dixon lost the 1910 election in Winnipeg Centre by some fifty votes, but succeeded easily in 1914 and 1915. In the latter year his majority exceeded 4,000 votes. Running as an independent Liberal, he overcame the attempt of the radical socialists to defeat him, as they had done in 1910. The coalition of moderate socialists and organized labor did not oppose him on any of these early occasions.

When, in the fall of 1916, the Dominion government called for national war registration, Dixon's bitter opposition alienated many former friends. During the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 Dixon succeeded J. S. Woodsworth as editor of the Strike Bulletin following the latter's arrest. Following the issuance of a warrant for his arrest soon after, Dixon edited the paper from hiding. With the return of W. S. Ivens, the original editor, Dixon gave himself up to the police and was subsequently tried and acquitted after a sixteen day trial. Acting on his own counsel, Dixon's book-length address to the jury has been hailed as a classic defense in the history of Canadian law.

In the provincial election later in the year, Dixon headed all candidates with his 11,586 votes. He was re-elected handily in 1922. Dixon was chosen leader of the Independent Labor Party caucus in the legislature, but due to reasons of health and business resigned after the 1928 election. He had been employed with the Confederation Life Company since 1923 as a successful insurance agent.

His personal life was marred by tragedy. His wife, the former Winona Flett, died in 1922 after only eight years of marriage. Their infant daughter Doris died in 1924. His wife's mother died in this period as well. Winona Flett Dixon "took an active interest in the woman's suffrage movement and was a gifted speaker as well as writer on social and political topics."

Fred Dixon died on March 18, 1931, after suffering for many years from cancer of the forehead. He was hailed thusly: "In the death of Mr. Dixon Manitoba loses one of her most spectacular public men, a fearless fighter for the under-dog and the hero of one of the most famous trials that ever took place in Canada." Winnipeg Tribune, March 18, 1931; January 28, 1916; May 16, 1922. Manitoba Free Press, May 17, 1922.

English S.P.C. local.³⁰

Following a winter lull the S.P.C. held consecutive Sunday night meetings at the Bijou Theatre in March, 1910, resulting in the reaffirmation of their class-oriented educational and propagandist function.³¹

Rigg, on the W.T.L.C. executive for 1910, did not attend these gatherings, but was present at the formation of the Manitoba Labor Party on May 11.³²

This party, composed of leading W.T.L.C. men, decided to contest the July 11 provincial election, with Rigg mentioned early as a possible candidate.³³

The S.P.C. declared that it would not cooperate with the reformists in the campaign³⁴ and met in early June at Trades Hall to nominate their own candidates.³⁵

³⁰The Voice, November 26, 1909. In The Voice, February 25, 1910, Dixon's single-tax group was criticized by the S.P.C. for stalling the cause of the working man.

³¹The Voice, March 25, 1910; April 1, 1910.

³²The Voice, May 13, 1910. "The Manitoba Labor Party, which contested several Winnipeg seats in the election of that year," advocated "direct legislation, the single tax, government inspection of all factories, workshops, and mines, the union label, and 'collective ownership of all industries in which competition has ceased to exist.' It failed to secure a single seat in 1910 partly because of internecine warfare between it and a Marxist wing of the labour movement and partly because its programme was, except for collective ownership, identical to that of the Liberal party." M. S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 47.

A. R. McCormack explains that although the constituency of West Winnipeg contained a substantial number of labor voters centered on the C.P.R. shops, these voters did not desert the Liberal party for the labor candidate. A. R. McCormack, Winnipeg Labour and Political Action (Canada: Department of Labor Research Report, 1968), p. 4.

³³The Voice, May 13, 1910.

³⁴The Voice, May 13, 1910.

³⁵The Voice, June 10, 1910.

However, the impossibilist or uncompromising wing of Winnipeg's S.P.C. was not in control of the nominating convention, for such members of the English local were present only as interested individuals because their section had officially declined to take part in the selection and, in Saltzman's words, "were simply there to cause a disturbance."³⁶ With Europeans Saltzman and Penner appointed chairman and secretary, the convention decided to contest three of the four Winnipeg constituencies.³⁷

The three S.P.C. candidates were far behind the rest of the field in Winnipeg North, West, and Centre.³⁸ The defeat of Fred Dixon (M.L.P.) in Winnipeg Centre was made possible by the last minute nomination of W. S. Cummings by the S.P.C. Dixon lost to the Conservative, T. W. Taylor, by a mere 73 votes. Cummings' 99 ballots likely made the difference in the close contest.³⁹ R. S. Ward, president of the W.T.L.C. for 1910, attributed Taylor's victory to "the liquor interests" and "the whole government machine," noting that those polls in the "hotel district" had supported the Conservative.⁴⁰ The Winnipeg Tribune implied, almost

³⁶The Voice, June 10, 1910.

³⁷The Voice, June 10, 1910.

³⁸Winnipeg West, the C.P.R. shops constituency, gave the S.P.C.'s George Armstrong about 4 per cent of the vote; while Winnipeg North, where Jewish lawyer and community leader S. Hart Green won for the Liberals, directed around 19 per cent of the vote to S.P.C. hopeful Edmund Fulcher. The Parliamentary Guide, 1912, p. 468. In the latter case, it was becoming clear that the North End's days as an old party stronghold were coming to an end.

³⁹The Voice, July 29, 1910. This edition of The Voice published a letter from The Western Clarion, the S.P.C. west coast paper, in which it was admitted that it had paid Cummings' \$200 deposit. The letter included a plea to destroy all reformist labor parties.

⁴⁰Winnipeg Tribune, July 12, 1910.

casually, that "the presence of a socialist candidate . . . is said to have injured Mr. Dixon."⁴¹ Assessing the result in Centre the Manitoba Free Press curtly commented that Taylor's triumph was only "by the grace of a socialist."⁴²

The reaction within the socialist movement was swift and decisive. On July 24 the various North Winnipeg locals, with the support of Saltzman, Stechishin, Rigg, and Penner, withdrew from the S.P.C. and formed the Social Democratic Party of Canada (S.D.P.).⁴³ In an editorial, "The Tail has Lost the Dog," The Voice explained that "these men who got their training in the conditions of Europe and in their Socialist ranks . . . deserve the good will of all who are interested in the program of the political end of the workers' movement."⁴⁴ J. S. Woodsworth, following a critical statement on the S.P.C. position, declared that "whatever the final aim of the worker might be, he must take what he can get for his immediate needs."⁴⁵ Saltzman, in a long article entitled "Immediate Demands," likened the S.P.C. view to "what the petrified institutional church is to the living Christianity. It is a body without a soul, a mummy."⁴⁶ Agreeing with the gradualist approach of the new left-wing school,⁴⁷ Saltzman stated:

⁴¹Winnipeg Tribune, July 12, 1910.

⁴²Manitoba Free Press, July 12, 1910.

⁴³The Voice, July 29, 1910; August 12, 1910; August 26, 1910.

⁴⁴The Voice, July 29, 1910.

⁴⁵The Voice, August 5, 1910.

⁴⁶The Voice, August 5, 1910.

⁴⁷The 1906 German S.D.P. Congress at Mannheim had important consequences for gradualism. "The left wingers [as opposed to theoretical

Upon the basis of immediate demands, upon a closer inter-relation between the Socialist Party and the trade unions we shall be able to unite the entire working class of this country without surrendering for one moment the one great demand of international Socialism. We shall be acting in the true spirit of revolutionary Socialism.⁴⁸

Jacob Penner, the meeting's secretary, recorded that "only members of the S.P. of C. voted on the proposition, and on the motion to separate 37 of the party members voted for it and 3 against."⁴⁹ Penner was in the process of denying the charges of Edmund Fulcher, the unsuccessful S.P.C. candidate in North Winnipeg, that "many anarchists" were allowed to vote on the critical issue, that Saltzman had prevented a dissident S.P.C. member from speaking, and that "the Lettish branch left the hall in a body refusing to have anything to do with the S.D.P."⁵⁰ Penner retorted that neither Fulcher nor Puttee had attended the meeting, that Puttee's

revisionists of the 'right' like Eduard Bernstein] now felt opposed not only to the revisionists and trade unionists, but also to men like Bebel and Kautsky [the orthodox Marxists], because they had failed to uphold the revolutionary consequences and implications of Marxism. Gradually, the left wing developed into a faction with more inner coherence than revisionism. Its leading members were Rosa Luxemburg, Anton Pannekoek, Karl Radek, and Karl Liebknecht (the son of William Liebknecht). Characteristically, Rosa Luxemburg and Radek were emigrants from Poland and deeply influenced by the ideas of the radical wing of the Russian Socialist Party, the so-called Bolsheviks, while Pannekoek was a native of Holland where revolutionary syndicalism was influential. As revisionism had come to Germany from the British Fabians and French reformists, so the most important roots of radicalism were in the Russian revolution and in the syndicalist spirit which had permeated the labor movements in the western and southern [Italy and Spain] parts of the Continent. The most genuinely German section of the party was the middle group." Carl Landauer, European Socialism, p. 371.

⁴⁸The Voice, August 5, 1910.

⁴⁹The Voice, August 26, 1910.

⁵⁰The Voice, August 26, 1910. Penner, in an article entitled "Fulcher is Furious," quoted part of Fulcher's letter to The Voice's editor A. W. Puttee, in which the labor journalist was charged with distorting the facts.

reporting was accurate in that it reflected Penner's recording of the proceedings, and that the Lettish Branch attended the meeting in its entirety. In Penner's words, the Latvians "with a few exceptions . . . did not vote on the motion for separation, stating that they were desirous of discussing this question first with their own local, and would communicate with the other Lettish locals in Canada in order to ascertain their view on the matter. The secretary of the Lettish branch, however, spoke very strongly in favor of separation."⁵¹

During Christmas week of 1911 the S.D.P. and C.S.F. met at Port Arthur to discuss amalgamation, such negotiation being confirmed when the S.P.C.'s national executive refused (after a negative referendum) to hold a national convention. Rigg and Stechishin led the Winnipeg delegation to the Lakehead meeting.⁵² On April 12, 1912, the Winnipeg-based S.D.P. announced the party's success at unity, stating that it was "an accomplished fact" supported unanimously by the Winnipeg membership with only eight negative votes cast by the C.S.F. So, by roughly the end of 1911 the Social Democratic Party was a national organization, with locals in Manitoba, Ontario, and British Columbia.⁵³

Winnipeg's Ukrainian S.P.C. local had taken a step in the direction

⁵¹The Voice, August 26, 1910. Penner's account proved to be accurate when, in May, 1911, the Finnish locals [of the new S.D.P. formed at the end of 1910] withdrew and organized a Canadian Socialist Federation. This body's "tentative platform" desired affiliation with the international movement and supported the eight hour day and the direct legislation trinity. This came less than two weeks after the Ontario executive of the S.P.C. bolted their branch to join the Canadian Socialist Federation. Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 113; The Voice, May 26, 1911.

⁵²The Voice, December 22, 1911.

⁵³Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 113.

of separation in February, 1910, when it formed the Federation of Ukrainian Socialist Parties (F.U.S.P.).⁵⁴ "The S.P. of C. had not been able to provide the leadership needed by the immigrant socialist workers, and these had early begun to seek forms through which they could better conduct their activities."⁵⁵

Three months after the schism which followed the July provincial election, Stechishin explained the Ukrainian position regarding the S.P.C. Referring to the recent withdrawal of the Alberta F.U.S.P. from the S.P.C., Stechishin declared that the Rabochy Narod had never agitated for it. The paper's policy was "propaganda, not the internal strife within the ranks of the party."⁵⁶ At the Winnipeg founding convention of the F.U.S.P. in February, 1910, then, "the Ukrainians formed a federation for the purpose of supervising the propaganda in the Ukrainian language. Our plea for constitutional recognition as a federation . . . was strangled by the Dominion Executive Committee of the S.P. of C. . . . There was among the membership of our Locals a considerable sentiment against the humiliating alliance with the S.P. of C."⁵⁷

When the Edmonton convention of the F.U.S.P. met some eight months later in October, the S.P.C.'s Dominion Executive Committee was given a "fair hearing," after which "it was visible that the convention was unanimously in favor of severing the ties with the S.P. of C. and joining the Social Democratic Party, as the only true representative of the

⁵⁴ See footnote 40, chapter four.

⁵⁵ Weir, "The Flaming Torch," p. 10.

⁵⁶ The Voice, October 14, 1910.

⁵⁷ The Voice, October 14, 1910.

true spirit of international Socialism." Stechishin noted that the Ukrainians would continue to remain "aggressive" in their "revolutionism," for "the courage to renounce the autocrats of [the] S.P. of C. was at the present the most revolutionary action that could be expected."⁵⁸

⁵⁸The Voice, October 14, 1910. The F.U.S.D. had been subjected to internal factionalism and external attack for most of 1910 and 1911. After the first F.U.S.D. convention in Winnipeg in late August, 1910, a group of Edmonton members, led by Roman Kremar, began publishing the Nova Hromada (New Community) in the Alberta capital. They proclaimed it the "central organ of the Federation of the Ukrainian Social Democrats in America." The bickering that resulted from this event "threatened to disrupt and demoralize the F.U.S.D.," and at a special conference in September, 1911, the Kremar faction was expelled.

The F.U.S.D. had, as well, problems with external enemies, for in early 1910 a Ukrainian nationalist group under Taras D. Ferley established the weekly Ukrainsky Holos (Ukrainian Voice) in Winnipeg, and now two nationalist organs existed. In 1903 the Liberal party donated funds towards the establishment of the Kanadiysky Farmer in Winnipeg, with university student John Negrych as editor, which "began a concerted attack against the workers' press." John Weir, "The Flaming Torch," pp. 8; 11.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY FRUSTRATION AND HOPE DELAYED

1910 TO 1912

The S.D.P. in Winnipeg claimed the status of a national party in October, 1910, emphasizing that the list of "immediate demands" in their platform was "only the means to an end, as the permanent release of the working class from exploitation and misery can only come about by the abolition of the present system of production for profit, . . . the ultimate aim of the Social Democratic Party of Canada."¹ Compromise and cooperation were to be the essential trademarks of the S.D.P. In its 1910 municipal election platform, issued jointly with the unionist Manitoba Labor Party,² were included such demands as the municipal ownership of public utilities and other reforms, excluding any mention of the class struggle and other tenets of Marxism.³

¹The emblem adopted by the Winnipeg organization is "composed of a figure of justice, with her eyes open and clear. In her right hand she holds the balanced scales, and in her left the palm leaf of victory. At her side is the winged wheel of progress, and her feet resting triumphantly on the neck of the serpent capitalism. Behind all are the rays of the sun, signifying the dawn of the new era of justice for the working class, secured by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth." The Voice, October 28, 1910.

²"By 1910, because of the long Conservative ascendancy, the middle class dominated progressivism or 'Reform Movement' which was to characterize Manitoba politics for the next decade was in full swing. Moderate labour leaders were associated with this movement in the early years. And in the hope of benefitting from these developments, the Winnipeg Trades Council reconstituted the defunct Canadian Labour Party as the Manitoba Labour Party. Although the Party's 'ultimate objective' was 'to preserve to the worker the full product of his toil', its platform emphasized more immediate economic and progressive objectives." A. R. McCormack, Winnipeg Labour and Political Action, pp. 4-5.

³The Voice, November 25, 1910.

