

The
Economic Background of the
Winnipeg General Strike
Wages and Working Conditions

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This study attempts to present an economic background to the Winnipeg General Strike and in particular examine in detail the wages and working conditions that prevailed prior to and during those eventful days.

In the past the Winnipeg General Strike has been considered from primarily a political and social viewpoint. If we accept the views of Mr. Robson, K.C., head of the Royal Commission that investigated the strike, the economic issues are of more importance.

"...it is more likely that the cause of the strike is to be found under other heads, namely the high cost of living, inadequate wages (this is the same thing in other words as the high cost of living), profiteering (this likely means the demand of excessive profits on sale of necessities). The high cost of living is a general grievance. Consideration must be given to this subject. It is a complicated matter. High prices are not by any means due to extortion."¹

It would seem that the problem after the war was a problem of real wages and not revolution. Mr. Robson states that one of the main causes "of the great increase in prices since the beginning of the war was the tremendous demand made upon all food products and upon all clothing and wearing apparel,"² but not all labour shared in the profits that this foreign demand has made possible. It is also likely,

¹ Royal Commission to inquire into and report upon the causes and effects of the General Strike which recently existed in the City of Winnipeg for a period of six weeks including the methods of calling and carrying on such strike, report of H.A. Robson, K.C., Commissioner, p. 25. (Hereafter known as The Robson Commission)

² Ibid., p. 25.

states the commissioner, that "prices will not go down until the foreign demand substantially decreases, but in the meantime, in the fields of labour not immediately benefited by the foreign demand there has not been a proportionate increase in wages and there is a great deal of labour idle, and this is likely to continue and increase during the coming winter."³

Mr. James Winning, President of the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council also ascribed the discontent to a fall in real wages. He claimed that after World War I when prices were soaring, money wages were relatively stable, providing a prime cause of discontent among the workers. In addition, Mr. Winning described the adverse working conditions which prevailed at that time.⁴ Thus two of the most significant opinions on the causes of the Strike stress economic conditions and, especially the inflation and its effects upon the level of living of the workers.

It is part of this thesis to examine the statements of the Commissioner and discover if the failure of the real wage to rise or remain stable was a prime cause of the Winnipeg General Strike, that is whether the strike was chiefly an attempt on the part of workers to increase or maintain their real wage in face of the rapidly rising cost of living.

³ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴ Ibid., p. 6-9.

Organization and Presentation of Data

The economic developments from 1896 to 1919 will be examined. The economic conditions in Western Canada generally will be considered. This is necessary since the Winnipeg General Strike might be considered as only a manifestation of the general unrest and the existing discontent which prevailed in Western Canada particularly during 1918-19. More specifically the events in Manitoba and particularly Winnipeg will be examined in Chapter 2.

The occupational distribution of the labour force in Manitoba and Winnipeg according to the Census of Canada will be the subject of Chapter 3.

An examination of the money wages and hours of labour of the various trades included in the study (Chapter 4) will be combined with the findings of the compilation of a family budget (Chapter 5) in order to analyze the real wage movements of the various trades (Chapter 6). Chapter 7 will show the results of the investigation in terms of the original premise, namely the statement of the Commissioner, Mr. H. A. Robson.

The periods for study will be broken down as follows:

- a) Expansion 1900-12 with the 1907-08 recession.
- b) Depression 1913-15
- c) Critical years 1916-1919.

CHAPTER 2

Background and Development of the Prairies

Expansion 1900-12

The years immediately preceeding the turn of this century mark the beginning of a rapid expansionary phase in the development of the prairie economy. There were several reasons for this. In the first instance "an increasing supply of gold was bringing better prices throughout the world and farming thus appeared a more attractive occupation."¹ These great increases in the world supply of gold along with the technological discoveries "contributed to advances in prices which altered cost-price relationships in favour of the countries that produced raw material and raw food."² In addition the great western settlement and capital expansion in the United States began to slow and the momentum of the preceding period now turned northwards. Also the cost of transportation of the staple, wheat, was beginning to drop sharply during this period owing to the deepening and widening of canals to enable larger and more efficient vessels to pass through.³

¹ M. McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones (Toronto, 1928); p. 71.

² V. C. Fowke, The National Policy and the Wheat Economy (Toronto, 1957); p. 70.

³ For fuller discussion of the expansionary phase in the west see V. C. Fowke, Ibid., Ch. 5.

The change that came in the last four years of the century is also described by Dr. Skelton:

"At last Canada's hour had struck. The settlement of the western plains had long dragged on with disheartening slowness;* Eastern development, except in the two of three largest cities, had kept the same place. Then after 1896 a fortunate conjuncture brought a sudden and remarkable change. World-wide factors played a part; population and consumption were again overtaking production and increasing gold supplies and other forces were raising prices; wheat and cattle rose once more to profitable levels. The United States was of determining importance; the rapid growth of its urban population, simultaneously with the ending of fertile homestead areas and the substitution of corn and coarse grains as much of the old land exhausted by reckless wheat mining, made it eminently necessary to seek new sources of wheat supply."⁴

This phase of expansion took place during the period of the "national policy" which served as a keystone for Canadian development. Its basic features were steamships, railways, tariffs, industrial development and the wheat of the prairies. Its object was to transform the British American territories into a political and economic unit as well as to create a new frontier for investment opportunities for the commercial and financial interests of the St. Lawrence area.⁵ The characteristics of this policy were evolved around the middle of the nineteenth century and the key to the policy was the west:

"Agricultural development of the west was basic to the whole program, and wheat was to become the new staple to which the transcontinental railway was geared, the means of attracting capital and immigrants and of creating a mass market for the materials and manufactured products of the other regions of the Dominion. [This was] a program

⁴O. D. Skelton, "General Economic History 1867-1917", in A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, eds., Canada and Its Provinces, IX (Toronto, 1914) pp. 191-2.

*For a fuller discussion as to the slow period of growth preceding 1896 see K. Buckley, Capital Formation in Canada; 1896-1930, and G. W. Bertram, "Economic Growth in Canadian Industry, 1870-1915: The Staple Model", in W.T. Easterbrook and M.H. Watkins, eds., Approaches to Canadian Economic History (Toronto, 1967).

⁵For a detailed discussion of the national policy see V.C. Fowke, Ibid, esp. Ch. 1, 5, 15.

of national planning in which private enterprise, strongly backed by the state, was to create the strong though vulnerable structure of the twentieth century Canadian economy."⁶

One of the more important means to implement the national policy and to ensure more rapid Canadian expansion "after 1900 seems to [have been] in the technological improvements in methods of cultivation which finally permitted a profitable harvest from the prairies."⁷ This in turn helped to attract people to farm the lands and build homesteads. Many in turn brought the capital necessary to begin farming and establish homesteads. The policies of transportation, immigration and cheap land, fostering the production of the new staple, wheat, provided an atmosphere favourable to foreign investment, another integral part of the development of the west. Capital was spent in the construction of railways and brought by settlers to purchase land, equipment, and livestock.⁸ Many of the problems of farming in a semi-arid region had been partially solved with the techniques of summer fallowing in alternate years to conserve moisture. This further helped to attract immigrants not only from Europe but also from Eastern Canada and the United States. The "number of immigrants from other countries plus the natural increase in population already there, plus the influx from Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes, accounted for a net increase in population during the decade, 1901 to 1911 of 80 per cent in Manitoba, and over 400 per cent in both

⁶ W. T. Easterbrook, and H.G.J. Aitken, Canadian Economic History (Toronto, 1965), p. 383.

⁷ P. Hartland, "Factors in the Economic Growth in Canada; Journal of Economic History, Vol. 15, No. 1., 1955, p. 19.

⁸ M. McWilliams, Ibid., p. 173; W.A. Mackintosh, Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces, IV, (Toronto, 1935), pp. 3-5.

Saskatchewan and Alberta. Three provinces with a combined population of perhaps 50,000 in 1871 had 420,000 in 1901, and 1,328,000 in 1911."⁹

The economic conditions which permitted the prairie settlement were supplemented by the vigorous recruiting campaign launched by Sifton, then Minister of the Interior; the campaign included not only direct recruiting by agents in Europe but also extensive advertising in American and foreign newspapers.¹⁰

The settlement of the prairie region was dependant to a particular degree on the construction of railways which in turn helped to foster the extension of settlement. It not only provided the connections required to transport the settlers but in addition afforded work and the means by which many needy homesteaders could secure employment to acquire the necessary capital to establish themselves. The railways were imperative since they were the only means by which the agricultural resources of the region could be developed. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway begun as a government enterprise was taken over by a private company in 1880 and heavily subsidized by the Dominion. It was completed in 1885 and linked the East and West of Canada.¹¹

⁹ A.W. Currie, Canadian Economic Development (Toronto, 1942) pp.180-1.

¹⁰ W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto, 1967), p. 274.

¹¹ For terms of the subsidy given by the Dominion see W.A. Mackintosh, Ibid., p. 34. There is much literature on the history and development of the Canadian railways. H.A. Innis, History of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Toronto, 1923); O.D. Skelton, The Railway Builders (in series, "Chronicles of Canada; Toronto 1916); W.T. Easterbrook, and H.G.J. Aitken, Ibid., Ch. 19.; G.P. Glazerbrook, A History of Transportation in Canada (Toronto, 1938); Ch. 6-11; H.A. Innis, Problems of Staple Production in Canada (Toronto, 1933), Part I, Ch. 1 and 2; Part II, Ch. 1 and 2. For a discussion of the problems farmers had regarding railway facilities and marketing of their product see V.C. Fowke, Ibid., Ch. 7 and 9., P. Berton, The National Dream: The Great Railway 1871-1881 (Toronto, 1970); A.S. Morton, History of Prairie Settlement II, (Toronto, 1938), Part I, Ch. 3-5; C. Martin, Ibid., Part II, Ch. 3-5.

Manitoba

Dominion aid was necessary for the provinces to promote and extend railroad construction to move the increasing volume of staples.

Direct subsidies were given by the province in 1885 to the amount of \$786,000 as a construction subsidy. In 1888 it guaranteed bonds of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway Company to build a line from Minnesota to Manitoba; in 1889 and 1902 to the Winnipeg and Hudson Bay Railway for the construction of a line to Hudson Bay. In 1901 the province guaranteed bonds for the construction of a line from Winnipeg to Port Arthur by the Canadian Northern Railway. In this manner, Manitoba attempted to build a competitor for the Canadian Pacific which it hoped would help reduce the railway rates. It was eventually successful.¹²

This heavy investment in railway construction, particularly between 1900 and 1913 not only in the West but across the Dominion generally required large amounts of unskilled labour. The first contact that immigrants had with the labour market in Canada, was often in railway construction, which was carried on in remote districts, far from any established settlements. The workers were, under these circumstances often completely dependent upon the contractors for the essentials of life. Living and working conditions were often deplorable. This combination of circumstances was a cause of much of the bitter unrest and conflict between the workers and the contractors, and a

¹² W.A. Mackintosh, Ibid., pp. 35-37.; for a more complete discussion of the problems associated with railroad construction and the demands of farmers see V.C. Fowke, Ibid., Part 2.

number of the largest and most violent disputes during the pre-War I period took place in railroad construction.

Winnipeg

The economy of the prairies was based upon agriculture. In Manitoba the city of Winnipeg became a source of small manufacturing and the commercial supply center for the rural area. The markets were mainly local and regional with service oriented industries growing rapidly. Winnipeg, however, became the centre of the "grain trade", since the largest volume of the new staple, wheat, was shipped through Winnipeg to markets in Eastern Canada and Europe. Large facilities to handle grain, such as elevators were required. Railway shops were also required to service the rolling stock required to move the staple. Winnipeg's very proximity in the Western region made it the obvious location for large warehouse facilities and wholesalers to supply the western market relocated in Winnipeg.¹³

After the turn of the century, Winnipeg began to grow extremely rapidly. Between 1901-11 the city of Winnipeg grew by 163% as compared to 81% for the province as a whole. The importance of Winnipeg as an urban center is recorded in the report of W. Curtis, a correspondent for the Chicago Record Herald, in September, 1911:

"All roads lead to Winnipeg. It is the focal point of the three transcontinental lines of Canada, and nobody, neither manufacturer, capitalist, farmer, mechanic, lawyer, doctor, merchant, priest nor labourer, can pass from one part of Canada to another without going through Winnipeg. It is a gateway through which

¹³ R.C. Bellan, "Winnipeg: A Case History in Metropolitan Development." (Unpub. Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1958) p. 130-33.

all the commerce of the east and west, and the north and the south must flow. No city, in America at least, has such absolute and complete command over the wholesale trade of so vast an area. It is destined to become one of the greatest distributing commercial centres of the continent as well as a manufacturing community of great importance."¹⁴

From the basic production of wheat there flowed secondary opportunities. Trade and local manufacturing sprang up to supply the growing consumption needs of the pioneers and the increasing urban population. Marketing facilities were improved and further opportunities arose. The increasing diversification of local industry resulted in new sources of supply as well as demand for already existing firms. By 1901 the value of manufacturing output was placed at \$8 millions; by 1906 it had increased to \$18 millions and by 1911 to \$32 millions.¹⁵

The great increase in population caused a flourishing construction activity which took place during the period 1900-1912. Hectic construction activity was carried on, especially in residential housing, which was always in short supply. Federal buildings, public works and schools were required to service the rapidly growing city. Table 2.1 shows the course of building activity from 1900-12 and it can be seen that the growth was impressive in all years except in 1907-08, years of depression caused by the financial stringency. In fact the value of building permits taken out in Winnipeg in 1904 exceeded that of any other city in Canada.

¹⁴ M. McWilliams, op. cit. pp. 179-80.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 188.

Table 2.1

Value of Construction - Winnipeg 1900-12

<u>Year</u>	<u>Permits</u>	<u>Buildings</u>	<u>Cost</u>
1900	530	638	\$ 1,411,863
1901	630	820	1,708,557
1902	822	973	2,408,125
1903	1,227	1,593	5,689,400
1904	1,768	2,268	9,651,750
1905	3,349	4,099	10,840,150
1906	3,487	4,204	12,625,950
1907	2,433	2,827	6,309,950
1908	1,544	1,769	5,513,700
1909	2,498	2,942	9,226,325
1910	3,291	3,916	15,116,450
1911	3,671	4,342	17,550,400
1912	4,489	5,339	20,563,750

Source: Municipal Manuals - City of Winnipeg

"The rapid development of Winnipeg and the West abruptly slowed down in 1907, as an indirect consequence of the Wall street panic of that year."¹⁶ The industry most notably affected was that of construction. Canadian lending institutions restricted credit and building contractors were unable to secure mortgages, hence construction and building activity were greatly curtailed. Many who were discharged from their work owing to slackness found employment with the railroad as construction proceeded in accordance with major long range programs which had been previously financed. Major construction projects for the city were postponed as the rate of interest "moved up to 8-10 per cent on building loans."¹⁷ The recession of 1907-08 was not unique to Canada or Winnipeg. It was world wide and compared to the rest of the world Canada's recession was relatively mild.

The hectic activity which characterized the period 1900-07 was resumed in 1909. In order to carry on this industrialization, construction and business activity, labour was required in large amounts.

"As the metropolis of the Prairies, Winnipeg was the main Western repository of entrepreneurial capacity, skilled and unskilled labour....and because of its size and strategic location, Winnipeg was the central clearing house for Western labour; private employment agencies... received the demands for labour of farmers, railway contractors, building contractors, bush camp operators... and [they] obtained the required hands from the great throng of immigrants newly arrived in the city, and men just arrived from jobs somewhere in the West, seeking employment during the coming season."¹⁸

¹⁶ R.C. Bellan, op. cit. p. 150.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 153. For a more complete discussion of the stringency as it affected Winnipeg see Ch. 6.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 141-2.

And further:

"Few people realize the importance of Winnipeg as a clearing house for labour. In the Spring thousands are distributed over the West among the farmers and the railroad builders; many more distributed over the line's already constructed for the purpose of maintenance and permanent improvements. To meet the demands of this class, and they are very large, requiring an army of fully ten thousand men, the supply is drawn from those men who have spent the winter in the wood camps; from the annual rush of immigrants and the return of the immigrating class who work in the West in the summer, and winter either in Europe or in the East. Every spring and fall therefore there is a gathering of men in Winnipeg, arranging to transfer their energies from one class of employment to another according to the season." 19

This very predominance of the city of Winnipeg and the regional nature of the economy, however, made it difficult for unionism to develop.

"The development of unions were handicapped by several factors. The province was still basically very dependant on production of wheat and even though industry was growing in the urban center the economic foundation upon which to organize was still not very strong. Immigration also hampered the local labour movement. The Anglo-Saxon immigrant was a boon to the development of unionism as he brought skills and capital. However, those from Central Europe tended rather to lack skill and capital and could be mainly employed in railroad construction. Differences of nationality and language made it difficult for the immigrant to assimilate and become part of organized labour. From the employers point of view this was definitely an asset since it was easy to break strikes by importing immigrants." 20

As mentioned above, the nature of railroad construction necessarily isolated large groups of workers, and the rising manufacturing and commercial sectors of the urban area appeared to be mainly interested in short run profits, therefore, the attitudes of the employers, often

19 Ibid., p. 142.

20 L.G. Orlikow, "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba 1910 to 1920". (Unpub. M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba), 1955, p. 70-1. For a further discussion of the problems of women in the labour force and the restraint this placed on unions, see pp. 71-73.

absentee, was one mainly of either indifference or hostility towards workers and trade unionism. Manitoba and Winnipeg are not considered to be the exception, but rather typical of a prevailing pattern that existed throughout the West until 1920.

The growth of industry in Winnipeg brought with it the growth of industrial labour, "and Winnipeg labour took part in the great development of the labour movement in Canada between 1900 and 1912. By the end of the century the principal Winnipeg trades had unions, organized since 1897 in the flourishing Winnipeg Trades and Labour Congress."²¹ The early unions formed in the 1870's and 1880's had as their purpose a) to bargain collectively on questions of wage rates and shop conditions and b) to carry on the traditions of the ancient guilds in perpetuation of their crafts by the training of apprentices. Other important issues were the hours of work, safety standards, and union recognition. However, union organization in Canada advanced at a greater pace than ever before around the turn of the century and continued with only minor checks (1903-05) until 1920 when it reached its peak of 2,918 locals with 374,000 members. This vigorous union activity ran parallel to the course of economic expansion for the first two decades as the demand for labour, particularly unskilled, tended to outrun supply and this, as Dr. Pentland suggests, invited workers to express grievances that had accumulated in the 1890's and to press for higher wages.

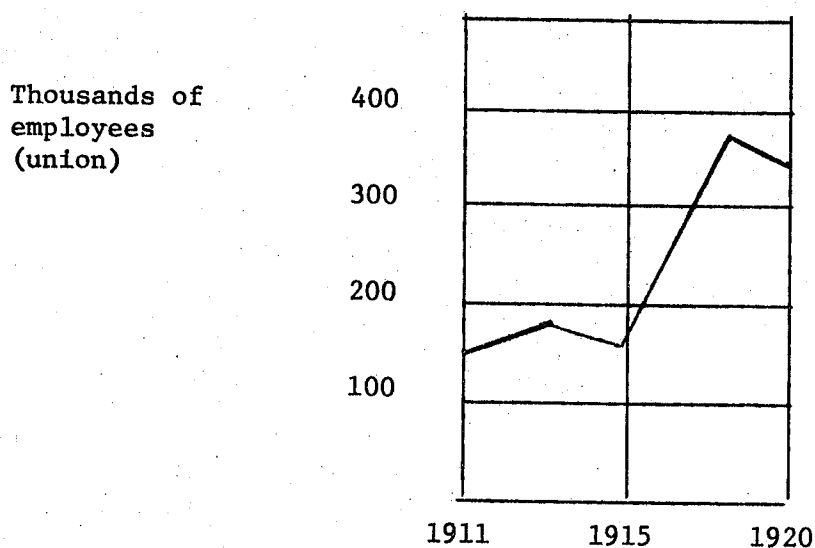
²¹ W.L. Morton, op. cit. p. 304.

"Workers were pushed in this same direction by a rising cost of living, particularly rising food prices, which persisted with only minor and temporary checks through 1921. Rising prices neutralized wage gains so that except in construction, Canadian workers failed to achieve any significant improvement in real wages before the 1920's, and those in extractive industries appear to have been distinctly worse off after 1910 than they had been in 1900."²²

The frequent occurrence of industrial disputes was not always over the question of wages. Political and racial issues were frequently important, yet the issue of rising prices, or high prices in company stores, and the fight against wage reductions continued. It appears that "there is little doubt that the rising price level, which offset the increase in wages, was an equally significant element in the unrest and rising tide of strikes"²³ that were in general becoming more bitter and prolonged. What often began as a strike over wages and working conditions often developed into disputes over the issue of collective bargaining and union security, and for these reasons union membership began to grow in Canada, reaching a peak in 1920, a level not to be reached again until 1937. Graphically this growth in membership is illustrated from 1911 to 1920 by J. T. Montague:

²² H.C. Pentland, "A Study of the Changing Social, Economic and Political Background of the Canadian System of Industrial Relations", unpub. M.S., Task Force, 1968, p. 72.

²³ P.A. Phillips, No Power Greater (Vancouver, 1967), p. 48. For a more complete discussion of the oriental issue and British Columbia's industrial problem see Ibid.



Source: J.T. Montague, "The Growth of Labour Organization in Canada 1900-1950" in A.E. Kovacs, ed., Canadian Labour Economics, p. 19.

The importance of the union growth is the relative weight that the West had as against the total.

"The population of the four western provinces was about 11% of the Canadian total in 1901, 24% in 1911, and 28% in 1921. Yet up until 1912 or 1913, these provinces produced by far the greatest amount of union growth proportionately, and even the most absolutely. By about 1912, therefore, these provinces had increased their proportion of Canada's union locals from a little over 20% in 1903 to 35%." 24

²⁴ H.C. Pentland, op. cit., p. 114. The relatively large growth of Western unions was not due entirely to demands for collective bargaining, union security, wage increases, etc., but also for other reasons, p. 112. The results of Western growth were not just a matter of a buoyant west increasing its weight, but of a genuine incapacity of unionism to expand in Eastern Canada except in a few very favourable years.

As the union growth continued, strike activity intensified in Canada²⁵ as a whole but was not confined to Canada. The upward movement in the cost of living was being experienced throughout the world, lending support to the fact that it was not just Western Canadian labour that was dissatisfied with industrial relations. As Mitchell states:

"With the exception of several sharp but transitory setbacks, as for instance in 1901 and 1908, the trend [of prices] for the first thirteen years of the century was continually upwards. By 1910 this appreciation in prices was leading to serious labour trouble all over the world. The great railway strikes in England and France; the ever-increasing strength of the Social Democratic party in Germany; the severe labour trouble in the United States, all showed that prices were outstripping wage levels, and the pinch of the higher cost of living was being felt acutely. In Canada these troubles were felt less severely than in almost any other country...[but by] 1912 prices reached their peak, and 1913 saw a distinct recession, which continued for the first half of 1914. Thereafter prices in Canada as all over the world, were caught up in the war inflation which carried them to the highest recorded level in 1920."²⁶

Unionism and membership in unions were beginning to expand particularly with the influx of immigration from Britain and along with this came the socialist thought which fostered the growth of radicalism. The activities of union organizers were met with fierce hostility by the

²⁵ For a more complete discussion of union growth, organization and activities see C. Lipton, The Trade Union Movement of Canada 1827-1959 (Montreal, 1966); H.A. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada (Toronto, 1948); M. Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour 1880-1930 (Kingston, 1968).

²⁶ K.W. Taylor and H. Mitchell, Statistical Contributions to Canadian Economic History, Vol. 2. (Toronto, 1931), p. 52.

employers. The story of labour during this period is one full of labours' attempts to achieve their goals by means of political action. In Manitoba labour was uneasy as workers had to fight hard to prevent the erosion of their real wages. As evidence of this McNaught writes, "...already slum conditions were evident in Winnipeg and few officials of any importance would even recognize the situation, still less its monstrous potentialities."²⁷ This statement referred to the year 1904. In Manitoba strike activity was concentrated in the urban area among the various trade groups. Strike or dispute activity was evident in every year [see Appendix A] and though such disputes were not always over higher wages, the vast majority were. As the Labour Gazette continuously reports, there was not one year in which some employers did not attempt to complete a wage reduction.

"The Courts played an important role in curtailing the operations of trade unions during the early period. The structural iron workers, machinists, moulders, and plumbers unions in Winnipeg had lost their organization in unsuccessful strikes for higher wages and shorter hours. Their employers, the Vulcan Iron Works, had taken court action against its striking employees. Judge Mathers awarded the Company \$500 damages and costs of some \$5,000 against the union, plus an injunction prohibiting strikers from picketing.^a The local lodges found it difficult to pay such a large sum. The employment of the injunction was not uncommon. When, in an action directed against the plumbers union payment of damages proved to be heavy, the union was forced to disband. Faced by such a threat, many local unions were reluctant to undertake aggressive action.

²⁷ K. McNaught, A prophet in Politics (Toronto, 1959), p. 39.

Notwithstanding these difficulties unions continued to agitate for higher wages, shorter hours and recognition. They met with varying degrees of success. During the long period of economic prosperity wages generally lagged behind the price rises; with the outbreak of the Balkan Wars in 1913, many workers were laid off while others had their wages cut. Strikes were uncommon. A few notable ones concerned the Vulcan Iron Works, the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company,^b and the Grand Trunk Pacific, three firms with poor reputations among labouring folk. Another strike of interest concerned the Great West Saddlery Company, when that Company attempted to compel its men not to join a union.^c The general intolerance of many firms towards the aspirations of organized labour left a residue of hatred for the future." 28

The antagonisms engendered by these disputes, particularly those in which the metal trades workers were involved, were eventually to spark the entire labour movement of Winnipeg in the General Strike of 1919. The use of the injunction; the ruthless and impersonal attitude towards their employees; employers who expected quick fortunes; and the attempt of employers to use profit sharing to shift part of the responsibility onto the workers, all helped to develop attitudes of the workers, which were to play a part in those eventful days and weeks in 1919.

28 L.G. Orlikow, op. cit., pp. 74-5.

a) This reference is from the Voice, Feb. 18, 1910, p.1.

b) This strike is interesting in that it was one of the earliest recorded sympathy strikes in Winnipeg. The garment workers and cap workers refused to make uniforms for the strike-breakers employed by the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company, Labour Gazette, Nov. 1910, p. 536.

c) This is referred to in Labour Gazette, Nov. 1911, p. 430 and 477; also Voice, Oct. 13, 1911, p. 1.

As mentioned above it appeared to the workers that they not only had to fight their employers, but the courts as well. Also of importance is the role played by the police and the army. In 1906 during the course of a street railway strike, the militia took over the streets of Winnipeg and set up Gattling guns.²⁹ This scene was to be repeated thirteen years later and the demand that the use of troops be removed from the labour scene was not won by the workers until the 1920's.

Summary.

During the first thirteen years of the century then, the West and particularly Winnipeg was in the boom phase or period of its growth. The wheat economy of the West had laid the foundation for the development of the urban area, Winnipeg. As Winnipeg grew and prospered the development of unionism took place as labour, and especially skilled labour, moved to the city in large numbers. The great prosperity which endured, with minor interruptions from 1900-13 induced labour to seek gains which they felt they were entitled to as a result of the increased industrialization which took place. They wanted a larger share of the product and so sought solidarity within the framework of unionism to meet the obstacles facing them. These opening years of the century are important in that they indicate the growth and associated problems that occurred. The hopes and aspirations of labour had been raised by the tremendous boom and they were to linger on, "but the province and Winnipeg, inspired by the long succession of years each more prosperous

²⁹ C. Lipton, op. cit., pp. 112-114.

than its predecessor, were on the point of over-reaching themselves."³⁰

Depression Years 1913-15

"The extravagant boom which attended the opening of the western wheatlands broke in 1913. It had been based on the inflow of foreign capital which financed a huge program of construction. This foreign capital was attracted by the confidence that wheat could be profitably grown for export on the Canadian prairies. In 1912 interest rates rose sharply in the London money market and, in 1913, the general price level, including prices of Canadian exports began to fall. The stream of capital imports which fed the growing prosperity of the century was checked. The prospects for profitable production of wheat became less rosy. The boom, which had been prolific of frantic real estate speculators, optimistic corporate mergers, and many rash enterprises of a public and private nature, suddenly collapsed."³¹

As foreign investment dwindled the rate of expansion in the West slowed in 1913. To be sure, one of the largest investments, railway construction, attained a record level of new miles put into operation in that year. Indeed, since finances had been previously arranged, construction did not level off until 1915. After 1915, a downward trend set in as investment in other areas such as canals, highways and automobiles began to assume increasing importance.³²

The western farmers were fortunate however, since the war demand for wheat and its products was to increase greatly, and the expansion in agriculture which had characterized the first thirteen years of the century was carried over during the depression. Between 1913 and 1919

³⁰ W.L. Morton, op. cit., p. 315.

³¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1954), p. 90.

³² K. Buckley, Ibid., p. 175.

the acreage under wheat in the western provinces increased by almost 80%.³³

Winnipeg

In the city, however, the effects of the depression were felt more keenly. A financial stringency similar to that of 1907-08 curtailed the operations of real estate speculators as banking and other financial institutions cut off the supply of credit. The stringency directly affected local activity and indirectly "as a reduced volume of construction in the hinterland brought a corresponding reduction in the demand for goods and services which the local economy supplied."³⁴ The shortage of capital and tight credit conditions were particularly evident in the construction industry all across the West. In Winnipeg some projects were suspended while others were scrapped completely. The population of the city increased during these years so that a large backlog of demand for housing existed.

Table 2.2

Population of Winnipeg 1913-15

1913	184,730
1914	203,255
1915	212,889

Source: Municipal Manuals - City of Winnipeg as shown by assessment records.

³³ Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations, Ibid., p. 91.

³⁴ R.C. Bellan, op. cit., p. 204.

Even though the volume of construction in 1913 was below that of 1912, it was nevertheless quite substantial. But after 1913 it was to drop off very considerably.

Table 2.3

Value of Construction Winnipeg 1912-15

<u>Year</u>	<u>Permits</u>	<u>Buildings</u>	<u>Cost</u>
1912	4,489	5,339	\$ 20,563,750
1913	4,173	4,807	18,357,150
1914	3,130	3,614	12,160,950
1915	1,274	1,304	1,826,300

Source: Municipal Manuals - City of Winnipeg

The attention during this period is focused mainly on unemployment in contrast with the preceding expansionary phase which saw a constant demand for labour. Unfortunately, accurate unemployment statistics were not recorded for this period. The only source available to indicate to some extent the conditions prevailing during these years are those reported by the local correspondent for Winnipeg and recorded in the Labour Gazette.

The decline in construction activity in 1913 increased unemployment of building craftsmen. The manufacturing industries supplying construction materials were also seriously affected. The Labour Gazette reported that in July 1913, 30% of the membership of the bricklayers and masons' unions were unemployed and this condition prevailed through August. In September there was a slight improvement in the manufacturing sector

but the car shops of the CPR adopted a short-time winter schedule where the work week was decreased from 5½ to 5 days with hours from 8 a.m. - 5:30 p.m., a daily reduction of ½ hour over the summer schedule.³⁵

During October and November of 1913 the building trades workers remained inactive and a large number of unskilled workers were unemployed.

