

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE HEADQUARTERS

Ottawa, 2nd September, 1920.

SECRET

NO. 39

NOTES OF THE WORK OF THE C. I. B. DIVISION  
FOR THE WEEK ENDING 2ND SEPTEMBER

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### 1. Characteristics of the Period

Three developments claim attention.

First, the plot to call a strike in the coal-mines of the Crow's Nest Pass seems to be thickening. A secret meeting was held at Hillcrest on 22nd August, and we understand that it was resolved to strike on a big scale on 7th October, or as soon as severe weather sets in. A district convention of the O. B. U. is to meet in Calgary on 10th September, and Edward Browne, the secretary of the district, has hinted that it would take steps to bring on a trial of strength.

Secondly, the O. B. U. convention at Port Arthur promises to be the scene of a fight which conceivably may split the organization. Caused partly by personal rivalries, three parties have appeared, championing a "Geographical", an "Industrial" and a "Class" type of organization. As information concerning this situation comes from several Provinces, it is epitomized in the second paragraph.

Thirdly, a survey of the foreign-born population in Toronto, Hamilton and the Niagara Peninsula confirms all we have heard as to its strongly revolutionary tendencies, and adds two disturbing facts. One is that the riot at Thorold has had a bad moral effect upon the foreigners, who have concluded, first, that it would be easy to upset the Government by mob action, and secondly, that the English-speaking working people are ready to revolt. The other is that the recent events in Great Britain, such as the "Hands off Russia" agitation and the threat of a general strike by the Triple Alliance, are encouraging the seditious-minded.

In this connection it may be noted that in Montreal two agitators, Michael Buhay and F. W. Gerrish have called for the formation of a "Committee of Action" or "Vigilance Committee" in emulation of the Committee of Action formed in England.[4]

The promptitude with which revolutionary actions in England provoke imitation here is becoming noticeable. For some time it has been observed that the revolutionary press in Canada is coming to depend more and more upon the English, and less upon the American revolutionary press. This week a new development has been noted: a disposition to import revolutionary papers, pamphlets, etc. from Paris to circulate in Montreal. French Canadians are remarkably fond of reading good French, the principal qualification for a journalist in Quebec being the possession of a pure and elegant French style rather than activity in the collection of news; it may be surmised that the local radicals have felt their inferiority in this and have had recourse to France with this in mind.

## 2. The Internal Troubles of the O. B. U.

Most of our information on this point comes from Eastern Canada, where there have been some interesting avowals.

The O. B. U. convention is to take place on 20th September, and apparently at Port Arthur; Winch, as part of the game which he is playing, is agitating to have the place changed to Vancouver, on the plea of economy, but the reception of this proposal so far has been adverse. The gathering is to be small, comprising only 35 delegates and at Montreal at all events it has been resolved to give the delegate a free hand; these facts accord ill with the claim that the body is ruled entirely from below.

Personal quarrels seem to have arisen. Midgley and Winch are at daggers drawn; Joe Naylor, a member of the Executive, is siding with Midgley; Carl Berg has laid formal charges against J. R. Knight. The situation is mixed, for Berg recently gave great help to Winch at the loggers' convention and Knight and Winch to some extent seem allies.[5]

However, Knight is promoting a proposal to move the headquarters from Vancouver to Winnipeg, to secure more attention to the East, which will be distasteful to Winch. The dispute between Winch and Midgley is due to the former trying to extend the scope of his unit so as to edge the Central office out of important financial resources. Of the several parties to these rivalries, Knight seems the weakest and he apprehended that he might be ejected from office.

Somewhat masking these personal difficulties is a discussion which hitherto has seemed rather academic as to the form of the organization. Midgley champions the Geographical type, which would help him by cutting Winch from the outlying branches of the L. W. I. U. Winch is for the industrial system, and the coal miners are said, to favour it. Knight believes in the Class idea, the point of which is not so clear as that of the others. Winnipeg seems to be the centre of this theory.

It is to be noted that the O. B. U. cause is said to be looking up somewhat in Toronto.

## I. BRITISH COLUMBIA

### 3. Friction among the Leaders

The L. W. I. U. are circularizing O. B. U. branches urging the holding of the approaching convention in Vancouver. The Regina unit voted in favour of Port Arthur.