Four candidates were selected, including the M.L.P. unionists Puttee and Turnoch, for controller and ward five alderman respectively. Rigg entered the ward one aldermanic contest as an S.D.P.-M.L.P. aspirant.⁴ R. S. Ward, the 1910 W.T.L.C. president, was later nominated for school trustee in ward one, thus filling out the slate dubbed "The Labor Quartet" by The Voice.⁵ Rigg, running in an essentially non-working class district, received but 276 of the 2,049 votes cast. Ward managed somewhat better by polling 500 of the 1,387 ballots in a two man race. Puttee, once a formidable vote-catcher, came second last in a field of seven running in the city-wide Board of Control election. Turnoch, in the friendlier territory of North Winnipeg's ward five, did no better than Rigg, totalling 324 votes out of 2,188 cast.⁶

The "united" laborites also failed to win seats in the 1911 and 1912 municipal elections. However, the results were more favourable. W. H. Hoop ran for alderman in ward four in both years, coming within 100 votes of election in 1912.⁷ Turnoch and Rigg contested the ward five aldermanic contest in 1911 and 1912 respectively, losing to the Ukrainian Liberal Theodore Stefanik⁸ in the former instance, and to the

⁴The Voice, November 25, 1910.

⁵The Voice, December 9, 1910.

⁶Winnipeg Tribune, December 14, 1910.

⁷Winnipeg Tribune, December 2, 1911. Hoop, an S.P.C. impossibilist and W.T.L.C. executive simultaneously, blatantly appealed to the large number of Anglo-Saxon skilled workers in this ward, saying: "Race-protection, race-progression, and race-perfection are the ideals of my religion, and if elected I will put them into practice."

⁸Winnipeg Tribune, December 9, 1911. Stefanik won by a margin of 328 votes, described by the Tribune as "an easy victory." In the 1910 municipal election he had lost by only 67 votes.

Jewish Conservative Altar Skaletar⁹ in the latter.¹⁰ In the waning days of the 1912 campaign it became apparent that Skaletar had more than just Jewish support, for he defeated not only Rigg, but also Taras D. Ferley, the publisher of the nationalist Ukrainian Voice¹¹ who had publicly supported the successful Stefanik a year earlier.¹² Let us not, however, conclude that brotherly love reigned in the lower North End. In the 1911 election "Ruthenian and Jewish scrutineers hotly abused each other and sometimes came near to blows as one accused the other of illegal practices." Skaletar's adherents, on election day, made use of "a float on the street and an automobile, telling the electors how to vote."¹³

All but forgotten in the excitement of the aldermanic activity was the effort of Social Democrat Saltzman. In 1911 Saltzman contested the ward five school trusteeship against two English-speaking men of the establishment, McMunn and Blake. Saltzman, although far behind the winner, came a comfortable second. More importantly, he received three out of every ten votes,¹⁴ indicating that a candidate of, or backed by, the "third force" could make a creditable showing in this immigrant ward. In Saltzman's case, this evaluation may be extended to include candidates of a socialist-unionist persuasion.

⁹ Winnipeg Tribune, December 12, 1912. Skaletar, a "successful businessman," had resided in the north and north central area of Winnipeg since 1890.

¹⁰ The Voice, December 15, 1911; December 20, 1912.

¹¹ The Voice, December 20, 1912.

¹² Winnipeg Tribune, December 7, 1911.

¹³ Winnipeg Tribune, December 7, 1911.

¹⁴ Winnipeg Tribune, December 11, 1911.

Despite the chaotic social climate of the day which pitted socialist against socialist, immigrant against immigrant, and elements of both the latter against the labor and bourgeois establishment, temperate moments were possible. This was best exemplified by the extradition trial of Savva Federenko from September 19 to December 19 of 1910. Federenko's plight became a rallying cause for the community, including those people or groups normally opposed or indifferent to the labor movement in general, for it focused upon the clash between the Czarist and liberal-democratic concepts of justice.

Federenko was an organizer of the peasantry in the district of Pavlofka village during the 1905 revolution in Russia.¹⁵ His particular group was involved in acts of arson and robbery, and although a match for the local police, they were never considered important enough to merit the sending of troops.¹⁶ Federenko was evidently quite active until early 1908, for the Russian government charged that, on January 5 of that year, he had murdered policeman Samson Osadchuk in Levkovka village (Uman district).¹⁷ His flight led him to Vienna where he obtained a false passport and made his way to Argentina and finally to Winnipeg by mid-July of 1910. On August 14 he was arrested and charged with murder and arson, his location and capture having been facilitated by letters written to his family.¹⁸ The Russian government brought its charges under an 1886 extradition treaty with Canada which, however,

¹⁵ Winnipeg Tribune, August 25, 1910.

¹⁶ Winnipeg Free Press, December 1, 1934.

¹⁷ Manitoba Free Press, September 19, 1910.

¹⁸ Winnipeg Free Press, December 1, 1934.

did not allow for extradition for trials of a political nature.¹⁹

Prior to Federenko's conviction in mid-October, laborite and socialist leaders like Puttee, Saltzman, Rigg, and Stechishin had spoken out on his behalf at a public meeting to raise defense funds. At this meeting, in which \$100 was collected, Stechishin best summed up the feelings of Federenko's supporters, saying that "if Federenko was a dog we should not give him back to Russia, because Russia has enough of this kind of meat for a thousand years."²⁰ When, despite the efforts of his lawyers,²¹ Federenko was convicted, the Conservative government's Winnipeg Telegram pronounced the decision of Chief Justice Mathers as "obnoxious to Canadian sentiment" and "hoped that it will not be sustained on appeal." The Russian intention seemed clearly political.

What on earth have we got to do with how the Russian government thinks Federenko should have behaved in Russia, providing he is ostensibly a law-abiding citizen in Canada. And as a matter of fact we know that the Russian government wishes to get hold of him, not because he is a criminal, but because it desires to torture him to the disclosure of his secrets and the betrayal of his friends.²²

On October 23 a meeting was convened for the purpose of raising

¹⁹ Article 6 of the treaty, as quoted in the Manitoba Free Press, September 19, 1910, stated that "A fugitive criminal shall not be surrendered if the offense in respect of which his surrender is demanded is one of a political character, or if it be proved that the requisition for his surrender has in fact been made with a view to try to punish him for an offense of a political character."

²⁰ Winnipeg Telegram, September 5, 1910.

²¹ Manitoba Free Press, September 19, 1910. N. F. Hagel, K.C., and M. J. Finkelstein of Winnipeg represented Federenko without fee. Isaac I. Hourwitch, of the St. Petersburg and New York bars, was present at the trial as a witness who would vouch that a revolution was in progress in Russia in 1905.

²² Winnipeg Telegram, October 20, 1910.

money for an appeal. Added to the list of W.T.L.C. and S.D.P. leaders were Liberal-progressive Fred Dixon and S.P.C. stalwart W. H. Hoop.²³ Rigg and Hoop, the main speakers, concentrated on the issue as that of freedom battling Czarist reaction, and the W.T.L.C.-dominated gathering passed a long resolution to the effect that it would be odious for liberty-loving Canada to surrender Federenko to a "merciless and autocratic" regime.²⁴

The Manitoba Free Press was in accord with the meeting's outcome, and it published a list of political trial results in Russia to emphasize its point, concluding that the relentless pursuit of Federenko was indicative of what the Russians had in store for him.²⁵ Saltzman, writing a rare editorial for the Winnipeg Tribune some two weeks later, pointed out that extradition would be tantamount to a death sentence.

My God! If his sin had no excuse, send Federenko to Hell, but do not send him to Russia.

Canadians! It is still time.²⁶

And in a poetic appeal in the Toronto Globe by J. W. Bengough:

Beware lest to Vengeance, not Law,
thou surrender
A victim; th' impatiently rattling chains
Suggest this is the case of a patriot tender
Whose one flagrant crime against
Czardom is brains.²⁷

Meanwhile the Russian Freedom League, a North American organization

²³Winnipeg Telegram, October 24, 1910.

²⁴Winnipeg Telegram, October 24, 1910.

²⁵Free Press Evening News Bulletin, October 25, 1910.

²⁶Winnipeg Tribune, November 9, 1910.

²⁷The Voice, November 18, 1910. Reprinted from the Toronto Globe.

dedicated to the support of all revolutionary exiles, was running out of money.²⁸ W. H. Hoop was therefore chosen as the representative of the W.T.L.C. and the R.F.L., and his travels carried him to New York, Chicago, and finally to St. Louis where he spoke to the A.F.L. convention.²⁹ With the moral and financial support of organized labor assured, the fight to prevent Federenko's extradition assumed a new vigor. Labor would soon be joined by legislative bodies, thus adding more weight to an already popular movement.

On November 18, by a unanimous vote, the Alberta legislature passed a resolution requesting the federal Minister of Justice to refuse extradition if an investigation disclosed that a political motive was behind Russia's claim to Federenko.³⁰ A similar resolution was passed in Winnipeg two days later. This was effected at a Walker Theatre rally, presided over by Winnipeg controller Waugh, and supported by Rev. C. W. Gordon, L. L. McMeans, M.P.P., Rigg, Saltzman, Puttee, and Dixon. Mayor Sanford Evans, arriving later in the evening, praised the high tone of the gathering. He exhorted all present to write to Minister of Justice A. B. Aylesworth as he himself would do; and he concluded that, although not personally acquainted with Federenko, he wished to see every effort made on his behalf prior to any final decision being rendered.³¹

²⁸ Daily People, October 11, 1910.

²⁹ The Voice, November 25, 1910. The New York meeting was held under the auspices of the Political Refugee Defense League, and was presided over by Charles Edward Russell.

³⁰ Winnipeg Tribune, November 19, 1910.

³¹ Manitoba Free Press, November 22, 1910. On November 23, 1910, the Manitoba Free Press reported the testimony of Longinus Theodor Gerus of Chicago. Gerus was a former member of Russia's second Duma. He attested to the political atrocities of the Czarist regime against members of his Russian Social Democratic Party "not in favor of the existing government."

Lawyer N. F. Hagel soon disclosed to the appeal court that Russia's extradition warrant was in grave error as to Federenko's age and appearance, that Federenko was a member of the revolutionary Social Democratic Party of Russia, and that a state of revolution existed at the time of the alleged murder. On the following day the City of Winnipeg, led by Mayor Evans and controller Waugh, sent a resolution to the Minister of Justice. It was requested that Federenko be freed from the extradition warrant under which he was being held because "we believe" he would be tried for political offenses in Russia.³²

What followed was now almost anticlimactic. All shades of public opinion in Canada and the United States were behind the Federenko cause. Then, on November 23, the court under Justice Robson concluded--with the agreement of the prosecution--that the Russian request admitted that Federenko's crime was political, and that the seal of the Russian government which appeared on the requisition had never been properly authenticated by trial judge Mathers.³³ Federenko was finally given his unconditional release on December 19, after prosecutor Howell was unable to present an official requisition signed by a Russian justice official to accompany his warrant of arrest.³⁴

³² Manitoba Free Press, November 22, 1910.

³³ Manitoba Free Press, November 24, 1910.

³⁴ Manitoba Free Press, December 20, 1910. Federenko was actually freed on December 17 by Justice Robson, but was rearrested and held for 48 hours on a second charge. Justice Meyers, the Sr. County Court judge who filled in for Robson, freed Federenko for the last time with the judgement that the original warrant for arrest was not according to the act governing extradition, and as the second act was precisely in the same condition he refused to remand the case so that it could be argued.

Federenko's freedom was gained through the operation of that bulwark of British liberty, the law of habeas corpus. Just as influential, if not more so, was the tremendous support which his plight received, not only from the usually warring socialist factions and the unionists, but also from the elected representatives of the public at large.³⁵

With the Federenko affair concluded the S.D.P. could look ahead to the coming national election. Rigg, the W.T.L.C. president for 1911, contested the September 21 Dominion election in Winnipeg riding as an S.D.P.-W.T.L.C. endorsee.³⁶ Although Rigg claimed to favor "the proposed reciprocal trade agreement between Canadian [sic] and the United States," he did not believe that it would aid the workers materially.³⁷ Instead, Rigg added an extra point to his reform platform, namely the abolition of the capitalist system of production.³⁸ The prospects of a socialist-labor candidate in a constituency of Winnipeg's size and social diversity were difficult at best, and the addition of such a radical plank could not better the situation. It is quite probable that, aware of this, the S.D.P. wished to use the election as a barometer.

Rigg's campaign was supported by the combined labor movement of the city, and "committees were elected from the different nationalities"

³⁵ At the conclusion of the case, Saltzman reported that the R.F.L. had raised \$5,780 to defend Federenko, that New York's R.F.L. local had \$2,000 ready if it should be needed, and that money for the cause was being held in the trust of the mayors of Montreal and Toronto. Manitoba Free Press, December 20, 1910.

³⁶ The Voice, August 18, 1911; September 15, 1911.

³⁷ The Voice, August 18, 1911.

³⁸ The Voice, August 25, 1911.

which were to "confer with the joint existing committee to complete the details of organization." The intention was "to form each nationality into separate locals who, in turn, shall elect delegates to a central committee which shall be the ruling body."³⁹ The S.D.P. representatives included Stechishin, Penner, and Saltzman; while candidate Rigg and Bartlett (later elected W.T.L.C. president for 1912) represented the W.T.L.C.⁴⁰

Rigg and William Holowacky, the latter contesting Selkirk riding for the S.D.P., experienced a disastrous federal debut. The electors of Winnipeg riding gave Rigg about 10 per cent of the city-wide vote total of 23,128. The Conservative winner, A. Haggart, was re-elected over the Liberal J. H. Ashdown by a 4,705 vote majority.⁴¹ Not surprisingly, Rigg won no polls south of the C.P.R. tracks, while four out of the five polls which he did win were situated on Selkirk and Pritchard Avenues in the heart of the lower North End's immigrant belt. His victory in the fifth poll, located on Boyd Avenue eight blocks further north, was only by a single vote.⁴² Holowacky failed to win any votes in 44 of the 66 polls in Selkirk, and in the remainder he was able to manage better than ten votes in but five instances.⁴³ His campaign advocated the government ownership of all company lands, nationalization of the railways, low

³⁹The Voice, August 25, 1911. Despite the official proclamation of labor movement unity and organization, the various campaign meetings were able to collect only \$8.49. The Voice, November 3, 1911.

⁴⁰The Voice, August 25, 1911.

⁴¹The Parliamentary Guide, 1912, p. 268.

⁴²Winnipeg Tribune, September 21, 1911.

⁴³Winnipeg Tribune, September 22, 1911.

interest rates, and "other reforms."⁴⁴

Winnipeg, a large federal riding, contained many classes of persons unlikely to vote for candidates of the labor movement. Success would, for the next few years, be possible only in the friendlier confines of selected and smaller municipal and provincial electoral divisions.

The corruption common to elections in the pre-war period proved disadvantageous to a small semi-radical party like the S.D.P., as their chances were difficult enough even in an above-board contest. Many arrests were made on charges that "bogus names" were placed on the electoral lists, and that bribes were offered to voters by the major parties. Some North End Jews, including Liberal lawyer S. Hart Green, M.P.P., were among those suspected.⁴⁵ As the Winnipeg Tribune said in serious jest: "If the battle of warrants between Liberals and Conservatives continues, it is doubtful if there will be any citizen out of jail by the time the polls close, and extra jail accommodation will have to be provided."⁴⁶

Summing up his defeat, Rigg blamed the reciprocity furor and dishonest electoral practices, saying that "apparently the cry of loyalty has proved sufficiently powerful to deceive the workers in respect to all that is in their interest. . . . I would call attention to the public that the fact that while wholesale corruption was undoubtedly practiced, the Social-Democratic Party leaves the field with clean hands."⁴⁷

⁴⁴Weir, "The Flaming Torch," p. 11.

⁴⁵Winnipeg Tribune, September 21, 1911.

⁴⁶Winnipeg Tribune, September 21, 1911.

⁴⁷Manitoba Free Press, September 22, 1911. Also in The Voice, September 22, 1911.

Regardless of the defeats suffered by the S.D.P.-unionist men in the municipal elections of 1910, 1911, and 1912, plus their ill-timed testing of the federal waters, victory was not too far off.