"On November 27, at a mass meeting the unemployed decided to demand work from the mayor and board of control. This matter will be gone into at the city council on December 1. The trouble seems to be that many men are coming to Winnipeg daily, and it was found that the greater proportion of the unemployed were those who had just come to the city within the month."³⁶

Conditions in December remained about the same with the crafts of the building trades reporting large numbers of their members unemployed. Of the 483 members of the Typographical Union, 100 were out of work or only working a day a week and 20 had left Winnipeg to seek employment elsewhere.³⁷

The year 1914 was to prove no better than 1913 for labour. From January to April business conditions were poor and the amount of unemployment among unskilled workers increased slightly. During February, there was such a volume of applications for employment that written applications were dispensed with.³⁸ In March the railway trades were still on the winter schedule and the shops of the Canadian

³⁵ The Labour Gazette reports that this is an annual occurrence, however, owing to the decreased need of rolling stock after the busy grain hauling season. Vol. 13, 1913, p. 413. But this annual occurrence of short-time was to lengthen over the next two years.

³⁶ Labour Gazette, Vol. 13, 1913, p. 681.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 779.

³⁸ Ibid., Vol. 14, 1914, p. 1042.

Northern even closed down for five days and reduced its staff by 10%.³⁹

The summer months of 1914 from May to August produced a slight improvement for skilled labour employed in the building trades. In May however, "distress amongst unskilled labour was particularly acute. An unemployed parade, composed mainly of foreigners, to the number of about 2,000 ended in a disturbance which had to be quelled by the police."⁴⁰ The shops men employed by the railways still worked a reduced schedule and in July the Canadian Pacific Railway discharged a number of the metal trades workers owing to slackness of work. It is interesting to note that the supply of women desiring day work increased substantially caused largely by the necessity of adding to the family purse in homes where in former years this had not been necessary.⁴¹ On the whole during this period, 1913-15, the demand for domestic help generally exceeded the supply.

Between September and December conditions generally worsened. The situation of the unskilled workers was regarded as grave. In October the railways were no busier than during the summer period; the number of workers employed by railways were about 40% less than in 1913, and even the 60% still employed were working 20% fewer hours.⁴² In November the CPR laid off some 1500 employees who were largely employed on construction and repair work east and west of Winnipeg. In the same month the Canadian Northern dismissed about 300 of its

³⁹ Ibid., p. 1149.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 1398.

⁴¹ Ibid., Vol. 15, 1915, p. 188.

⁴² Ibid., p. 563.

employees, mostly labourers. During the month no construction work was underway in any of the three prairie provinces. In December 1914 conditions were very serious. As the Labour Gazette reports:

"The demand for unskilled labour was slight, but the supply was enormous. The conditions of unemployment became such that the city council ordered the opening of registration booths for the unemployed. Booths were opened, 6 of which were open for 2 days and the remaining 2 for 4 days. The total number registered was 8,066 of which 3,457 were married men."⁴³

The year 1915 brought little change for the better for labour in Winnipeg. Unskilled labour was most seriously affected, but even skilled workers experienced difficulty. In January 1915 the Labour Gazette reports that:

"90% of bricklayers and masons were out of work and the other branches of the building trades were slack. The railway trades remained very quiet, working at very reduced hours and pay. The printing trades also were suffering from the hard times. The morning edition of the Winnipeg Telegram, which had been published continually for 15 years ceased publication during the month, some twenty printers being thrown out of work as a result."⁴⁴

In February conditions were unchanged and even with a large number of unemployed engaged in battalion training it was estimated by the local officials of trade unions and other sources that there were still some 7,850 unemployed men in the city.⁴⁵ Government contracts for shrapnel helped to ease the pressure slightly for the machinists but by mid April, "it is given as a conservative estimate that there were 12,000 unemployed in Winnipeg."⁴⁶

⁴³ Ibid., p. 788. It is difficult to determine if these numbers refer to the labour force or just a part of those unemployed.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 913

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 1050.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 1284

From May to August 1915 there was little change in conditions and during August, 101 machinists left Winnipeg for England to work in the munitions factories of that country.⁴⁷ The sharp increases in prices for western grain, spurred farmers to plant a record wheat acreage in 1915 and blessed with favourable conditions were able to harvest a crop of phenomenal size and excellent quality. The harvest furnished employment for the unemployed in the cities as large numbers were required to get the crop off in time.⁴⁸ It thus provided temporary seasonal relief for many workers.

In September the Labour Gazette reported that not more than 40% of the entire building trades were working at any period during the month.⁴⁹

By December work was still slack but unemployment had decreased a great deal. Nevertheless, unemployment became the "new issue generating unrest, conflict and repression",⁵⁰ that was to further intensify the class conflict in the succeeding years among the workers in Western Canada.

Summary.

As a result of the depressed conditions from 1913-15, trade dispute activity in Winnipeg tapered off very considerably [Appendix A] as it did in the rest of Canada generally. Membership declined in the prairies, the province, and the city during these years as seen in Table 2.3. This general decline could be attributed mainly to the depression and severe unemployment.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Vol. 16, 1915, p. 275.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 397 and p. 560; Cf. Free Press, Oct. 13, 1915.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 397.

⁵⁰ S.M. Jamieson, Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-66, Task Force on Labour Relations. Study No. 22. Ottawa, October, 1968, p. 146.

Table 2.3

Membership and Union Locals 1913-15

	Prairies			Manitoba			Winnipeg		
	<u>1913</u>	<u>1914</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1913</u>	<u>1914</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1913</u>	<u>1914</u>	<u>1915</u>
Union Locals	437	427	390	141	140	125	82	80	80
Union Locals Reporting Membership	262	249	239	83	74	75	48	40	38
Membership Reported	27,005	22,006	18,912	-10,117	8,500	7,879	8,163	6,693	5,813

Source: Labour Organization in Canada, 1913, 1914, 1915.

Critical Years 1915-19

As Canada moved more fully into the war, the Federal Government adopted policies which had the effect of both increasing and redistributing the national money income by means of the expansion of bank credit.

"Current bank loans to business rose by \$73 million between March, 1916 and March 1917. These increases in purchasing power were an important factor in bringing about a swift rise in prices and a rapid expansion of production, money income and profits."⁵¹

The economic conditions of the period were mainly reflected in an increase in productive capacity for war materials. The increased production as a result of the war further intensified the existing inequality of burdens and benefits and promoted stratification. It became obvious that the business class was prospering as a result of the economic stimulation caused by the war; while on the other hand, "class consciousness appeared in the growing industrial population harassed by the steep rise in the cost of living."⁵²

From January to April 1916, business conditions in Winnipeg improved considerably, although in many cases the supply of labour exceeded the demand. The Labour Gazette reports that in March, "not more than 15% of those in the building trades were employed at any period during the month."⁵³ From May to December 1916, conditions were good for most trades though the building trade workers were relatively quiet as compared to the metal trades workers. As can be seen from Table 2.4, the value of construction increased over 1915 but remained fairly steady from 1916 to 1919, the 1919 total being only slightly higher than that of 1902.

⁵¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations, Ibid., pp. 99-100.

⁵² Ibid., p. 90.

⁵³ Labour Gazette, Vol. 16, 1916, p. 1086.

Table 2.4

Value of Construction - Winnipeg 1915-19

<u>Year</u>	<u>Permits</u>	<u>Buildings</u>	<u>Cost</u>
1915	1,274	1,304	\$1,826,300
1916	1,100	1,126	\$2,507,300
1917	1,237	1,268	\$2,212,450
1918	1,435	1,458	\$2,050,650
1919	1,763	1,789	\$2,948,000

Source: Municipal Manuals - City of Winnipeg

On the other hand, while construction activity remained at a low level, the value of industrial output grew as seen in Table 2.5. The number of plants increased somewhat as did the number of employees but only after 1918. The value of the product increased steadily during these years.

Table 2.5

Industrial Growth - Winnipeg 1916-19

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Plants</u>	<u>Number of Employees</u>	<u>Amount Invested</u>	<u>Value of Product</u>
1916	420	20,000	\$	\$50,000,000
1917				54,504,000
1918	445	20,000	75,000,000	62,000,000
1919	490	26,000	86,000,000	76,000,000

Source: Municipal Manuals - City of Winnipeg.

The war provided better opportunities for employment for those workers engaged in industry as compared to those in construction, but there were several issues of importance that were responsible for solidifying labour and at the same time aided in making the movement more radical.

One of the issues which helped to solidify labour was its position on the conscription issue. Its main stand was "conscription of wealth before conscription of manpower." Labour was supported in this fight by the farmers⁵⁴ as both became aware of the business classes' ostentatious display of wealth as a result of profits made from war.⁵⁵ Thus the division of the classes became even more clear.⁵⁶ The 1917 Russian revolution may have given support to those elements in Canadian unionism which sought radical solutions to their discontent or advocated greater workers' control of industry. Its greatest effect, however, was to arouse fears of labour in government circles, which in turn, resulted in the banning of radical literature. The somewhat hysterical reactions of some government officers to this fear of the spread of revolution cannot be ignored in any study of the labour disputes of 1917-19, both in the United States and Canada. This fear in government circles in Ottawa may have been intensified by the knowledge that many of the immigrants to Western Canada had come from Eastern Europe.

⁵⁴ H.C. Pentland, op. cit., p. 104.

⁵⁵ Robson Commission, p. 7 and 27.

⁵⁶ For a more detailed account of the conscription issue see K. McNaught op. cit.; H.C. Pentland, op. cit., p. 103; P.A. Phillips, op. cit., pp. 66-70; M. Robin, op. cit., Ch. 9.; W.L. Morton, op. cit., pp. 357-8; C. Lipton, op. cit., Ch. 9.; Voice, Jan. 21, 28, 1916; Feb. 18, 25, 1919; June 2, 1916, p. 1. all cases. Robson Commission, p. 12 and p. 29.

But, perhaps the most important issue was one of real wages. Prices increased greatly from 1915 to 1919 but money wages failed to keep pace for many workers. Added to this were the "evils of insanitary factories and the shortage of housing."⁵⁷ In October 1916 the Voice gives the reasons for the high cost of living since August 1914. These reasons are. "the inflation of the currency, the increase of 7% on the General Tariff and 5% on the British Preference; the increase in prices due to the prodigious demand for war goods in Europe especially in the areas of beef and wheat, and the problem of speculators."⁵⁸

Headlines in the Voice in April 1917 read, " 'Deep Unrest' in Labour Circles" the cause of which is the high cost of living and inadequate wages.⁵⁹ Again in April it is reported: 'Prices Keep on Soaring';⁶⁰

in March: "Winnipeg has had ample demonstration as to its [inflation's] meaning and effect among the workers and has shown the general unrest there is among the working classes in this city.

The ever-increasing cost of living and inadequate wages has driven many sections of the workers to seek relief in organization for collective bargaining to better their economic conditions and of course are meeting with strenuous opposition from their employers."⁶¹

During these years strike activity once again intensified [Appendix A] and labour organizations as a whole made great strides as seen in Table 2.6.

⁵⁷ W.L. Morton, op. cit., p. 360.

⁵⁸ Voice, Oct. 20, 1916, p. 1.; also Dec. 22, 1916, p. 1 and March 16, 1917, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Ibid., April 6, 1917, p. 1.

⁶⁰ Ibid., April 13, 1917, p. 1.

⁶¹ Ibid., May 4, 1917, p. 1.

Table 2.6

Membership and Union Locals 1915-19

	<u>Prairies</u>				
	<u>1915</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1918</u>	<u>1919</u>
Union Locals	390	393	430	492	511
Union Locals Reporting Membership	239	270	321	373	346
Membership Reported	18,912	22,232	27,184	35,659	32,724
	<u>Manitoba</u>				
	<u>1915</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1918</u>	<u>1919</u>
Union Locals	175	130	136	153	143
Union Locals Reporting Membership	75	70	91	105	97
Membership Reported	7,879	9,359	9,537	15,353	11,878
	<u>Winnipeg</u>				
	<u>1915</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1918</u>	<u>1919</u>
Union Locals	80	75	80	91	79
Union Locals Reporting Membership	38	47	47	56	48
Membership Reported	5,813	7,121	7,073	12,050	8,646

Source: Labour Organization in Canada, 1915-19.

In 1918 the matter of wages again became of prime importance.

"In the matter of wages the finding is that on the average wages in these shops [contract shops] have gone up more than proportionately with the cost of living. The workers contend that this is wholly irrelevant since wages are now and have been for several years an average of ten cents an hour lower than those paid for similar work in the railway shops. Moreover, only a very small percentage of the workers get the top wage indicated by the commission while a very great majority of the workers get the medium or lower grades of pay. While the McAdoo* award recommends increases varying from 14 cents to 25 cents an hour increase, the commission recommends no increase for the machinists and specialists and an infinitesimal rise of two and a half cents an hour for labourers, making the wage 32½ cents an hour."62

62 Western Labour News, August 9, 1918, p. 1. This difference in rates between the contract and railway shops was confirmed by two other sources. Mr. Fred Gordienko, now 82 years old worked as a blacksmith for the CPR in 1919. He indicated that the rates were lower in the contract shops. Mr. John Petruska was 27 years old at the time of the strike. He was employed by the CPR railway shops in 1918 but quit late in the year and joined Manitoba Bridge. He also confirmed the difference in wages in favour of the railway shops. The Report of the Board of Inquiry into the Cost of Living in Canada (Ottawa, 1915) gives the rates of pay for machinists in the railway shops only. The rates are from 1900-13 but show that there was a considerable difference between the railway shops and the industrial establishments. Other data is sketchy regarding wage differentials but in the Rates of Pay and Rules of the Federated Trades in the Canadian Government Railways in 1916, the railway machinists and boilermakers received higher wages than their counterparts in the contract shops. The same holds true for 1917 in the agreement between the Federated Metal Trades and the Canadian Northern Railway. In this year, blacksmiths in the railway shops received higher wages than those in the contract shops. Although somewhat sketchy, these reports indicate the irritation the metal trades workers in the different shops were experiencing and was probably an underlying cause which sparked the strike in 1919 of the metal trades workers against the employers.

* The award was made by W.G. McAdoo, then director-general of the American railroad administration, gave wage increase to American railroad workers.

The inability of the workers to meet the rapidly rising cost of living and the hostile attitudes of the employers resulted in a series of events that were to result in the General Strike.

On December 22, 1918 a mass meeting was held at the Walker Theater to protest the Orders-in-Council, allied intervention in Russia, and to demand the release of political prisoners. In March 1919, the Calgary conference was held and in April a mass meeting was called in Winnipeg to discuss the question of the One Big Union. The details of the political and social events leading up to and including the strike have been adequately dealt with elsewhere.⁶³

As a prelude to the General Strike, some 1,400 workers in the building trades struck after a vote of 1,199 for and 74 against, on May 1, 1919 in a demand for higher wages. The issue was recorded in the Western Labour News as follows:

"Wages only 18% Higher than in 1914-Cost of Living up 80%-Bosses say Demands of men reasonable and necessary to maintain standard of citizenship. But others must take the responsibility for increases. Men demand-Blanket Increase of 20 cents an hour. A.E. Godsmark secretary of the Building Trades Association states that the firms have reached the limit of their ability to pay with the proposal they had submitted to the men.* The following figures do not bear out his contention.

⁶³ S.M. Jamieson, op. cit.; C. Lipton, op. cit.; H.A. Logan, op. cit.; K. McNaught, op. cit.; W.L. Morton, op. cit.; C. H. Pentland, op. cit.; P.A. Phillips, op. cit.; M. Robin, op. cit.; D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike, (Toronto, 1950).

The fact is, that while building expenses have increased 35 to 40 percent during the war, the wages of the men have increased on the average of all trades involved, only 18 percent. An increase of only 18 percent in wages while the cost of living has increased 80 percent proves that both the justice of the present demands of the men and their lack of responsibility for the added cost of building construction.

<u>*Name</u>	<u>Present Rate</u>	<u>Rate Offered</u>
Bricklayers and Masons	.80	.90
Painters and decorators	.55	.65
Plasters	.70	.80
Sheet Metal Workers	.58½	.68½
Structural Iron Workers	.75	.85
Asbestos Workers	.60	.70
Steamfitters	.70	.75
Plumbers	.65	.75
Mill Hands - Class A1	.55	.65
Mill Hands - Class A2	.50	.57½
Mill Hands - Class B2	.47½	.55
Mill Hands - Class C3	.40	.45
Stonecutters	.75	.80
Stonecarters	.87½	.92½
Planerman	.60	.70
Hoisting Engineers A	.75	.85
Hoisting Engineers B	.70	.80
Hoisting Engineers C		.70
Fireman	.42½	.60
Carpenters	.60	.75

Source: Western Labour News, May 2, 1919, p. 1.

The average increase offered by the master Builders is 15 percent, while the men are determined on a flat increase of 20 cents per hour, or approximately 32 percent on present prices. This still leaves them considerably worse off than before the war. This is

the reason the bosses themselves admit that the claims of the men are reasonable and justified. But, they say, other persons than the Builders must bear the responsibility of increasing the cost of construction. The defence of the worker is that he is worthy of his hire and he must have a living wage."⁶⁴

On May 1, 1919, 1,000 metal trades workers also struck for higher wages, an eight hour day and 44 hour week, and union recognition. On May 13, all unions associated with the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council voted to strike in sympathy. The vote was 11,000 for and 500 against. On May 15, the strike began with some 27,000 to 30,000 workers leaving their jobs. The strike ended June 26th, some six weeks later with the arrest of the union leaders and a Royal Commission headed by Mr. Justice H.A. Robson, K.C., was appointed to investigate the causes of the strike. The reasons for the strike, as expressed by the employers and the government as a conspiracy and attempt to set up a communist regime were repudiated by the workers themselves.

'Why The General Strike?'

"Winnipeg is gripped by the biggest strike in history. Why? Simply because a few employers refuse to recognize the right of labour to organize. They refuse to consider schedules or to reduce hours.

After repeated efforts to have them act in a reasonable manner the men in the Metal Trades struck work. The Building Trades Council was recognized by the Employers' Association and their demands were declared to be just and reasonable, but the employers said that those reasonable wages could not be paid. Or, in other words the men involved must work for less than a living wage.

If the workers must starve it may as well be now as later. This is the reason behind the

"General Strike."⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Western Labour News, May 2, 1919, p. 1.

⁶⁵ Special Strike Edition, No. 1. Saturday, May 17, 1919. Also see appendix for how workers viewed the strike as opposed to the Citizen Committee of One Thousand.

According to the Royal Commission and the workers themselves, the demand for money wage increases was justified. The following chapters will examine the data to see whether or not this demand was justified.

CHAPTER 3

Occupational Distribution Of The Labour Force

This chapter will deal with the population changes that occurred in the prairie region, Manitoba and Winnipeg from 1901 to 1921 as well as the occupational distribution of the labour force in Manitoba and Winnipeg.

By the close of the first decade of the century the whole prairie was settled, although some of it very sparsely. From 1913 to 1915 the rate of expansion slowed but the demands of war eventually brought new prosperity to the prairies and much growth again occurred particularly in the agricultural sector.

"By 1919," writes Professor Mackintosh, "the acreage under wheat was close to 80% greater than it had been in 1913, the total increase in the area devoted to field crops between 1913 and 1919 approximated the increase which had taken place in the twenty years preceeding this hectic period, and the average value of wheat and flour exports in the 1917-19 period was more than double that of 1913. In the war-boom years of 1915-20, more than four million acres were added to the prairie area in wheat production."¹

From 1911 to 1921 over half of the prairie region's male labour force was employed in agriculture.² The population of the prairies grew

¹ W.T. Easterbrook and H.G.J. Aitken, loc.cit., p. 487

² P.A. Phillips, "Structural Change and Population Distribution in the Prairie Region: 1911 to 1961." Unpub. M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1963, p.40. For a detailed analysis of participation rates, rural urban population distribution, economic development and change in the prairies from 1911 and following see Chapter 3.

as follows:

Table 3.1

Population Growth - 1901-21

	<u>1901</u>	<u>1906</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1921</u>
Prairie Provinces	419,512	808,643	1,328,121	1,698,137	1,956,082
Manitoba	225,211	365,688	461,394	553,860	610,118
Saskatchewan	91,279	257,763	492,432	647,835	757,510
Alberta	72,022	185,195	374,295	496,442	588,454

Source: Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1926, Table 1, p.1X.

Because of the lack of data for Winnipeg for 1901, the occupational distribution of the province will be presented for the three census years, 1901, 1911, 1921. Then the available figures for Winnipeg will be presented.

Table 3.2

Occupational Distribution Of The Male Labour Force

Manitoba, 1901, 1911, 1921

	<u>1901</u>	<u>percent</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>percent</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>percent</u>
All Occupations	80,244	99.6	149,533	99.7	183,349	100.1
Agriculture	47,134 ¹	58.7	69,035	46.1	85,636	46.7
Manufacturing	8,507 ²	10.6	14,881	9.9	15,823	8.6
Construction			18,582	12.4	10,302	5.6
Transportation	8,315 ³	10.3	16,257	10.8	19,636	10.7
Trade & Finance			20,283	13.5	24,995	13.6
Professional	n.a.	n.a.	4,803	3.2	n.a.	n.a.
Personal	3,432	4.2	5,692	3.8	n.a.	n.a.
Clerical	2,242	2.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Labourers	4,231	5.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Unspecified	*	*	n.a.	n.a.	6,403	3.4
Service	6,383	7.9	n.a.	n.a.	21,094	11.5

Source: Census of Canada, 1951 Vol. 4, Table 2, p.2. In 1901 the data includes persons 14 years of age and over. The next two census years includes persons 10 years of age and over; 1911, Vol. 6, Table 2, p. 10; 1921, Vol. 4, Table 2, p.10

* Less than .6 percent. Also some of the other occupations listed by the census are not included since they are irrelevant to the problem and they are less than .6 percent in any event.

¹ Does not include Indians.

² Separate figures for "Manufacturing" and "Construction" not available for 1901.

³ Separate figures for "Transportation" and "Trade and Finance" not available for 1901.

n.a. Not available or included in other categories.

Table 3.3

Occupational Distribution Of The Male Labour Force

Winnipeg, 1911 and 1921

	<u>1911</u>	<u>percent</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>percent</u>
All Occupations	50,668	99.7	50,590	99.7
Agriculture	606	1.1	1,111	2.1
Manufacturing & Mechanical	9,071	17.9	10,045	19.8
Construction	10,697	21.1	5,400	10.6
Transportation	7,992	15.7	10,479	20.7
Commercial	13,185	26.0	12,255	24.2
Service	6,531	12.8	11,300	22.3
Professional	2,586	5.1	n.a.	n.a.

Source: Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. 6, Table 6, p. 276; 1921, Vol. 4, Table 3, p. 36.

n.a. Not available. Not all occupations listed by the census are included and percents will not total 100.

Table 3.2 reveals that the province was largely dependent on agriculture in 1901 with 58.7% of males gainfully employed; by 1911 the percent fell to 46.1% and remained almost the same in 1921 at 46.7%.

Winnipeg was the centre of provincial and prairie industrial activity, and Winnipeg's population growth reflected its increasing prominence as an industrial centre and the distribution point for the rest of the prairies.

In 1871 Winnipeg was ranked as 62nd among cities in the Dominion with a population of 5,000 and over. In 1881 it had jumped to 19th position;

in 1891 to 9th; in 1901 to 6th and in 1911 and 1921 to third.³

The percent gainfully employed in manufacturing and mechanical occupations increased between 1911 and 1921 for Winnipeg from 17.9% to 19.8% respectively. The availability of employment in industries producing war goods was probably responsible for providing an increase in employment during these years.

On the other hand, the percentage of males engaged in construction fell drastically from 21.1% in 1911 to 10.6% in 1921. This decline certainly correlates with the figures on building permits and construction activity as presented above in Table 2.4 as construction was greatly curtailed during the years 1916-19 even in face of a drastic shortage of housing. As Orlikow points out, there was a "virtual cessation of construction. E.H. Rodgers, city building inspector, declared that the city required some 3,000 dwellings and 66 apartment buildings to house some 15,000 people. Many families were forced to double up and in one district, the City Health Department found 1,031 families living where only accommodation for 361 existed."⁴

³ Census of Canada, 1921, Vol. 1, Table 12, p. 234.

⁴ L.G. Orlikow, op. cit., p. 173-4. This was in 1919. Rents were also an important factor in causing families to "double up". Between 1918 and 1919, rents increased an average of 20%. For source see Appendix B.

The timing of the census does not appear to create any difficulties.

In 1911 the prairie economy and Winnipeg was at the peak of the cycle as opposed to 1921 when the cycle was in the downswing. The construction industry, highly cyclical in nature, did take a drastic downturn between 1911 and 1921. Statistics as to the rate or numbers of returning soldiers are unavailable but as reported in the Voice, they did pose a problem which the labour movement was very concerned with.

The trades for which data exists in a complete series from 1900 to 1920 are as follows and will be examined in the chapter below:

1. The Building Trades comprised of bricklayers, carpenters, electrical workers, painters, plumbers, stonecutters, and builders labourers.
2. The Metal Trades comprised of blacksmiths, boilermakers, iron moulders, machinists and sheet metal workers.
3. The Printing Trades comprised of compositors (hand, news offices) and pressmen, cylinder (job offices).
4. The Electrical Street Railway Employees comprised of conductors and motormen.
5. The Steam Railway Employees comprised of telegraphers and sectionmen.
6. Municipal Employees comprised of a) Police Department employees with 2,3, and 4 years of service; b) Fire Department employees with 2,3, and 4 years of service.

CHAPTER 4

Money Wages And Hours Of Labour

The aim of this chapter is to present the money wages and hours of labour for the crafts of the various trades as listed in the last chapter.

Following Professor Douglas, "there are at least three main ways in which we may measure money wages; namely by studying (1) wage rates; (2) average earnings of employed wage-earners, and (3) average earnings of the wage-earning class, including both those employed and those unemployed.

- [1] By wage rates is meant the agreed amount which is to be paid for an hour's work or for that of standard week. The rates for the week is of course merely that for the hour multiplied by the number of hours that is agreed upon as constituting the normal week's work.
- [2] By the average earnings of employed workers is meant the average amount in money actually received by the workers. It is obtained by dividing the total paid out in wages during a given work period by the average number employed. It thus takes into account changes in earnings produced by short-time, absenteeism, overtime, fines, and bonuses. Since it is, however, based upon earnings of those who are employed, it does not include those who are unemployed and who consequently are not on the pay-roll of any establishment.
- [3] The average earnings of the working-class do include unemployment. Since it is virtually impossible to collect such data directly from a sufficient number of workers, the best method approximating this is to modify the index of unemployment and then to modify the index of the average earnings of employed workers accordingly." ¹

¹ P.H. Douglas, "The Movement of Real Wages and its Economic Significance", American Economic Review, Vol. 16, No. 1. Supplement, March, 1926, p. 24.

Professor Douglas notes the difficulty of obtaining average earnings of the working class. For the period under study the lack of data makes it very difficult even to attempt to calculate the "average earnings of employed workers." Therefore, only the first measurement-wage rates will be considered. The wage rates and the hours per week of the various classes of workers have been obtained; the two measures permit an estimate of their earnings to be made. This can, by choosing a base year, be converted to indices of money income. An adjustment in prices will then be made so that a index of real income for workers for the years 1900-1920 will be obtained.

Sources

The money wages and hours for the trades below, with the exception of Municipal Employees, were obtained from the Wages and Hours of Labour in Canada, 1901-1920, issued as a supplement to the Labour Gazette, March, 1921. The wage and hour data for the Building Trades workers for 1900 was obtained from Volume 2 of the Board of Inquiry into the Cost of Living, Ottawa, 1915, pp. 483-489. For the other trades, again with the exception of the Municipal Employees, the 1900 figures of hours and wages are estimates based on the first two or three years of the century. Since little or no changes occurred in the first two or three years, the data for 1901 is used to represent 1900. Any estimates available for these years can be used for 1900 with little error.²

² That is for other than the Building Trades and Municipal Employees the wage rate and hours for 1900 is in all cases the same as that of 1901 as indicated in the tables below.

The data for the first thirteen years for the Municipal Employees of the Police and Fire departments are from the Cost of Living, Ottawa, 1915, Volume 2, pp. 548-551. The years 1913 to 1920 were completed by obtaining documents and payroll ledgers obtained from the respective departments.

Table 4.1 presents the data for the crafts of the Building Trades. The information as reported in the Labour Gazette supplement of March 1921 was obtained by Departmental officers and correspondents, and from copies of signed agreements and returns from trade union officials and employers. The weekly money income was derived by multiplying wages by hours and the money income index is based on the year 1910. This method of deriving weekly income was followed for all the trades, with the exception of the Municipal Employees.

Building Trades - Winnipeg

2.

Table 4.1 (Cont'd)

- 2 -

Year	<u>Bricklayers</u>				<u>Carpenters</u>				<u>Electrical Workers</u>				<u>Painters</u>			
	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index
1914	\$.70	44	\$30.80	96.8	.47½ ¹	50	\$23.75	101.9	.45	44	\$19.80	97.0	.43½ ¹	53	23.05	124.2
1915	.70	44	30.80	96.8	.47½ ¹	50	23.75	101.9	.65	44	28.60	140.1	.41	53	21.86	117.8
1916	.70	44	30.80	96.8	.50	50	25.00	107.2	.65	44	28.60	140.1	.47½	53	25.17	135.6
1917	.75	44	33.00	103.7	.55	50	27.50	118.0	.65	44	28.60	140.1	.50	50	25.00	134.7
1918	.80	44	33.20	110.6	.60	50	30.00	128.7	.70	44	30.80	150.9	.55	50	27.50	148.2
1919	1.00	44	44.00	138.3	.75	44	33.00	141.6	.75	44	33.00	161.7	.62½ ¹	44	27.50	148.2
1920	1.25	44	55.00	172.9	1.00	44	44.00	188.8	.90 ¹	44	39.60	194.1	.87½	44	38.50	202.5

1. Average wage

2. Average hours

Table 4.1 (Cont'd)

- 3 -

Year	Plumbers				Stonecutters				Builders Labourers				All Trades		
	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Index	Average Weekly Income	Average Money Income Index	
1900	.30	60	\$18.00	75	.50	53	\$27.50	95.4	\$.20	60	\$12.00	80	\$18.21	78.7	
1901	.40	54	21.60	90	.50	53	27.50	95.4	.20	60	12.00	80	18.72	80.9	
1902	.40	54	21.60	90	.52½	53	27.82	96.5	.22	60	13.20	88	19.02	82.2	
1903	.40	48	19.20	80	.55	53	29.15	101.2	.25	60	15.00	100	19.94	86.2	
1904	.40	48	19.20	80	.60	53	29.15	101.2	.25	60	15.00	100	20.26	87.6	
1905	.40	48	19.20	80	.60	53	31.80	110.4	.25	60	15.00	100	20.85	90.1	
1906	.42½	48	20.40	85	.60	48	28.80	100.0	.25	60	15.00	100	20.98	90.7	
1907	.47½	48	22.80	95	.60	48	28.80	100.0	.25	60	15.00	100	21.43	92.6	
1908	.47½	48	22.80	95	.60	48	28.80	100.0	.25	60	15.00	100	21.84	94.4	
1909	.50	48	24.00	100	.60	48	28.80	100.0	.25	60	15.00	100	22.78	98.5	
1910	.50	48	24.00	100	.60	48	28.80	100.0	.25	60	15.00	100	23.12	100.0	
1911	.50	48	24.00	100	.60	44	26.40	91.6	.27½	60	16.50	110	23.93	103.5	
1912	.55	44	24.20	100.8	.65	44	28.60	99.3	.27½	60	16.50	110	25.09	108.5	
1913	.55	44	24.20	100.8	.65	44	28.60	99.3	.27½	60	16.50	110	24.39	105.4	
1914	.55	44	24.20	100.8	.65	44	28.60	99.3	.27½	60	16.50	110	23.81	102.9	

Table 4.1 (Cont'd)

- 4 -

Year	Plumbers				Stonecutters				Builders Labourers				All Trades		
	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Average Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Average Money Income Index
1915	.55	44	\$24.20	100.8	.67½	44	\$29.70	103.1	.27½	60	\$16.50	110	\$25.05	108.3	
1916	.55	44	24.20	100.8	.67½	44	29.70	103.1	.30	60	18.00	120	25.92	112.1	
1917	.58 ¹	44	25.85	107.7	.72½	44	31.90	110.7	.35	60	21.00	140	27.55	119.1	
1918	.65	44	28.60	119.1	.75	44	33.00	114.5	.37½ ¹	60	22.50	150	29.65	128.2	
1919	.80	44	35.20	146.6	.80	44	35.20	122.2	.50	55 ²	27.50	183.3	33.62	145.4	
1920	1.00	44	44.00	183.3	1.00	44	44.00	152.7	.60	55 ²	33.00	220.	42.58	184.1	

A number of observations can be made from Table 4.1. From 1911 to 1920 the bricklayers received the highest wage rate while the unskilled builders labours received the lowest wage and worked the longest hours of all the crafts in the trade.