Renewed reports reach us of the jealousy between Winch and Midgley. At present Winch is agitating to have the place of the approaching convention changed to Vancouver; as the loggers will have the majority of the delegates this would save expenses. The proposal is opposed by Midgley and Naylor and some others. A correspondent writes:-

"Naylor is a Midgley man and neither he nor Midgley have any time just now for Winch, whom they are apparently trying to get out of office.

Carl Berg has made formal charges against J. R. Knight, and [6]

Midgley has been asked to investigate. The charges are

(1) That 3,000 members of the loggers in the East had broken from the O. B. U.

(2) That J. R. Knight refused to speak for the O. B. U. at Cobalt, and, spoke in preference for the Socialist Party of Canada.

A reference to this, quarrel appeared in last week's issue of this summary, Berg's name, however, was not spelled correctly, and this somewhat obscured the fact.

#### 4. Policy of the L. W. I. U.

Alexander, the L. W. I. U. organizer among the mill-workers, has been having a discouraging time. In conversation he recently said he was going to cease his activity in the Westminster district to give the impression that the local is a dead issue. He thought that when the millowners were convinced there was nothing doing over there they would cut wages, which would be certain to arouse the workers and revive interest in the union. He said that it would only be cut in wages that the workers in the sawmills could be made to realize that the O. B. U. was of any benefit to them.

More is being heard of the sabotage policy of the L. W. I. U. J. M. Clarke and Richard Higgins recently have been active in urging "job action" in preferred to strikes, and a specific case occurred recently in which some strikers accepted the company's offer and returned to work, imbued with a spirit of revenge and bent upon following this policy.

On 18th August a strike occurred at Camp No. 17 of the Pacific Mills Company, near Ocean Falls. It was called by the O. B. U. because a delegate named Webster had been dismissed. The men were not unanimous, and it ended in about a day.

At the first meeting the men voted for the strike by a small majority soon after they held a second meeting at which they decided that the company was in the right, and ordered five trouble-makers,[7] including two O. B. U. delegates, out of camp. Some tore up their O. B. U. cards. Although the camp as a whole returned to work, 40 men left.

#### 5. British Columbia Detachment Reports

Prince Rupert, 24th July:-

"District quiet and orderly".

Stewart, 7th August:-

"There has been no labour trouble reported during the week, in fact labour has been very quiet for the past two months. Up to date the only labour unions represented in this district is the O. B. U. and its affiliations".

Esquimalt, 14th August:-

"Labour conditions favourable".

Nanaimo, 14th August:-

"Everything is quiet and orderly in this district. All mines lumber and

logging camps are working to full capacity and there is plenty of work to be had in the district".

Port Alberni, 14th August:-

"Mills and camps are working steadily with no signs of trouble"

Kamloops, 21st August:-

"Labour situation quiet".

Trail, 14th August:-

"Both mines at Trail and Rossland are working full time and thin and things moving smoothly. Strike still on at Lindsay Bros. Lumber Camp Meadows, otherwise things in general quiet.

Grand Forks, 14th August:-

"The farmers in the district report rain is needed very badly. The majority of the mines and mills in the district were visited by the men while on patrol, the managers of same reporting everything quiet. Labour conditions are good in the district and at present there are no indications of unrest".

In a number of these reports bad bush fires are mentioned. Near Nanaimo a sawmill and its logs etc. had been destroyed; near Kamloops a sawmill and some homesteaders' cabins had been burned, and one man burned to death and several injured.

The Chakawana in a recent patrol visited Stewart, Anyox and Alice Arm. Following are the observations made:-

Stewart:Labour conditions quiet. Labour supply good.

Anyox:Labour conditions quiet. About 1,200 men employed at the mine and smelter. No known agitator in the camp.[8]

Alice Arm:Labour Conditions quiet. About 150 men employed.

#### 6. Miscellaneous Notes

T. Connors addressed the Socialist meeting in Vancouver on Sunday 22nd August. His address was an attack on H. G. Wells' book on "Socialism". In conclusion he expressed his hope that the Bolsheviki would defeat the Poles.

The chairman announced that the hire of the hall was \$60, that this sum had not been realized for several Sundays, and that if there was no improvement they might have to cease holding the meetings. Despite this the collection was only \$49.80. The audience was not large and not interested. It showed sympathy when Connors applauded the Bolsheviks.

E. M. Mutch, who formerly was an agitator in Regina, now is living in Nakusp, and is working instead of agitating.

Clifford Roberts of Victoria on 15th August addressed a meeting of the International Bible Students Association at Prince Rupert. Among other predictions of a new order of things he declared that in the future the Jews would rule the world.