In the three years preceding the world maelstrom, Canada's economy entered a stage of depression; due in part to conditions in the world at large, particularly Europe. Rising freight rates and falling land and farm prices heralded the end of the great boom in Western Canada. This may be traced to the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913, for the war hysteria had its economic effects, particularly on Britain. The mother country's demand for increased imperial military expenditures cut the flow of British loans to Canada quite sharply. Thus, Canada's prosperity waned industrially, agriculturally, and was reflected in the curtailment in the development of her large urban centers. Both urban and rural real estate values dropped well below existing levels, and even land speculators found it difficult to sell their holdings on the poor market. Farm lands were not as severely affected as urban lots due to the still copious inflow of immigrants, but it soon became clear that many farms were being taken over by urban purchasers who were not yet as financially insolvent as their country cousins.⁴⁸

The falling price of wheat ended the boom in that vital agricultural staple and imposed a severe strain on Manitoba farmers. Production and sales increases in livestock, hogs, poultry, and milk could only mitigate the rural plight slightly. In order to clear and build on his land, and in order to buy machinery, the farmer sorely needed a return to profitable wheat prices. Conditions were no more optimistic in Winnipeg.

⁴⁸ Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 329.

Construction slowed to a trickle, and the unemployment spectre raised its head in a city which had actually experienced some labor shortage in the previous decade. Although seasonal farm work and the completion of many public and private buildings provided a measure of relief for some workers, this depression was an event not soon to be forgotten by labor.⁴⁹

It was not until the latter days of 1912 that the S.P.C. resumed the publication of its column in The Voice. In what seemed to be a qualified acceptance of reformism and political action, the S.P.C. stated that "working men must go into politics, not as the docile tools of their masters, but as class conscious strivers for emancipation."⁵⁰ Three weeks later, however, the impossibilist cynicism emerged as a message to those seeking a "good job" in the capitalist system.

You will find your ideal job yet. It will be when you are dead and the chemical compounds that make up your body are slowly mouldering away, merged with the other elements of the universe in the endless process of evolution, growth and decay, birth and death.⁵¹

Yet the S.P.C. position was, by the end of 1912, somewhat less dogmatic than the days of the 1910 schism. On the one hand reform was deemed a "waste of time," but on the other the electoral process was hailed as the way to "control . . . the powers of the state" in order to "revolutionize the whole system of wealth production."⁵²

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 330.

⁵⁰The Voice, November 8, 1912.

⁵¹The Voice, November 29, 1912.

⁵²The Voice, December 13, 1912. It would be reasonable to advance the argument that the success of Eugene Debs in the 1912 American presidential election had softened the attitude of the local S.P.C. toward

On September 20, 1911, on the eve of the federal election, the Rabochy Narod began weekly publication; and by March 27, 1912, it boasted that "the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada [F.U.S.D.] has now begun to grow with a speed that surpasses our boldest anticipations. Everywhere new branches are appearing, organizers are demanded, conferences and conventions are held, ever new proposals for broadening the movement are being decided upon."⁵³

This optimistic report was somewhat overzealous, for by the summer of 1912 the leadership of the F.U.S.D. was "brought almost to a standstill" due to "inner conflict," and the party's headquarters was moved to Montreal where a new set of leaders was chosen.⁵⁴ As well, the F.U.S.D. had become disenchanted with the S.D.P. from an organizational perspective, complaining of "looseness, toleration of groups and factions, [and] lack of unity in policy and work."⁵⁵

Winnipeg's F.U.S.D. leadership was also in the process of disintegration. Stechishin resigned as editor of the Rabochy Narod in early 1912⁵⁶ and eventually left the S.D.P. to become the editor of the

political action.

One may also consider the fact that the S.D.P.-C.S.F. amalgamation in December, 1911, resulted in the loss of many S.P.C. members. By August, 1913, Cotton's Weekly reported 133 S.D.P. locals with 3,500 members [an average of 26 per local], while the S.P.C. had 2,000 members in 100 locals [an average of 20 per local]. Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, p. 113. Taken from Cotton's Weekly, August 21, 1913.

⁵³Weir, "The Flaming Torch," pp. 10-11.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 13. The leaders of the F.U.S.D. were now Andrew Dmytryshyn (secretary), John Hnyda (organizer), and Paul Fediew (treasurer).

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 12.

nationalist Ukrainian Voice. Holowacky and Crath, Stechishin's precursors in the organization, both left by 1912. In that year Holowacky became a Russelite minister, with Crath pursuing a similar career with the Presbyterian church in 1915.⁵⁷

Replacing the defectors as co-editors of the Rabochy Narod were John Navis (Navizivsky) and Matthew Popovich, described by Professor Yuzyk as "more radical men."⁵⁸ Both were to become leading figures in Winnipeg's S.D.P., and in 1922 joined Jacob Penner on the first Central Committee of the Workers [communist] Party of Canada.⁵⁹ Joining them on the executive committee of Rabochy Narod were Metro Petrash and William Kolisnyk, the latter destined to become a communist alderman in Winnipeg in 1926, thus gaining the distinction of being the first elected communist in North America.⁶⁰

Navis and Popovich both arrived in Canada in 1911, the former from the United States and the latter from Europe. On November 6 of that year they assumed control of the Rabochy Narod.⁶¹ The new editors had been schoolmates in the Western Ukraine (Galicia), they had been fellow students at teachers' college, they had together joined the underground student socialist circle and suffered persecution for their activities.⁶²

⁵⁷Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, p. 97.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Buck, Thirty Years, pp. 23-24.

⁶⁰Kolisnyk, "In Canada Since the Spring of 1898," p. 39. The Worker, December 11, 1926; Ukrainian Labor News, December 2, 1926.

⁶¹Weir, "The Flaming Torch," p. 12.

⁶²Ibid., p. 11.

They were different from most of the Galician intellectuals who came to Canada. First of all, they themselves came from the peasantry, not from the clergy or trading class. Secondly, they completely submerged their careers in the working class movement, spurning all temptation to gain riches or "position," which played such a great role (to the sorrow of the common people) among most Ukrainian intellectuals or semi-intellectuals who came here.⁶³

⁶³Ibid., p. 12. According to old-timer Jack Tymochek, Navis and Popovich remained as leaders of the Ukrainian S.D.P. in Winnipeg until the end of 1913. At this time Popovich returned to the United States for a two year period at the request of the Socialist Party of America. Navis worked for the railway in British Columbia during his absence. Evan Hutsaylo, a university professor from Galicia, edited the Rabochy Narod from the winter of 1913 to the fall of 1914. When Hutsaylo returned to Europe his place was taken by John Stefanitsky.

CHAPTER VII
A MEASURE OF SUCCESS

1913 AND 1914

The attempt to achieve effective labor movement unity for electoral purposes continued into 1913. On March 1 a new Labor Representation Committee (L.R.C.) was formed, based upon a resolution to this effect which the W.T.L.C. had passed some nine months earlier.¹

In late January representatives of the S.D.P., W.T.L.C., and even the S.P.C. met at Trades Hall. The S.D.P. delegation was concerned that a united labor organization recognize the "class struggle." W. H. Hoop, at the same time a unionist and member of the usually uncompromising S.P.C., praised the L.R.C. concept as a flexible one which "aimed to draw together the various elements of the working class on a political basis." Puttee of The Voice declared that the L.R.C. would seek to secure labor representation, whether "trade unionists" or "revolutionary socialists." The article which discussed this meeting was aptly titled: "L.R.C.; Social Democrats and Socialists Want To Know If It Is Safe."²

The new L.R.C. was to be, hopefully, a permanent body "similar" to Britain's I.L.P.³ As late as the last week in February, however, the

¹The Voice, March 7, 1913.

²The Voice, January 31, 1913.

³The I.L.P. was formed in January, 1893, at Bradford. Its 120 founding delegates, under Keir Hardie's chairmanship, "included five from the Social Democratic Federation (S.D.F.) and twelve from the Fabian Society (F.S.), among them being G. B. Shaw, who, on their behalf, declared . . . that they regarded themselves but as guests, since their organizations were not inclined to join the new party. . . . The great majority of the delegates, if not all of them, were convinced

S.D.P. met and decided unanimously not to join the L.R.C. unless they were allowed to have a part in the formation of its platform.⁴ A motion

socialists, and yet they were engaged in forming a rival organization to the S.D.F."

Because the S.D.F. "had not succeeded in winning over the working class," and because the Liberal-Labour organization "had failed to pursue a Labour policy," the delegates to the I.L.P. founding convention were determined to found a new party. The S.D.F. had refused to cooperate with the trade unions and "endeavoured to impose the truth" on the working class. "Therefore it was essential to found a party which should avoid both the over-righteousness of the one and the laxity of the other. Its main task appeared to consist in detaching the working classes from Liberalism and showing them that political Labour could not constitute a branch of Liberalism any more than trade unions could join the employers' associations. In fact, an independent Labour party was nothing else but the political counterpart to trade unionism.

.....
 "The conference . . . adopted a socialist programme. Its objects were the collective ownership of the means of production to be achieved through parliamentary action, social reform, protection of Labour and democracy in central and local government.

"No difference could be detected between the programmes of the I.L.P. and the S.D.F., but marked divergencies existed between them in their attitude towards the trade unions and in the tone of their propaganda. From the very beginning the I.L.P. adopted a sympathetic attitude toward the trade unions and never swerved from it."

By 1914 the I.L.P. had survived a number of internal crises, particularly in 1908, when "much dissatisfaction was manifested with the alleged complicity of the I.L.P. with the spiritless attitude of the Parliamentary Labour Party towards the Government. Several branches of the I.L.P. seceded and entered into communication with the S.D.P. [the S.D.F. had changed its name in 1908] and other dissatisfied socialists. . . ." The result was the formation of the British Socialist Party (B.S.P.) in Manchester on October 1, 1911. Its programme, adopted at its conference in May, 1912, "was partly social democratic and partly revolutionary trade unionist. The old traditions and the old leaders proved too strong for the new spirit to assert itself. The B.S.P. was substantially the old S.D.F., or the old S.D.P.

.....
 "The I.L.P.'s 'Coming of Age' conference at Bradford, April 1914, was attended by fraternal delegates from abroad as well as by delegates of the Labour Party, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the Co-operative Societies, the Fabian Society, and the British Socialist Party, as a recognition of the work of the I.L.P. At that time, seven of its nominees, J. R. Clynes, Keir Hardie, F. W. Jowett, Ramsay MacDonald, James Parker, Tom Richardson, and Philip Snowden sat in Parliament as part of the thirty-nine members constituting the Parliamentary Labour Party. It was a well-merited tribute to the achievements and inspiration of the I.L.P." M. Beer, A History of British Socialism, pp. 302-304; 385; 389.

⁴The Voice, February 28, 1913.

to this effect had been defeated at the January meeting.⁵

Evidently this contentious matter was resolved, and the L.R.C. became an accomplished fact on March 1. The organization passed a nineteen point platform along the lines of Britain's I.L.P., including the provision that "all labor organizations shall have the privilege of representation," and that "the ultimate aim of this committee shall be the transferring of capitalist property into working class property." The executive of the new organization was entirely unionist, and it included R. A. Rigg of the S.D.P.⁶

Even the S.P.C. local, or at least some of its adherents, seemed willing to accept the L.R.C. In early April a letter to The Voice entitled "Progress v.s. [sic] Dogmatism," signed by a local S.P.C. member ("Pessimist"), concluded:

I am impelled to adopt the view so scorned by the Socialist Party of Canada; namely that it is well to unite the entire working class even without complete agreement on policy or general conformity in economic belief. . . . Besides, it is surely a long way to the revolution yet.⁷

A week earlier the S.P.C. local commented on the nearly 1,000,000 votes polled by Eugene Debs in the 1912 American presidential race, observing that possibilist Debs was preferable to "Woody Wilson," "strenuous Ted," and "Willie Taft."⁸ In late April the S.P.C. noted that if the workers

⁵ The Voice, January 31, 1913.

⁶ The Voice, March 7, 1913.

⁷ The Voice, April 4, 1913.

⁸ The Voice, March 7, 1913. Lionel Orlikow points out that "While Manitoba attempted to grapple with her internal problems, further difficulties arose out of ideas which came from abroad, winning a certain degree of influence among many Anglo-Saxon residents. The tenets of Teddy Roosevelt, William Jennings Bryan, La Follette and Woodrow Wilson,

were to solve their high cost of living problem, they "must capture the power of the state by political action."⁹

With the approach of the 1913 municipal election, then, Winnipeg's labor movement appeared to be united for political action. Rigg received the L.R.C. aldermanic nomination for ward five, and he was also endorsed by Yaniski, a Ukrainian, who explained that "purely national" candidates were not necessarily the most desirable. Also, at a meeting of the S.D.P. locals at their Jarvis avenue headquarters, "it was decided that the party would not run candidates independently at the forthcoming civic election, but that the L.R.C., whose views on labor matters were satisfactory to the Party would be endorsed and supported. The candidatures of R. A. Rigg and Ed McGrath [for alderman in ward seven (Elmwood)] were heartily endorsed." The meeting was chaired by a leading member of the Jewish local.¹⁰

With polling day less than a month away a Jewish resident of ward five wrote anonymously to The Voice, asking that Rigg be given maximum support against the "machine" of his only opponent, J. B. Attridge, a real estate agent.¹¹ Sensing that the tide was moving in labor's favor in the immigrant ward, The Voice observed that Attridge's recent

calling for a greater role for the common people in government and restricting the power of corporate industry, were very attractive. From England came further stimulating examples to local social reformers in the rising Labour Party, the flourishing cooperative movement and the Lloyd George budgets. These ideas found a fertile soil in the West and were to provide a background for the local movements." Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba," p. 11.

⁹The Voice, April 25, 1913.

¹⁰The Voice, November 14, 1913.

¹¹The Voice, November 21, 1913.

attendance at a Jewish funeral would be followed by his attendance, on December 12, at "his own political funeral."¹²

Rigg, with the ethnic community and a united labor movement solidly behind him, easily defeated his rival by 1,467 to 702 votes, winning every poll in the process.¹³ This was undoubtedly made easier because incumbent alderman T. Stefanik chose not to seek re-election.¹⁴ McGrath, running second in ward seven on the east bank of the Red River directly across from ward five, managed 36 per cent of the vote cast in the three-cornered contest. Puttee, running for the Board of Control on a city-wide ballot, understandably came last in a field of six.¹⁵ Puttee's strength was concentrated in the North End where, only three days before the election, Nathan Segal, a Jewish baker and long-time Conservative Party ward boss, advised a meeting of Jewish ratepayers to include Puttee as one of their four choices for controller.¹⁶

Attridge, who like Rigg attended this meeting at Queen's Hall on Selkirk avenue, chastized his adversary because he did not live in ward five, and accused him of lending his name to a "wild real estate scheme" by telling unionists to buy land eleven miles north of the city on which to build homes. Rigg then took the platform and, amidst great applause, told the satisfied audience that he would not gain a penny on the

¹²The Voice, November 21, 1913.

¹³Winnipeg Tribune, December 13, 1913.

¹⁴The Voice, December 5, 1913.

¹⁵The Voice, December 12, 1913.

¹⁶Winnipeg Tribune, December 10, 1913.

property venture, and that if elected he would move into the ward.¹⁷

Rigg's milestone victory as a Social Democratic alderman, supported by the city's union movement as well as the major ethnic groups in his new ward, came at a time of critical reassessment of Manitoba politics. By 1914 the many political and social reform movements in the city and province were peaking in strength, and generally cast their lot with Tobias C. Norris' reform Liberals. Back in 1910 Conservative Premier Rodmond P. Roblin, after a decade in power during a boom period, "could afford to ignore these groups. The suffrage movement found itself without any strong central guiding body, and the women of the province could not vote against the Conservatives. The ills that the single taxers hoped to cure were buried in the boom period. Direct Legislation had not gained widespread support. The trades unions and farmers' organizations had still relatively few members. Temperance was a perennial question, but its forces could not agree on what further measures were necessary."¹⁸

However, the half decade following the 1910 election "coincided with the slackening away of the boom economy, [and] a number of issues became paramount, which the provincial government proved incompetent or unwilling to solve. If these issues had not become so important in Manitoba, it is doubtful if the Conservative administration would have been turned out in 1915. The combined use of provincial patronage, as well as federal spoils after 1911, would have made its position practically impregnable. The political story of the four years following

¹⁷ Winnipeg Tribune, December 10, 1913.