Although wage rates for all crafts increased over the two decades, the workers are most interested in their weekly income and reductions in hours were very often not compensated by an increase in wage rates. Thus the reduction in hours caused the weekly money income of bricklayers to decline from a peak of \$37.10 in 1912, not to be recovered until after the General Strike. Similarly the carpenters took a cut in weekly income between 1912 and 1914. The painters received a decrease in 1915. It took the stonecutters to 1917 to reach their previous peak of \$31.80 per week in 1905.

Table 4.2 contains the data for the crafts of the Metal Trades. The sources of information are similar to those used for the Building Trades. Included in this table as well are the wage rates only for machinists in the railway shops from 1900 to 1913. The rest of the series for the railway machinists is not available and no hours were reported. Although the series is incomplete it does point to the significant distinction between the railway and contract shop for those engaged in the same trade and further supports the contention referred to in Chapter 2, that a differential existed throughout the entire period under study.

Table 4.2

Metal Trades - Winnipeg

Year	<u>Blacksmiths</u>				<u>Boilermakers</u>				<u>Iron Moulders</u>			
	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index
1900	\$.27½	60	\$16.50	84.6	\$.28	57½	\$16.24	80.7	.27½ ¹	60	\$16.50	78.5
1901	.27½	60	16.50	84.6	.28	57½	16.24	80.7	.27½ ¹	60	16.50	78.5
1902	.27½	60	16.50	84.6	.27½	57½	15.80	78.5	.27½ ¹	60	16.50	78.5
1903	.27½	60	16.50	84.6	.27½	57½	15.80	82.1	.30	60	18.00	85.7
1904	.30	60	18.00	92.3	.28	57½	16.52	82.1	.30	60	18.00	85.7
1905	.30	60	18.00	92.3	.28	57½	16.52	92.8	.30	60	18.00	85.7
1906	.30	60	18.00	92.3	.32½	57½	18.68	98.5	.30	60	18.00	85.7
1907	.32½	60	19.50	100.0	.34¼	57½	19.83	98.5	.30	60	18.00	85.7
1908	.32½	60	19.50	100.0	.34¼	57½	19.83	100.0	.32½	60	19.50	92.8
1909	.32½	60	19.50	100.0	.35	57½	20.12	100.0	.32½	60	19.50	92.8
1910	.32½	60	19.50	100.0	.35	57½	20.12	100.0	.35	60	21.00	100.0
1911	.35	55	19.25	98.7	.40	57½	23.00	114.3	.35	55	19.25	91.6
1912	.35	55	19.25	98.7	.40	57½	23.00	114.3	.35	55	19.25	91.6
1913	.35	55	19.25	98.7	.40	57½	23.00	114.3	.37½	55	20.62	98.1

...2

Table 4.2 (Cont'd)

- 2 -

Year	<u>Blacksmiths</u>				<u>Boilermakers</u>				<u>Iron Moulders</u>			
	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Income Index
1914	\$.35	55	\$19.25	98.7	.40	57½	\$23.00	114.3	.37½	55	\$20.62	98.1
1915	.35	55	19.25	98.7	.40	57½	23.00	114.3	.37½	55	20.62	98.1
1916	.37½ ¹	55	20.65	105.8	.40	57½	23.00	114.3	.41½	55	22.82	108.6
1917	.44	55	24.20	124.1	.45	57½	25.87	128.5	.50	55	27.50	130.9
1918	.53½ ¹	55	29.42	150.8	.59	55	32.45	161.2	.52½ ¹	55	28.87	137.4
1919	.63½ ¹	55	34.92	179.0	.67½	50	33.75	167.7	.72½ ¹	50	36.25	172.6
1920	.75 ¹	50	37.50	192.3	.73½	50	36.75	182.6	.80	50	40.00	190.4

...3

Table 4.2 (Cont'd)

- 3 -

Machinists											
Machinists				Sheet Metal Workers							
RR Shops											
Year	Wages Hours		Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Wages per hour	Wages Hours		Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Average Weekly Income All Trades	Average Index All Trades
	per hour	per week				per hour	per week				
1900	\$.25½	60	\$15.30	71.1	\$.26 ¹	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		
1901	.25½	60	15.30	71.1	.27	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		
1902	.26	60	16.05	74.6	.27	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		
1903	.27½	60	16.50	76.7	.32½	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		
1904	.30	60	18.00	83.7	.34	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		
1905	.30	60	18.00	83.7	.34	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		
1906	.30	60	18.00	83.7	.37½	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		
1907	.32½	60	19.50	90.6	.42½	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		
1908	.32½	60	19.50	90.6	.42½	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		
1909	.35	60	21.50	100.0	.42½	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		
1910	.35	60	21.50	100.0	.42½	.41 .56½ ²	\$23.16 ²	100	21.05	100.0	
1911	.37½	57½ ²	21.55	100.2	.45½	.41 .54	22.14	95.5	21.03	99.9	
1912	.37½	57½	21.55	100.2	.45½	.45 .54	24.30	104.9	21.47	101.9	
1913	.40	57½	23.00	106.9	.45½	.45 .54	24.30	104.9	22.03	104.6	
1914	.40	57½	23.00	106.9	n.a.	.45 .54	24.30	104.9	22.03	104.6	

Table 4.2 (Cont'd)

- 4 -

Year	Machinists				Machinists RR Shops				Sheet Metal Workers				Average Weekly	
	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Index	Wages per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Income	Money Index	Income All Trades	Index All Trades
1915	\$.45	57½	\$25.87	120.3	n.a.	54	\$24.30	104.9	\$.45	54	\$24.30	104.9	\$22.60	107.3
1916	.45	57½	25.87	120.3	n.a.	54	24.30	104.9	.45	54	24.30	104.9	23.32	110.7
1917	.55	57½ ²	31.62	147.	n.a.	54	27.00	116.5	.50	54	27.00	116.5	27.23	129.3
1918	.65	55	35.75	166.2	n.a.	54	31.59	136.3	.58½	54	31.59	136.3	31.61	150.1
1919	.71½ ¹	52½ ²	35.53	174.5	n.a.	54	38.15	169.0	.72½	54	38.15	169.0	36.12	171.5
1920	.72½ ¹	50	36.50	169.7	n.a.	44	39.60	170.9	.90	44	39.60	170.9	38.07	180.8

1. Average wage

2. Average hours

Source: Cost of Living, Ottawa, 1915, p. 540-1; not included in average

The positions of the metal trades workers changed over the first two decades. Of further interest is the fact that only one craft, the sheet metal workers, was able to secure the 44 hour week. It took until 1920 to achieve this goal.

Owing to a reduction in hours without a corresponding increase in wage rates, the weekly income of blacksmiths fell between 1911 and 1915. The iron moulders were in the same position during 1911 and 1912 and the sheet metal workers in 1911.

Perhaps of greatest significance is the differential which existed between the machinists in the contract shops and their counterparts in the railway shops. The differential was always in favour of the railway shop machinists and moved from 5 cents an hour in 1903 to 4 cents in 1904 and 1905. In 1906 it jumped to $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour and from there to 10 cents per hour in 1907 and 1908. In 1909 and 1910 it declined to $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour once again but rose to 8 cents per hour in 1911 and 1912. By 1913 the differential had dropped to $5\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour. The significance of this differential between members of the same craft is great. Although never directly referred to in the demands of the contract shop employees in 1919, this long period in which they received lower wages than workers performing the same work certainly must have aroused a sense of grievance in their minds.

Table 4.3 provides the data for the Printing Trades. All sources mentioned above have been used in this table, but it is largely based on copies of signed agreements and returns from trade union officials. No hourly rate is given for the two crafts.

Table 4.3

Printing Trades - Winnipeg

Year	<u>Compositors, Hand</u> <u>Newspaper Offices</u>			<u>Pressmen, Cylinder</u> <u>Job Offices</u>			Average Weekly Income Average Index	
	Weekly Money Income	Hours per Week	Money Income Index	Weekly Money Income	Hours per Week	Money Income Index		
1900	\$18.00	51 ²	81.0	\$16.00	52	88.8	\$17.00	84.5
1901	18.00	51 ²	81.0	16.00	52	88.8	17.00	84.5
1902	18.00	51 ²	81.0	16.00	52	88.8	17.00	84.5
1903	18.00	51 ²	81.0	16.00	52	88.8	17.00	84.5
1904	18.00	48	81.0	16.00	52	88.8	17.00	84.5
1905	18.00	48	81.0	16.00	52	88.8	17.00	84.5
1906	18.00	48	81.0	16.00	52	88.8	17.00	84.5
1907	19.75 ²	48	88.8	16.00	52	88.8	17.85	88.7
1908	20.00	48	90.0	18.00	52	100.0	19.00	94.4
1909	20.00	48	90.0	18.00	48	100.0	19.00	94.4
1910	22.00	48	100.0	18.00	48	100.0	20.11	100.0
1911	24.00	48	108.0	18.00	48	100.0	21.00	104.4
1912	25.00	48	112.5	18.50 ¹	48	102.7	21.75	108.1
1913	26.00	48	117.0	21.00	48	116.6	23.50	116.8
1914	26.00	48	117.0	21.00	48	116.6	23.50	116.8
1915	26.00	48	117.0	21.50	48	119.4	23.75	118.1
1916	26.25 ¹	48	118.1	22.00	48	122.2	24.12	119.9
1917	27.00	48	121.5	25.00	48	138.8	26.00	129.2
1918	30.00	48	135.0	26.00	48	144.4	28.00	139.2
1919	35.50	48	159.7	35.00	48	194.4	35.25	175.2
1920	45.00	46	202.5	44.00	48	244.4	44.50	221.2

1. Average wage

2. Average hours

In every year the compositors weekly income was greater than that of the pressmen. From 1900-08 the pressmen had to work longer hours for less money. From 1909 to 1919 the hours of both groups were the same but the weekly income of the compositors was still greater, especially in 1913 and 1914 when they received \$5.00 per week more than the pressmen.

Table 4.4 contains the data for the Electric Street Railway conductors and motormen. The rates paid vary in nearly all instances according to the terms of service but the maximum rates are listed, unless otherwise stated, as these usually affect the largest number of men.

Table 4.4

Electric Street Railway - Winnipeg

Conductors and Motormen*

Year	Wage per hour	Hours per week	Weekly Money Income	Money Income Index
1900	\$.19	60	\$ 11.40	70.3
1901	.19	60	11.40	70.3
1902	.21	60	12.60	77.7
1903	.24 ^a	60	14.40	88.8
1904	.24 ^a	60	14.40	88.8
1905	.24	60	14.40	88.8
1906	.26	60	15.60	96.2
1907	.26	60	15.60	96.2
1908	.26	60	15.60	96.2
1909	.26	60	15.60	96.2
1910	.27 ^a	60	16.20	100.0
1911	.29 ^a	54	15.66	96.6
1912	.32 ^a	54	17.28	106.6
1913	.34 ^a	54	18.36	113.3
1914	.34 ^a	54	18.36	113.3
1915	.34 ^a	54	18.36	113.3
1916	.34 ^a	54	18.36	113.3
1917	.36 ^a	54	19.44	120.0
1918	.39 ^a	54	21.06	130.0
1919	.55	48	26.40	162.9
1920	.60	48	28.80	177.7

* For a more detailed set of figures see Cost of Living (Ottawa, 1915) Vol. 2, pp. 242-3.

^a Maximum rate reached in fourth year; all other figures are for third year of service.

Table 4.5 contains the figures for the Steam Railway telegraphers and sectionmen. The wages for telegraphers was given by the month. The weekly income was derived by simple division of the monthly rates by 4. The rates for sectionmen are daily rates, thus the weekly income was derived by multiplying the daily rate by 6 based on a 60 hour week and a 10 hour day. Both crafts worked a 60 hour week until 1918 when the hours worked per week decline to 48.

Table 4.5

Steam Railways - Winnipeg

Year	<u>Telegraphers</u>			<u>Sectionmen</u>			Average Weekly Income	Average Money Index
	Monthly Income	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Daily Rate	Weekly Income	Money Income Index		
1900	\$50.00	\$12.50	76.9	\$1.40	\$8.40	80.0	\$10.45	78.1
1901	55.00	13.75	84.6	1.50	9.00	85.7	11.37	85.0
1902	55.00	13.75	84.6	1.50	9.00	85.7	11.37	85.0
1903	55.00	13.75	84.6	1.50	9.00	85.7	11.37	85.0
1904	55.00	13.75	84.6	1.50	9.00	85.7	11.37	85.0
1905	55.00	13.75	84.6	1.50	9.00	85.7	11.37	85.0
1906	55.00	13.75	84.6	1.55	9.30	88.5	11.52	86.1
1907	62.70	15.67	96.4	1.75	10.50	100.0	13.08	97.8
1908	62.70	15.67	96.4	1.75	10.50	100.0	13.08	97.8
1909	62.70	15.67	96.4	1.75	10.50	100.0	13.08	97.8
1910	65.00	16.25	100.0	1.75	10.50	100.0	13.37	100.0

Table 4.5 (Cont'd)

Steam Railways - Winnipeg

Year	<u>Telegraphers</u>			<u>Sectionmen</u>				
	Monthly Income	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Daily Rate	Weekly Income	Money Income Index	Average Weekly Income	Average Money Index
1911	\$65.00	\$16.25	100.0	\$2.05	\$12.30	117.1	\$14.27	106.7
1912	73.00	18.25	112.3	2.05	12.30	117.1	15.27	114.2
1913	73.00	18.25	112.3	2.05	12.30	117.1	15.27	114.2
1914	73.00	18.25	112.3	2.05	12.30	117.1	15.27	114.2
1915	73.00	18.25	112.3	2.05	12.30	117.1	15.27	114.2
1916	78.00	19.50	120.0	2.05	12.30	117.1	15.90	118.9
1917	78.00	19.50	120.0	2.25	13.50	128.5	16.50	123.4
1918	78.00	19.50	120.0	2.60	15.60	148.5	17.55	131.2
1919	115.00	28.75	176.9	3.20	19.20	182.8	23.97	179.2
1920	141.00	35.75	216.9	3.88	23.28	221.7	29.26	218.8

Table 4.6 contains the figures for the Municipal Employees. a) Police Department consisting of constables, patrolmen or privates; b) Fire Department consisting of firemen. The figures for 1900-1913 were obtained from the Cost of Living, Volume 2, p. 548. The figures for the remainder of the series for the a) Police Department were secured from the Minutes of the Board of Police Commissioners, Clerk of the Court, City Police Department, Winnipeg. The figures for the remainder of the series for the b) Fire Department were obtained as follows:

The payroll ledger for fire station number 1 was secured. Due to the intervention of the war, many firemen left for service overseas thus breaking the continuity of the series. Therefore thirteen men were chosen and the date they entered service recorded. Of the thirteen only three had complete pay records for the years 1913-20. Two of the four men had seniority coinciding with the years of service, 2 and 3. The third man had slightly more than 4 years of service. However the series was overlapped with the figures from the Cost of Living, Volume 2 and was found to be consistent. The payroll ledger also catagorized the men as "Horsemen" but the rates of pay appeared to be the same as that of "Firemen". One of the men was promoted to "Ladderman" in 1916 but again this did not appear to affect the series.

As above the weekly income of both groups was derived by dividing the monthly rate by 4. Only the weekly income and index numbers are shown in this table.

Table 4.6

Wage Per Week

Municipal Employees

(a) Police Department - Constables, Patrolmen or Privates

1900 - 1910

	1900	Index	1901	Index	1902	Index	1903	Index	1904	Index	1905	Index	1906	Index	1907	Index	1908	Index	1909	Index	1910	Index
	13.75	76.8	13.75	76.8	12.50	72.4	15.00	86.9	16.50	95.6	16.50	95.6	16.50	95.6	15.00	86.9	15.00	86.9	15.00	86.9	17.25	100.0
	15.00	75.0	15.00	75.0	15.00	75.0	16.25	81.2	17.75	88.7	17.75	88.7	17.75	88.7	17.50	87.5	17.50	87.5	17.50	87.5	20.00	100.0
	16.25	70.6	16.25	70.6	17.50	76.0	17.50	76.0	19.25	83.6	19.25	83.6	19.25	83.6	20.00	86.9	20.00	86.9	20.00	86.9	23.00	100.0

1911 - 1920

	1911	Index	1912	Index	1913	Index	1914	Index	1915	Index	1916	Index	1917	Index	1918	Index	1919	Index	1920	Index
	17.25	100.0	21.25	123.1	21.25	123.1	21.25	123.1	21.25	123.1	21.25	123.1	22.16	128.4	27.12	157.2	30.00	173.9	32.50	188.4
	20.00	100.0	23.75	118.7	23.75	118.7	23.75	118.7	23.75	118.7	23.75	118.7	25.75	128.7	28.81	144.0	32.50	162.5	35.00	181.2
	23.00	100.0	25.00	108.6	25.00	108.6	25.00	108.6	25.00	108.6	25.00	108.6	27.50	119.5	31.56	137.2	35.00	152.1	38.75	170.5

Source: Cost of Living, Vol. 2, p. 518 - Figures given as derived by dividing monthly rate by 4

Source: Policemen 1914-20 from Minutes of Board of Police Commissioners, Clerk of the Court, City Police Department. Note: Assumption made that

1st Class constable = 4 years of service

2nd Class constable = 3 years of service

3rd Class constable = 2 years of service

Table 4.6

Wage Per Week

Municipal Employees

(b) Fire Department - Firemen

1900-1910

Years of service	1900	Index	1901	Index	1902	Index	1903	Index	1904	Index	1905	Index	1906	Index	1907	Index	1908	Index	1909	Index	1910	Index
2	12.00	64	12.00	64	13.25	70	15.00	80	15.00	80	15.00	80	16.25	86.6	16.25	86.6	16.25	86.6	18.75	100.0	18.75	100
3	12.75	63.7	12.75	63.7	14.00	70	16.25	81.2	16.25	81.2	16.25	81.2	17.50	87.5	17.50	87.5	17.50	87.5	20.00	100.0	20.00	100
4	13.50	63.5	13.50	63.5	14.75	69.4	17.50	82.3	17.50	82.3	17.50	82.3	18.75	88.2	18.75	88.2	18.75	88.2	21.25	100.0	21.25	100

1911-1920

Years of service	1911	Index	1912	Index	1913	Index	1914	Index	1915	Index	1916	Index	1917	Index	1918	Index	1919	Index	1920	Index
2	18.75	100.	18.75	100.	20.00	106.6	22.50	120.0	22.50	120.0	27.50	146.6	27.50	146.6	30.25	161.3	31.25	166.6	36.25	193.3
3	20.00	100.	20.00	100.	22.50	112.5	25.00	126.0	27.50	137.5	27.50	137.5	27.50	137.5	30.25	151.2	31.25	156.2	36.25	181.2
4	21.25	100.	21.25	100.	27.50	129.4	27.50	129.4	27.50	129.4	27.50	129.4	27.50	129.4	30.35	142.3	31.25	147.0	36.25	170.5

Source: Firemen 1914-20 from Payroll Ledger City of Winnipeg Fire Department (Mr. Warrack). For 2 years service 1914-20 A. Libby, Hoseman
For 3 years service 1914-20 C.H. Sartwell, Hoseman
For 4 years service 1914-20 W.D. Stewart, Hoseman.

(Sartwell promoted to Ladderman in 1916) All wages as of December from fire Station #1 Winnipeg.

See Appendix for monthly income of both a) Police Department
b) Fire Department

From 1907 to 1909, the wages of members of the police department with 2 years service decreased \$6.00 per month; those with 3 years service \$1.00 per month.

Summary

The Building Trades on average received gradual money income increase between 1900 and 1912, the period of the construction boom in Winnipeg. In 1913 the average of all the crafts in the trade fell below the 1913 level and declined even further the following year. By 1915 the average weekly index for all crafts was .3 below the 1912 index of 108.5. Between 1915 and 1918 the weekly money income increased gradually and the workers in the Building Trades received an average increase of 18.3%.

The crafts of the Metal Trades followed the same pattern after 1912. On the average they received a negligible increase in 1911 and thereafter followed a slow but steady pattern upwards. Between 1915 and 1918 they received an average increase of 39.8%.

On average the two crafts representing the Printing Trades made money income gains between 1907 and 1918. There was no change in the average weekly income from 1900-05. Between 1915 and 1918 they received an average increase of 17.8%.

Owing to a reduction in hours and only a 2 cent per hour increase in money wages, the conductors and motormen of the Electric Street Railway took a 3.4% decline in their weekly wage between 1910 and 1911. Thereafter their weekly income increased and between 1915 and 1918 it

increased by 14.7%.

The average weekly income of the Steam Railway Employees did not decline in any year between 1900 and 1920. However it remained unchanged for a 5 year period between 1901 and 1905, and again for a 4 year period between 1912 and 1915. Between 1915 and 1918 weekly income increased by 14.8%.

The weekly income of the policemen with 2 years service of the Municipal Employees fluctuated between 1900 and 1907. Between 1915 and 1918 those with 2 years service received a money income increase of 27.7%; those with 3 years service 21.3%; and those with 4 years service 26.3%.

The weekly income of firemen with 2,3, and 4 years service moved steadily upward from 1900-18. Between 1915 and 1918 those with 2 years service received a money income increase of 34.4%; those with 3 years service 9.9% and those with 4 years service 9.9%.

However money wage and weekly income figures alone reveal very little. They must be compared with the movement of prices during this period to appreciate their significance.

CHAPTER 5

Prices

The purpose of this chapter is to present a description of the construction of the price index for Winnipeg. The commodity composition and method of weighting used will be described as well as the sources used. To some extent the choice of prices to use to construct an index has been limited by the lack of data. For this study, retail prices of commodities offer a better yardstick of measurement of prices than do wholesale, since they reflect what is actually being paid by the consumer.

Sources:

The retail prices used in this study are those which have been collected by the local correspondants for Winnipeg and which, in turn, have been published in the Labour Gazette.

The weekly retail prices were collected on the fifteenth day of each month and include twenty eight articles of staple consumption, plus fuel and rent. Those articles designated as food are as follows: sirloin steak; medium chuck; veal, forequarter; mutton, roast, hindquarter; pork, roasting, fresh and salt; bacon, best smoked, lard, pure leaf, eggs, packed and fresh; milk; butter, dairy tub and creamery prints; cheese; bread, plain white; flour; rolled oats; rice "B"; beans; apples, evaporated; prunes, medium quality; sugar, granulated and yellow; tea, black and green; coffee; potatoes.

For fuel the articles included: coal, anthracite and bituminous; wood, hard; and coal oil.

Rent is also measured and consists of an average working mans home with sanitary conveniences. The weekly rate was arrived at by simple division of the monthly rate by four.

In the case of retail prices where the number of commodities is comparatively limited, and where marked variations occur in the importance of the articles, an unweighted average is unconvincing. This is particularly the case where the most rapid advances have occurred in meats and other articles of first importance to the consumer. The best set of weights which can be secured are those reported as follows:

FOOD

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>Weight</u>
Beef, sirloin steak	2 lbs.
Beef, medium chuck*	2 lbs.
Veal, forequarter*	1 lb.
Mutton, roast	1 lb.
Pork, fresh	1 lb.
Pork, salt	2 lbs.
Bacon	1 lb.
Fish**	1 lb.
Lard, pure leaf	2 lbs.
Eggs, fresh	1 doz.
Eggs, packed	1 doz.
Milk	6 qts.
Butter, dairy	2 lbs.
Cheese	1 lb.
Bread, plain white	15 lbs.
Flour, ordinary family	10 lbs.
Rolled oats	5 lbs.
Rice "B"	2 lbs.
Beans	2 lbs.
Apples, evaporated	1 lb.
Prunes, medium quality	1 lb.
Sugar, granulated	4 lbs.
Sugar, yellow	2 lbs.
Tea, black	$\frac{1}{4}$ lb.
Tea, green	$\frac{1}{4}$ lb.
Coffee	$\frac{1}{4}$ lb.
Butter, creamery	1 lb.
Potatoes	2 pks.

*Slight changes were made as follows: Beef, shoulder roast, was made to equal beef, medium chuck; veal shoulder was made to equal veal forequarter.

**A weight for fish was estimated at 1 pound per week.

FUEL AND LIGHTING

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>Weight</u>
Coal, anthracite	1/16 ton
Coal, bituminous	1/16 ton
Wood, hard	1/16 cord
Coal, oil	1 gal.

RENT

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>Weight</u>
Rent	$\frac{1}{4}$ month.

Source: Prices and Price Indexes, 1913 - 1927, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1928, p. 69.

What then in effect will be measured is a budget of weekly family expenditures. The figures for 1900, 1905 and 1909 were secured from the Board of Inquiry into the Cost of Living, Volume 1, page 200. The date for the collection of the data was chosen as the middle of December since this is when the volume of household buying is perhaps at its height and yet the date of the quotations, namely the second week of the month, is perhaps early enough to escape abnormal holiday demands.¹ The quotations from 1910 to 1920 were secured from the Labour Gazette in mid-December as well.

¹ Board of Inquiry into Cost of Living in Canada, Vol. 2, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1915, p. 71.

In order to convert the considerable amount of material into a manageable form, index numbers were used. The year 1910 was selected as the base year and made equal to 100. The commodities referred to above were summed and index numbers with 1910 as the base are as follows:

Table 5.1

Index Numbers of Weekly Expenditure
on Food, Fuel and Lighting and Rent, 1900-1920

1910 = 100

<u>Year</u>	<u>Index</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Index</u>
1900	86.9	1914	107.2
1905	89.6	1915	101.3
1909	99.5	1916	110.2
1910	100.0	1917	131.7
1911	102.6	1918	144.2
1912	115.9	1919	167.5
1913	123.2	1920	195.1

Source: See Appendix B

The years of greatest importance for our study are 1915 to 1918.

During these years the cost of living rose from an index of 101.3 in 1915 to 144.2 in 1918, an increase of 42.3%.

An important commodity for which price data for Winnipeg was unavailable was that of clothing. It has not been included in weekly expenditures but requires examination because of its importance in the consumers budget. Weighted index numbers for clothing are available for Canada only from 1910 to 1920, with 1913=100. These have been converted to

a 1910 base to be consistent with the other commodities comprising the budget.² It is assumed that the Canadian figures for clothing are sufficiently appropriate to be used since the type and kinds of basic clothing are fairly standard throughout the Dominion. The index numbers of the base year and the critical years, 1915-18 are presented below. The weight for clothing has been placed at 20% in 1910 based on weight by Buckley & Urquhart at 20% for 1913.³ This is somewhat less in 1918. However, it does indicate the importance of this item in the budget and probably provides an upper limit for the cost of living. The estimates of the actual cost of living probably lies somewhere between the index without clothing and the index with clothing.

Table 5.2

Index Numbers Including Clothing - Selected Years

1910 = 100

<u>Year</u>	<u>Index</u>
1910	100.0
1915	108.0
1916	119.1
1917	141.5
1918	158.3

Between 1915-18 the index of clothing increased from 104.4 to 141.6 an increase of 46.5% The importance of this will be commented on in Chapter 6.

² See Appendix C for the derivation of Clothing index and the sources used.

³ M.C. Urquhart and K.A. Buckley, Historical Statistics of Canada (Toronto, 1965), p. 288.

Limitations

There are of course limitations in using a fixed budget over a period of time. It is incapable of measuring changes in quality, nor can it measure the effect of the transition from the old to the new. It only deals with price changes and cannot encompass the changes in the nature and quality of the goods and services themselves. There is also the problem of carrying an unchanged budget over a pre-war and post-war period. These problems are recognized in the construction of the index. However, due to lack of more detailed data the movement of retail prices contained in our index for these years is the best source that exists and probably provides a reasonable approximation to the actual movement of living costs.⁴

Another factor of importance associated with prices is the "standard of living" or anticipations of individuals as opposed to the "level of living" or what it is costing them to live decently. This is a very significant factor and enters into the cost of living in a most intimate way. The individual's standard is to some degree determined by that of the community in which he lives, and though impossible to measure statistically, is an important concept to bear in mind. It will be argued in a later chapter that this concept had an important influence on the events of 1917 to 1919.

⁴ For a discussion on other methods to use to comprise a cost of living index see A.H. Hansen, "The Best Measure of Real Wages", American Economic Review, Supplement, Vol. 16, No. 1, March 1926.

CHAPTER 6

Real Income

The purpose of this chapter is to combine the series of the last two chapters and examine in detail the movement of real income for the various trade groups. This method conceives the problem of real income from the standpoint of the worker as a consumer concerned with the problem of securing want-satisfying goods and services. The real income is of course obtained by dividing the various indices of money income by the index of the cost of living.

There are other factors which by themselves have tended to increase the economic welfare of workers to a greater extent than is indicated by the movement of real income as presented below. Several of these are:

- (1) The decreasing size of workingmen's families. Although we have no accurate measure of the size of the unit it is probable that family size did decrease to some extent over the two decades. Thus the workers real income has consequently been shared with fewer persons.
- (2) The decrease in the number of hours of the work week and consequent additions to leisure time of the workers have enabled them to carry out some services which they formerly would have been compelled either to pay for or go without. There is however an important qualification on the point since in many instances as presented in Chapter 4, a decrease in hours without a corresponding rise in money wages meant a decrease in weekly earnings. Hence the worker in many cases would

in fact be obliged to carry out his own services or go without because of the loss of real income. This situation would exist until the rates again rose in order to bring the workers weekly income back to its former level when he was working a longer week. In many cases this required four or five years to take place.

(3) The increase to real income effected by public expenditure on free services for workers and their families such as public education and transportation cannot be ignored.

Partially offsetting the above factors which tend to increase real income is the problem of increasing urbanization of industrial life.¹ Because of the lack of price data for the years 1901 to 1904 and 1906 to 1908 the comments for all groups discussed below for the period 1900 to 1909 will be of a general nature. Not enough information is available for these years to permit any detailed analysis. The emphasis will be placed on the critical years 1915-18.

¹ For more detail on the above factors see P.H. Douglas, "The Movement of Real Wages and its Economic Significance", American Economic Review, Supplement, Vol. 16, No. 1. March 1926, pp 17-53.

A. Building TradesBricklayers

Presented below are the index numbers for the bricklayers as well as the percent change in real income by year.

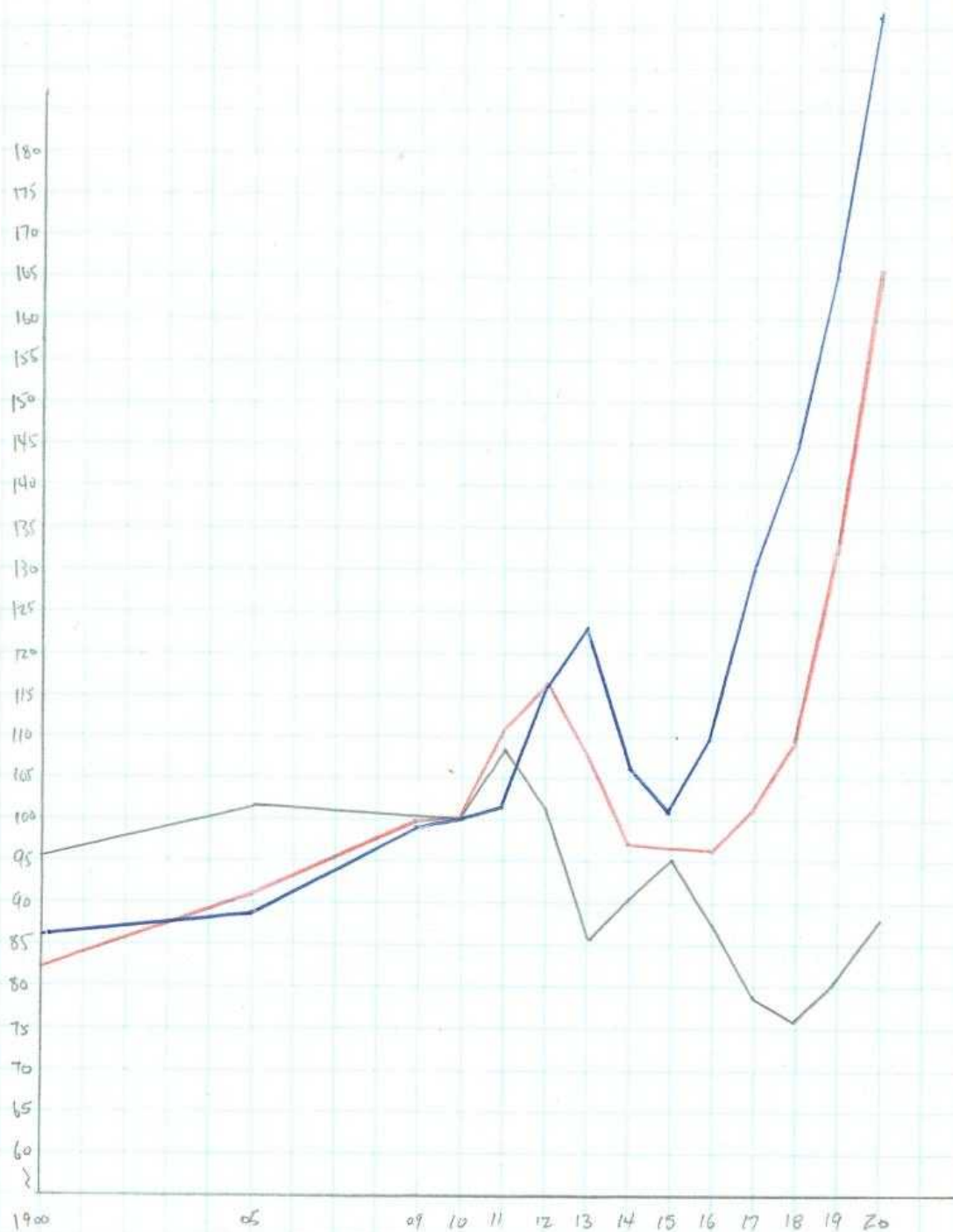
Bricklayers

Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	% change Real income
1900	83.3	86.9	95.8	+6.6
1905	91.6	89.6	102.2	-1.6
1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	+0.4
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	+9.5
1911	112.4	102.6	109.5	-8.1
1912	116.6	115.9	100.6	-14.8
1913	105.6	123.2	85.7	+5.2
1914	96.8	107.2	90.2	+5.8
1915	96.8	101.3	95.5	-8.0
1916	96.8	110.2	87.8	-10.3
1917	103.7	131.7	78.7	-2.6
1918	110.6	144.2	76.6	+7.7
1919	138.3	167.5	82.5	+7.3
1920	172.9	195.1	88.6	

Between 1900 and 1905 the bricklayers received a money wage increase of 3 cents an hour. The price index changed only slightly in 1905 so that the real income of the bricklayers reached an index of 102.2, which, during the next fifteen years was only exceeded in 1911. Between 1905 and 1909 they received a money wage increase of 5 cents per hour but the rapid rise of prices resulted in the erosion of the real wage which

BRICKLAYERS

— Price Movements
— Real Income
— Money Income



fell to an index of 100.5 , a decline of 1.6% in real income. The decline in the real wage corresponds with the financial stringency which began in 1907 and lasted through to early 1908. The stringency affected all crafts of the building trades in an adverse manner but in varying degrees. Approximately 500 bricklayers went on strike in July 1907 for higher wages and shorter hours but returned three weeks later with no advance in pay and a concession of a half day Saturday during July and August.

Between 1909 and 1911 the value of construction increased by \$8.3 millions, which, associated with a declining cost of living and money income increases, resulted in an increase in real income of 8.9% for the bricklayers. This substantial real increase was immediately lost during the next two years as the cost of living rose rapidly and real income fell by 21.7% between 1911 and 1913.

A real gain of 11.4% was experienced from 1913 to 1915 as the pre-war depression set in and the cost of living declined. From 1915 to 1918 the value of construction increased by less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a million dollars or roughly 1.2%. This very low level of construction activity seriously affected all crafts in the building trades and resulted in the bricklayers receiving a real income decline of 19.7% between 1915-18. Using a reconstructed price index including clothing the real income declined by 22.09%. The price index including clothing is the higher of the two and thus probably exaggerates the inflationary increase. The actual decline in real income probably lies somewhere between the two.

Carpenters

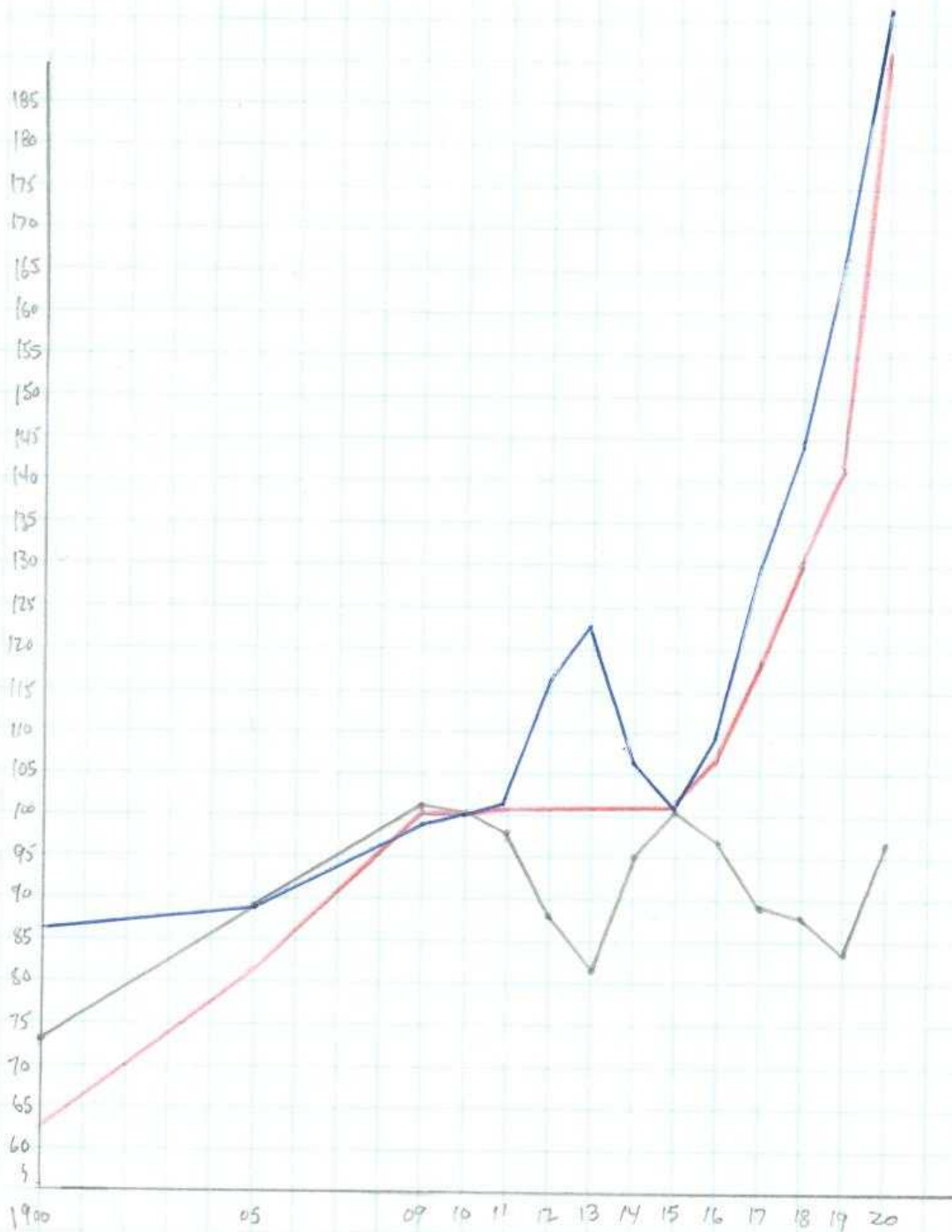
Presented below are the index numbers for the carpenters as well as the percent change in real income by year.

<u>Carpenters</u>				
Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	% of Real Income
1900	64.3	86.9	73.9	+21.2
1905	80.3	89.6	89.6	+12.8
1909	100.6	99.5	101.1	+1.0
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	-2.6
1911	100.0	102.6	97.4	-9.7
1912	101.9	115.9	87.9	-5.9
1913	101.9	123.2	82.7	+14.8
1914	101.9	107.2	95.0	+5.7
1915	101.9	101.3	100.5	-3.2
1916	107.2	110.2	97.2	-7.9
1917	118.0	131.7	89.5	-0.3
1918	128.7	144.2	89.2	-5.2
1919	141.6	167.5	84.5	+14.4
1920	188.8	195.1	96.7	

Of all the crafts in the trade, the carpenters and the builders labourers were the best off in the early years. Between 1900-05 the carpenters received the second largest real income increase at 21.2%. Between 1905-09 they received a further increase in real income of 12.8%.

CARPENTERS

—•— Price Movements
—•— Real Income
—•— Money Income



For 1909 to 1911 construction activity increased once again after the stringency of 1907-08. In August, 1909 approximately 600 carpenters struck for an increase in wages and a new code of working rules. They were partially successful, but the Labour Gazette reported that because of the decline in rents in 1909 in some areas of the city, speculators were deterred from investing in residential building, thus perhaps accounting for the decline of 3.6% in real income between 1909-11. As prices soared between 1911 and 1913 and money income remained practically unchanged, the real income of the carpenters fell by 15.0%. The reverse situation occurred between 1913 and 1915 as money income remained unchanged but the cost of living fell, giving the carpenters a real income increase of 21.5%. Between 1915-18 the carpenters received the second smallest decline in real income of all the crafts. Their real income fell by 11.2%. However, when the cost of clothing is included the real income decline increased to 13.7% for these years. Once again it must be stressed that 13.7% is a upper limit and the real decline will probably be somewhat less.

Electrical Workers

Presented below are the index numbers for the electrical workers as well as the percent change in real income by year.

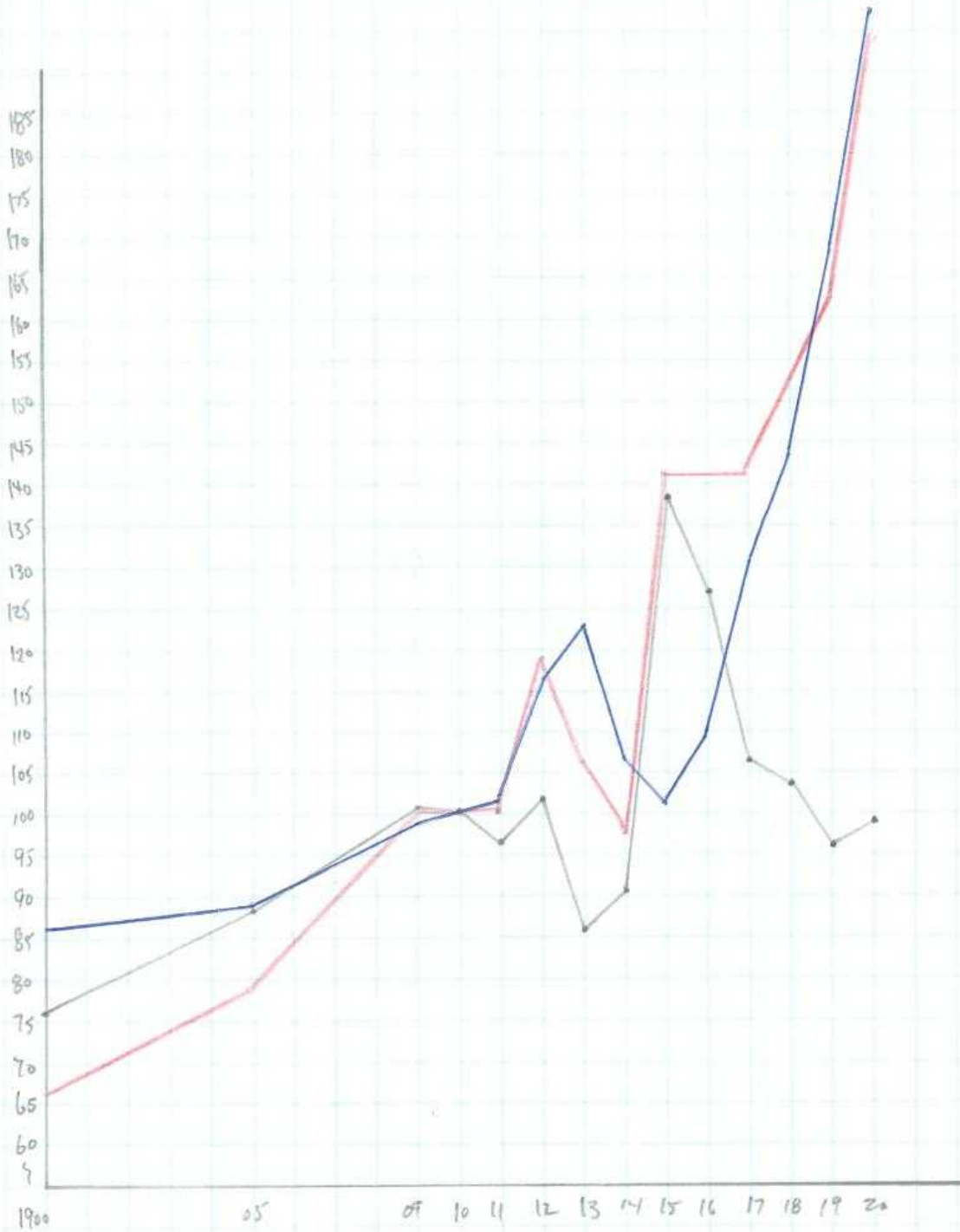
Electrical Workers

Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	% of Real Income
1900	66.1	86.9	76.0	+16.5
1905	79.4	89.6	88.6	+13.4
1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	-0.4
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	-2.6
1911	100.0	102.6	97.4	+5.4
1912	119.1	115.9	102.7	-16.4
1913	105.8	123.2	85.8	+5.3
1914	97.0	107.2	90.4	+52.9
1915	140.1	101.3	138.3	-8.0
1916	140.1	110.2	127.1	-16.3
1917	140.1	131.7	106.3	-1.5
1918	150.9	144.2	104.6	-7.7
1919	161.7	167.5	96.5	+3.0
1920	194.1	195.1	99.4	

A strike by 75 electrical workers in June 1905 resulted in a wage increase being granted to the workers. This is reflected

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

— Price Movements
— Real Income
— Money Income



in the real income increase of 16.5% between 1900 and 1905.

Between 1905 and 1909 the electrical workers real income increased by 13.4% but fell by 3% between 1909 and 1911. Between 1911 and 1913 their real income declined by 11.9%.

Between 1913 and 1915 the electrical workers made the largest real income gains of all the crafts in the trade as their real income leaped upward by 61.6%. They also suffered the greatest decline of all the crafts in the trade as their real income fell by 24.3% between 1915 and 1918. Once again including the cost of clothing the index results in further decline in real income of an additional 2.2% or a total decline of 26.5% between 1915-18.

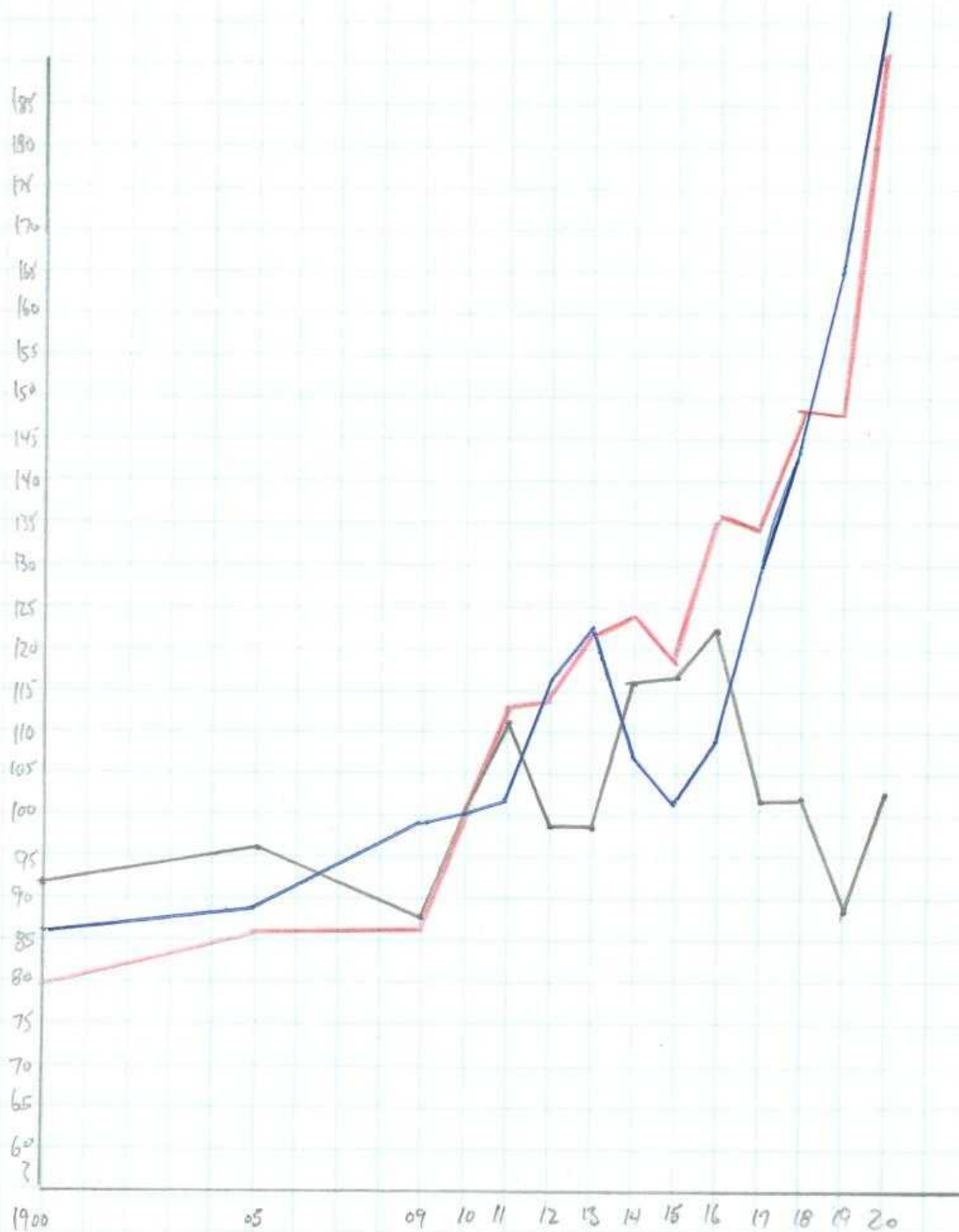
Painters

Presented below are the index numbers for painters as well as the percent change in real income by year.

<u>Painters</u>				
Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	% of Real Income
1900	80.8	86.9	92.9	+2.9
1905	85.7	89.6	95.6	-9.9
1909	85.7	99.5	86.1	+16.1
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	+11.3
1911	114.2	102.6	111.3	-11.5
1912	114.2	115.9	98.5	---
1913	121.4	123.2	98.5	+17.5
1914	124.2	107.2	115.8	+0.3
1915	117.8	101.3	116.2	+5.8
1916	135.6	110.2	123.0	-16.9
1917	134.7	131.7	102.2	+0.4
1918	148.2	144.2	102.7	-13.9
1919	148.2	167.5	88.4	+17.3
1920	202.5	195.1	103.7	

PAINTERS

—•— Price Movements
—•— Real Income
—•— Money Income



The painters received the smallest real income increase of all the crafts in the trade between 1900-05. Their real income increased by only 2.9%. Their decline in real income between 1905-09 was the second largest at 9.9%, the same as the builders labourers.

The painters received the largest real gain between 1909 and 1911 as their real income increased by 29.2%. There were no disputes between the painters and the contractors during these years but the cold winter referred to above may have aided in the carpenters receiving wage gains, since the craft is one which operates primarily indoors. A strike by 750 painters in April 1913, affecting some 100 firms was successful and was partly responsible in maintaining their real income relative to the other crafts between 1911 and 1913 as their real income declined by only 11.5%.

Between 1913 and 1915 they received a real income increase of 17.9% and unlike the other crafts secured a real income increase of 5.8% between 1915 and 1916. Between 1915 and 1918 the soaring cost of living eroded real gains as the real income of painters declined by 11.6%. The real income decline including clothing as part of the budget resulted in an upper limit decline of 14.1%. A strike by 290 painters in May 1917, affecting 40 firms was successful but this did not aid in offsetting their real income decline between 1915 and 1918.

Plumbers

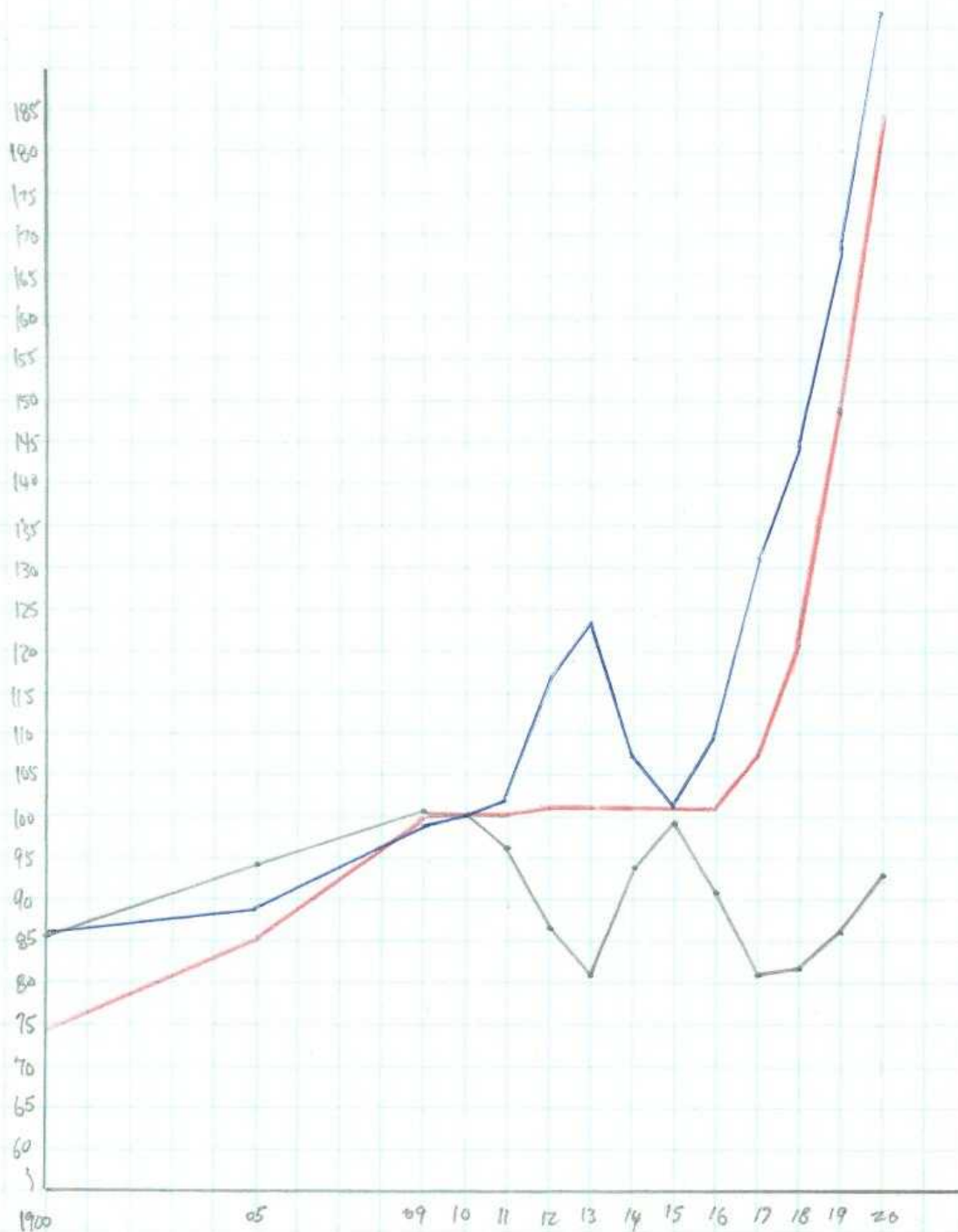
Presented below are the index numbers for the plumbers as well as the percent change in real income by year.

Plumbers

Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	% of Real Income
1900	75.0	86.9	86.3	+9.8
1905	85.0	89.6	94.8	+6.0
1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	-0.4
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	-2.6
1911	100.0	102.6	97.4	-10.7
1912	100.8	115.9	86.9	-5.8
1913	100.8	123.2	81.8	+14.9
1914	100.8	107.2	94.0	+5.8
1915	100.8	101.3	99.5	-8.1
1916	100.8	110.2	91.4	-10.6
1917	107.7	131.7	81.7	+0.9
1918	119.1	144.2	82.5	+4.6
1919	146.6	167.5	86.3	+8.8
1920	183.3	195.1	93.9	

PLUMBERS

— Price Movements
— Real Income
— Money Income



Between 1900-05 the plumbers real income increased by 9.8% and increased another 6.0% during the next four years.

Between 1909 and 1911 the plumbers received a real decrease of 3.0% and an even further decrease during the next two years as the real income declined by 16.0% between 1911 and 1913. Between 1913-15 they experienced a real gain of 21.6%. Between 1915-18 their real income declined by 17.0% and including clothing in the budget real income fell a further 2.3%.

Stonecutters

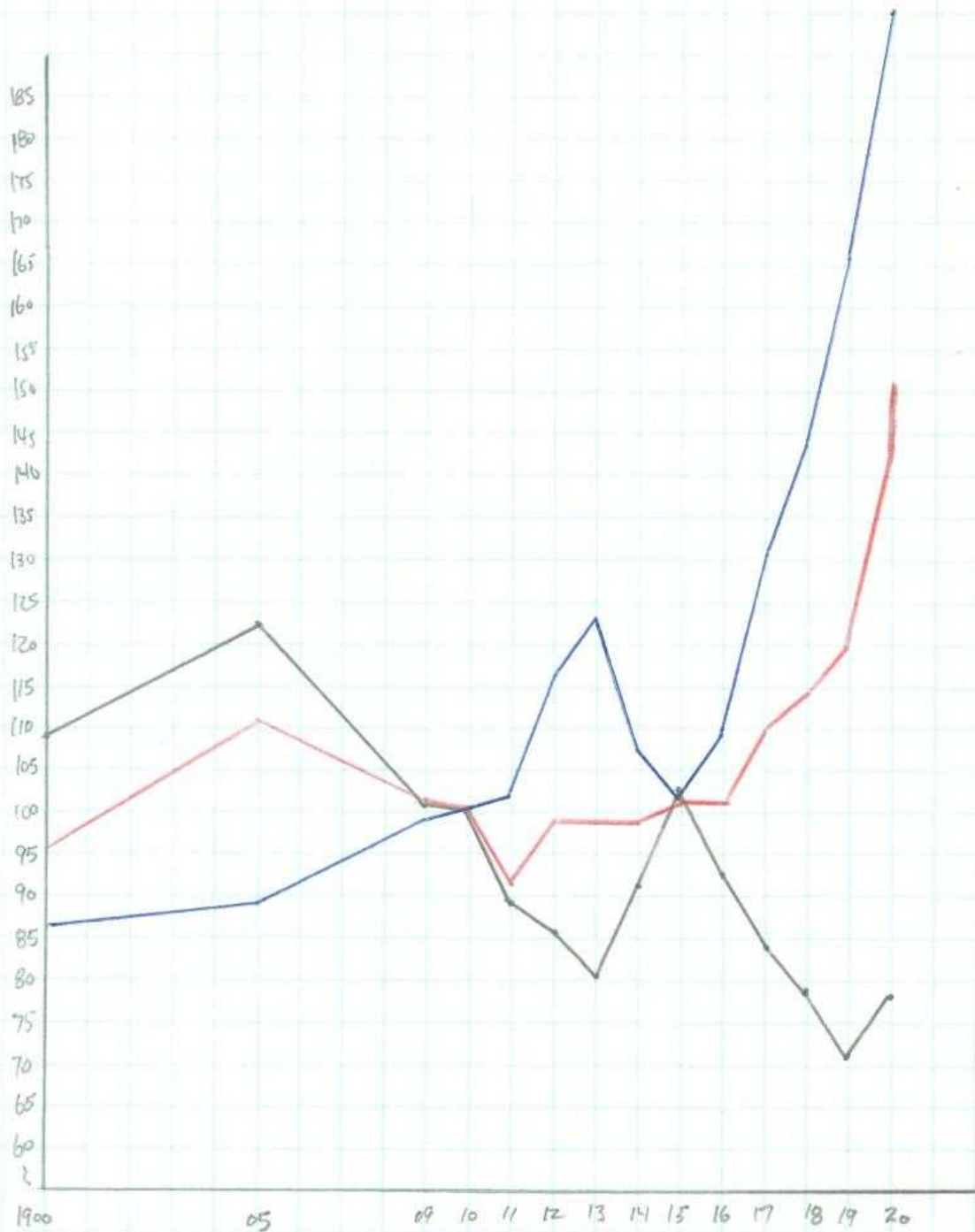
Presented below are the index numbers for stonecutters as well as the percent change in real income by year.