¹⁸ Ollikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba," p. 18.

1910 is that of an opportunistic Liberal party, more realistic than previously, seizing the protest movements for its own, and in so doing, becoming a more positive political force."¹⁹

As the provincial election of 1914 drew near, it became clear that the S.P.C.'s support of the S.D.P.-L.R.C. grouping in 1913 was only tentative. However, as events were to prove, the Social Democrats in alliance with the unionists no longer needed to fear the impossibilist socialists.

Herman Saltzman and Arthur Beech were nominated by the S.D.P. to contest Winnipeg North's "B" and "A" seats respectively, a move made independently of their L.R.C. friends but not considered as serious by the unionist party.²⁰ With the election still about six months away, The Voice appealed to the S.D.P., S.P.C., and L.R.C. candidates not to fight one another in key constituencies.²¹ This request was likely directed at the S.P.C. more than to the other organizations, for the L.R.C. expressed that it would be wrong to support "the most extreme doctrinaires"; although "as regards the Social-Democrats, their action [of nominating candidates independently] did not appear to be in actual hostility to the L.R.C., but it was not commended for wisdom in its procedure."²²

In reply to this statement Saltzman maintained that "the objects of his party were harmonious with those of the L.R.C. It had given evidence

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 26-27.

²⁰The Voice, January 30, 1914; February 20, 1914.

²¹The Voice, February 20, 1914.

²²The Voice, February 20, 1914.

of this by its work in securing the election of Ald. Rigg, and . . . looked for united action in the coming contest."²³ Beech, in a letter to The Voice, stated: "I am not hostile to any straight working class organization; I would rather try to direct them the way they should go which, of course, is toward the platform of the S.D.P."²⁴

George Armstrong, the S.P.C. candidate selected to short-circuit Dixon in Winnipeg Centre "B", admitted that his party knew of the L.R.C.-S.D.P. alignment, "and that was why they would have none of them." Armstrong intended to deliver propaganda speeches to the unions with the certainty "that he would draw a share of financial assistance notwithstanding their affiliation with the L.R.C."²⁵ This remark indicates just how unrealistic the S.P.C. could be, for Dixon, running as a Liberal-Progressive, had the overt blessing of A. W. Puttee (The Voice), J. W. Dafoe (Manitoba Free Press), R. L. Richardson (Winnipeg Tribune), and the Rev. J. S. Woodsworth (director of the Canadian Welfare League).²⁶

By April the S.P.C.'s return to impossibilism was complete. In an article entitled "A Cautious Marxian," A. Percy Chew stated that the party's primary role was "education," and that "Revolution, the Socialist policy, . . . preaches non interference with capitalist affairs till the hour comes to strike. And the hour to strike will not come until

²³The Voice, February 20, 1914.

²⁴The Voice, February 20, 1914. On election eve The Voice predicted a large S.D.P. vote in the lower North End, but regretted that the S.D.P. had preferred not to be officially endorsed by the L.R.C. The Voice, July 10, 1914.

²⁵The Voice, February 20, 1914.

²⁶The Voice, June 26, 1914.

capitalism breaks down of its own weight."²⁷ The S.D.P. was, of course, not so inclined. Beech, upon his nomination in North Winnipeg "A", "intimated" that the L.R.C. would not run a candidate to oppose him,²⁸ which proved correct. Later a mass meeting was held in Market Square on May 30 to protest the mounting unemployment in the city, the result of a "joint call of the Trades and Labor Council and the Social-Democratic party."²⁹

It was at this rally that the question of unskilled European immigrants entered the election issue. J. V. Johnstone, on the W.T.L.C. executive, condemned the federal government for "the criminal advertising of the Dominion as an Eldorado for workers," especially when unemployment had become serious "due to the financial depression." Johnstone doubted that violence on the part of workers would ease the problem, and he called on Ottawa to place immigration under their "sole control [and] create, if necessary, a department to handle and direct it, so that this important question shall be taken out of the hands of private profit." Rigg, who won his ward five aldermanic seat with immigrant support, judiciously called for "instant relief" as a palliative. Beech, his running mate, was also cautious and blamed the whole capitalist system for operating an immigration policy based on the lust for profit. Armstrong of the S.P.C. merely repeated the usual phrases, such as "education" in the "economic truths." As well, there were speeches delivered in Ukrainian and Russian by various "carefully selected"

²⁷ The Voice, April 10, 1914.

²⁸ The Voice, February 13, 1914.

²⁹ The Voice, June 5, 1914.

speakers.³⁰

When the city council met just prior to this demonstration, it had passed a Rigg motion to the effect that the federal government be asked to sponsor a program of "public works," and that it cut back immigration for "this season." Altar Skaletar, ward five's Jewish alderman, Mayor Deacon, and three "South End" aldermen opposed the motion. Skaletar's contention was that people must be permitted entry to a free land like Canada, despite Rigg's dubious argument that starvation in Canada was not a viable alternative to low pay in Russia.³¹ The local Jewish newspaper, The Israelite, had three weeks earlier commented that Rigg was upset by the many immigrants who came to him to appeal for jobs which in most cases did not exist. Rigg, as quoted by the paper, blamed "political immigration" for the problem. Said Rigg:

All the immigrants come to Winnipeg and are thrown down in [cast upon] the streets of Winnipeg in the hope they will find a way to earn a living. The government has enough to worry about regarding jobs for those who have been here prior.³²

If the problem proved difficult for Rigg it was even a heavier burden for his friend Saltzman. The latter was not only contesting the July election for the S.D.P., but was also the chairman of the local Hebrew Immigration Society, an organization pledged to a policy of no restriction of Jewish immigration to Canada.³³ A meeting was held in early June at the Hebrew Free School, on the corner of Flora and

³⁰The Voice, June 5, 1914.

³¹The Voice, June 5, 1914.

³²The Israelite, May 12, 1914.

³³Belkin, Through Narrow Gates, p. 48.

Charles, to "condemn" Rigg for his motion in council "asking the Dominion Government to adopt more vigorous and complete regulation of immigration."³⁴ The organizer and chairman of the meeting was Skaletar.

Saltzman was grudgingly allowed to speak, but only in his capacity as the H.I.S. chairman. After defending Rigg's position, Saltzman gave the floor to his colleague who, after a thirty minute speech, was able to "effectively silence hostile critics, to the growing discomfiture of those who had attacked him." This assessment by The Voice was somewhat optimistic, for the condemnatory motion which Skaletar pronounced as having unanimous approval, nevertheless received the sanction of about half of the audience.³⁵ Even if the vote was not unanimous, it certainly reflected some serious dissatisfaction with the Rigg and Saltzman viewpoint, and it was the latter who stood to suffer for it in the July election. Saltzman, at a meeting of the Jewish Burgher's Committee in the week preceding the election, formed specifically to aid in his election, was supported by various speakers who pointed out that many great Jews had been in the forefront of social reform. The problem boiled down to the proposition: Do you elect a party, or a Jew? Saltzman maintained that he was, above all, "a Jew, a child of his people. . . . It could be no other way, and therefore no thanks is due to him." Saltzman added that it was preferable to give Beech the Jewish vote as well.³⁶

This meeting was followed by two others on successive days. At the

³⁴The Voice, June 12, 1914.

³⁵The Voice, June 12, 1914.

³⁶The Israelite, July 6, 1914.

second meeting the theme repeated by all speakers was to elect "the only Jew" entered in the campaign. Beech, in a "quivering voice," thanked the Jewish audience for their tumultuous welcome, and Saltzman then praised the solidarity of those in attendance. He stressed that it would be in the Jewish interest to elect working class candidates, after which he was given a standing ovation.³⁷

The last gathering was "overflowing," with many obliged to "remain on the streets." At this meeting, which was attended by workers, storekeepers, peddlers and old people who had never witnessed an election campaign, the voters were urged by the speakers to disassociate themselves from dirty politicians who presumed to speak for the Jews and thus debased the ethnic group. Saltzman, they were told, was an S.D.P. and Jewish Burgher's Committee candidate who represented "the broad Jewish name." Jews, therefore, should forget the honeyed rhetoric and vote for Saltzman "as one man." Beech, Saltzman, and Louis Cherniak were the main speakers at this meeting which continued informally in the street long after its adjournment.³⁸

When the returns were in, Dixon and T. H. Johnson, both reform Liberals, had captured the Winnipeg Centre seats. Dixon's total was equal

³⁷The Israelite, July 7, 1914.

³⁸The Israelite, July 8, 1914. In the July 9 edition of The Israelite, the Jews were warned about the nine to five voting hours, the need to be registered, and the right [which many immigrants were doubtlessly unaware of] to two hours off work with pay in order to vote. The advice continued, saying that if one could not read English he should not feel ashamed. Rather, he should seek out a Yiddish, Polish, Ruthenian, etc. scrutineer who would then mark his ballot as requested. Further, voters were warned that if their ballots were marked in more than one place "your voice has been lost. . . . We should remember this well."

to the combined vote of Conservative MacArthur and George Armstrong of the S.P.C. W. H. Hoop, the S.P.C. candidate for the other constituency seat, received less than 8 per cent of the vote. The total vote difference between the winning Liberals and the Conservative runners-up in Winnipeg Centre was approximately 2,500, while the combined vote of the S.P.C. aspirants was about the same.³⁹ This prompted the Winnipeg Advance, an Elmwood community newspaper which favored the Liberals, to comment that this was "highly significant. It indicates that the Socialist vote was the real factor in Centre Winnipeg, and has attained a status and importance that must be taken into account in any political reckoning."⁴⁰

The fading Conservatives managed to hold both Winnipeg North seats, a tribute to their effective political machine among the immigrants.⁴¹ However, Saltzman and Beech, although finishing third, polled about 25 per cent of the total vote cast. The Voice had predicted that the S.D.P. would gain in strength but would fall short of victory because they had

³⁹The Parliamentary Guide, 1914, p. 442. Dixon's total of 8,205 was the combined sum of the seven men in the cabinet, while the L.R.C., S.D.P., and S.P.C. candidates received some 7,000 votes. Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba," pp. 148-149.

⁴⁰Winnipeg Advance, July 13, 1914. Orlikow says that "the government was fortunate to win in several respects. Winnipeg, which voted more for Liberal and Labour candidates, was vastly under-represented. In four seats, Labour candidates had forced three cornered contests, with the Conservative candidate winning on a split vote. It is probable that if Labour strength had not risen so markedly since 1910, the Liberals would have won. With the four seats that would not have been lost on the split vote, the Liberal party would have had twenty-five instead of twenty-one seats. The deferred elections for the northern seats would then have undoubtedly voted Liberal, so it was dominant." Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba," pp. 146; 148.

⁴¹Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba," pp. 139-141. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 337.

not officially accepted the L.R.C.'s endorsement, forecasting that "the lesson that it is imperative that the forces who wish to appeal to the electorate in opposition to the old parties must be united in their appeal is ever being read to us over afresh at each election."⁴² Still, a post-election meeting of the L.R.C. declared that "the Social Democratic party cut a big figure in the North Winnipeg election. It will be a tough job for the politicians who undertake to deny them access to the legislature in another election."⁴³

Saltzman, on the day when Dixon and Johnson were paraded to the Free Press building in a motorcade and lauded as "the elect of Winnipeg," maintained the posture of a proud man.

When it is remembered that no wealthy electors are in our party, and that we must depend for the expenses of our campaign on the gifts of the very poor, it is clear that our attempt was most successful. Our comrades of many nationalities gave us their unfaltering support. . . . I feel confident that the time is not far distant when the great success which has attended the movement of Socialism in Germany will be repeated in many other countries, including Canada.⁴⁴

The S.D.P., with the ethnic community and organized labor committed to candidate R. A. Rigg, easily elected their first representative to

⁴²The Voice, July 10, 1914.

⁴³The Voice, July 17, 1914.

⁴⁴Manitoba Free Press, July 11, 1914. Saltzman may have added, justifiably, that the polls opened at nine and closed at five on that Friday work-day. Winnipeg Tribune, July 9, 1914.

The July 13, 1914, edition of The Israelite published a letter of thanks from Saltzman to editor B. I. Goldstein. Saltzman appreciated the column space given to Social Democratic meetings since the party was too poor to afford election advertisements. Goldstein, declared Saltzman, deserved this praise having "earned it kosher." Goldstein, in an editorial, declared that the S.D.P. had as much right to contest the election as anyone else, and he was critical of the old parties' scornful attitude. After all, said Goldstein referring to the S.D.P., "everything starts off small and grows larger."

city council. Ed McGrath, polling better than one-third of the vote in the three man ward seven contest, illustrated that the political aspirations of labor and reform were at last becoming a reality, especially in Winnipeg's North End.

Seven months later, in the provincial election of 1914, the reform Liberals barely missed capturing the province. The two S.D.P. aspirants, Saltzman and Beech, lost in their bid to win Winnipeg North. Yet their support was great enough to provide them with nearly one-quarter of the constituency's vote. This accomplishment occurred despite the disintegration, between December, 1913, and July, 1914, of the entente which saw the S.D.P., L.R.C., and S.P.C. momentarily united for political action. The departure of the latter group could hardly have come as a surprise, given their history of sectarianism and non-compromise. However, the tactical error of nominating its Winnipeg North candidates without consulting with the trade unionists, although later explained as unfortunate by Saltzman and Beech, may have cost the S.D.P. some sorely-needed votes.

Perhaps the most serious issue leading to the S.D.P. losses in the 1914 provincial election was the delicate ethnic question. Besides the emotions aroused by the issue of European immigration restriction, there was the spectacle of close identification with one ethnic group. Saltzman and Beech, the latter by direct implication, were strongly suggested as being Jewish candidates, a tactic which could only detract from their true role as champions of reform socialism and organized labor. The lesson to be derived was that a minority party of the left could ill afford to betray any divisive tendencies at a time when its political credibility was still in question. The next year would prove that the experiences of 1913 and 1914 were not lost on the Social Democratic Party.

CHAPTER VIII

VICTORY IN THE NORTH END

1915

With the provincial election over, the Social Democrats, for the next six months, busied themselves with internal matters and the lately arrived world war.¹ It was at this time that young men like John Queen and Albert Abraham Heaps began to make their presence noticed in the union movement and the S.D.P., the latter as chairman of the W.T.L.C.'s Labor Day Celebration Committee and the author of a series of articles critical of the world conflict.²

¹This study will refer to World War One to the extent of providing the S.D.P.'s initial view of the matter. With Christmas approaching, the S.D.P. announced plans to begin a Social Democratic Sunday School "much along the line of those in existence in England." The S.D.P.'s Jewish local announced its plan, which didn't materialize, to publish a Yiddish newspaper as soon as possible. The S.D.P.'s Christmas message claimed that such disruptive tendencies were inspired by the war, and evinced concern over the increased danger to party unity. The Voice, December 11, 1914; December 18, 1914.

²The Voice, August 28, 1914. A. A. Heaps was an Englishman of Jewish background, born in Leeds on December 24, 1885. He came to Winnipeg in 1911. After his death, which occurred in early April of 1954 while visiting relatives in Bournemouth, the Winnipeg Free Press provided an editorial obituary which is most revealing. "Mr. Heaps was an English Socialist. Anything in the nature of revolution was as alien to him as asbestos is to fire. He came to Canada in 1911 and by 1919 had become an alderman in Ward 3. He was caught up in the General Strike of 1919--actually being arrested as a strike leader in the City Hall--and along with most of these leaders was elected in later years to public offices. Mr. Heaps was returned to Parliament for Winnipeg North in 1925 and held the seat without interruption until 1940. For the first 5 years he and his leader, Mr. Woodsworth, comprised the labor party. He later joined the C.C.F.

"With advancing years, Mr. Heaps moved steadily away from the socialist position and tended to become a small 'l' liberal. He was a sound debater, not given to purple passages nor to reliance upon emotions, but with a strong grasp of facts and an awareness of history." The editorial then provides a glimpse of Heaps's private life as an

It was during this time that alderman Rigg proposed an amendment to a council motion dealing with wartime aid to the Empire. At Rigg's suggestion the words "sending of men and money" were replaced in the brief to be sent to the federal government. The phrase would now read "material assistance." Rigg's British roots were showing despite this attempt to water-down the specific nature of the motion. As well, mindful of the immigrant ward which had elected him, Rigg expressed the

upholsterer (his trade), painter, and woodworker who repaired the old Prime Minister's chair in the East Block of Parliament. This he presented to W. L. M. King, and it was subsequently used by Mr. St. Laurent.

"After his defeat Mr. Heaps did part time consultative work for the Federal Government. He acted with success as a conciliator in labor disputes during the war. But failing health prevented him from being active in business or in public life.

"Far from being a rabble rouser, Mr. Heaps was a man whose life was concerned chiefly with art and books and the crafts of which he was a master." Winnipeg Free Press, April 6, 1954. Leo, one of Mr. Heaps's two sons, recently published a biography of his father. Leo Heaps, The Rebel in the House (London: Niccola Publishing, 1970).

John Queen was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland, on February 11, 1882, emigrating to Western Canada in 1906. "For 30 years, starting with his first election as city alderman [S.D.P.] in 1916, until his defeat in the Winnipeg mayoralty election by Garnet Coulter in 1942, he was a prominent and at times powerful figure in Manitoba public life.

"He was seven times mayor of the city. For more than 20 years he was one of the Winnipeg labor members of the Manitoba Legislature, first elected in 1920 and defeated in 1941."

Queen was a member of the strike committee during Winnipeg's General Strike in 1919, and was arrested with the other leaders. He was sentenced to one year in prison for his part in the alleged seditious conspiracy. "While serving his term he was elected as member of the Legislature in the general election of 1920. His term had not expired when the Legislature met."

The Winnipeg Tribune, in detailing Queen's busy career as an elected representative, describes him as keeping his "unwavering faith in the labor and socialist movement." Queen "talked the simple language of the masses," and "although not a lawyer . . . few members of the Legislature had greater capacity for appraising effects of new legislation. He interpreted the law from the viewpoint of the humanitarian and in this respect, although always aggressive and insistent, he was much less radical than in the early years when he was an alderman of the city council." Winnipeg Tribune, July 15, 1946.

hope that the authorities would not become infected with "war fever" and persecute Winnipeg's European nationalities, noting that nothing had yet been done at this very early date.³

In late September, in a move which appears to have contradicted Rigg's moderate council amendment on war aid, the S.D.P. issued a manifesto to Canadian workers "calling upon them to refrain from lending any assistance in the carrying on of the war in Europe." This declaration was a reaction to the recent action of the well-represented S.D.P. group in the German Reichstag. The German S.D.P., in a position of being damned regardless of the course which they would take on the issue, voted for the war estimates "stipulating only that [the war] should be terminated at the first opportunity."⁴ The Winnipeg local advanced the opinion that the war was merely killing off workers in the name of Christ and capitalism,⁵ with Fred Tipping writing a piece on "recent industrial profits in England."⁶

In early December, with Saltzman briefly out of the city as well as Rigg, Arthur Beech, with the Rev. J. S. Woodsworth as chairman, spoke to a pre-civic election People's Forum on the growth of the Social

³The Voice, August 14, 1914. Rigg, with no election to contest in 1914, busied himself with attending such events as the founding of a Newsboys' Union at boisterous meetings in the Royal Theatre and Trades Hall. The organization seemed to be an amalgam of Jewish "dead-end kids" from the North End, the seminal meetings presided over by the S.D.P.'s H. A. Geller. In November Rigg attended the A.F.L. convention in Philadelphia, addressing that body on the desirability of international unionism. The Voice, August 28, 1914; September 4, 1914; November 14, 1914.

⁴The Voice, September 25, 1914.

⁵The Voice, October 2, 1914; October 16, 1914.

⁶The Voice, November 13, 1914.

Democratic movement, following which he warned that any post-war economic advances would only be short-term ones because "nothing beneficial was to be expected from reforms."⁷

The civic election of December 11 was uncontested by the S.D.P. In ward five, The Voice explained, alderman Skaletar could pass muster with the labor movement "by his establishing the Free Employment Bureau, giving the police a day off, and numerous other improvements."⁸

Skaletar was an "easy winner" over his opponents, Taras Ferley and M. W. Triller, in an election marked by the usual chicanery.⁹ The Voice noted that "a glance at the great disparity in the voting at some of the polls . . . demonstrates accurately how matters stood on election day."¹⁰ The

Winnipeg Tribune pointed out that, although the polls were open in the evening, many religious Jews would not vote in the Friday election, and that many Ukrainians were now employed "daily" and could not vote until after six.¹¹ One week later The Voice termed it unfortunate that the factor of nationality had been projected into the North End at election time, being "most untimely in view of the war which involves so many

⁷The Voice, December 11, 1914.

⁸Winnipeg Tribune, December 9, 1914.

⁹Winnipeg Tribune, December 14, 1914. The law applicable to wards five and six, the "foreign" districts, held that illiterate ratepayers could allow the returning officer to enter the booth and mark the ballot as instructed. However, "certain scrutineers, especially in ward five, objected to this proceeding. 'There is no check on the integrity of the returning officer,' they claimed. It was explained that this was the law, and although they had to be content, they were far from satisfied." Winnipeg Tribune, December 11, 1914.

¹⁰The Voice, December 18, 1914.

¹¹Winnipeg Tribune, December 11, 1914.

nationalities."¹² The S.D.P. was clearly disturbed by this problem.

Certain sections of the Social-Democratic Party have been condemned because of their nationalist attitude, but . . . it can truly be said of the Social-Democrats of Canada and Winnipeg that we have led the way in condemnation of the war and in education of the working class as to its cause and folly.¹³

The Ukrainian section was indeed intensely concerned with the question of nationalism.

Coming from a nation . . . whose territories were partitioned and the people oppressed by foreign imperialists, and living in Canada together with people of many national origins, they could not ignore that problem. Disregard of the national question, which was characteristic of many social-democrats of that time, couldn't satisfy people who were still . . . of the flesh of Ukrainian people struggling for freedom in their homeland. . . . There was also the question of . . . groups and papers in the Ukrainian community itself, which sought to win support by appeals to nationalistic feelings and prejudices.¹⁴

The Montreal convention of the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats had, on January 31, 1914, passed a resolution by referendum which upheld the principle of "national freedom" for the Ukraine "in order the more rapidly to organize the Ukrainian working people and together, in fraternal unity with all nations under the banner of Social-Democracy, to overthrow the capitalist system."¹⁵ Winnipeg's Rabochy Narod was, by a resolution of the F.U.S.D., placed under the official ownership of that body, and, at a convention of the Ontario and Quebec sections in the spring, a resolution was adopted renaming the F.U.S.D.

¹²The Voice, December 18, 1914.

¹³The Voice, December 18, 1914.

¹⁴Weir, "The Flaming Torch," p. 13.

¹⁵Ib. id.

the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Canada.¹⁶ Thus, the Ukrainian section managed to find, through compromise on the nationalist question, an acceptable rationale for supporting the S.D.P.

As indicated in the previous chapter the Jews, in general, were concerned with Rigg's proposed temporary reduction in immigration. In February of 1915, The Voice published a letter from a J. Richmond who maintained that Rigg's position was not part of his 1913 election platform, and that "hard times" did not justify restriction because this implied that working men were competitors, not brothers. Richmond's conclusion was that "almost all the north enders are opposed to restricted immigration and the Israelite voiced the sentiments and opinions not of the Jews only, but of the other nationalities as well."¹⁷

Rigg, with reference to his speech to the A.F.L. in November, 1914, replied that he was opposed to capitalist "induced immigration" and that his ward five candidacy emanated from a sense of duty rather than personal ambition.

With the news of the scandal which would finish the Roblin era still a month away, the S.D.P. had seemingly emerged from the contentious nationalist and immigration issues with its immigrant support largely intact. The subsequent disclosures, regarding the provincial government's connection with the Legislative Building's contractor in the misfeasance of public money, could only aid the political cause of the Liberals, the L.R.C., and the S.D.P.

The growing unemployment problem was perhaps the issue which was

¹⁶My discussion with Jack Tymochek provided this additional information.

¹⁷The Voice, February 5, 1915.

most responsible for uniting the S.D.P. and the L.R.C. with the immigrant peoples of the North End. Following a morning demonstration of 12,000 people at city hall on April 19, council unanimously passed Rigg's motion that it bring to the attention of the two senior levels of government the necessity to cooperate in the alleviation of "acute unemployment" among "a large portion" of people in Winnipeg and district.¹⁸ This and other mass protests were backed by the S.D.P., the W.T.L.C., and the S.P.C.¹⁹

Socialist unity was, as in years past, a continuing problem. On New Years Day of 1915 Arthur Beech wrote that reforms, although not socialism, were useful if they "tend to perfect . . . society and become more and more collective in their application. . . . As far as the Social-Democratic movement in Winnipeg is concerned, I think it can fairly be said reform has been kept in a subordinate position and the propaganda in the main has been straight socialism."²⁰ In a later article Beech made a plea to "close up the ranks,"²¹ and in yet another call for "unity" the S.P.C., S.D.P., Single Taxers [Dixon], and L.R.C. were urged to maintain solidarity amid differences.

They all believe they have the truth, and believing this should not concede one iota to anyone. The curse of the Socialist movement, or any for that matter, is compromise. A friendly fight is a sign of life--of vitality.²²

This attitude would meet no heavy opposition from the local union movement but the S.P.C., their frequent nemesis, would prove to be an-

¹⁸The Voice, April 23, 1915.

¹⁹The Voice, May 21, 1915; May 28, 1915; July 9, 1915.

²⁰The Voice, January 1, 1915.

²¹The Voice, February 12, 1915.

²²The Voice, March 15, 1915.

other matter. Following Roblin's resignation on May 12 in favor of the Norris Liberals, election preparations became the topic of prime concern. Within a week the S.P.C. announced its intention to contest Winnipeg Centre when Hoop, "making the welkin ring and roar" at "the Socialist corner" of Market Square, declared himself ready to fight "to the finish."²³

Puzzled by the logic of Hoop's argument, The Voice commented:

He was not there to ask for or advocate reform. . . . What they wanted was Revolution, and so on, and so on, and so on, and then some more, in which it was explained that the campaign was for educational purposes. The vote of an ordinary reformer, Liberal, Labor, Single Taxer, or what not, was not wanted.

What a strange way, or shall we say, insane way, to open a political campaign, if that is what it is.

.

The contradictions between their verbal contempt for the daily struggles of the workers and their desire for trade union office and seats in elected assemblies were never resolved by the leaders of the S.P.C.; indeed, they never showed recognition of the need to resolve it.²⁴

The Voice did not deny that public speaking was important to the labor movement. All the more reason, the union people felt, for the S.P.C. to revise "their stuff" and "bring it up to date," for "it is a mistake to suppose that the man who does not agree with you is a fool. Socialist soap-boxers have done more harm to their cause by eternally dwelling on

²³The Voice, May 21, 1915.

²⁴The Voice, May 21, 1915. The article went on: "Let it be added that most of them utilized their election campaigns to popularize Marxism as they understood it. For example, Charlie O'Brien, elected to the Alberta legislature in 1909 by the miners of the Crow's Nest Pass, proclaimed himself a revolutionary socialist in every campaign speech and, wrongly, emphasized almost solely his opinion that the workers could achieve nothing by electing him or anything else."

the A B C of their philosophy than they realize."²⁵

The S.D.P., seeing the impending election as "a chance for the workers," admitted that the Social Democrats could not promise that a few socialists in public office would influence the establishment of the "Cooperative Commonwealth." They could, however, "expose to ridicule the antics of the capitalist legislators as they try to still further entrench the capitalist class behind the laws of the Province while they hand sops to the workers. But it is little more than this that they can do in the House. Outside the House they will be the paid propagandists of Socialism . . . to the working class."²⁶

Such an admission by an S.D.P. spokesman at least indicated an appreciation for the behaviour of their S.P.C. cousins. The reverse was not to be. Shortly after his nomination by the S.D.P. to contest Winnipeg North "B", and his subsequent endorsement by the L.R.C. (Arthur Beech would contest the ward's "A" seat), Rigg became involved in a feud with Hoop.²⁷

²⁵The Voice, May 21, 1915.

²⁶The Voice, June 25, 1915. Although there was "growing dissatisfaction with the labour legislation of the Manitoba government," a student of the period notes that with regard to the revamping of the Workman's Compensation Act in 1910, the W.T.L.C. proclaimed that "The Manitoba Act excels all other Canadian compensation acts in the number of men to which the act applies." This act was evidently in a class by itself, for the Factories Act and the Shops Act were "poorly enforced," and in the former case was administered by a part-time head inspector.

Even with the announcement of the Conservatives, in late 1914, that they would establish a Bureau of Labor, "general labour sympathy did not move closer to the Conservative party." Downward revisions in the provincial fair wage schedule, in some cases without consulting the trades concerned, and the suspension of all government public works at the war's commencement which left "many workers unemployed and without relief from the government," served to antagonize organized labor. Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba," pp. 76-80; 152.

²⁷The Voice, July 2, 1915; July 16, 1915.

Hoop, in a "North End" speech, vilified Rigg as a "labor fakir and a tool of the capitalist class" whose election would merely allow him to "prepare legislation to submit to the capitalist class."²⁸ Rigg, somewhat angered and definitely annoyed, demanded that fellow-unionist Hoop substantiate, deny, or withdraw his charges at the next W.T.L.C. meeting. Hoop conceded that his charges were "based on hearsay," but he informed Rigg that since the day he had left the S.P.C. he had known that the party would "fight him with drawn sword whenever the opportunity offered."²⁹

As it turned out, the S.P.C. placed no candidates in Winnipeg North, instead choosing to run George Armstrong in Winnipeg Centre in the hope of repeating their 1910 role as Dixon's spoiler. This, said The Voice, was the typical behaviour of a group which stood "squarely in the political pathway of the working class."³⁰ Dixon, to no one's surprise, retained his seat by a margin of 4,555 votes, three times his majority

²⁸The Voice, July 2, 1915.

²⁹The Voice, July 16, 1915. This issue of The Voice referred to Hoop's activity against Rigg in the 1911 federal election, when he "had led a delegation to J. H. Ashdown, [losing] Liberal candidate, with certain requests bearing the inferences that he would support him."