Stonecutters

Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	% of Real Income
1900	95.4	86.9	109.7	+12.3
1905	110.4	89.6	123.2	-18.4
1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	-0.4
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	-10.8
1911	91.6	102.6	89.2	-4.0
1912	99.3	115.9	85.6	-5.8
1913	99.3	123.2	80.6	+14.8
1914	99.3	107.2	92.6	+9.8
1915	103.1	101.3	101.7	-8.0
1916	103.1	110.2	93.5	-10.1
1917	110.7	131.7	84.0	-5.4
1918	114.5	144.2	79.4	-8.1
1919	122.2	167.5	72.9	+7.2
1920	152.7	195.1	78.2	

STONE CUTTERS

— Price Movements
— Real Income
— Money Income



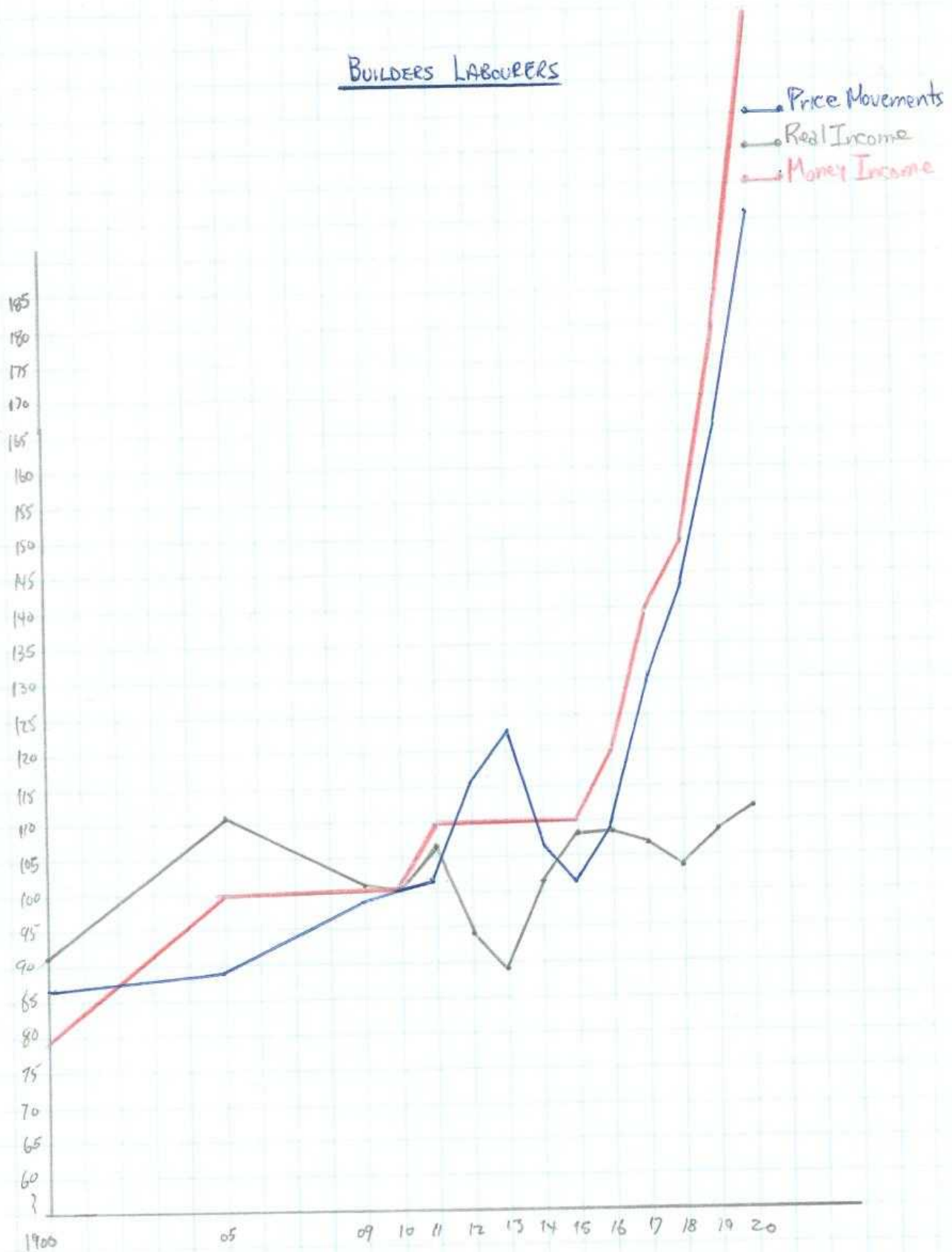
In the early part of the century, stone was a major component in construction and stonecutters were well employed. Between 1900-05 the real income of stonecutters increased by 12.3% but during the next four years decreased by 18.4%, the largest decline of all the crafts between 1905-09. Between 1909-11 their real income fell by 11.2% and again by 9.6% during the next two years. Between 1913-15 money income changed very little but falling prices resulted in a real income increase of 26.1%. Between 1915-18 the real income of the stonecutters fell by 21.9%. The total decline which includes the clothing index resulted in upper limit decline of 24.2% in real income.

Builders Labourers

Presented below are the index numbers for builders labourers as well as the percent change in real income by year.

Builders Labourers

Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	% of Real Income
1900	80.0	86.9	92.0	+21.3
1905	100.0	89.6	111.6	-9.9
1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	-0.4
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	+7.2
1911	110.0	102.6	107.2	-11.4
1912	110.0	115.9	94.9	-6.0
1913	110.0	123.2	89.2	+15.0
1914	110.0	107.2	102.6	+5.7
1915	110.0	101.3	108.5	+0.2
1916	120.0	110.2	108.8	-2.2
1917	140.0	131.7	106.3	-2.1
1918	150.0	144.2	104.0	+5.1
1919	183.3	167.5	109.4	+3.0
1920	220.0	195.1	112.7	

BUILDERS LABOURERS

The pattern of real income for the builders labourers follows that of the bricklayers, painters and stonecutters during the early part of the century as real income increased by 21.3% from 1900-05 but decreased by 9.9% during the next four years. Between 1909-11 they realized a 6.6% increase in real income only to lose most of it in the succeeding two years as real income fell by 16.7%. Between 1913-15 real income climbed by 21.6% and from 1915-18 it fell 4.1%. When the clothing index is included their real income fell by 6.9% between 1915-18.

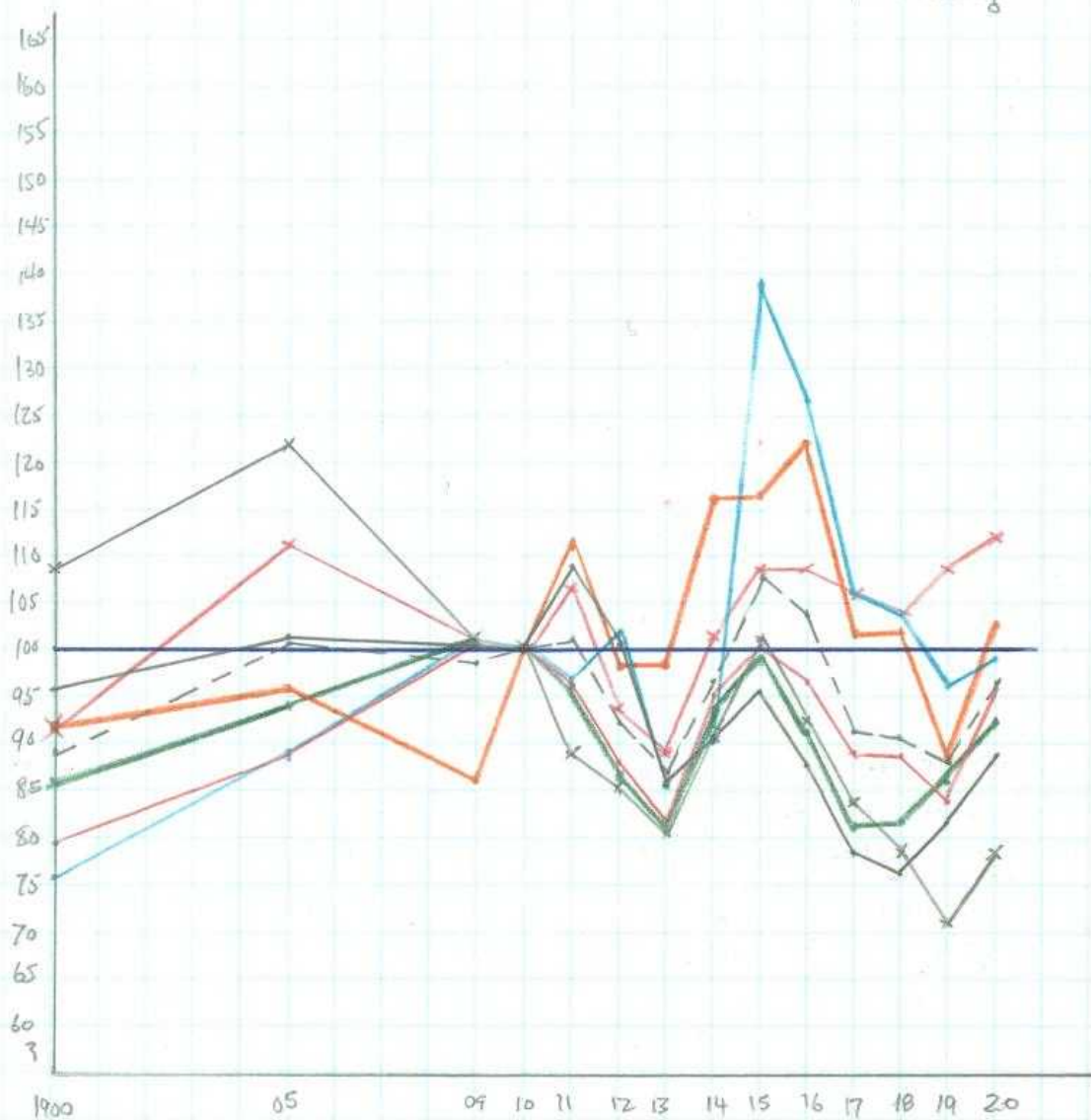
In June 1917, 700 labourers struck for an increase in wages. They received a 5 cent an hour increase after striking for a month. A small strike of 45 labourers for higher wages, recognition, and the 9 hour day, in August of 1918 was partially successful as a small increase in wages was granted.

Summary:

The evidence presented above indicates that during the critical years 1915-18 no group of workers, managed to make any real gains. The average decline for the trade was 15.6%; including the clothing index the average decline falls another 2.7% as an upper limit. Thus by the end of 1918 it is little wonder that workers were restless. It appeared to the workers that as soon as they made any gains at all, they immediately lost them in the ensuing period. By the spring of 1919, the frustrations of attempting to keep pace with the cost of living reached a climax as some 1,200 workers of the building trades struck on May 1, 1919 for increased wages.

REAL INCOME
1910 = 100

- Bricklayers
- Carpenters
- Electrical
- Painters
- Plumbers
- x x Stonecutters
- x x Labourers
- - Average



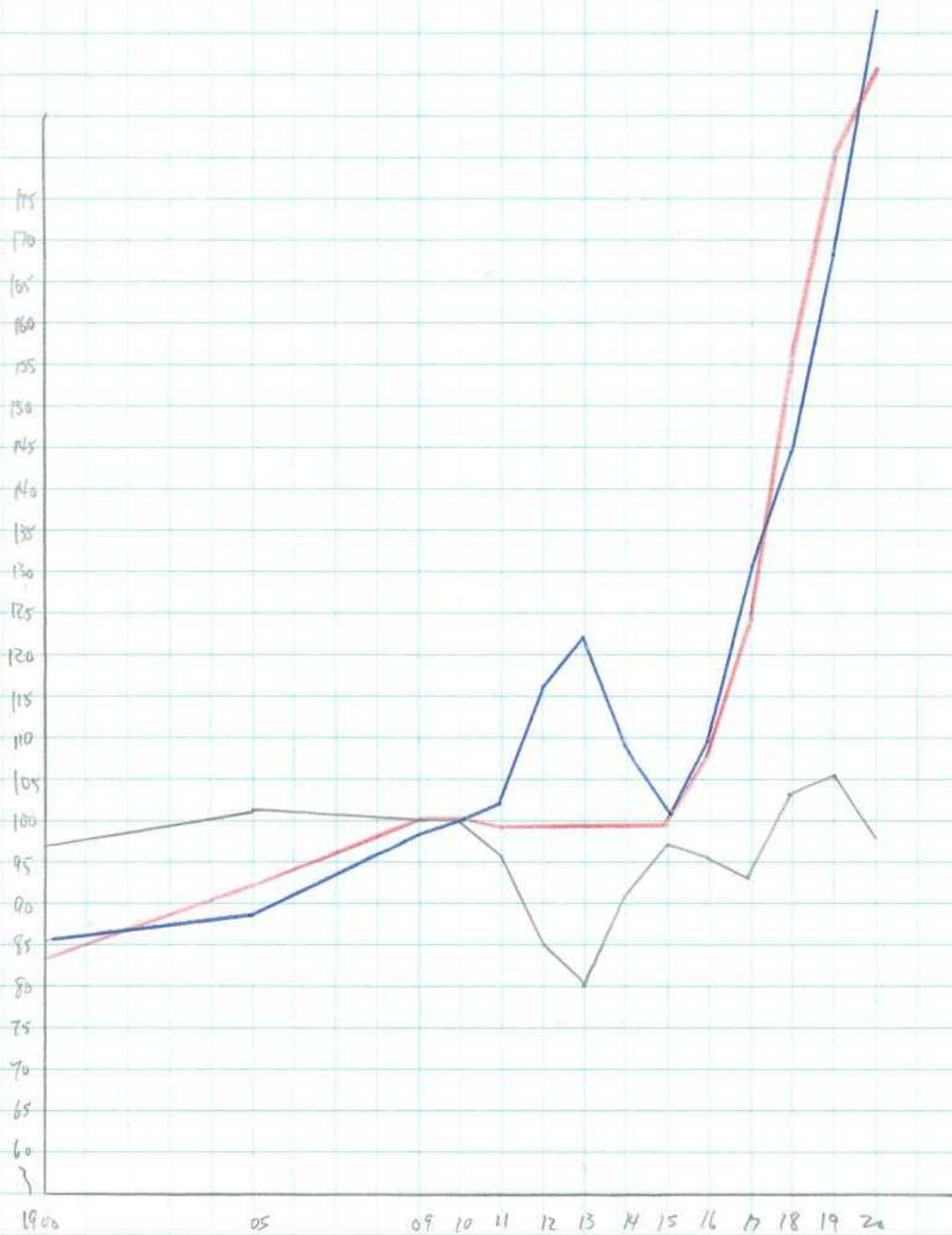
B. Metal TradesBlacksmiths

Presented below are the index numbers for blacksmiths as well as the percent change in real income by year.

<u>Blacksmiths</u>				
<u>Year</u>	<u>Index Money Income</u>	<u>Price Index</u>	<u>Index Real Income</u>	<u>% of Real Income</u>
1900	84.6	86.9	97.3	
1905	92.3	89.6	103.0	+5.8
1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	-3.3
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	-0.4
1911	98.7	102.6	96.1	-3.9
1912	98.7	115.9	85.1	-11.4
1913	98.7	123.2	80.1	-5.8
1914	98.7	107.2	92.0	+12.3
1915	98.7	101.3	97.4	+5.8
1916	105.8	110.2	96.0	+1.4
1917	124.1	131.7	94.2	-1.8
1918	150.8	144.2	104.5	+10.9
1919	179.0	167.5	106.8	+2.2
1920	192.3	195.1	98.5	-7.7

BLACKSMITHS

— Price Movements
— Real Income
— Money Income



Between 1900 and 1905 the real income of blacksmiths increased by 5.8%, but immediately fell by 3.3% during the next four years.

The various crafts of the metal trades depended for a good deal of their business on the activities of the building trades. Hence, they follow a similar pattern, though at different rates of change. In face of the rising cost of living between 1905-09 the blacksmiths struck in 1906 for an increase in wages from 30 to 35 cents per hour but were unsuccessful. The stringency of 1907-08 had an adverse effect as well as the spring of 1908 saw the trades having difficulty in keeping the small staffs in full employment.

Between 1909-11 the blacksmiths received a 4.3% decrease in real income and a further decrease during the next two years as the index of real income fell to 80.1 in 1913, a decrease in real income of 16.6% from 1911. Between 1913-18 the real income of blacksmiths increased in every year except in 1916. The war-time demand for munitions and other war products allowed the metal trades in general to make greater gains than the crafts of the building trades. Between 1915-18 the real income of blacksmiths increased 7.2%. The importance of this increase will be discussed in the summary of this section. The real income increase of blacksmiths when adjusted for the cost of clothing falls to a 4.2% increase.

Boilermakers

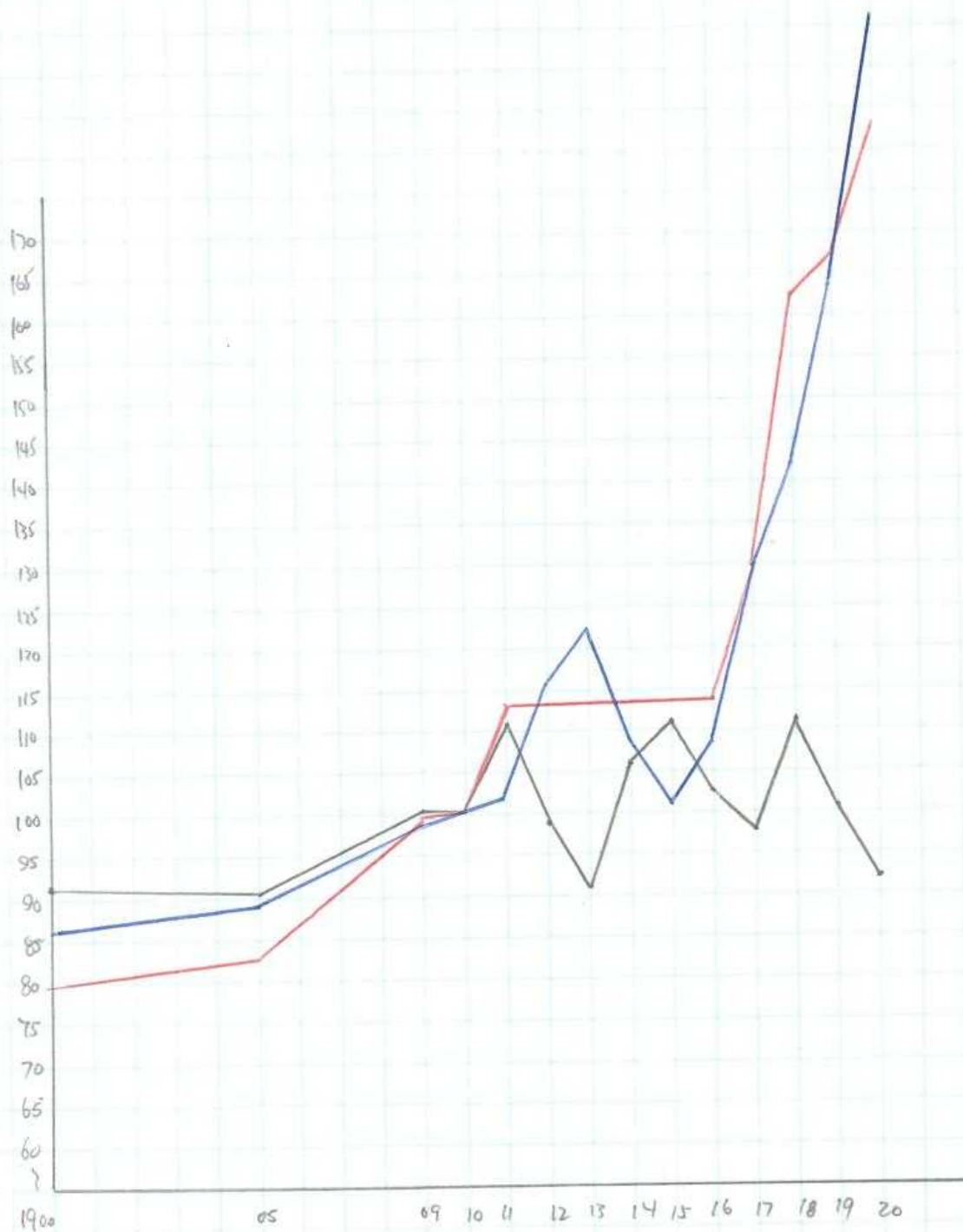
Presented below are the index numbers for boilermakers as well as the percent change in real income by year.

Boilermakers

Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	% of Real Income
1900	80.7	86.9	92.8	-1.2
1905	82.1	89.6	91.6	+9.7
1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	-0.4
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	+11.4
1911	114.3	102.6	111.4	-11.4
1912	114.3	115.9	98.6	-5.9
1913	114.3	123.2	92.7	+14.9
1914	114.3	107.2	106.6	+5.8
1915	114.3	101.3	112.8	-8.0
1916	114.3	110.2	103.7	-5.9
1917	128.5	131.7	97.5	+14.5
1918	161.2	144.2	111.7	-10.3
1919	167.7	167.5	100.1	-6.7
1920	182.2	195.1	93.3	

Boilermakers

—•— Price Movement
—•— Real Income
—•— Money Income



Of all the crafts in the trade, the boilermakers and sheet metal workers suffered declines in real income between 1900-05. The boilermakers suffered a 1.2% decline. During the next four years their real income increased by 9.7%.

Between 1909-11 the boilermakers made the only gain within the trade at 10.8%. From 1911-13 and 1913-15 their real income moved in the same direction and by practically the same amount as that of the blacksmiths at a decrease of 16.7% between 1911-13 followed by a 21.6% increase between 1913-15.

Between 1915-18 the boilermakers received an increase in real income of 0.9%. Once adjusted to include clothing the increase falls to minus 3.7%.

Iron Moulders

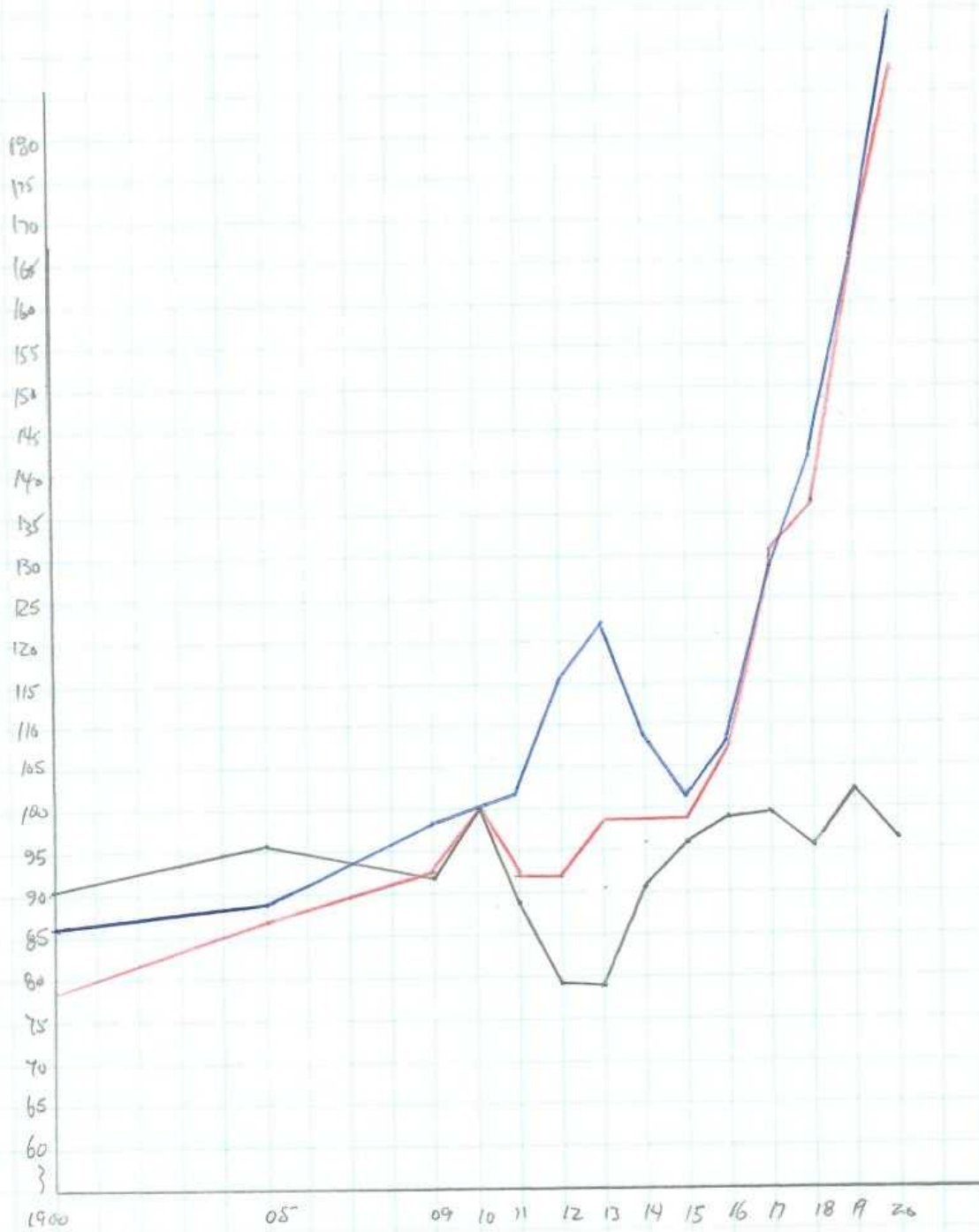
Presented below are the index numbers for iron moulders as well as the percent change in real income by year.

Iron Moulders

<u>Year</u>	<u>Index Money Income</u>	<u>Price Index</u>	<u>Index Real Income</u>	<u>% of Real Income</u>
1900	78.5	86.9	90.3	+5.8
1905	85.7	89.6	95.6	-2.5
1909	92.8	99.5	93.2	+7.2
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	-10.8
1911	91.6	102.6	89.2	-11.4
1912	91.6	115.9	79.0	+0.7
1913	98.1	123.2	79.6	+14.9
1914	98.1	107.2	91.5	+5.7
1915	98.1	101.3	96.8	+1.7
1916	108.6	110.2	98.5	+0.8
1917	130.9	131.7	99.3	-4.1
1918	137.4	144.2	95.2	+8.1
1919	172.6	167.5	103.0	-5.3
1920	190.4	195.1	97.5	

Iron Moulders

● Price Movement
— Real Income
— Money Income



Between 1900-05 the moulders received an increase in real income of 5.8%. Between 1905-09 they suffered a decrease in real income of 2.5%. They, like the blacksmiths, struck in 1906 for higher wages, but were unsuccessful.

The decrease in real income of 4.2% between 1909-11 was further aggravated the next two years as real income fell by 10.7%. Between 1913-15 the moulders increase in real income was 21.6%. Between 1915-18 the real income of moulders decreased by 1.6%. When the index including clothing is used the real income of the moulders falls minus 4.5%.

Machinists

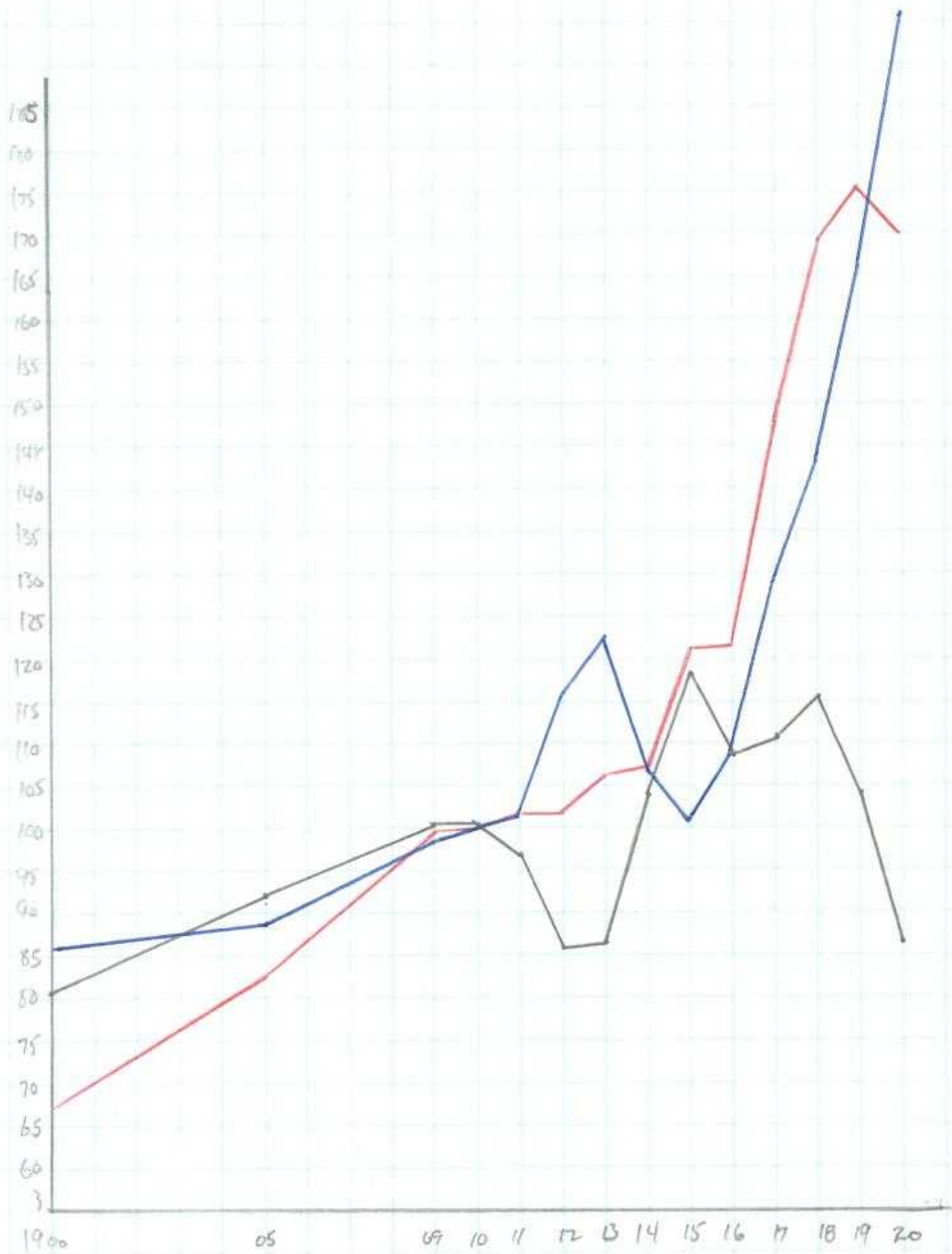
Presented below are the index numbers for the machinists in the contract shops as well as the percent change in real income by year.

Machinists

Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	% of Real Income
1900	69.7	86.9	80.2	+8.9
1905	83.7	89.6	93.4	+7.6
1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	-0.4
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	+2.4
1911	100.2	102.6	97.6	+1.4
1912	100.2	115.9	86.4	+0.3
1913	106.9	123.2	86.7	+19.9
1914	106.9	107.2	104.0	+4.1
1915	120.3	101.3	118.7	-8.0
1916	120.3	110.2	109.1	+2.2
1917	147.0	131.7	111.6	+3.2
1918	166.2	144.2	115.2	-9.6
1919	174.5	167.5	104.1	-16.5
1920	169.7	195.1	86.9	

Machinists

● Price Movements
— Real Income
— Money Income



Between 1900-05 the machinists in the contract shops received an increase in real income of 8.9%. During the next four years their real income increased 7.6%. They also struck with the moulders and blacksmiths in 1906 for an increase in wages but were unsuccessful as well.

Between 1909-11 money income remained virtually unchanged and combined with an increase in the cost of living caused the machinists to suffer a real decline of 2.8%. The rising cost of living and small money income increases between 1911-13 resulted in a decline in real income of 20%.

Between 1913-15 conditions in the metal trades improved considerably for the machinists relative to the other crafts in the trade, as a result of the demand for munitions (and shrapnel). Their real income increased by 36.9% during these two years.

Between 1915-18 the machinists received a decrease in real income of 2.9%, even though they were successful in a strike in May 1917 in which they received a 10 cent per hour increase over 1916. Including the clothing index, the real income between 1915-18 falls to minus 5.7%.

Sheet Metal Workers

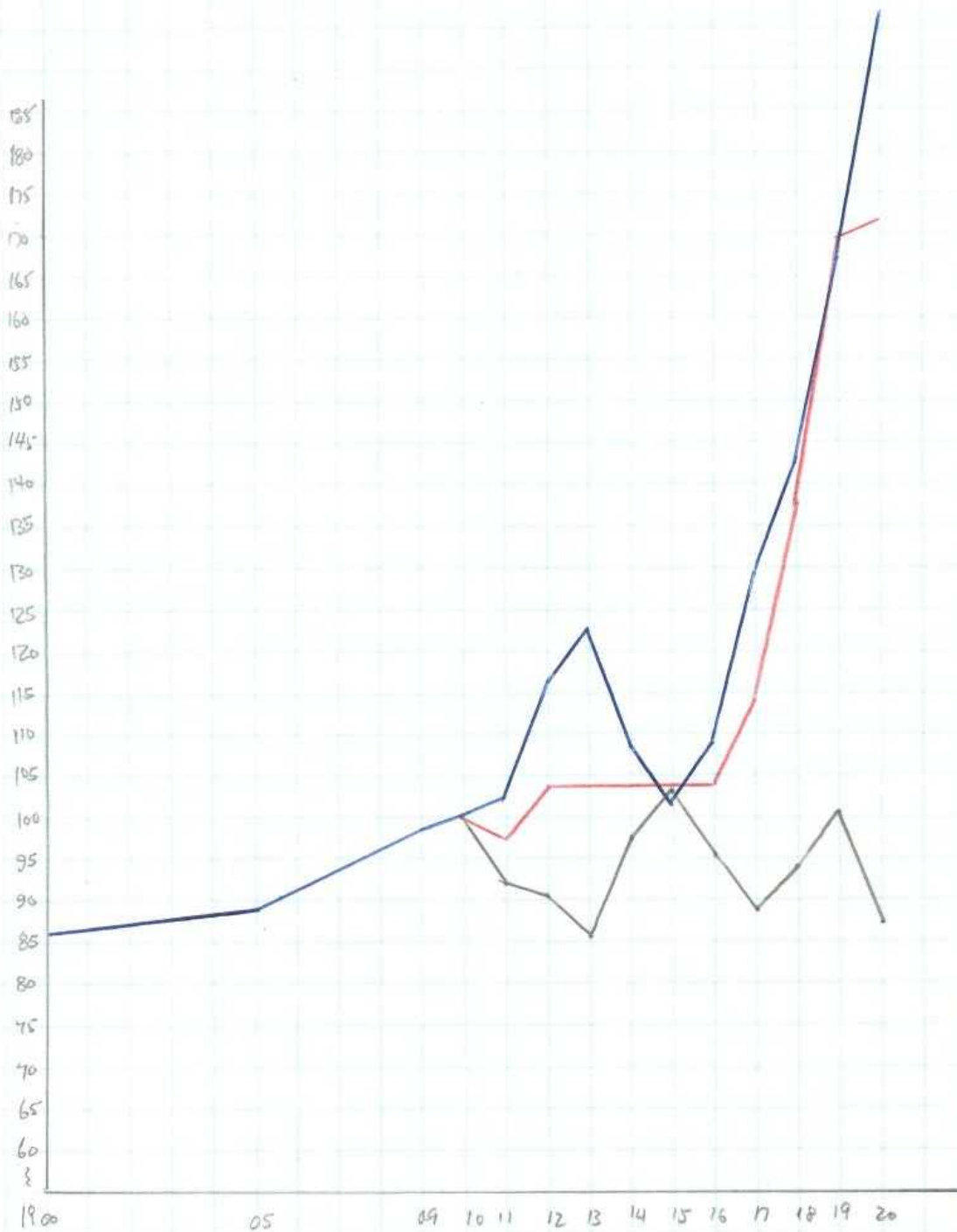
Presented below are the index numbers for the sheet metal workers as well as the percent change in real income by year. No wages are recorded for this group until 1910.

Sheet Metal Workers

Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	% of Real Income
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1911	95.5	102.6	93.0	- 7.0
1912	104.9	115.9	90.5	- 2.6
1913	104.9	123.2	85.1	- 5.9
1914	104.9	107.2	97.8	+14.9
1915	104.9	101.3	103.5	+ 5.8
1916	104.9	110.2	95.1	- 8.1
1917	116.5	131.7	88.4	- 7.0
1918	136.3	144.2	94.5	+ 6.9
1919	169.0	167.5	100.8	+ 6.6
1920	170.9	195.1	87.5	-13.1

Sheet Metal Workers

— Price Movements
— Real Income
— Money Income



A strike by 83 sheet metal workers in July 1909 for an increase in wages from 39 cents per hour to 43 cents per hour resulted in a compromise of 41 cents per hour.¹ Between 1910-11 real income declined by 7.0% and by another 8.4% between 1911-13. Between 1913-15 real income advanced by 21.6%. Between 1915-18 the sheet metal workers received a decrease in real income of 8.6%. Once the index which includes clothing is used the sheet metal workers suffered a decline of 11.3%.

Summary:

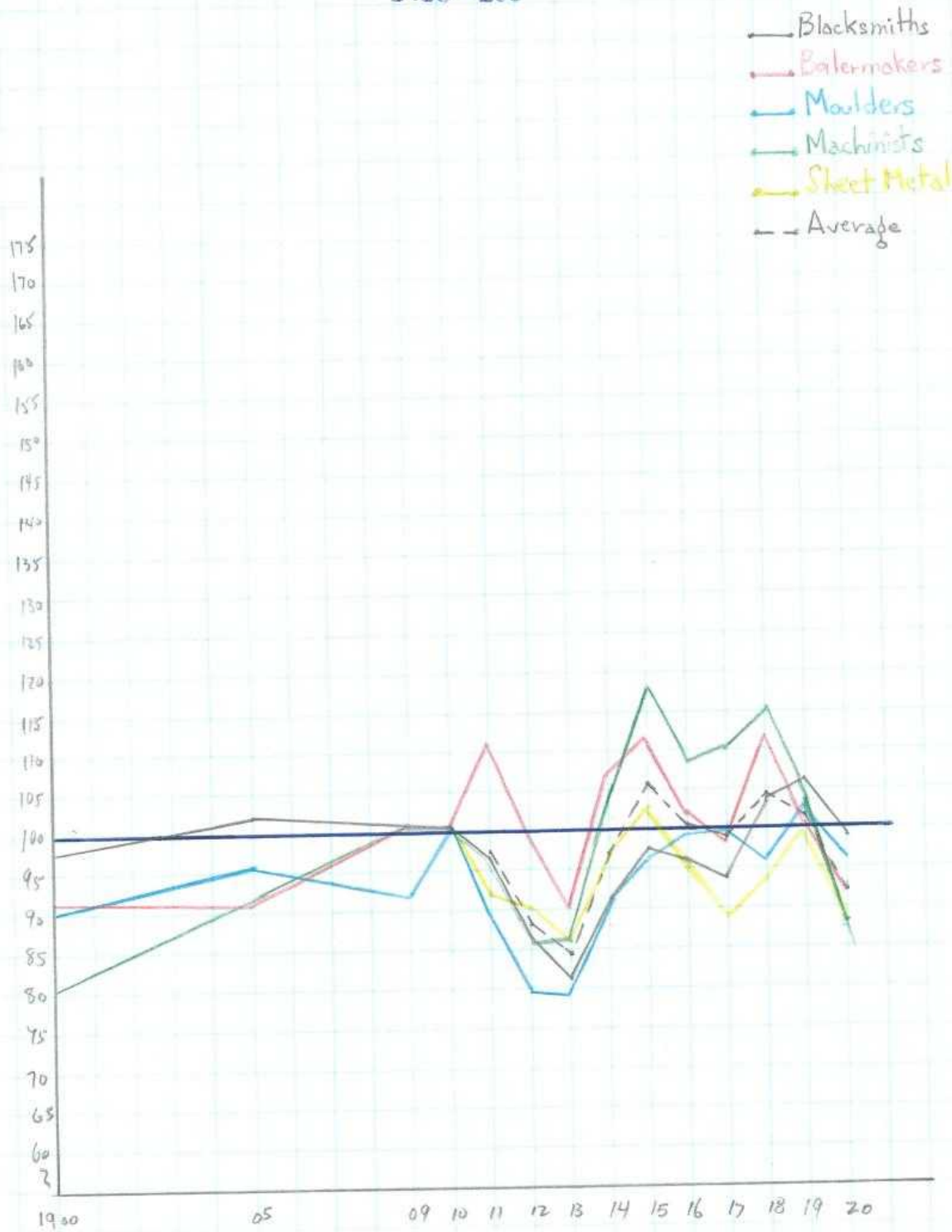
Between 1915-18 the metal trades as a group received a 1.5% decrease in real income. The addition of clothing to the index further reduced the decline in real income to 4.3%.

The metal trades as a group differ from all other trades examined in that it was the only trade in which the various crafts except the iron moulders and machinists received an increase in real income between 1915-18. Every other craft in the other trades experienced a decline in real income during these years. The main reason for the gain in real income for the metal trades workers was a result of a strike in 1918.

The workers in the contract shops and the railway shops of the metal trades were represented in a central body known as the Metal Trades Council. The majority of the membership in the council were employees from the railway shops. As mentioned above in Chapter 2 and 4, the

¹ Since hours per week were not available for 1909, the weekly wage could not be calculated for this year for sheet-metal workers.

REAL INCOME
1910=100



employees in the railway shops received a larger wage than their counterparts in the contract shops. The men in the contract shops demanded an increase in wages according to the McAdoo Award. They also claimed recognition for the Metal Trades Council and on June 1, 1918, the Metal Trades Council presented the demands to the contract shops.

Two issues were involved, higher wages and recognition. This combination further strengthened the objections of the employers since an acceptance of the demands from the Metal Trades Council would involve its tacit recognition which they wanted to avoid at all costs. They were willing to deal with their own employees but not with a body "which was composed mainly of railway employees".² Thus they ignored the submission of the Metal Trades Council.

The Dominion government appointed a Royal commission on June 26, 1918 headed by Chief Justice Mathers of the Manitoba Supreme Court. However when the workers learned that the commission was not empowered to make recommendations they decided to strike.

On July 22, 1918 over 1,000 metal trades workers struck. It was a bitter strike, "which became even more acrimonious after the employees secured from the Manitoba courts an injunction in restraint of picketing."³ The metal trades were supported by the Trades and Labour Council who resolved to call on the affiliated unions and take a general strike vote.⁴ As the strike votes rolled in the dispute in the metal trades was

² D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike, (Toronto, 1950), p. 15.

³ Ibid., p. 15. cf. Western Labour News, August 16, 1918, p. 1.

⁴ Western Labour News, August 16, 1918, p. 1.

"gradually settled by piecemeal negotiations between the various contract shops and their own workmen."⁵ There was no general agreement and by August 29, 1918 the strike was over and the metal trades workers of the contract shops had achieved part of their demands. The increase in real income of 1918 over 1917 was very significant. The blacksmiths received a 10.9% real increase; the boilermakers 14.5%; the machinists 3.2%; and the sheet metal workers 6.9%. The iron moulders still suffered a 4.1% decline in real income. Of perhaps even greater significance is the fact that although not all the voting was completed, by August 22, 1918 returns showed an over-whelming count of 7 to 1 in favour of a general strike. This measure was proposed once before in 1918 and will be dealt with under Municipal Employees. It was an ominous portent. "The immediate crisis had passed but the basic cause of unrest, the dispute over recognition of the Metal Trades Council was not removed... and yet further disputes over recognition, as well as over wages, were still on the cards."⁶

⁵
D.C. Masters, op. cit. p. 16.

⁶
Ibid.

C. Printing TradesCompositors

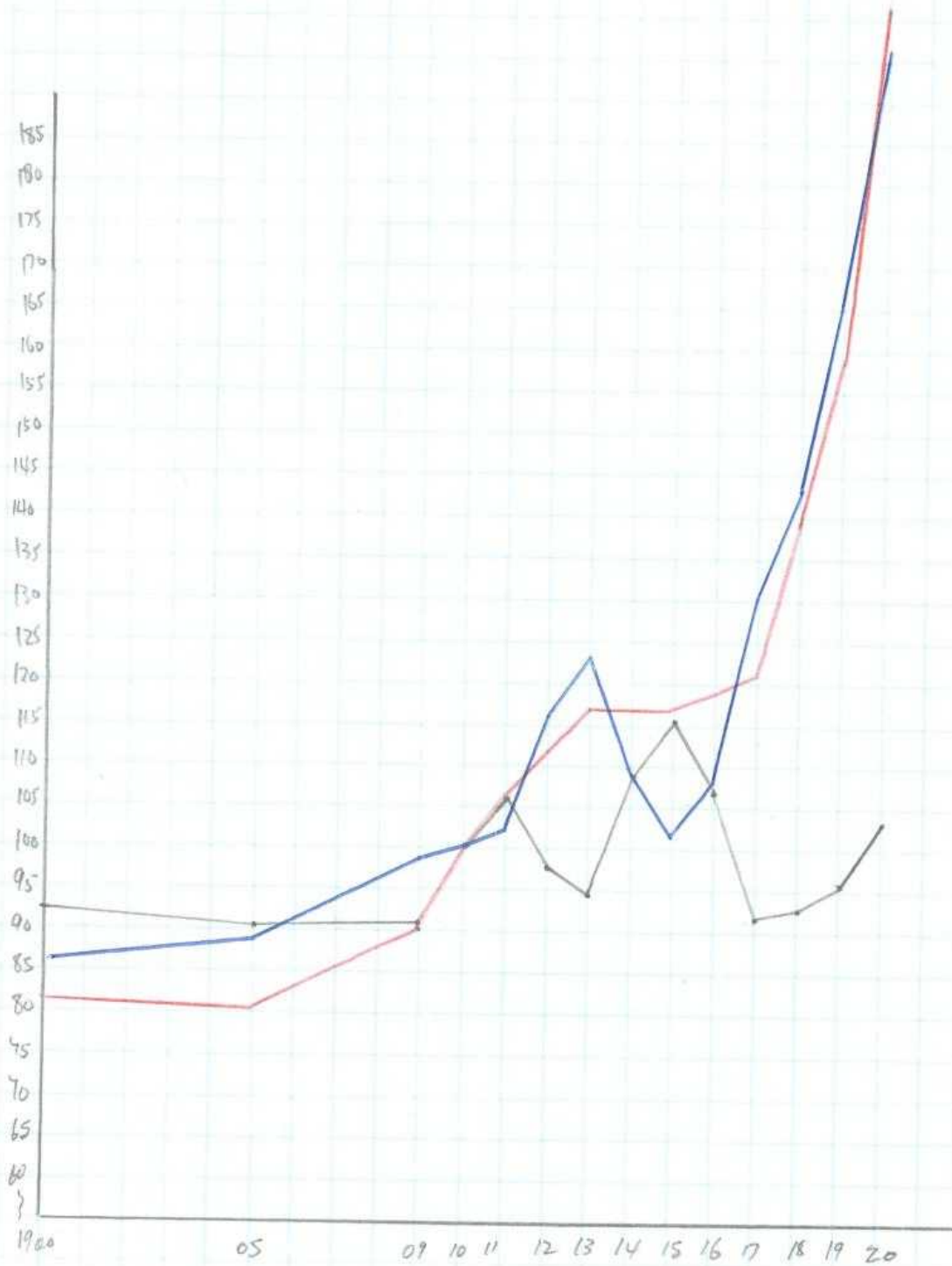
Presented below are the index numbers of compositors as well as the percent change in real income by year.

Compositors

<u>Year</u>	<u>Index Money Income</u>	<u>Price Index</u>	<u>Index Real Income</u>	<u>% of Real Income</u>
1900	81.0	86.9	93.2	- 3.0
1905	81.0	89.6	90.4	- -
1909	90.0	99.5	90.4	-10.6
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	+ 5.2
1911	108.0	102.6	105.2	- 7.7
1912	112.5	115.9	97.0	- 2.1
1913	117.0	123.2	94.9	+14.9
1914	117.0	107.2	109.1	+ 5.7
1915	117.0	101.3	115.4	- 7.1
1916	118.1	110.2	107.1	-13.9
1917	121.5	131.7	92.2	+ 1.5
1918	135.0	144.2	93.6	+ 1.8
1919	159.7	167.5	95.3	+ 8.8
1920	202.5	195.1	103.7	

COMPOSITORS

— Price Movement
— Real Income
— Money Income



There was no change in money income between 1900-05 and the increase in the cost of living caused real income to decline by 3.0%. Between 1905-09 there was no change in real income of the compositors. Between 1909-11 real income increased by 16.3% but declined by 9.7% between 1911-13. A decline in the cost of living combined with stable money income produced an increase in real income of 21.6% between 1913-15. Between 1915-18 however real income declined by 18.8% and when the cost of clothing is included in the index the decline in real income was 21.3% as an upper limit.

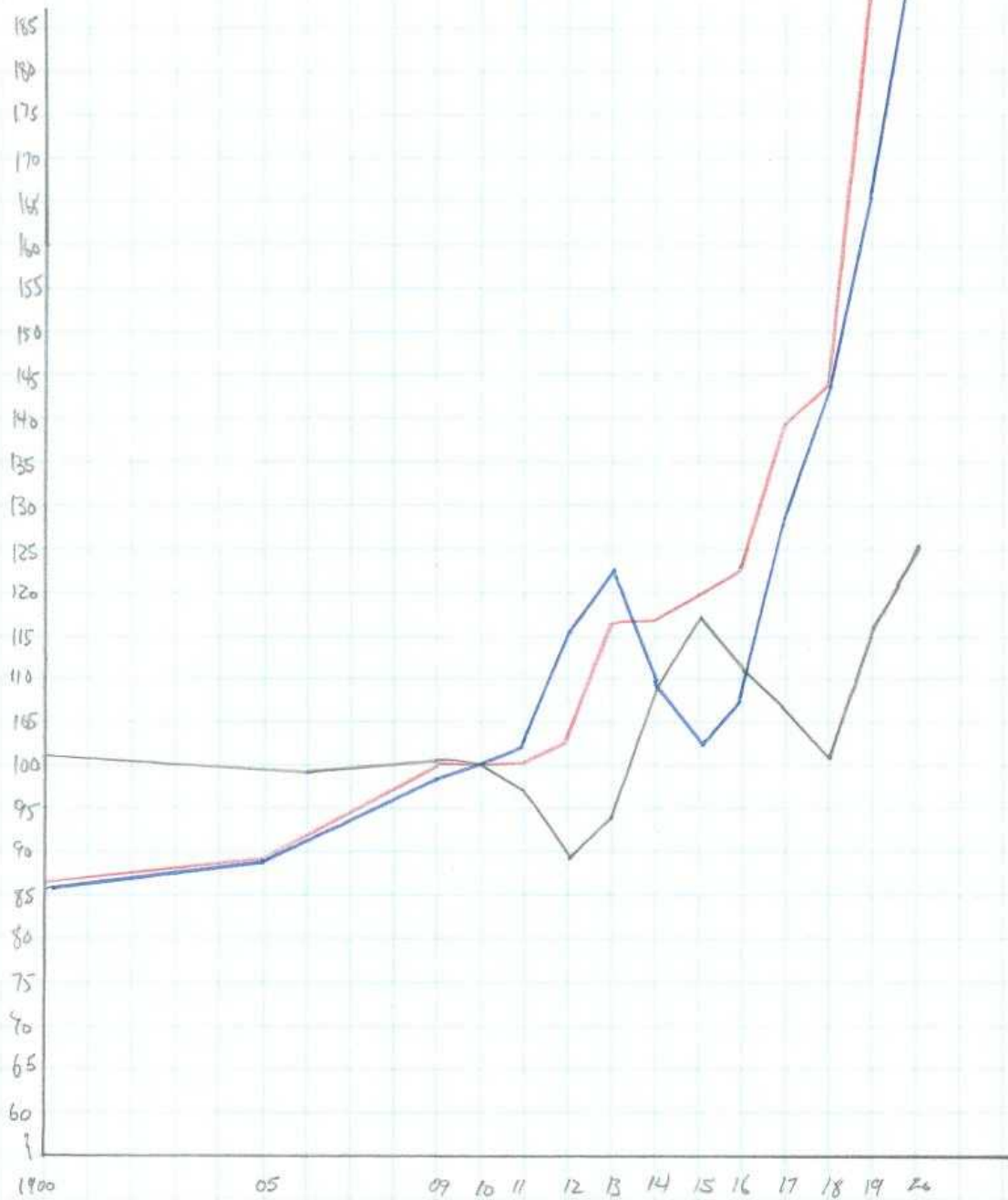
Pressmen

Presented below are the index numbers of pressmen as well as the percent change in real income by year.

<u>Pressmen</u>				
<u>Year</u>	<u>Index Money Income</u>	<u>Price Index</u>	<u>Index Real Income</u>	<u>% of Real Income</u>
1900	88.8	86.9	102.1	
1905	88.8	89.6	99.1	- 2.9
1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	- 1.4
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	+ 0.4
				- 2.6
1911	100.0	102.6	97.4	
1912	102.7	115.9	88.6	- 9.0
1913	116.6	123.2	94.6	+ 6.7
1914	116.6	107.2	108.7	+14.9
1915	119.4	101.3	117.8	+ 8.3
				- 5.9
1916	122.2	110.2	110.8	
1917	138.8	131.7	105.3	- 4.9
1918	144.4	144.2	100.1	- 4.9
1919	194.4	167.5	116.0	+15.8
1920	244.4	195.1	125.2	+ 7.9

PRESSMEN

Price Movement
Real Income
Money Income



The pressmen's real income moved in the same direction as that of the compositors in the early years as between 1900-05 they suffered a real income decrease of 2.7% and between 1905-09 they suffered a further decline of 1.4%.

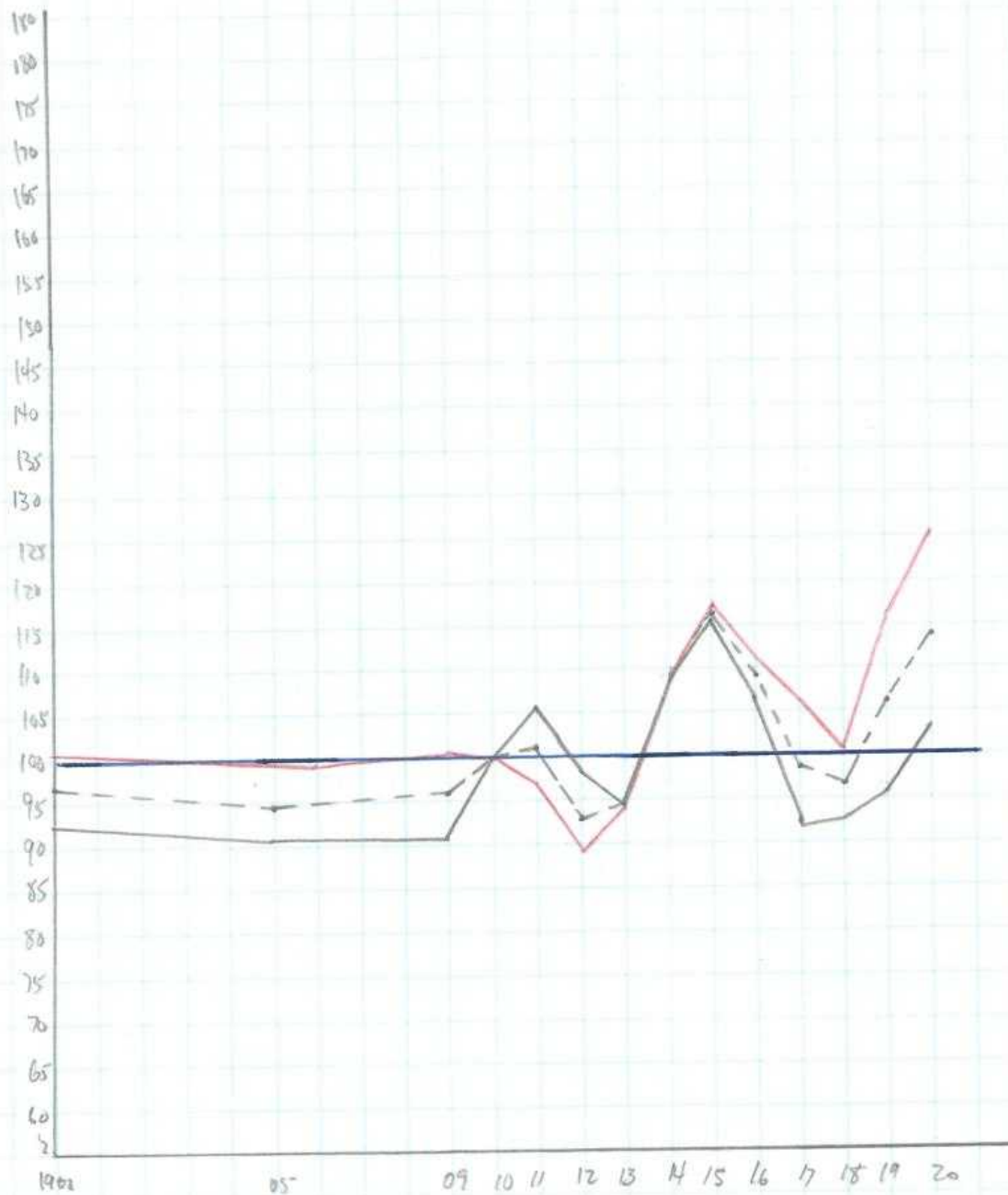
Between 1909-11 the pressmen's real income moved in the opposite direction to the compositors as it fell by 3%. It also declined less than the compositors during the next two years as it fell by only 2.8%. Between 1913-15 their advance in real income exceeded the advance made by the compositors as their real income increased by 24.5%. Between 1915-18 however they also suffered a decline in real income of 15%. The adjustment in real income including the clothing index resulted in a further decline of 2.4%.

Summary:

The movement of real income for both crafts in this trade followed a similar pattern as that of the building trades and as with the building trades, the printing trades suffered real declines in the critical years 1915-18. The average decline in the printing trade between 1915-18 was 16.9% but when adjusted for clothing the decline was 19.6%. Once again it seemed the real income increases made in one or two years were immediately lost in the ensuing years and the expected advances did not materialize. This only tended to increase the frustrations of the workers.

REAL INCOME
1910=100

— Compositors
— Pressmen
— Average



D. Electric Street RailwayConductors and Motormen

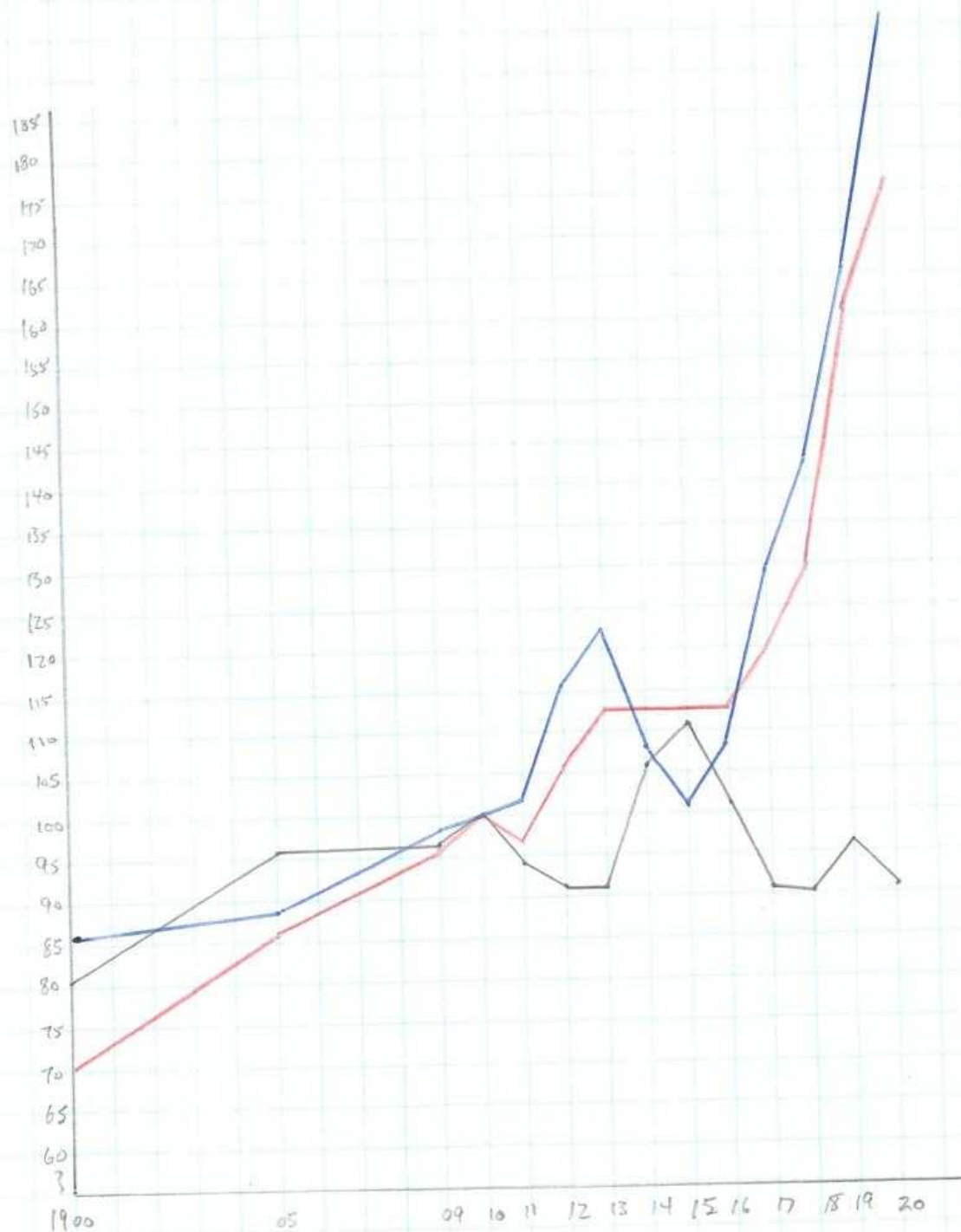
Presented below are the index numbers for conductors and motormen of the electric street railway as well as the percent change in real income by year.

Conductors and Motormen

<u>Year</u>	<u>Index Money Income</u>	<u>Price Index</u>	<u>Index Real Income</u>	<u>% of Real Income</u>
1900	70.3	86.9	80.8	+19.3
1905	86.4	89.6	96.4	+ 0.2
1909	96.2	99.5	96.6	+ 3.5
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	- 5.9
1911	96.6	102.6	94.1	- 2.3
1912	106.6	115.9	91.9	+ 0.8
1913	113.3	123.2	91.9	+14.9
1914	113.3	107.2	105.6	+ 5.8
1915	113.3	101.3	111.8	- 8.0
1916	113.3	110.2	102.8	
1917	120.0	131.7	91.1	-11.3
1918	130.0	144.2	90.1	- 1.0
1919	162.9	167.5	97.2	+ 7.8
1920	177.7	195.1	91.0	- 6.3

CONDUCTORS + MOTORMEN

• Price Movements
• Real Income
• Money Income



Between 1900-05 the conductors and motormen received an increase in real income of 19.3%. A strike by 254 street railway employees in March 1906 was settled by compromise through mediation of the Winnipeg Ministerial Association and the workers received an advance of 2 cents per hour over the previous year. Between 1905-09 a small increase in real income of .2% was experienced. Between 1909-11 real income declined by 2.5% and declined by another 2.3% during the next two years. Between 1913-15 they received an increase in real income of 21.6% but from 1915-18 real income declined by 19.4%. When adjusted to include the clothing index the decline amounted to 21.7% at the upper limit. The pattern for this group of workers again followed that of the building and printing trades during the critical years.