³⁰The Voice, July 23, 1915. Dixon's ten point progressive platform, which included something for everyone, opened with a call for Direct Legislation and closed with the Single Tax. The latter provision lost him the support of the L.R.C. Receiving Liberal support, Dixon's programme encompassed the yearnings of every reform group; from temperance to home rule for Winnipeg in purely local matters, from equal suffrage to compulsory education in a national school system, and the public ownership of all public utilities. The document demanded the transfer of the public domain to the province and conservation of mines, forest, water power and all other natural resources. Finally there were included two planks aimed at the wage-earner; the opposition to all public aid to private business, and "adequate" factory legislation which would include the "restriction" of child labor and the "enforcement" of the fair wage clause in government contracts with "preferences to union labor."

in 1914. With the S.P.C. no doubt in mind, The Voice quipped: "The people of Winnipeg Centre are certainly being educated."³¹

The platform of the S.D.P. candidates in the Winnipeg North constituency wisely excluded the temperance and national schools issues, and the Single Tax panacea was ignored in favor of "the collective ownership of the means of life," "the production of wealth for use instead of profit," and the "abolition of the wage system. . . ." Aside from these expedient and ideological exceptions, it resembled Dixon's document in every important particular.³²

Rigg and Beech tallied 2,377 and 2,235 votes respectively, good enough for a winning majority of 218 in the former case but resulting in a deficit of 223 in the latter. Beech, in losing, still split thirty polls with Liberal winner Lowery, with only two going to Conservative loser Foley. Rigg won eighteen polls in "B", the Liberal incumbent Green sixteen, with none going to the trailing Conservative Levinson. The Conservatives lost badly in both sections, neither man attaining 25 per cent of the vote cast.³³

The Manitoba Free Press found "remarkable the Rigg defeat of S. Hart Green and E. R. Levinson, because this constituency has always been considered a Hebrew stronghold."³⁴ Elmwood's Winnipeg Advance viewed Green's loss as "a beacon light on a dark night,"³⁵ while The Voice noted Rigg's

³¹The Voice, August 13, 1915. Dixon won all but two of the 61 polls as an "Independent Progressive" supported by the Liberals. Winnipeg Tribune, August 7, 1915.

³²The Voice, July 23, 1915.

³³Winnipeg Tribune, August 7, 1915.

³⁴Manitoba Free Press, August 7, 1915.

³⁵Winnipeg Advance, August 7, 1915.

victory as "most striking."³⁶ The Israelite, despite its differences with Rigg over the question of immigration restriction, had nothing but praise for the new M.P.P. It reported Rigg's victory speech to an S.D.P. gathering at the Grand Theatre, to a largely Jewish audience, as "heartfelt."³⁷

Foley, the losing Conservative in Beech's section, pointed to the North End disaster as primarily the result of that party's "prohibition plank," for although polling "as large an English-speaking vote as . . . last year, the Ruthenian vote, which gave us a big majority in July, 1914, went solid for the Socialists."³⁸

If the Tories were victims of "the wrack and ruin wrought by the political holocaust,"³⁹ the liberals, particularly S. Hart Green, claimed to have suffered in the North End because this was not a "straight issue" election.⁴⁰ Green was being unfair to Rigg, for besides the liquor and education questions, there were enough bread-and-butter issues to exploit in those days of economic and social hardship. As the Winnipeg Advance

³⁶The Voice, August 13, 1915. On August 6, The Voice reported that Green had been running a purposely inconsistent campaign, for his "foreign language" circulars spoke in favor of bilingual schools and promised winter work, both of which were excluded from "English circulars."

³⁷The Israelite, August 16, 1915. Rigg, with Saltzman in the chair, stressed that the Social Democratic movement transcended Manitoba, Canada, and particular nationalities, for it applied itself to the working classes of all oppressed nations. He described the Czarist regime as "bloody," whose "iron hand" should be fought by all peoples, particularly the Jews. Canadians, said Rigg, should pressure the Czar to do justice to all oppressed peoples, as this would bring a "faster freeing" of the Jewish people.

³⁸Winnipeg Advance, August 7, 1915.

³⁹Winnipeg Advance, August 7, 1915.

⁴⁰Manitoba Free Press, August 7, 1915.

saw it, "the North Winnipeg candidates, especially Alderman Rigg, conducted a vigorous campaign" that brought "grist to their mill."⁴¹ The Tribune, providing the details, gave Rigg full value for his triumph. He was somewhat inaccurately described as "a Socialist through and through," but more correctly characterized as a man with "force of personality, judgement and brains, [who] appeared in numerous delegations to the government on behalf of labor, and also on woman suffrage. He fought the public accounts committee during the last session, upon the graduated scale of salaries introduced into the parliament buildings contract after the contract was let."⁴²

Even the Free Press had given notice that the Social Democrats were fully deserving of any success, having addressed twenty-five meetings during the last ten days of the campaign, "everyone of which has been attended by enthusiastic audiences."⁴³ In an editorial on "Mr. Rigg's Election," the Tribune described the victor as "a stalwart independent, untrammelled by any [old party] affiliation or pledges which might obligate him to any line of conduct inimical to the public interest."⁴⁴ Rigg did of course have party ties, but not of the sort which would bare him to corruption. Also, he was but a lone Social Democrat and staunch unionist among a plethora of Liberals, 39 out of a House of 45 members, who were not dependent on his support. The remaining portion of the editorial was entirely on the mark:

⁴¹ Winnipeg Advance, August 7, 1915.

⁴² Winnipeg Tribune, August 5, 1915.

⁴³ Manitoba Free Press, August 5, 1915.

⁴⁴ Winnipeg Tribune, August 9, 1915.

The election of Ald. R. A. Rigg to a seat in the legislature is an event of some importance in our development. . . . During the years which Mr. Rigg has been before the public in an official and semi-official capacity, he has impressed The Tribune as a man of good sense and wise moderation and of real sincerity. He gives the impression of a man earnestly desirous of assisting his fellow man and elevating and bettering the human race. He ought to prove a distinct acquisition to the public life of the province.⁴⁵

Foley and Levinson, the vanquished North End Tory hopefuls, predicted that Rigg "will be . . . one of the strongest men in the House, and will, no doubt, be able to do a lot in the interests of the working man."⁴⁶

It must have been heartening to Rigg's supporters, especially to his Jewish compatriot Herman Saltzman, to partake in a victory procession down Portage Avenue in a more proletarian style than Dixon's a year earlier. "An express wagon, loaded to the breaking point with men, led this parade, and following on foot were several hundred men carrying red banners and rudely painted signs."⁴⁷

Likely mindful of their defeat in 1914, the S.D.P. contested the 1915 provincial election with the full endorsement of organized labor. They were able, fortunately for them, to avoid the problem of immigration policy largely because of the outbreak of the First World War the previous August. The situation of rising unemployment can only be interpreted as beneficial to the S.D.P. cause.

It was important that Rigg, not Saltzman, was given the North End nomination with Beech. Rigg was not only a well-known and respected trade union moderate, but was also the party's aldermanic incumbent.

⁴⁵ Winnipeg Tribune, August 9, 1915.

⁴⁶ Winnipeg Advance, August 7, 1915.

⁴⁷ Manitoba Free Press, August 7, 1915.

Both candidates, being Anglo-Saxon, offered the disparate and often bickering immigrant electors the choice of voting for class candidates who would neither favor nor threaten any ethnic group. Rigg's city council success in 1913 echoes the efficacy of this contention. Even so, the S.D.P. only managed a split victory in the North End. While it is a fact that Beech lost narrowly, it is equally true that the very popular Rigg won his seat by a similarly close margin. Of course, Rigg faced the difficult task of being involved, unlike 1913, in a three-cornered election with a now powerful reform Liberal party which had only recently formed a government. Finally, whereas Rigg's aldermanic victory in ward five had been achieved in the core of the immigrant section, the constituency of Winnipeg North included wards six and seven as well, thus providing a more varied social and economic voter distribution.

Perhaps most important to the S.D.P. victory in provincial politics was the peaking of the reform movement in both city and province under the Liberal banner. The election of 1914 had foreshadowed the Conservative's demise, and the disclosures of financial misfeasance early in the following year merely nailed down the lid on the Tory coffin. Rigg's victory represented organized labor's piece of the reform pie, but it might just as easily have gone the other way. One may say, using the advantage of hindsight, that the early victory of the party of democratic socialism and organized labor was encouraging but not yet decisive. The social and economic dislocations of the war, the Russian Revolution, and the mad aftermath of both, would test the city's labor movement as never before. This, however, is to anticipate an entirely new set of factors.

CONCLUSION

Prior to 1900, Winnipeg was not much more than a large frontier town. In the next fifteen years immigration from the British Isles, the United States, Eastern Canada, and Eastern and Central Europe swelled the population of Winnipeg and Western Canada. With this population growth came an equally spectacular boom in agriculture, industry, and the urbanized society, complete with the social stresses that seem to accompany periods of rapid flux.

Winnipeg's trade union movement was dominated by the craft-oriented Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council throughout the period. Despite its relatively quick expansion, the political arms of the city's organized labor movement had little success in winning the votes of the wage-earner until the last three years of the period. It did, however, see the beginning of labor representation, as well as the establishment of an excellent labor newspaper in the middle 1890's.

Winnipeg's socialist movement must be considered as a more or less radical section of the city's union organization, but the general trend was toward moderate or democratic socialism.

The Socialist Party of Manitoba developed between 1900 and 1902, a direct descendent of the Canadian Socialist League which was based in industrial Ontario and for a short while had a local in Winnipeg. Similar to the C.S.L., the S.P.M. was a moderate organization which emphasized social reform, gradual revolution, and cooperation with organized labor. Their brand of socialism seemed to be a mixture of Christian ethics, social reform, and independent political action. Attempts at electoral victory, in concert with the trade unionists,

proved fruitless.

By the end of 1904 the socialists in Manitoba joined with the Socialist Party of British Columbia to form the Socialist Party of Canada. Some three years later the S.P.C. found itself in an increasingly unpopular position in both areas of the West. The reason for this was that the S.P.C. came under the control of the radical and uncompromising socialists on the west coast. Ideologically, the S.P.C. appeared as an impossibilist organization of millennialist Marxists awaiting the inevitable collapse of capitalism.

Around 1907, the socialists among the continental Europeans who had been flocking to Western Canada since the late 1890's, lent their support to the reversal of the Socialist party's other-worldly stance. In Winnipeg they worked toward this task in cooperation with those moderate trade unionists of socialist persuasion.

The concerns of this growing group of moderate socialists were revolution by means of the ballot, social reforms as part of the day-to-day struggle of the working class to better their living and occupational conditions, and a combined faith in the parliamentary successes of the labor movement in Britain and the social democrats in Germany. The breach between the Socialist Party of Canada and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, made official at three successive national trade union conventions beginning with 1906, went unappreciated by the Winnipeg possibilists, as did the S.P.C.'s refusal to join the International.

The provincial election of 1910 proved to be the last straw. The Socialist Party of Canada, with the obvious intention of scuttling a non-socialist reform candidate in Winnipeg Centre, alienated a large section of their Winnipeg adherents. Of the alienated, the foreign

language locals, mainly Ukrainian and Jewish, decided to establish a socialist movement more to their liking and responsive to their desire for a measure of ethnic-group autonomy within a general party.

Following the bitterness engendered by the election, and echoing the decision of some disaffected British Columbia socialists in 1908, a Social Democratic Party was established in Winnipeg. With the Social Democratic Party of Canada an accomplished fact by the end of 1911, the moderate roots of socialism in Winnipeg were reaffirmed. Besides the stout support which it received from its foreign language locals, the Social Democratic revisionists, i.e. those who would modify Marxism according to the political and economic realities of early twentieth century liberal democracy, produced leaders from the ranks of the Anglo-Saxon dominated Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council. More than ever the principles of the ballot, trade union cooperation and dual membership, and reforms for the working man were at the fore. After forays into the political arena at the federal and local levels failed between 1910 and 1912, the Social Democrat alliance with the unionists finally tasted success in the 1913 civic election.

Winnipeg's ward five, an area of immigrants, poverty, and workers, provided the setting for the victory. By 1914 the lately regenerated reform Liberals of Manitoba were peaking in their drive to consolidate the various reform groups in Winnipeg and the province. The bloom of the great boom had begun to fade after 1912, and this did not help the aged and corrupt Conservative regime which had ruled since 1900. In 1915, after missing narrowly the previous year, the Liberals were swept to power due to a variety of circumstances, which included political scandal, economic depression, and a moral surge characteristic of that

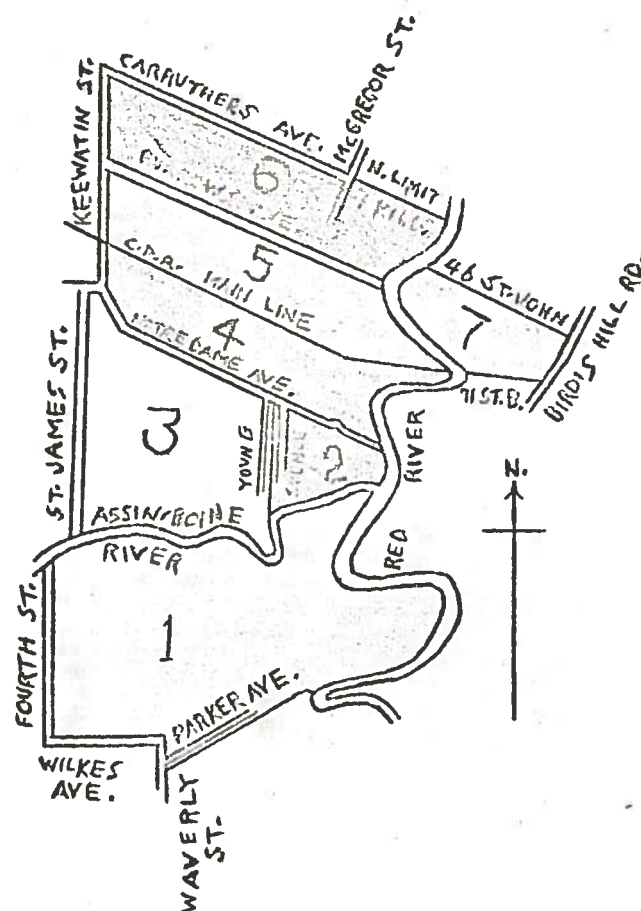
era in Canadian-American society.

The socialist (Social Democratic Party)-unionist alderman resigned his council seat and successfully contested the constituency of Winnipeg North. A compatriot narrowly missed winning the other seat in the two member constituency. The victor, an Englishman, defeated two Jewish old party candidates in the process. He was, of course, supported by the foreign language locals of the Social Democratic Party.

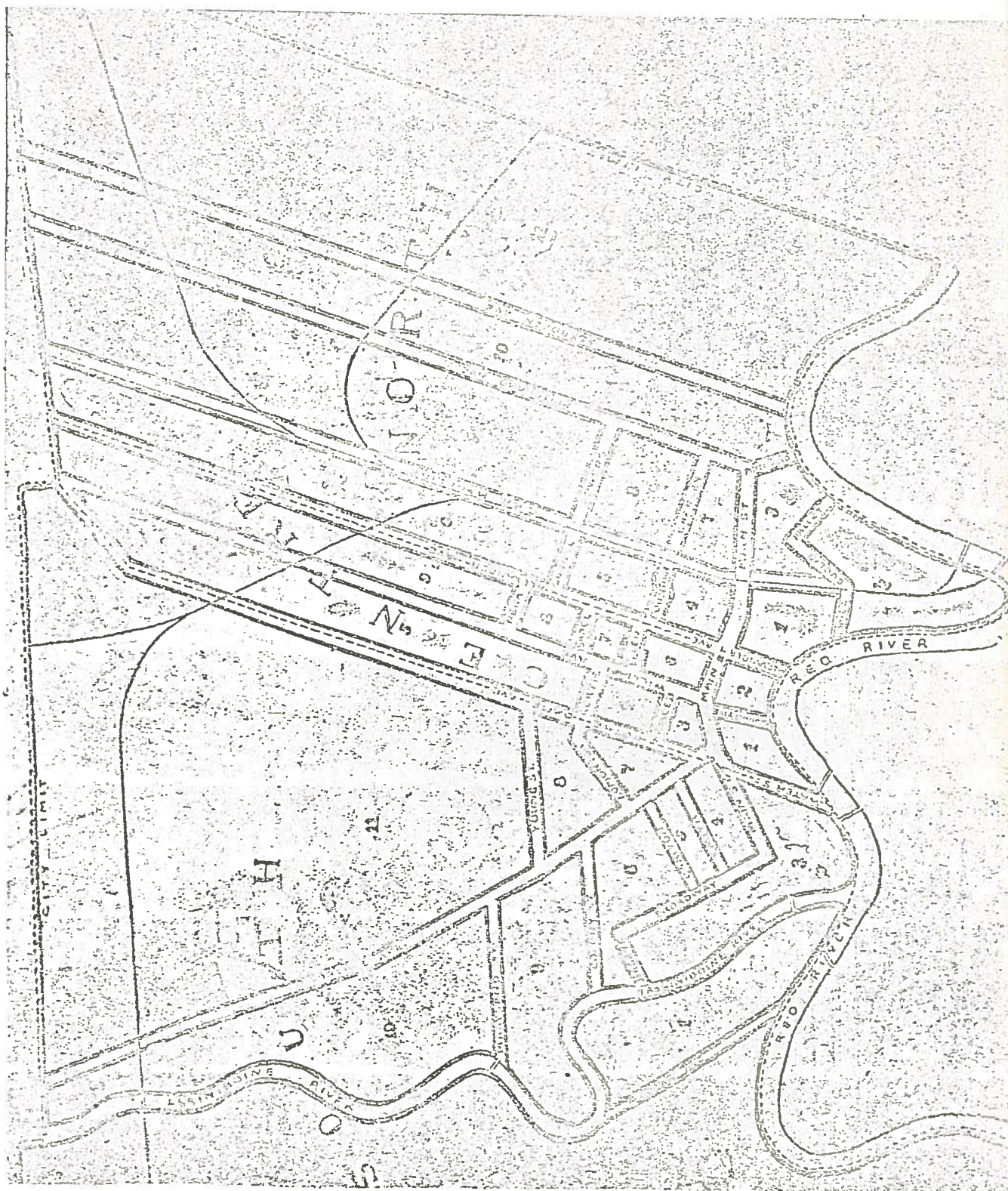
Despite the growth and early electoral successes of the democratic socialist movement, it appealed only to a small segment of Winnipeg labor and depended heavily on the North End's immigrant vote. The weakness of the movement is reflected in the divisions within organized labor and the ethnic community. These hard-core supportive groups were themselves far from united. Organized labor was beset by rivalry between radicals and moderates; while the ethnic community, including its socialist minority, was split in terms of nationalistic pride and long-abiding hatreds.

Concerning the socialist movement itself, 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 1890's, and the trend continued into the following generation and the fifty years following the First World War.

A P P E N D I X

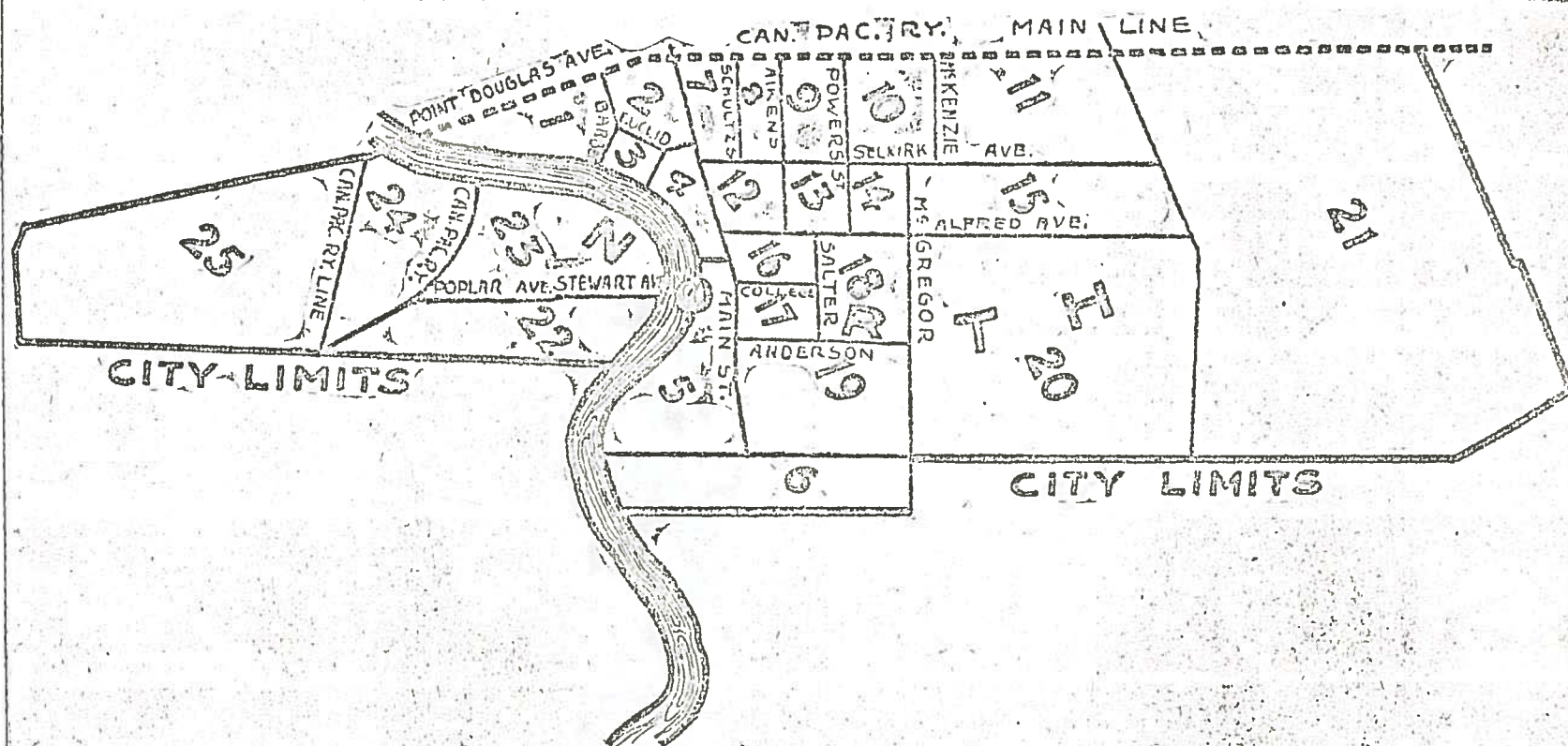


THE WINNIPEG
WARD SYSTEM
TO 1920



WINNIPEG CONSTITUENCIES
IN THE 1903
PROVINCIAL ELECTION

WHERE TO VOTE IN NORTH WINNIPEG



The following are the polling booths or North Winnipeg:

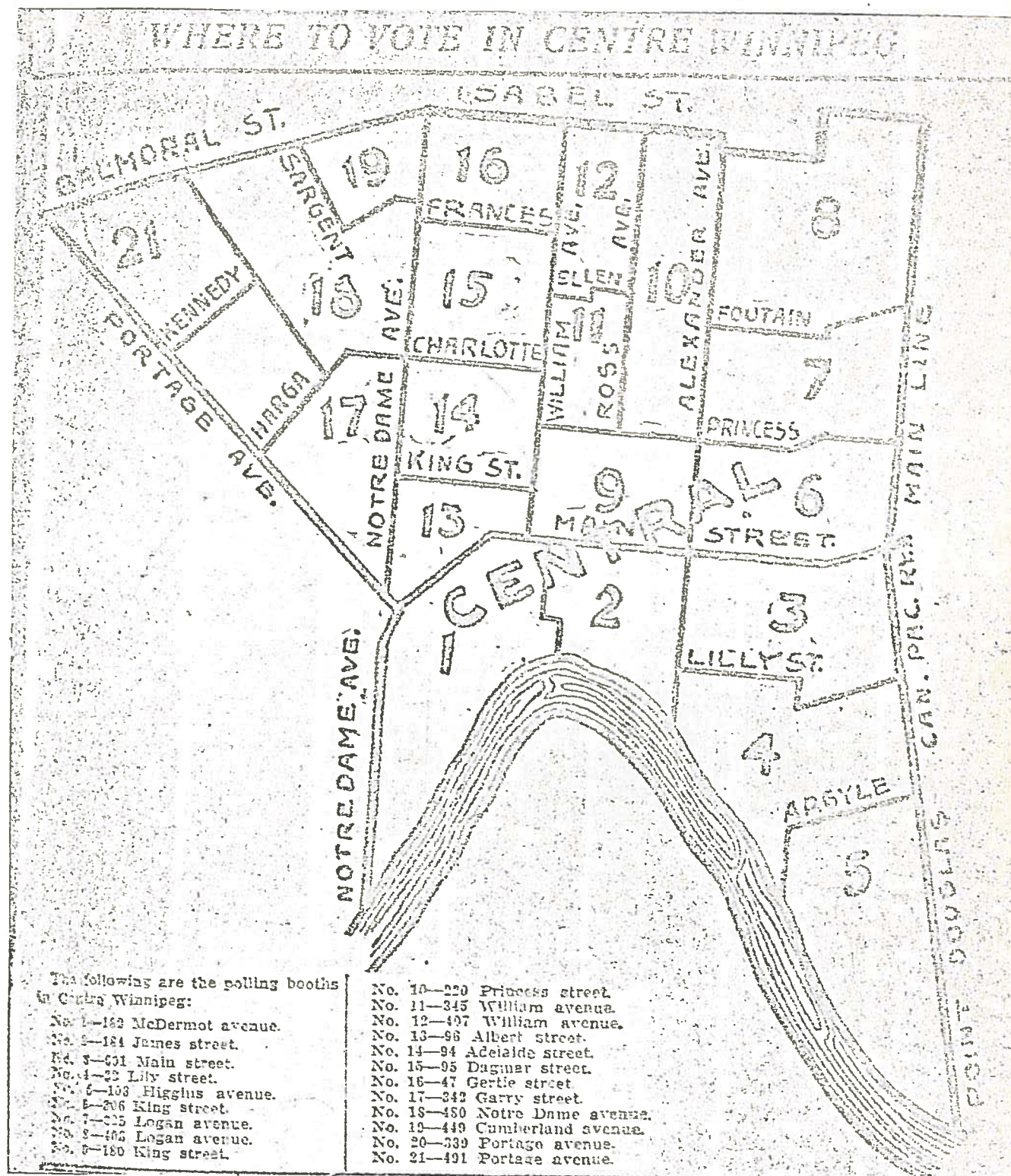
- No. 1—167 Gomez street.
- No. 2—155 Meade street.
- No. 3—71 Hallett street.
- No. 4—901 Main street.
- No. 5—181 Banuerman street.

- No. 6—1477 Main street.
- No. 7—210 Jarvis avenue.
- No. 8—60 Robinson street.
- No. 9—412 Dufferin avenue.
- No. 10—598 Stella avenue.
- No. 11—728 Stella avenue.
- No. 12—140 Charles street.

- No. 13—420 Manitoba avenue.
- No. 14—497 Selkirk avenue.
- No. 15—685 Selkirk avenue.
- No. 16—196 Aberdeen avenue.
- No. 17—277 Mountain avenue.
- No. 18—493 Colloge avenue.
- No. 19—365 Atlantic avenue.
- No. 20—610 Anderson avenue.

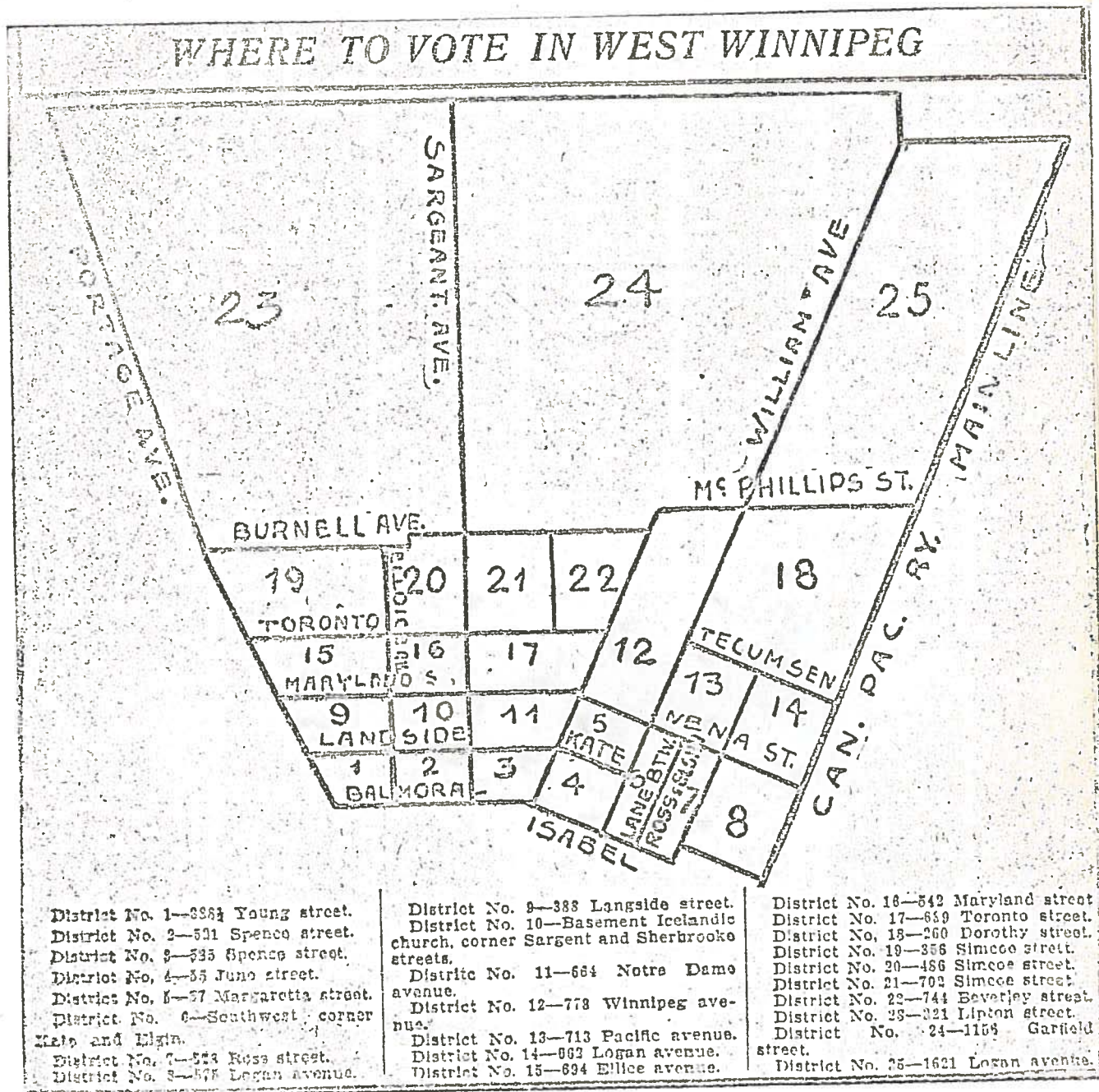
- No. 21—1259 Selkirk avenue.
- No. 22—Hayes' grocery store Chalmers avenue.
- No. 23—McPhail's office, Levis avenue.
- No. 24—342 Nairn avenue.
- No. 25—Cameron corner and Carter streets.

WINNIPEG NORTH:
THE 1910 PROVINCIAL
ELECTION



**WINNIPEG CENTRE:
THE 1910 PROVINCIAL
ELECTION**

WHERE TO VOTE IN WEST WINNIPEG



WINNIPEG WEST:
THE 1910 PROVINCIAL
ELECTION

CITY LIMITS

No. 1—368 Broadway.	No. 4—273 Garry street.
No. 2—311 Main street.	No. 5—322 St. Mary's avenue.
No. 3—196 Smith street.	No. 6—366 Portage avenue.

No. 7—420 Portage avenue.
No. 8—554 Portage avenue.
No. 9—612 Portage avenue.

DISTRICTS:

- No. 10—21 Osborne st.
- No. 11—174 Edgar ave.
- No. 12—779 Broadview ave.
- No. 13—277 Linton ave.
- No. 14—381 River ave.
- No. 15—116 River ave.
- No. 16—103 Osborn ave.
- No. 17—163 Osborn ave.
- No. 18—169 Osborn ave.
- No. 19—250 Nassau ave.
- No. 20—250 Mosley ave.
- No. 21—397 Corydon ave.
- No. 22—Corner of Gordon and Cambridge street.