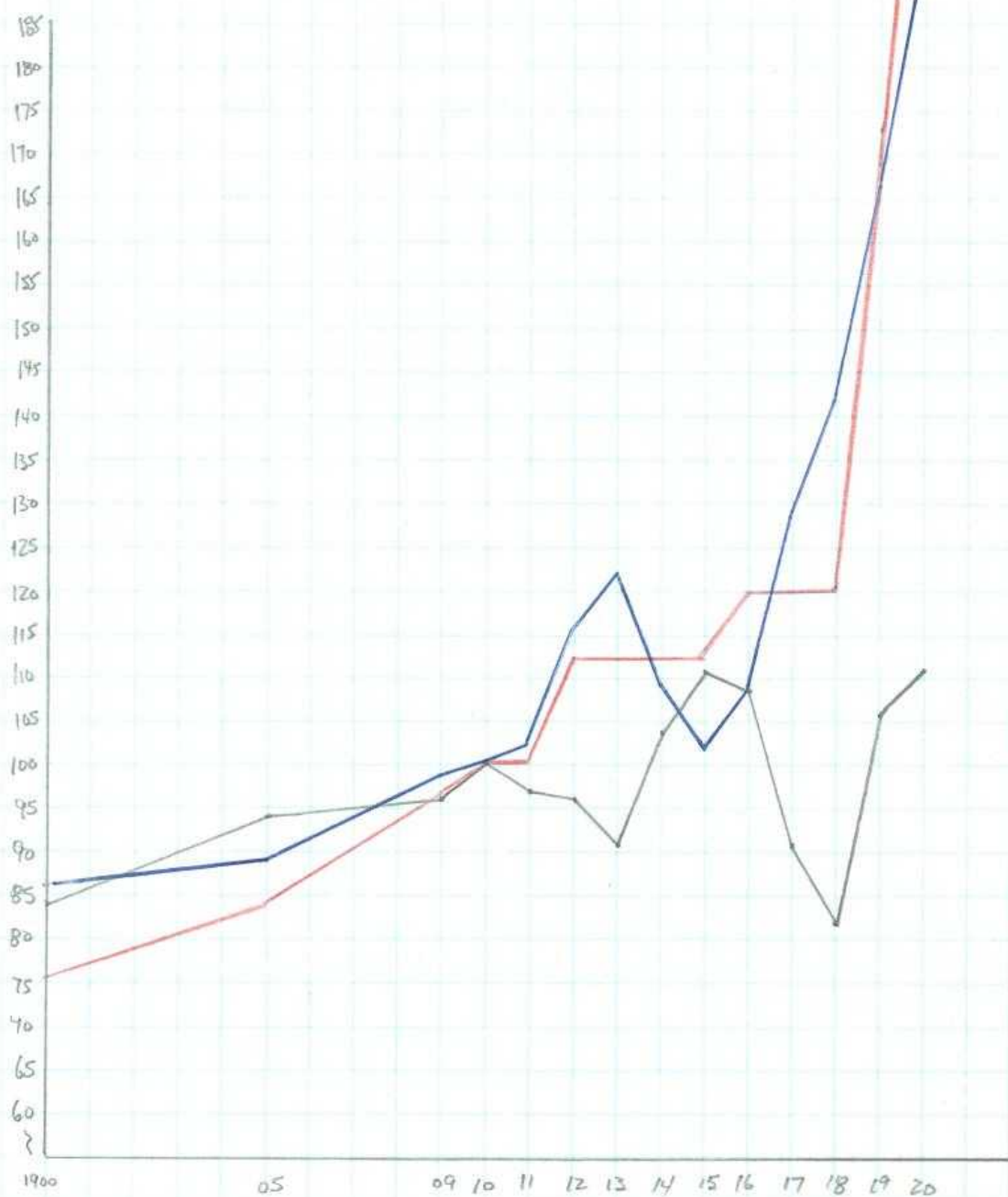
E. Steam RailwaysTelegraphers

Presented below are the index numbers of telegraphers as well as the percent change in real income by year.

<u>Telegraphers</u>				
<u>Year</u>	<u>Index Money Income</u>	<u>Price Index</u>	<u>Index Real Income</u>	<u>% of Real Income</u>
1900	76.9	86.9	88.4	
1905	84.6	89.6	94.4	+ 6.7
1909	96.4	99.5	96.8	+ 2.5
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	+ 3.3
				- 2.6
1911	100.0	102.6	97.4	
1912	112.3	115.9	96.8	- 0.6
1913	112.3	123.2	91.1	- 5.8
1914	112.3	107.2	104.7	+14.9
1915	112.3	101.3	110.8	+ 5.8
				- 1.8
1916	120.0	110.2	108.8	
1917	120.0	131.7	91.1	-16.2
1918	120.0	144.2	83.2	- 8.6
1919	176.9	167.5	105.6	+26.9
1920	216.9	195.1	111.1	+ 5.2

TELEGRAPHERS

— Price Movement
— Real Income
— Money Income



Between 1900-05 a money income increase combined with a decline in the cost of living resulted in an increase in real income of the telegraphers of 6.7%. The relatively slow increase in the cost of living during the next four years allowed the real income of the telegraphers to increase by 2.5%.

Between 1909-11 real income increased by .6%. As prices rose between 1911-13 real income fell by 6.4%. Between 1913-15 there was no change in money income but the decline in the cost of living resulted in an increase in real income of 21.6%. Between 1915-18 real income declined by 24.9%. Adjusted for the clothing index the decline in real income increased to an upper limit of 27%.

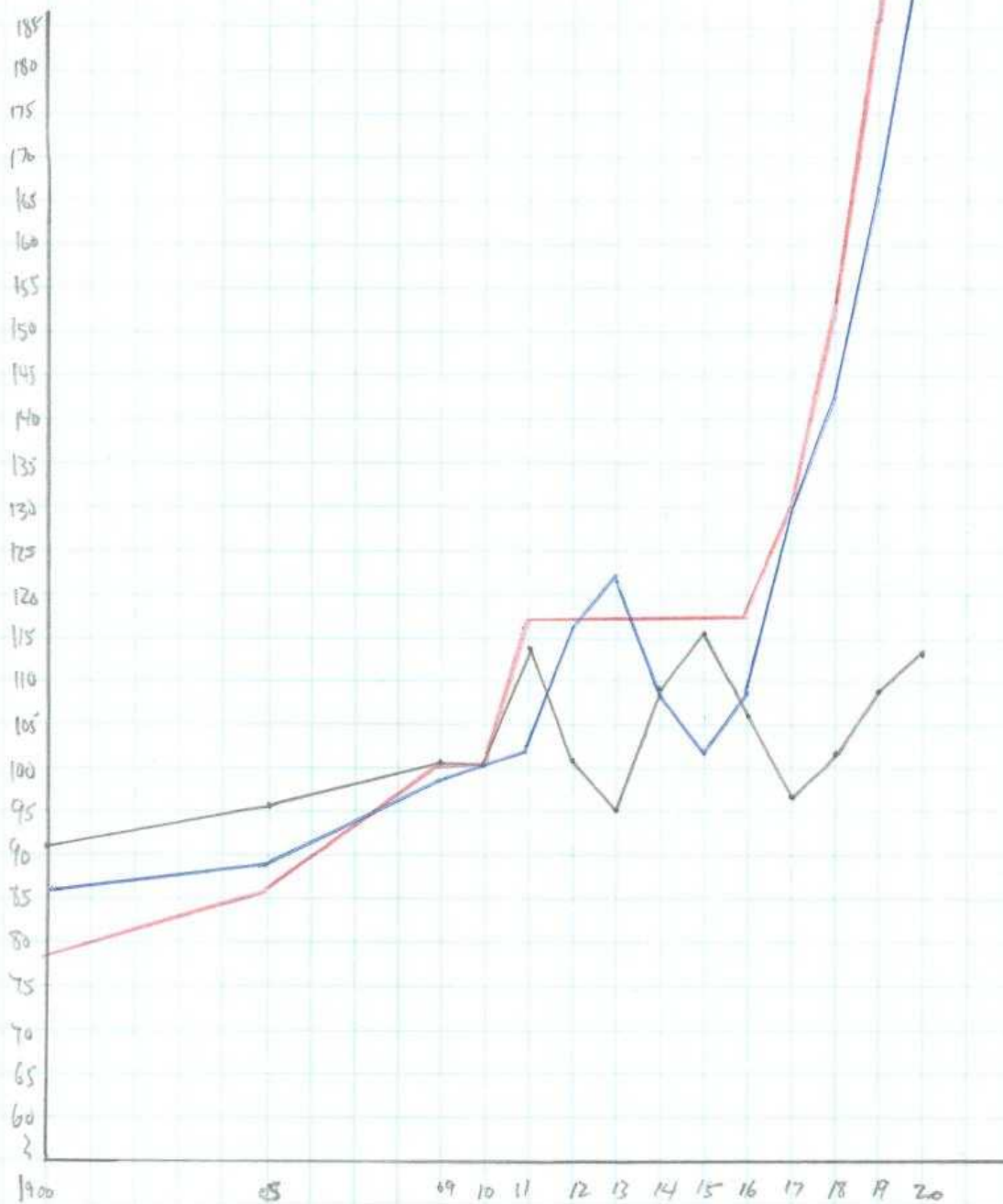
Sectionmen

Presented below are the index numbers for sectionmen as well as the percent change in real income by year.

<u>Sectionmen</u>				
<u>Year</u>	<u>Index Money Income</u>	<u>Price Index</u>	<u>Index Real Income</u>	<u>% of Real Income</u>
1900	80.0	86.9	92.0	
1905	85.7	89.6	95.6	+ 3.9
1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	+ 5.1
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	- 0.4
				+14.1
1911	117.1	102.6	114.1	
1912	117.1	115.9	101.0	-11.4
1913	117.1	123.2	95.0	- 5.9
1914	117.1	107.2	109.2	+14.9
1915	117.1	101.3	115.5	+ 5.7
				- 8.0
1916	117.1	110.2	106.2	
1917	128.5	131.7	97.5	- 8.1
1918	148.5	144.2	102.9	+ 5.5
1919	182.8	167.5	109.1	+ 6.0
1920	221.7	195.1	113.6	+4.1

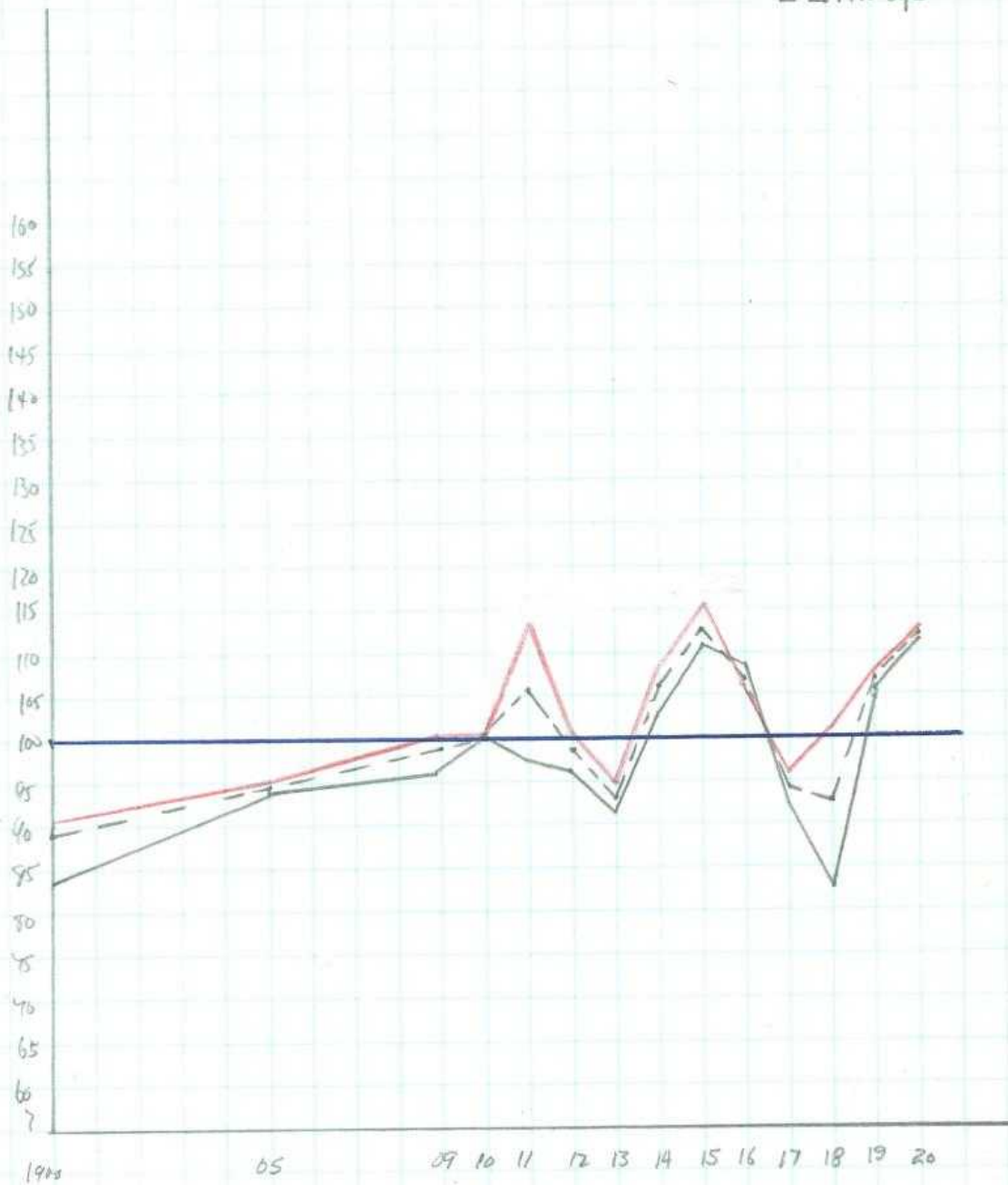
SECTION MEN

— Price Movements
 — Real Income
 — Money Income



REAL INCOME
1910 = 100

— Telegraphers
— Sectionman
- - - Average



Between 1900-05 the sectionmen received an increase in real income of 3.9% and a further increase during the next four years as real income rose by 5.1%. A combination of money income increases combined with a declining cost of living resulted in a substantial increase in real income of 13.5% between 1909-11. Stable money income and rising prices caused real income to decline by 16.7% between 1911-13, and the reverse, that is, stable money income and declining prices caused real income to increase by 21.5% between 1913-15.

Between 1915-18 the real income of sectionmen fell by 10.9% but adjusted, including the clothing index, the decline is 13.4% in real income.

Summary:

The average decline for the steam railway employees was 17.8% between 1915-18 but this reached an upper limit of 20.2% when adjusted for clothing. Once again this group like the building trades, printing trades and electric street railway employees suffered a decline in real income between 1915-18.

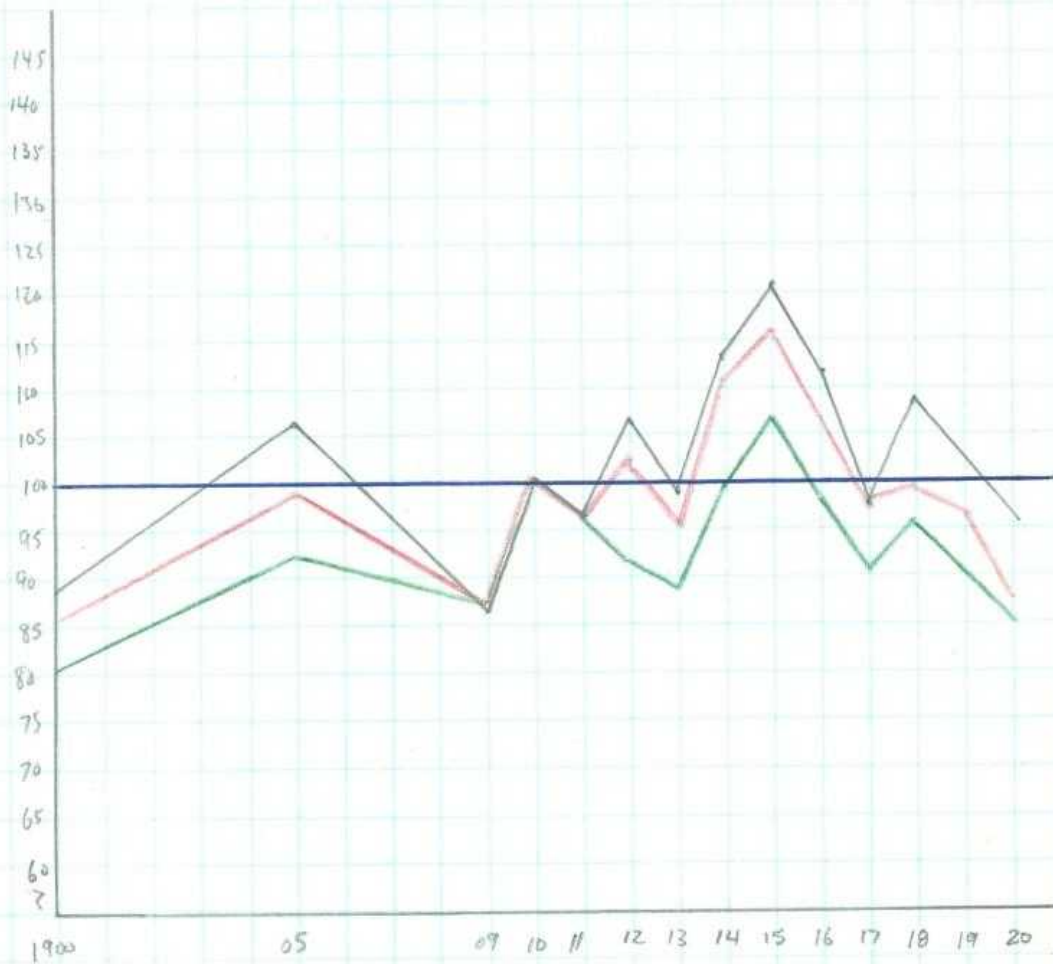
F. Municipal Employees

Police Department

Presented below are the index numbers for the members of the police department. The percent change in real income by year will follow.

POLICE
REAL INCOME
1910=100

— Year 2
— Year 3
— Year 4



Police Department - Constables, Patrolmen or Privates

Years of Service	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income
2	1900	76.8	86.9	88.3	1905	95.6	89.6	106.6	1909	86.9	99.5	87.3	1910	100.0	100.0	100.0
3	1900	75.0	86.9	86.3	1905	88.7	89.6	98.9	1909	87.5	99.5	87.9	1910	100.0	100.0	100.0
4	1900	70.6	86.9	81.2	1905	83.6	89.6	93.3	1909	86.9	99.5	87.3	1910	100.0	100.0	100.0

Years of Service	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income
2	1911	100.0	102.6	97.4	1912	123.1	115.9	106.2	1913	123.1	123.2	99.9	1914	123.1	107.2	114.8
3	1911	100.0	102.6	97.4	1912	118.7	115.9	102.4	1913	118.7	123.2	96.3	1914	118.7	107.2	110.7
4	1911	100.0	102.6	97.4	1912	108.6	115.9	93.7	1913	108.6	123.2	88.1	1914	108.6	107.2	101.3

Years of Service	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income
2	1915	123.1	101.3	121.5	1916	123.1	110.2	111.7	1917	128.4	131.7	97.4	1918	157.2	144.2	109.0
3	1915	118.7	101.3	117.1	1916	118.7	110.2	107.7	1917	128.7	131.7	97.7	1918	144.0	144.2	99.8
4	1915	108.6	101.3	107.2	1916	108.6	110.2	98.5	1917	119.5	131.7	90.7	1918	137.2	144.2	95.1

Years of Service	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income
2	1919	173.9	167.5	103.8	1920	188.4	195.1	96.5
3	1919	162.5	167.5	97.0	1920	175.0	195.1	89.6
4	1919	152.1	167.5	90.8	1920	168.4	195.1	86.3

Police Department - Constables, Patrolmen or PrivatesPercent Change in Real Income

<u>Year</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
1900	+20.7	+14.6	+14.9
1905	-18.4	-11.1	- 6.4
1909	+14.5	+13.7	+14.5
1910	- 2.6	- 2.6	- 2.6
1911	+ 9.0	+ 5.1	- 3.7
1912	- 5.9	- 5.9	- 5.9
1913	+14.9	+14.9	+14.9
1914	+ 5.8	+ 5.7	+ 5.8
1915	- 8.0	- 8.0	- 8.1
1916	-12.8	- 9.2	- 7.9
1917	+11.9	+ 2.1	+ 4.8
1918	- 4.7	- 2.8	- 4.5
1919	- 7.0	- 7.6	- 4.9
1920			

Between 1900-08 those employees of the police department with two years service received a real income increase of 26.7%; those with three years service 20.3%; those with four years service 20.5%. The rapid rise in the cost of living during the next four years wiped out these gains as employees with 2, 3 and 4 years service suffered real income declines of 30.3%, 24.4%, and 20.3% respectively.

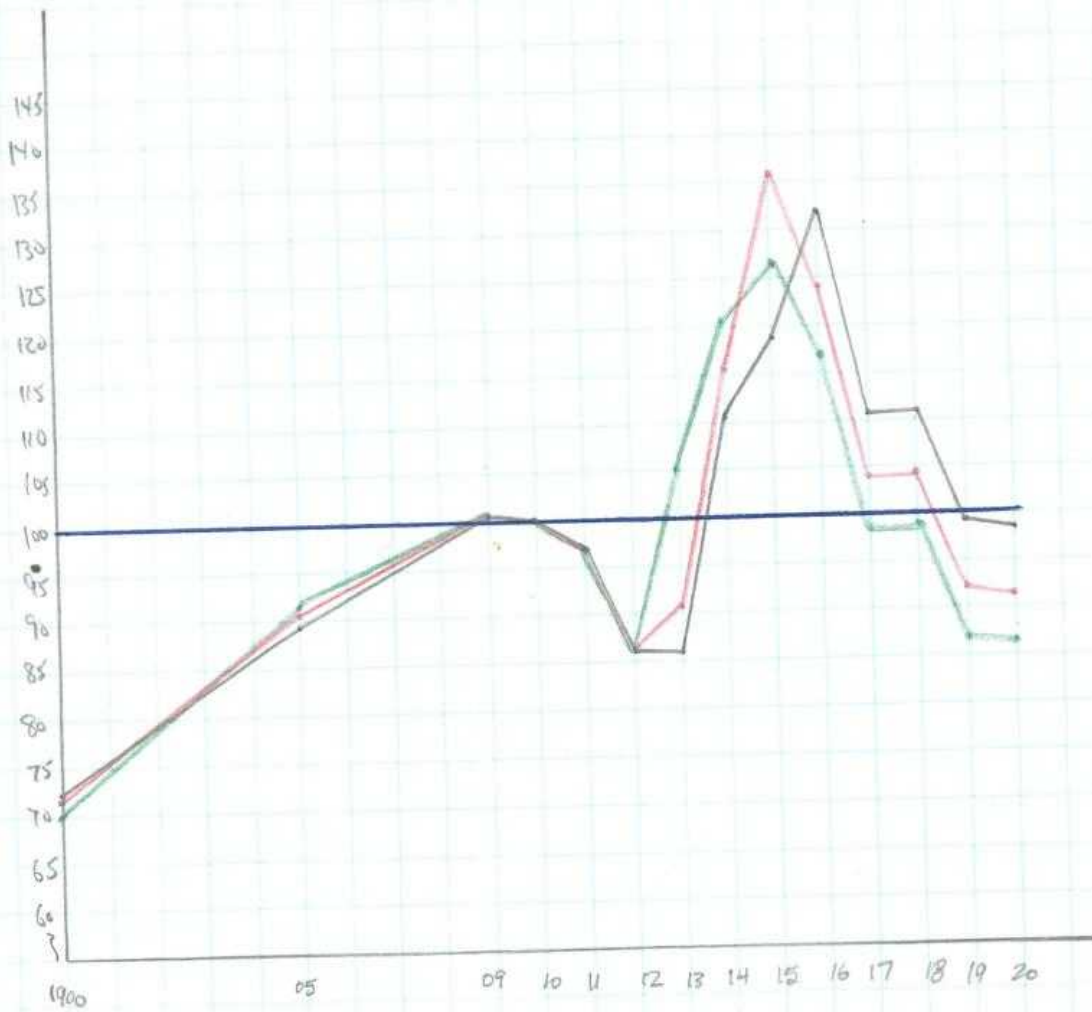
Between 1909-11 employees with two and four years service received an increase in real income of 21.8%. Those employees with three years of service were slightly behind with a 20.9% increase. Between 1911-13 real income for employees with two and three years service rose by 4.7% and 1% respectively. For the employees with four years service however, their real income fell by 7.5%. Between 1913-15 all employees received an increase in real income of 18.7%. Between 1915-18 the real income of employees with 2 years service declined by 4%; 3 years service, 5.3%; 4 years service, 1.2%. When adjusted for the cost of clothing the decline in real income for those with 2, 3, and 4 years service was 5.8%, 10.5%, and 6.9% respectively.

Fire Department

Presented below are the index numbers for the fire department employees. The percent change in real income by year will follow.

FIREMEN
REAL INCOME
1970=100

— Year 2
— Year 3
— Year 4



Fire Department - Firemen

Years of Service	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income
2	1900	64.0	86.9	73.6	1905	80.0	89.6	89.2	1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	1910	100.0	100.0	100.0
3	1900	63.7	86.9	73.3	1905	81.2	89.6	90.6	1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	1910	100.0	100.0	100.0
4	1900	63.5	86.9	73.0	1905	82.3	89.6	91.8	1909	100.0	99.5	100.5	1910	100.0	100.0	100.0

Years of Service	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income
2	1911	100.0	102.6	97.4	1912	100.0	115.9	86.2	1913	106.6	123.2	86.5	1914	120.0	107.2	111.9
3	1911	100.0	102.6	97.4	1912	100.0	115.9	86.2	1913	112.5	123.2	91.3	1914	125.0	107.2	116.6
4	1911	100.0	102.6	97.4	1912	100.0	115.9	86.2	1913	129.4	123.2	105.0	1914	129.4	107.2	120.7

Years of Service	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income
2	1915	120.0	101.3	118.4	1916	146.6	110.2	133.0	1917	146.6	131.7	111.3	1918	161.3	144.2	111.8
3	1915	137.5	101.3	135.7	1916	137.5	110.2	124.7	1917	137.5	131.7	104.4	1918	151.2	144.2	104.8
4	1915	129.4	101.3	127.7	1916	129.4	110.2	117.4	1917	129.4	131.7	98.2	1918	142.3	144.2	98.6

Years of Service	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income	Year	Index Money Income	Price Index	Index Real Income
2	1919	166.6	167.5	99.4	1920	193.3	195.1	99.0
3	1919	156.2	167.5	93.2	1920	181.2	195.1	92.8
4	1919	147.0	167.5	87.7	1920	170.5	195.1	87.3

Fire Department - Firemen

Percent Change in Real Income

<u>Year</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
1900			
	+21.1	+23.6	+25.9
1905	+12.6	+10.9	+ 9.4
1909	- 0.4	- 0.4	- 0.4
1910	- 2.6	- 2.6	- 2.6
1911	-11.4	-11.4	-11.4
1912	+ 0.3	+ 5.9	+21.8
1913	+29.3	+27.7	+14.9
1914	+ 5.8	+16.3	+ 5.7
1915	+12.3	- 8.1	- 8.0
1916	-16.3	-16.2	-16.3
1917	+ 0.4	+ 0.3	+ 0.4
1918	-11.0	-11.0	-11.0
1919	- 0.4	- 0.4	- 0.4
1920			

Fire department employees with two, three and four years of service received an increase in real income of 21.1%, 23.6% and 25.7% respectively between 1900-05. Between 1905-09 they received a further decrease in real income of 12.6%, 10.9% and 9.4% respectively for employees with two, three and four years service.

Between 1909-11 all employees received the same real decrease of 3%. The real income of employees with two and three years service declined by 11.1% and 6.2% respectively between 1911-13, while those employees with four years service managed a 7.8% increase. As the cost of living fell during the next two years all employees made rapid advances in real incomes. Those with two years service received a 36.8% increase in real income; those with three years 48.6%; those with four years 21.6%.

Between 1915-18 those employees with two, three and four years service suffered a decline in real income of 5.5%, 22.7%, and 22.7% respectively. When adjusted for the cost of clothing the decline in real income for those employees with two, three and four years service amounted to 8.3%, 24.9% and 25% respectively.

Summary

Once again the municipal employees suffered a decline in real income between 1915-18. The year 1918 witnessed a series of strikes, one of which the firemen were involved in on May 14, 1918 in a demand for higher wages and union recognition. The strike was settled May 25 through mediation by the Department of Labour and wage increases and a modified demand for union recognition was granted.

Unrest - 1918

As a predecessor to the metal trades strike of July 22, 1918 as mentioned above, the civic employees of Winnipeg struck on May 2. It lasted for over three weeks and reached semi-general proportions. "In some ways it was a rehearsal for the general strike which began a year later."⁷ Ninety employees of the city light and power department struck on May 2. The next day the city electricians and employees of the waterworks department struck. The teamsters walked out on May 7, the firemen on May 14, and the telephone operators on May 16.⁸

The "opinion in labour circles was not unanimous in support of the strike."⁹ The Voice questioned the action of the unions¹⁰ but the strike was strongly supported by the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council. A new labour paper, The Western Labour News, was established and gave full support to the strike repeatedly publishing the slogan, "strike for the right to strike".

⁷ D. C. Masters, op. cit. p. 11.

⁸ For further details of the strike events of 1918 see Appendix A.

⁹ D. C. Masters, op. cit. p. 11.

¹⁰ Voice, May 17, 1918, p. 1.

The issue of the right to strike for civic employees had been raised by Alderman Fowler of the City Council and his amendment as passed by City Council denied this right to civic employees. It had the twofold effect of delaying the prospects of an immediate settlement and at the same time further solidified the labour movement.

The labour members on the City Council, Queen, Heaps, and Puttee, all vigourously opposed the Fowler amendment and were supported in this view by the federal minister of labour, the Hon. Gideon Robertson.

"Robertson's intervention was well timed because it followed conversations between the strikers and the citizens' committee of one hundred. The citizens' committee was an ad hoc body of purportedly neutral citizens, mainly, business men and lawyers formed to negotiate a settlement. Its role in the 1918 strike was very different from that of a similar and larger citizens' committee of 1919. Unlike its successor, the committee of 1918 negotiated directly with the strikers."¹¹

Largely as a result of the efforts of this committee plus the influence of the federal minister of labour most of the demands of the workers were granted including modified wage increases and the right to strike as a last resort only.¹²

The success of the civic employees and the metal trades workers in their threat of a general strike in 1918 gave confidence to the employees of other trades. This was to be an important influence in precipitating the general strike of 1919. Winnipeg labour had had a taste of success in their demands caused primarily by the threat of a general strike, a threat that was to become a reality just one year later.

¹¹ D.C. Masters, op. cit. p. 13.

¹² For further details of the settlements of the strike see Masters, p. 13-14 and Voice, May 31, 1918.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

The serious labour unrest of 1918 carried over to 1919. The success of the 1918 strikes had raised the expectations of the workers in Winnipeg and they were now ready to seriously fulfill their threat of the previous year.

War and conscription had contributed to the unrest. So had the high cost of living, the demand for shorter hours, the right to organize, the poor housing facilities, the restrictions on the press and individual freedoms and the ostentatious display of wealth.

In this disturbed atmosphere the general strike took place. On May 1, 1,200 workers of the building trades struck for an increase in wages. Although the employers recognized the justice of the workers demands they argued that the high cost of building would not stand the rates the workers demanded. There the matter stood and a strike was called. The same day 1,000 metal trades workers struck for higher wages, the 8 hour day and recognition of the Metal Trades Council as the bargaining agent of the affiliated unions. This was the other half of the settlement which they had lost in the 1918 strike and were now out on strike again in part over this issue. The owners of the contract shops refused to deal with the Metal Trades Council. This difficulty remained unsolved and a strike in these trades was likewise called.

With two of the largest trade groups out on strike the Trades and Labour Council conducted a general strike vote on May 9. At the May 13 session of the Trades and Labour Council, delegates voted to proceed with the general work stoppage and on May 15 the General Strike began with over 30,000 workers leaving their jobs including 1,200 who were not members of unions.

The strikers included all the trades mentioned in Chapter 6 with the exception of the police, who though they had voted in favour of joining the strike, were ordered by the Strike Committee to remain at their posts. The employees of the running trades also voted in favour of strike action but the International Unions refused to give its sanction.¹

The government and the Citizens Committee of One Thousand viewed the strike as an attempt to establish a Soviet system of government in Winnipeg.² The workers viewed the strike as a possible chance to recover the loss of real income they had suffered from 1915-18. All workers with the exception of the painters received substantial money income increases in 1919 as a result of the strike settlement. However the rapid advance in the cost of living threatened to wipe out any real gain for many.

Thus it was apperant that the workers had good economic reasons to become more militant and radical. This militancy served a twofold effect. On the one hand it antagonized and alienated many employers, and on the other, "it is unrealistic to imagine that employers would ever

¹ For a chronology of the strike see D.C. Master, op. cit.

² See Appendix D for the two opposing views.

have made the concessions they did make, or even have bothered much about industrial relations at all, if a militant and radical labour movement had not existed."³ The fear of unemployment, lagging real wages, and a growing discontent among the workers moved them to strike action in 1919.

The struggle of workers to maintain or increase real income in face of the rising cost of living was the major cause of dispute activity during the two decades. The view of the public, governments, and employers, however, was to achieve industrial peace and then continue on their way the same as before, "with a little easment here, perhaps, and a little re-adjustment there, but on the same main lines of social organization."⁴ As long as work is resumed, any settlement of a labour dispute is a good thing regardless of the terms of the settlement. That is:

"Whether the men secure concessions or not, whether admitted grievances remain or go; whatever the terms of settlement may be, surrender or success or compromise, it is assumed that 'industrial peace' is the same thing as the ending of the strike."⁵

Thus the 'settlement' itself may in fact keep the situation of 'industrial peace and harmony' in a very unsettled state. The strike itself is the symptom of the unrest and the ending of a strike or dispute is not necessarily an advantage and may quite conceivably be a worsening of the disorder. Such was the case in the strikes of 1918. Thus the workers in the various trades in Winnipeg, after

³ H.C. Pentland, op. cit. p. 102.

⁴ F. Henderson, The Labour Unrest (London), p. 22.

⁵ Ibid.

experiencing difficulty in making sufficient wage advances to keep up with the cost of living, expressed their discontent in the General Strike of 1919.

Also the importance of the standard of living cannot be underestimated. Each man has his own 'standard of living' arranged according to his wants, either consciously or unconsciously and his unsatiated wants prompt the struggle for higher wages. The worker anticipates that each successive year will be better than the previous, or at the very least, no worse. Many, if not most workers, by 1918 had experienced 3 successive years of declines in real income. This coupled with the success of the 1918 strikes gave them a psychological lift as they became impatient attempting to win wage increases by peaceful means. The evidence presented above certainly corroborates the findings of the Royal Commission and the statement of Mr. Winning especially for the years 1915-19.

"Labour was very much dissatisfied - dissatisfied with conditions as they existed. [one of the causes] - was unemployment. Another cause was the high cost of living; lack of the Government to give adequate relief; long hours of employment, inadequate wages, undesirable working conditions, profiteering, the growing intellignece on the part of the working class of economic inequalities in modern society; the refusal on the part of some of the employers to recognize the right of the employees to organize labour; the refusal on the part of the employers to recognize the right of collective bargaining, and probably a great many other causes; those are some of the causes that I feel were directly the cause of the unrest which was prevalent before the strike took place in May."⁶

⁶ Robson Commission, p. 6.

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APPENDIX A

Month	Yr.	Occupation	Alleged Cause or Object	Approx. # of Employ- ees affected		Date of Commencement	Date of Termination	Results
				Gen. Comm.	Dir. Indir.			
-	1900	Plumbers	Employer broke agreement to employ only union labour.	-	7	-	-	-
August	1901	Carpenters	Demand 9 hour day at 40 cents per hour.	-	400	Aug. 8	Sept. 28	Strike called off by the union but plans were made to resume the demand in January 1902
-	1901	Iron Moulders	Strike over employment of incompetent man.	-	20	-	-	Arrangement made to give the man six months in which to improve.
-	1902	Carpenters	Demand for 9 hour day.	-	16	-	-	Demand granted after 2 days
-	1902	Lathers	Demand increase in wages.	-	20	-	-	Achieved a 5 cent/hr. raise.
May	1902	Bakers	For increase from 20-25¢/hr. and union recognition.	11	14	May 1	July 1	Nominally in continuance, but all bakers employed & all shops running full handed.
-		Machinists Can. Northern	Demand increase in wages.	1	55	May 16	-	Employers claim not to be affected by strike but union states no men have returned to work.
		Confectioners	Objection by firm to formation of union.	1	40	May 25	July 1	Most of strikers obtained employment elsewhere but factory running with full staff.
June	1902	Freight handlers & other employees on Can. Northern	Sympathy with strike of machinists.	1	220	June 30	-	No settlement reported at end of month.
-	1902	Fitters and helpers	Protest against the excessive number of helpers employed.	-	52	-	-	-

Month	Yr.	Occupation	Alleged Cause or Object	Approx. # of Employees affected		Date of Commencement	Date of Termination	Results
				Men	Women			
October	1903	Carpenters & Joiners	Demand min. wage of 35¢/hr, 9 hr. day & union recognition.	89	-	Oct. 20	Oct. 30	Agreement signed by 69 contractors at end of month, due to gov't intervention.
May	1904	Journeyman Tailors	Refusal of firms to sign schedule	2	27	May 18	June 26	Strike called off by union.
	1904	Printers	Objection of men to partner of firm working on machine.	1	12	Oct. 26	-	Strikers withdrew protest & resumed work.
-	1905	Bricklayers	Protest against the employment of men as painters who were non unionists.	1	55	-	-	Dispute ended in 2 days. Firm ended practice & set non-union men to cleaning.
March	1905	Printers	Demand increase in wages.	16	100	Mar. 22	Mar. 27	Work resumed pending negotiations.
May	1905	Lathers	Demand increase in wages.	5	75	May 1	May 30	No settlement reported.
June	1905	Plumbers	Demand increase in wages for 2 employees	1	20	June 1	June 8	The 2 employees were fired & the others resumed work.
	1905	Electrical Workers	Demand increase in wages & union shop	20	75	June 1	June 8	Demands granted.
	1905	Printers	Demand for 8 hr. day.	15	70	Sept. 18	-	Employers recruited men from England & replaced strikers in Nov. On learning of the strike the newcomers walked out. As a sequel the Fed. gov't. introduced legislation in 1906 making it illegal to attract immigrants by false representations.
December	1905	Plasterers	Objection to employment of men not members of their union.	1	13	Dec. 12	Dec. 17	All strikers secured work elsewhere
	1905	Stonecutters	Protest introduction of a stone planer.	-	19	Dec. 28	Jan.	Agreement reached in Jan. 1906 re: use of planer & increase in wages.
	1905	Structural iron workers	Demand 9 hr. day at 40¢/hr.	-	50	-	-	After 18 days on strike got the 9 hr. day at 37½¢/hr.

Month	Yr.	Occupation	Alleged Cause or Object	Approx. # of Employ's affected		Date of Comment	Date of Termination	Results
				Union	Indir.			
-	1906	Painters	Demand a raise in min. wage	23	250	-	-	After 15 days secured a compromise.
	1906	Sheet metal Workers	Demand increase wages, decrease in hours & more control over their helpers	23	80	-	-	No settlement reported.
March	1906	St. R.R. Employees	Demand increase in wages, changes in conditions & recognition	1	254	Mar. 29	Apr. 7	Settled by compromise through friendly mediation by Winnipeg Ministerial Association.
May	1906	Moulders Machinists Blacksmiths	Demand increase in wages from 30-35¢/hr. plus other changes.	3	56	May 17	June 14	Two firms settle by June 14.
July	1906	Plumbers	Increase in wages, 8 hr. day and union shop.	32	175	July 3	July 30	Some of strikers places filled.
September	1906	Building Trades	For principle of arbitration in labour disputes	200	4,000	Sept. 17	Sept. 26	Resolution re: arbitration passed and signed by both parties.
	1906	Cigarmakers	Disagreement re: bill of prices.	2	750	Sept. 29	-	No settlement reported.
Jan.	1907	Garment Workers	Against dismissal of certain employees.	1	50	Jan. 5	Jan. 15	Demands not conceded.
May	1907	Plasterers	Demand increase in wages of 10¢/hr. & 50 hr. week.	30	110	May 1	July 1	Partial settlement in favour of employees.
	1907	Horseshoers	Increase in wages from 29-30¢/hr. to 34-36¢/hr and a decrease in hours from 56 to 55 hrs. week.	15	40	May 20	May 29	Strikers return to work at old rate.

Month	Yr.	Occupation	Alleged Cause or Object	Approx. # of employees affected	Dir.	Indir.	Date of Commencement	Date of Termination	Results
July	1907	Bricklayers	Demand higher wages & shorter hours	40	500	600	Jul. 1	Jul. 22	Work resumed at old rate, 55¢/hr. with Sat. afternoons off during July & August.
Aug.	1907	Tailors	Employees paid off on acct. of stock taking & dulness of trade later refused to return unless all were taken back; reason for this discharge being misunderstood.	1	37	-	Aug. 17	-	Firm advertized for help & by Oct. many of the places of the old employees were filled.
	1907	Telegraphers	Refusal to receive messages from United States pending telegraphers strike there.	1	75	-	Aug. 13	Aug. 30	Conditions cease to be affected.
Oct.	1907	Bookbinders	Demand decrease in hours from 53 to 43 per week.	8	30	-	Oct. 1	Oct. 4	Demand conceded by 4 firms and agreement signed. All but 6 strikers returned to work.
	1907	Coopers	Demand union recognition.	-	16	-	Oct. 11	Dec.	Strikers were replaced.
March	1908	Paper box makers	Against an increase in hours and decrease in wages.	1	16	-	Mar. 9	Mar. 12	Settlement reached & work resumed.
Aug.	1908	Railway Machinists	Refusal of men to accept majority report of Board of Conciliations providing for certain changes in conditions at western points	1	8,000	-	Aug. 5	-	No settlement reported but many places filled by September.

Month	Yr.	Occupation	Alleged Cause or Object	Approx. # of Employ- ees affected		Date of Commencement	Date of Termination	Results
				Dir.	Indir.			
March	1909	Garment Workers	Alleged announcement of the "open shop" policy	2	123	-	Mar. 12	Company resumed operations by end of month & reports 60 hands at work.
June	1909	Cigarmakers	For increase in rates for certain cigars.	1	10	-	June 18	Strikers places filled by girls.
July	1909	Sheet metal workers	For increase in min. wage from 39-43c/hr.	14	83	-	Jul. 27	Work resumed at 41c/hr.
Aug.	1909	Carpenters	For increase in wages & new code of working rules.	12	600	-	Aug. 25	Most of terms agreed to.
	1909	Electrical Workers	Failure to make a new agreement on expiry of old one.	8	100	-	Aug. 5	Agreement signed; min. wage to be 40c/hr. until end of year. Rates for 1910 to be settled by a conference in January.
Oct.	1909	Coopers	For recognition of union.	4	16	-	Oct. 11	Conditions cease to be affected by December.
April	1910	Tailors	For 10% increase in wages.	-	150	-	Apr. 6	An 8% increase granted.
July	1910	Railway car-men & steam-fitters	For an increase in wages.	1	600	-	Jul. 1	Work resumed on terms of award from Conciliation Board.
Aug.	1910	Bricklayers & masons	In sympathy with striking bricklayers in Montreal, Quebec	1	12	-	Aug. 15	No settlement reported.
Dec.	1910	Street R.R. employees	For reinstatement of discharged employees	1	550	-	Dec. 16	Settled by conciliation; discharge men not reinstated.
	1910	Garment Workers	Lockout on refusal of employees to make suits for Street R.R. employees during strike	1	23	-	Dec. 22	Work resumed under open shop conditions.
	1910	Cap workers	Lockout on refusal of employees to make caps for street R.R. employees during strike	1	15	-	Dec. 30	Work resumed and workers taken back

Month	Yr.	Occupation	Alleged Cause or Object	Approx. # of Employ's affected		Date of Comment	Date of Termination	Results	
				Union	Dir. Indir.				
May	1911	Marble Workers	For recognition of union & higher wages	-	65	65	May 12	May 19	Neither demand granted.
July	1911	Brewery Workers	Demand increase in wages, shorter hours and recognition	2	160	-	Jul.10	Jul.12	Compromise reached.
Oct.	1911	Horse collar makers	Refusal of men to sign an agreement.	1	15	-	Oct. 9	Oct. 30	Company claimed men were discharged by end of month.
Jan.	1912	Plasterers	Lockout on account of strike; plasterers claim work being done by carpenters	40	250	-	Jan.27	Feb.13	Work resumed Feb.13 and negotiation continued between the Master Plasterers Section of the Builders Exchange & the Union.
Mar.	1912	Structural iron workers	Against new rules & regulations	1	200	-	Mar. 9	Mar. 12	A compromise was reached.
June	1912	Stationary Engineers	Demand increase in wages.	-	150	-	June28	Jul. 20	Demands granted.
	1912	Carpenters	Demand increase in wages.	-	3,000	-	June29	Aug. 8	Demands generally granted.
	1912	Linemen	Demand increase in wages.	2	75	-	June27	July 3	Demands granted.
April	1913	Painters	Demand increase in wages.	100	750	-	Apr.1	Apr. 28	Demands granted.
	1913	Tile layers	Demand increase in wages & shorter hours	5	33	-	Apr.1	Apr. 28	Demands granted.
May	1913	Bakers	Demand increase in wages, shorter hours & recognition	12	150	-	May 1	June	A 10% wage increase granted.
June	1914	Plumbers	Demand increase in wages	-	140	-	June 8	June 13	Demands not granted
Nov.	1914	Plasterers	Whether they were capable of performing certain functions	-	28	-	Nov.	-	No settlement reported

Month	Yr.	Occupation	Alleged Cause or Object	Approx. # of employees affected		Date of Commencement	Date of Termination	Results
				Direct	Indirect			
Sept.	1915	Cooks, waiters & waitresses	Demand a 6 day week from 7	8	70	Sept. 1	Sept. 18	Strikers got other work & their places filled by non-unionists.
	1916	Swift Canadian Co. drivers	Over discharge of fellow employees.	-	6	-	-	No settlement reported.
May	1916	Teamsters	Demand increase in wages.	3	200	May 10	June 24	Negotiations result in compromise
	1916	Gas workers	Alleged discrimination in the dismissal of certain employees	1	100	May 22	May 30	Decision in favour of employees; employees return to work.
July	1916	Cap makers	Demand increase in wages.	1	14	July 17	July 20	Negotiations result in favour of employees.
	1916	Garment Workers	Demand increase in wages.	1	70	July 20	July 27	Negotiations result in favour of employees.
Nov.	1916	Dairy drivers	Demand union recognition	1	150	Nov. 9	Nov. 11	Negotiations result in compromise
Jan.	1917	Butchers & Meat cutters	Alleged dismissal of union workmen	3	450	Jan. 29	Apr. 30	Settled in favour of employees.
May	1917	Painters decorators paperhangers	Demand increase in wages	40	290	May 1	May	Settled in favour of employees.
	1917	Machinists	Demand increase in wages	4	42	May 1	July 4	Settled in favour of employees.
	1917	Electrical workers	Demand increase in wages	2	106	May 1	May 10	Settled in favour of employees.
	1917	Railway stores employees	Demand increase in wages	1	100	May 28	July 11	Compromise by Board of Conciliation.

Month	Yr.	Occupation	Alleged Cause or Object	Number of employees affected	Approx. # of employees affected	Dir. Indir.	Date of Comment	Date of Termination	Results
June	1917	Munitions Workers	Objection to strikebreakers	1	70	-	June 4	June 8	Settled in favour of employees
	1917	Builders labourers	Demand increase in wages	40	700	-	June 26	June 30	Results in compromise
Sept.	1917	Motion picture operators & motion picture musicians	Demand increase in wages	-	40 30	-	Sept. 3	Sept. 26	Demands granted
Nov.	1917	Waiters	Demand increase in wages & decrease in hours.	1	35	-	Nov. 5	Nov. 9	Results in compromise
March	1918	Bridge, structural ornamental iron workers	Demand increase in wages	-	26	-	March 1	March 6	Demand granted
April	1918	Tailors	Demand increase in wages	-	200	-	Apr. 1	Apr. 15	Demands granted
May	1918	Civic employees	Demand increase in wages	-	201	-	May 2	May 24	Demands granted
	1918	Civic firemen	Demand increase in wages & union recognition	-	178	-	May 14	May 25	Settled through mediation by Dept. of Labour. Partial higher wages granted.
	1918	Telephone Operators	Ceased work in sympathy with civic employees	-	567	-	May 16	May 27	Work resumed
	1918	Cartage teamsters	Demand increase in wages	-	170	-	May 17	May 30	Demands granted
	1918	Freight handlers, CPR, Can. Northern	Ceased work in sympathy with civic employees	-	250	-	May 18	May 31	Work resumed

Month	Yr.	Occupation	Alleged Cause or Object	Approx. No. of Employees affected		Date of Comment	Date of Termination	Results	
				Direct	Indirect				
May	1918	Shopmen, CPR Can. Northern	Ceased work in sympathy with civic employees	-	248	-	May 21	May 27	Work resumed
	1918	Carmen CPR Can. Northern	Ceased work in sympathy with civic employees	-	1,800	-	May 22	May 27	Work resumed
	1918	Electric RR employees	Ceased work in sympathy with civic employees	-	910	-	May 22	May 25	Work resumed
	1918	Stationary engineers	Ceased work in sympathy with civic employees	-	140	-	May 22	May 27	Work resumed
July	1918	Machinists	Ceased work in sympathy with civic employees	-	150	-	May 24	May 25	Work resumed
	1918	Brewery Workers	Ceased work in sympathy with civic employees	-	150	-	May 24	May 27	Work resumed
	1918	Printers	Demand higher wages, union recognition & better working conditions	-	250	-	July 1	July 5	Partial increase granted
	1918	Cap makers	Demand higher wages, union recognition & against alleged discrimination	-	8	-	July 17	July 25	Work resumed
	1918	Letter carriers	Demand higher wages, union recognition & Board of Investigation	-	-	-	July 22	July 31	Gov't. arranged to have differences investigated by Civil Service Commission.
	1918	Metal workers	Demand higher wages & union recognition	-	1,000	-	July 22	Aug. 31	Dispute settled by mediation through Bureau of Labour. Partial higher wages granted.

Month	Yr.	Occupation	Alleged Cause or Object	Approx. # of Employ- ees affected		Date of Commence- ment	Date of Termina- tion	Results
				Dir.	Indir.			
Aug.	1918	Labourers	Demand increase in wages, union recognition & shorter hours	-	45	-	Aug. 14	Many strikers places filled.
Sept.	1918	Sash & Door employees	Demand increase in wages, union recognition & 9 hr. day.	-	300	-	Sept. 27	Went to arbitration & men resumed work.
March	1919	Brewery Workers	Demand increase in wages	4	190	-	Mar. 11	Demands granted.
April	1919	Tailors	Demand increase in wages and decrease in hours.	1	30	-	Apr. 1	Partial increase granted and hours reduced.
May	1919	Casket makers	Demand increase in wages and union recognition	-	60	-	May 1	Unsettled at end of month.
	1919	Building Trades	Demand increase in wages	-	-	1,200	May 1	Settled.
	1919	Metal workers	Demand increase in wages, 8 hr. day, 44 hr. week & union recognition	1	1,000	-	May 1	Men partially successful
	1919	General Strike miscellaneous trades	In sympathy with metal workers strike	-	27,000	-	May 15	Called off.

Appendix B

Weekly Expenditure of Staples - 1900-1920 °

Commodity	Weight	1900	1905	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Beef-Sirloin Stk./lb	2 lb.	33*	40	36	40	46	50	54	54	54	54	56	60	76	60
Medium chuck/lb	2 lb.	20	25	25	20	28	32	40	34	34	34	36	46	40	30
Veal/lb	1 lb.	12.5	14	12.5	12.5	14	18	18	18	18	18	22	25	22	20
Mutton/lb	1 lb.	14*	17	15	18	22	24	24	25	25	25	36	40**	35	35
Pork Fresh/lb	1 lb.	12.5	18	19	18	22	22	22	22	22	22	38	40	32	35
Pork Salt	2 lb.	24	36	32	40	42	36	36	36	36	36	66	78**	1.00 ^h	1.17 ^h
Bacon	1 lb.	18	20	25	28	28	35	35	35	35	35	43	52	56	65
Fish Fresh	1 lb.	9	10	15	12.5	12	12.5	15	15	12.5	12.5	15	16	20*	22*
Lard	2 lb.	25	30	44	40	36	36	36	36	36	50	70	76	80	76
Eggs Fresh	1 doz.	17.5*	22.5*	60	50	40	45	45	40	50	65	60	75	92.5*	1.00
Packed	1 doz.	17.5*	22.5*	35	32.5	35	35	35	35	35	45	45	65	75 ^p	82.5 ^p
Milk	6 qts.	33	37.5	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	66	78	84	96	96**
Butter Dairy	2 lb.	40	45*	55	60	66	70	60	50	60	74	77 ^{&}	75.5 ^{&}	1.02 ^{&}	1.14

Weekly Expenditure of Staples - 1900-1920

(Continued)

Commodity	Weight	1900	1905	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Butter Creamery	1 lb.	23.5*	25	38	35	40	40	35	32	40	48	50	53.5	80	58
Cheese	1 lb.	14*	15	18	16	20	23	23	23	23	35	38	38	40**	40
Bread	15 lb.	75**	75**	75	75	75	75	75	75	75	84	96	1.12	1.08	1.20
Flour	10 lb.	20	24	28	28	30	34	32	36	34	54	62	67	67	69
Rolled Oats	5 lb.	20.8	20.8	30	20	20	25	25	25	30	30	32.5	40	50	30
Rice 'B'	2 lb.	12	9	16.6	12.5	14	14	13	13	16	12	20	28	30**	41**
Beans	2 lb.	10	6	10	8.5	10	12	10	10	16	20	25	26	30	25
Apples	1 lb.	15	12	8.3	12.5	13.5	12	12	12	12	12	17.5	22	25	22
Prunes	1 lb.	10	10	8.3	10	12	12	10	12	12	12	14	22	27	30
Sugar Granulated	4 lb.	24	24	24	24	28.5	25	26	28.5	30.7	34.8	42	50	60	56
Yellow	2 lb.	10	10.5	10	11	13.3	12.5	13	14.2	14.2	16.6	20	24	28	26
Tea-Black	¼ lb.	8.7**	8.7**	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	13.7	16.8*	15
-Green	¼ lb.	12.5	8.7**	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	15.0	15	20

Appendix B

Weekly Expenditure of Staples - 1900-1920

(Continued)

Commodity	Weight	1900	1905	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Coffee - Medium	¼ lb.	11.2	10	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7	7	8.7	15	16.5
Potatoes	2 pks.	30	16.6	23.2	45	45	30	33.2	46.6	43.3	53.2	60	45	1.00	1.00
Total Food		5.72	6.12	7.49	7.55	7.98	8.16	8.01	8.17	8.49	9.74	11.43	12.97	15.18	15.21
Coal Anthracite	1/16 ton.	65. ^Z	62.5	68.7	65.6	65.6	68.7	71.8	68.7	68.7	70.3	78.1	95.3	1.01	1.46
Bituminous	1/16 ton.	50 ^Z	53.1 ^Z	56.2 ^Z	56.2	59.3	56.2	56.2	50	53.1	56.2	75	79.6	78.5	97.5
Wood-Hard	1/16 cord	37.4 ^Z	37.5	42.1	46.8	50	46.8	43.7	43.7	43.7	50	56.2	71.0 ^A	68.7 ^{**}	93.7
Coaloil	1 gal.	35	35	35	35	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	30 ^{**}	45
Total Fuel and Lighting		1.87	1.88	2.02	2.03	1.99	1.96	1.96	1.87	1.90	2.01	2.34	2.70	2.78	3.82
Rent	¼ month	5.62 ^{**}	5.62 ^{**}	5.62 ^{**}	5.62 [*]	5.62 [*]	7.50	8.75	6.25	5.00	5.00	6.25	6.25 [*]	7.50 [*]	10.62 [*]
Total All		13.21	13.62	15.13	15.20	15.59	17.62	18.72	16.29	15.39	16.75	20.02	21.92	25.46	29.65
Index		86.9	89.6	99.5	100.0	102.6	115.9	123.2	107.2	101.3	110.2	131.7	144.2	167.5	195.1

Appendix B

Weekly Expenditure of Staples - 1900-1920

(Continued)

* Average

Note: Weights from Canada, DBS, Prices and Price Indices 1913-1927, Ottawa Kings Printer, 1920

Yearly figures are as of December 15; source: Labour Gazette [all issues].

**Estimates

A - average of November 1918 and February 1919

& - Estimates based on fact that butter (dairy) was an average of 11¢/lb less than butter (creamery) - monthly from July 1914 to July 1917.

h - Estimate based on fact that pork (salt) is 1.5 - 2.0 times greater than pork (fresh) i.e. an average of 1.8 between 1900-1918.

k - Estimate based on variation in fish prices from 1900-1919 of 1¢ - 5¢/lb.

p - Estimate based on variation of price between eggs (fresh) and (packed), 1915-1918 - an average difference of 17.5 cents.

Z - From H.Wood, Sr.

° Retail prices are in dollars and cents

***Estimates and Average

APPENDIX C

Retail Price and Indices of Clothing - Selected Years

<u>Year</u>		Clothing Index 1910 = 100
		<u>Index</u>
1910	Retail Price = \$15.20 = 80% All Other	1910 = \$19.00 = 100
	Base = $\frac{100}{80} \times 15.20 = \19.00	
	Retail Clothing Value = \$19.00 - $\frac{\$15.20}{3.80}$	
1915	= $\frac{125}{92} \times \$3.80 = \$ 5.13$ - Clothing $\frac{\$15.39}{\$20.52}$ - All Other \$20.52 - Total	1915 = \$20.52 = 108.0
1916	= $\frac{143}{92} \times \$3.80 = \$ 5.89$ - Clothing $\frac{\$16.75}{\$22.64}$ - All Other \$22.64 - Total	1916 = \$22.64 = 119.1
1917	= $\frac{167}{92} \times \$3.80 = \$ 6.87$ - Clothing $\frac{\$20.02}{\$26.89}$ - All Others \$26.89	1917 = \$26.89 = 141.5
1918	= $\frac{198}{92} \times \$3.80 = \$ 8.17$ - Clothing $\frac{\$21.92}{\$30.09}$ - All other \$30.09 - Total	1918 = \$30.09 = 158.3
		Percent Change 1915-18 = 46.5%

Source: Weight for clothing in general index = 20 from Buckley and Urquhart, Historical Statistics of Canada, p. 288.
Index numbers for clothing, Canada Year Book, 1921, p. 647.

Western Labor News

SPECIAL STRIKE EDITION No. 12

By the Strike Committee, Labor Temple

Price 5 Cents

Friday, May 30th, 1919.

ORWARD TO VICTORY

Free Press Converted?

HEAVILY AGREES TO OUR POSITION

Our position is not a mere negotiable commodity, but a principle representing the whole of the working class. THIS IS A SYSTEM FOR ADVANCEMENT AND STABILIZING LABOR. This is collective bargaining.

Free, organized labor in the city is quite ready to support the metal workers in a lawful manner. We are not to be deceived that they would support the metal workers, but by the Council, which represented the whole of the city. THEY WERE GRANTED AND BY ALL THE RULES OF THE CITY TO STRIKE.

Collective Bargaining? May be a good thing, but above all, it is a principle. The distinction of the working class is not recently

WHAT WE WANT

The Demands of the Sinkers are:

1. The Right of Collective Bargaining
2. A Living Wage
3. Reinstatement of all Sinkers

WHAT WE DO NOT WANT

1. Revolution
2. Dictatorship
3. Disorder

City Council Meets Norris

TRAINMEN AND CONDUCTORS OFFER MEDIATION

The City Council met Thursday noon. It was informed by Mayor Gray that the police were being asked to sign an agreement similar to that passed by the council regarding freedom. This agreement must be signed by one o'clock tomorrow or those refusing will be dismissed. Who said intimidation!

It was made plain that these few civic employees who were weak enough to crawl back and lick the hands of their masters will lose their seniority.

APPOINTMENT WITH NORRIS

Mayor Gray announced that Premier Norris would meet the council tomorrow at 11 a.m. The resolution on collective bargaining passed by council last Monday will be presented.

TRAINMEN AND CONDUCTORS BUSY

The following letter was read by Mayor Gray, and self explanatory:

May 28, 1919.

Mayor V. P. Gray,
City Hall
Washington

The Telegram's Record

The One Big Issue in the Winnipeg "Strike" is Plain

THE PEOPLE MUST CHOOSE

Between This ← → And This



The Alien Enemy

Was lately or secretly supported Germany and Austria during the war, who contributed money for bombs used in blowing up munitions plants on this continent, who danced for joy when the Lusitania was destroyed, who rejoiced over the long lists of Canadian casualties.

The Strike Committee, Ivens, Mrs. Armstrong, Dixon, Queen and the rest twist and squirm and lie in an effort to evade this issue. To fool the returned soldiers they say NOW: "We go on record that we will support all officers on the part of the authorities to deport all the undesirable aliens in our midst." They ask returned soldiers NOW: "What does the alien question amount to so far as the strike is concerned? Are the strikers defending undesirable aliens? Most assuredly they are not."

The people who say this today are the same people who voted for this resolution at the Calgary convention last March:

"That the interests of all members of the international working class being identical, that this body of workers RECOGNIZE NO ALIEN but the capitalists." (Endorsed by the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, March 18, 1919.)

They are the same people who voted endorsement to this statement made on the floor of the Calgary convention:

"We are asking for the release of those whom they consider as enemies, that is, actively working for the German government in this country." (From official Calgary convention report, endorsed by almost unanimous vote by Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council March 18, 1919.)

They are the same people who say: "All strikers (including the hundreds of aliens now on strike) must be given back their jobs before we call off this strike."

They are exactly the same people who did everything in their power to hinder Canada's war efforts, to prevent re-inforcements being sent overseas. They are the same people who fought conscription, tooth and nail.

They are the same people who are doing everything in their power, at the present moment, to prevent babies and invalids, including the sick returned soldiers at Tuxedo hospital, from obtaining milk.

There is no room in Canada for the undesirable alien who insults our flag, intimidates our citizens and demands soviet government.



The Flag

That is the symbol of law and order in this country; that guarantees to every man, woman and child in this country the right to live; that represents the authority which now enables the people of Winnipeg to get the necessities of life "without permission of the strike committee."

The Citizens' Committee of One Thousand