CITY LIMITS

No. 1—368 Broadway.	No. 4—273 Garry street.
No. 2—311 Main street.	No. 5—322 St. Mary's avenue.
No. 3—196 Smith street.	No. 6—366 Portage avenue.

No. 7—420 Portage avenue.
No. 8—554 Portage avenue.
No. 9—612 Portage avenue.

DISTRICTS:
 No. 10—21 Osborne
 No. 11—174 Broadview
 No. 12—779 Broadview
 No. 13—277 Linton
 No. 14—381 River road
 No. 15—116 River road
 No. 16—103 River road
 No. 17—163 River road
 No. 18—169 Osbornes
 No. 19—250 Nassau street
 No. 20—250 Mosley avenue
 No. 21—397 Corridor area
 No. 22—Corner of Gordon and Cambridge street.

STREETS AND LOCATIONS:
 AMELIA ST.
 HUGO ST.
 PEMBINA ROAD
 ASSINIBOINE RIVER
 ARLETON ST.
 MARYLAND ST.
 LANGFORD ST.
 CORCORAN ST.
 OSBORNE ST.
 CAMBRIDGE ST.
 GORDON ST.

DISTRICT NUMBERS ON MAP: 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22

CITY LIMITS

No. 1—368 Broadway.	No. 4—273 Garry street.
No. 2—311 Main street.	No. 5—322 St. Mary's avenue.
No. 3—196 Smith street.	No. 6—366 Portage avenue.

No. 7—420 Portage avenue.
No. 8—554 Portage avenue.
No. 9—612 Portage avenue.

DISTRICTS:
 No. 10—21 Osborne st.
 No. 11—174 Broadview ave.
 No. 12—779 Broadview ave.
 No. 13—277 Linton st.
 No. 14—381 River ave.
 No. 15—116 River ave.
 No. 16—103 Osborn st.
 No. 17—163 Osborn st.
 No. 18—169 Osborn st.
 No. 19—250 Nassau street.
 No. 20—250 Mosley avenue.
 No. 21—397 Corydon ave.
 No. 22—Corner of Gordon and Cambridge street.

CITY LIMITS

No. 1—368 Broadway.	No. 4—273 Garry street.
No. 2—311 Main street.	No. 5—322 St. Mary's avenue.
No. 3—196 Smith street.	No. 6—366 Portage avenue.

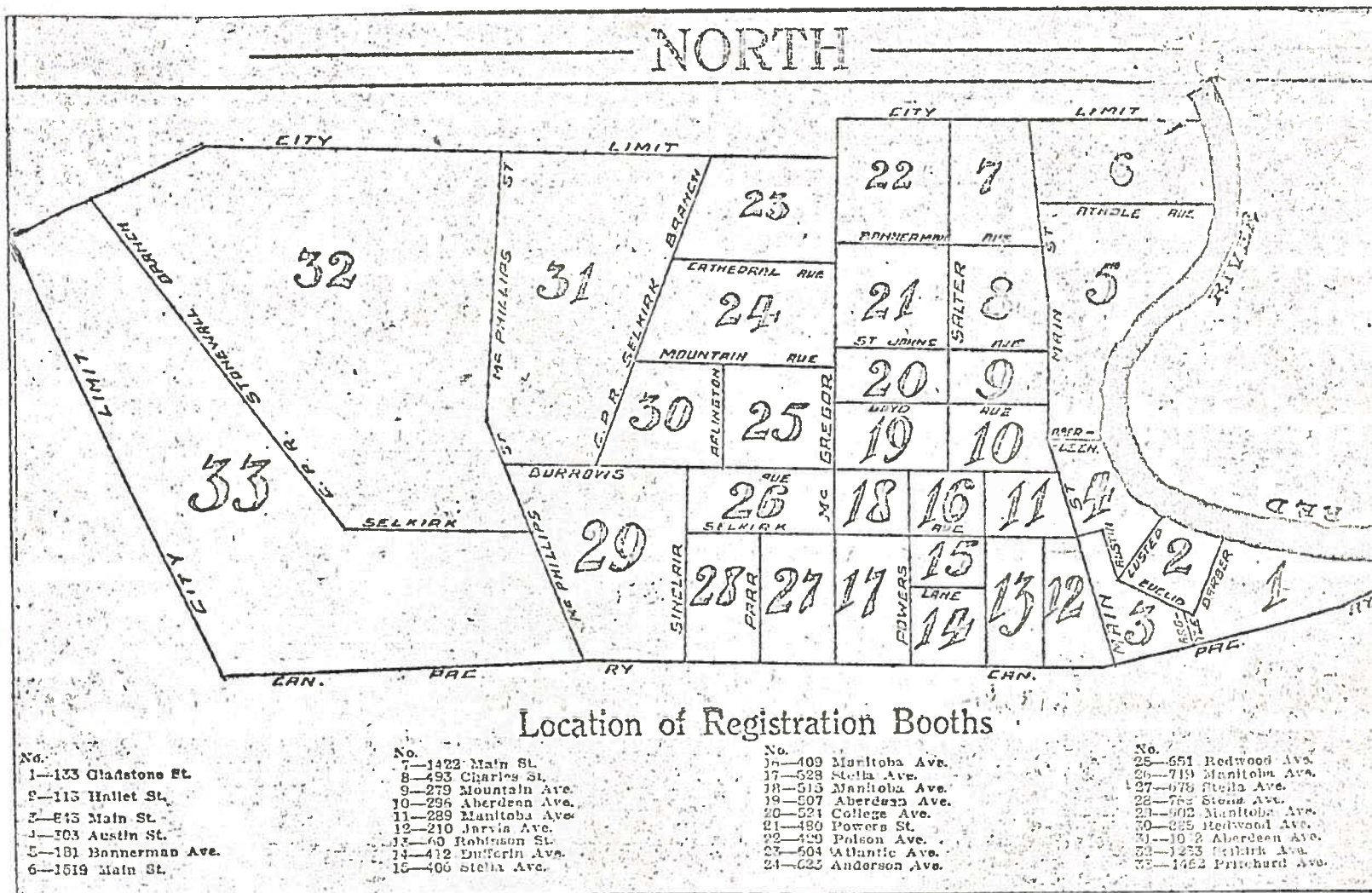
No. 7—420 Portage avenue.
No. 8—554 Portage avenue.
No. 9—612 Portage avenue.

DISTRICTS:

- No. 10—21 Osborne st.
- No. 11—174 Edgar st.
- No. 12—779 Broadview ave.
- No. 13—277 Linton st.
- No. 14—381 River st.
- No. 15—116 Oliver st.
- No. 16—103 Oakwood ave.
- No. 17—163 Colborne st.
- No. 18—169 Osborn st.
- No. 19—250 Nassau st.
- No. 20—250 Mosley ave.
- No. 21—397 Corby st.
- No. 22—Corner of Gordon and Cambridge street.

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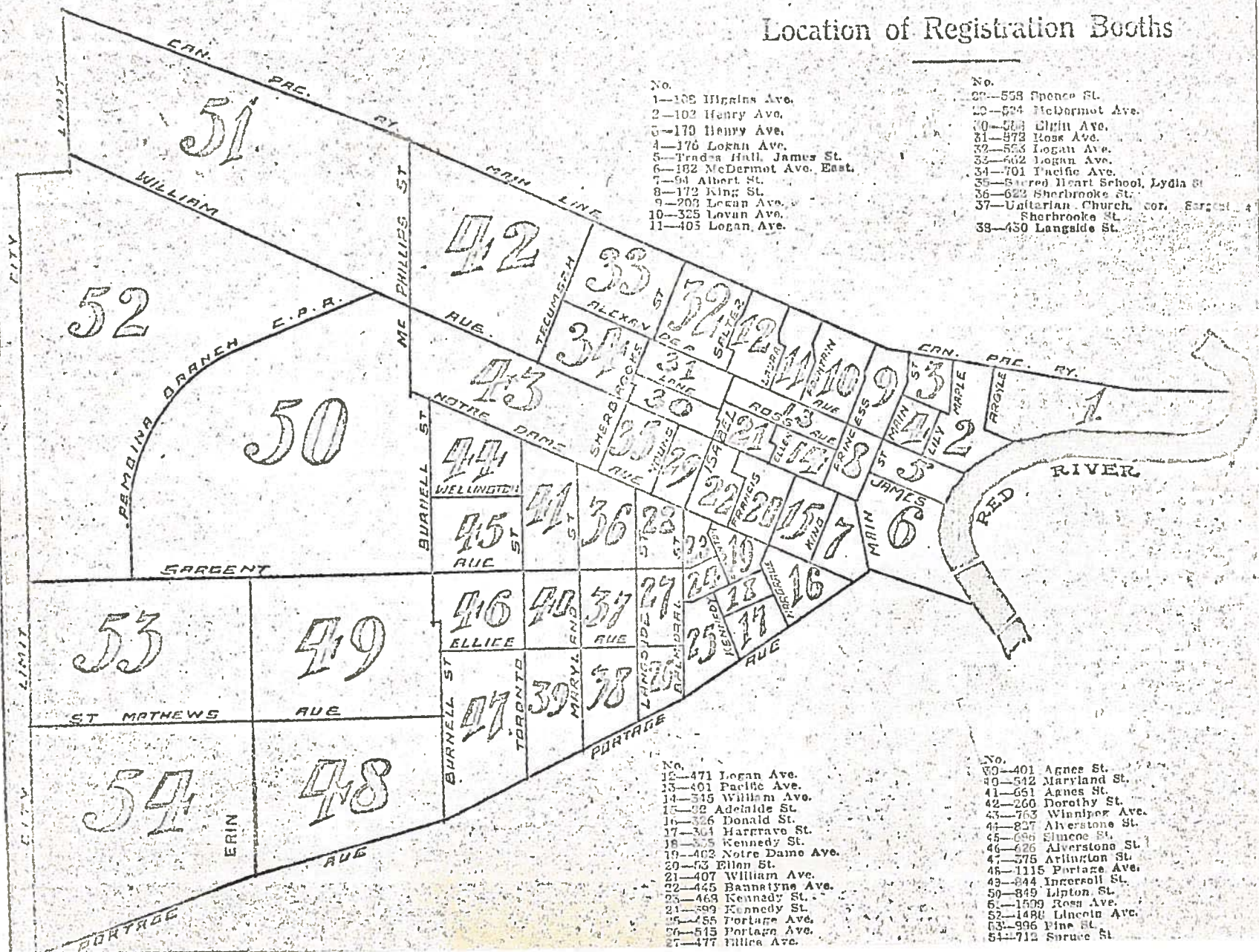
WINNIPEG NORTH:
THE 1914 AND 1915
PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS



CENTRE

Location of Registration Booths

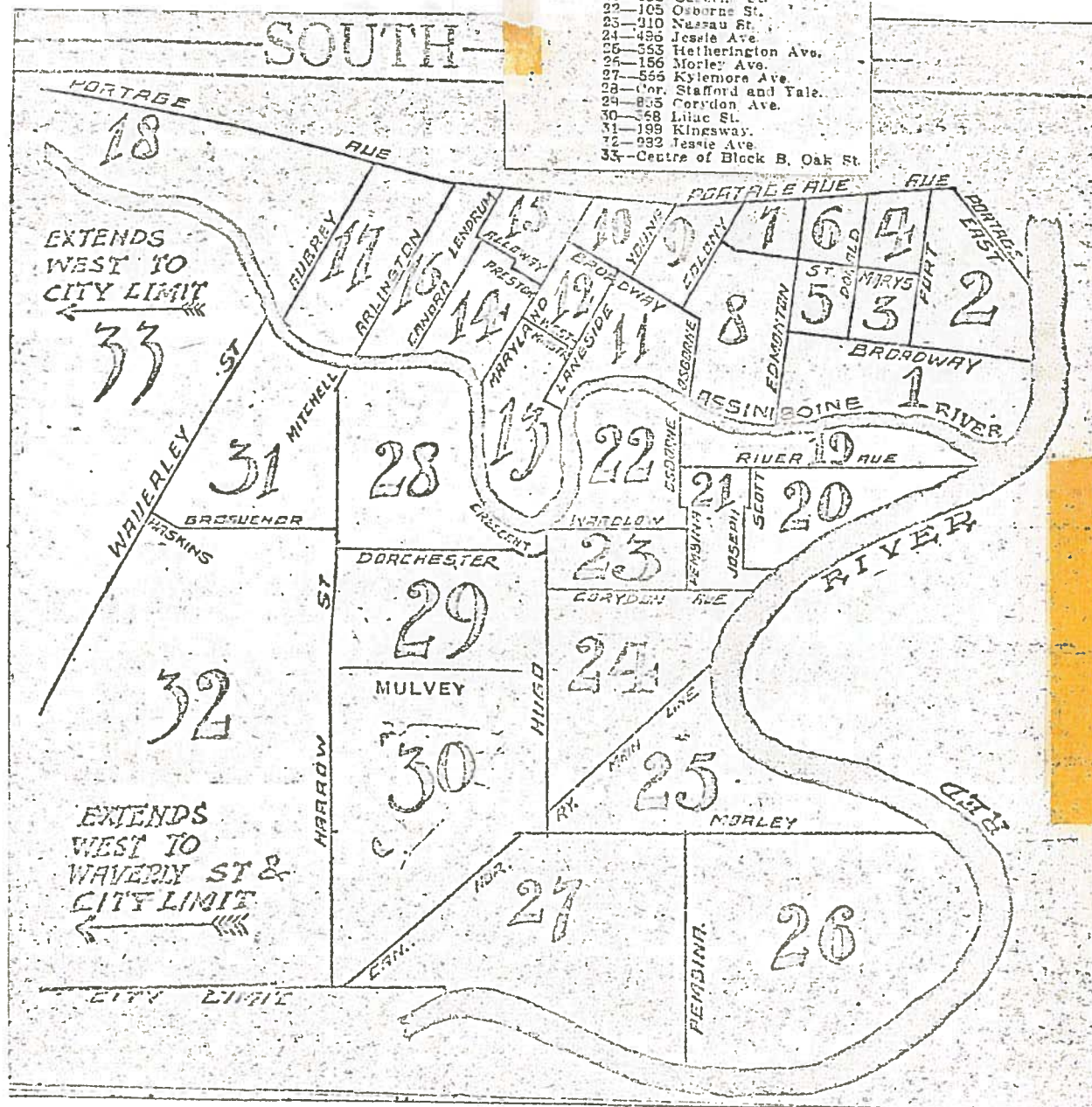
WINNIPEG CENTRE: THE 1914 AND 1915
PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS



Location of Registration Booths

143

- 1-745 Broadway
- 2-151 Water St.
- 3-114 Smith St.
- 4-257 Garry St.
- 5-123 Donald St.
- 6-1231 Carlton St.
- 7-1233 Edmonston St.
- 8-1235 Kennedy St.
- 9-310 Colony St.
- 10-561 Portage Ave.
- 11-23 Osborne St.
- 12-171 Sherbrook St.
- 13-34 Furby St.
- 14-740 Westminster Ave.
- 15-770 Broadway
- 16-252 Home St.
- 17-217 Lipton St.
- 18-1164 Portage Ave.
- 19-34 Main St.
- 20-125 River St.
- 21-123 Osborne St.
- 22-105 Osborne St.
- 23-910 Nassau St.
- 24-486 Jessie Ave.
- 25-553 Hetherington Ave.
- 26-156 Morley Ave.
- 27-555 Kylemore Ave.
- 28-Cor. Stafford and Yale.
- 29-835 Corydon Ave.
- 30-58 Lilac St.
- 31-199 Kingsway.
- 32-932 Jessie Ave.
- 33-Centre of Block B, Oak St.



WINNIPEG SOUTH:
THE 1914 AND 1915
PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

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