## II. ALBERTA

### 7. The Proposed Coal Strike

The N. C. O. in charge at Blairmore in reporting on 21st August, after noting that the situation has been quiet throughout the week, that the men were working steadily, and that the output of coal was good, continues:-

"P. M. Christophers O. B. U. organizer, was in town latter end of the week, and he, and R. McDonald, O. B. U. Secretary, Blairmore, are very active amongst the miners at the present time, and by the talk amongst several of the miners in town, there is an indication of strike coming off this fall".

Two days later, on 23rd August, he reported further:-

"The One Big Union held a secret meeting at Hillcreat in the afternoon of the 22nd instant, and one at Blairmore the same evening of the same date, and I have obtained reliable information that they [9] propose "strike throughout the Crow's Nest Pass on a big scale, and I believe the date set for this strike /cold is October 7th 1920, or as soon as the severe/weather sets in, and the reason for such a strike, is that they consider the cold weather will effect a quicker settlement in their favour and are striking to have the One Big Union recognized.

"Four fifths of the miners at Hillcrest, Bellevue and Coleman, are paying dues into the O. B. U. Blairmore is not so strong, on account of their being so many returned soldiers working at this point. I may say that this information is reliable and I understand that they will not stop at bloodshed to carry their point. Any further information I can obtain will be submitted immediately".

Edward Browne, secretary of O. B. U. District No. 1. (i.e. U. M. W. of A. District No. 18) on 24th August notified the Canada West Local (an O. B. U. concern) that an O. B. U. convention will be held in Calgary on 10th September, and that one of the chief items of business would be "The elimination of the U. M. W. of A. check-off in District 18".

P. M. Christophers, P. F. Lawson and H. P. Hanson visited Blairmore recently, leaving on 24th August for Lethbridge. In view of prevailing conditions this is thought ominous. Lawson is known to have been soliciting assistance for the Searchlight.

#### 8. O. B. U. Notes

A report made on 26th August showed that the Cinook Mine at Commerce, near Lethbridge had been idle for a week. About 100 men were effected by the strike. No disorders had occurred.

Some men at this mine signed the U. M. W. of A. check-off to get the retroactive pay due them under the agreement and then quit to go to Colahurst, that being an O. B. U. camp.

The Lethbridge Local of the U. M. W. of A. on 24th August resolved to endeavour to procure the discharge of 15 Japanese who were working in the mines.

Complaints were made that the local was not "recognized" by the head

office at Indianapolis.[10]

A report upon conditions at Nordegg describes them as quiet. The Brazeau Collieries are having no trouble with their men, and intend to try to double their output in the coming winter.

A report upon the Crow's Nest Pass by a trustworthy agent states that there is much lawlessness and general disregard of authority, more especially with regard to the consumption of liquor. A general impression prevails that an appreciable number of the foreigners possess automatic pistols.

Some interest was aroused recently by a report that Christophers had been concerned in an attempt to buy arms. The incident seems to have been cleared up, and to be unimportant. What happened was that not long ago at Drumheller Christophers and a man named William Beard entered a hardware store and Beard asked what kind of rifles they had. The reply was "Only .22's". Beard said, "Well, that wouldn't knock a bull over", and the two men walked out. Christophers said nothing and as far as can be learned inquiries were made at no other store.

#### 9. The Searchlight

No. 31 of the Searchlight was issued on 13th August. This issue contains an article strongly approving the "Self Determination for Ireland League", and stating that "The secret service of Canada is already shadowing all those who taking an active part in the formation of the league". It also says that the members of the League "have nothing to fear. For the most part the secret service men are pretty good scouts and some of them have more than a drop of Irish blood running through their veins".

A new labour paper, the Alberta Labour News, is to be established in Calgary. H. J. Roche will be manager and E. E. Roper is to be the editor. This should be a blow to Lawson.[11]

#### 10. Miscellaneous Notes

The Socialists of Edmonton cancelled their usual propaganda meeting on Sunday 22nd August in order not to conflict with a meeting of the Self Determination for Ireland League.

The Park Committee of the Labour Church, Edmonton, held the usual open air meeting on Sunday 22nd August. It was devoted to the approaching referendum on prohibition, speeches being made by Mrs. Nellie McClung, Revd. Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Bishop. There was no socialistic propaganda, but copies of the O. B. U. Bulletin and the Searchlight were sold in the crowd.

A visit to the Eckville District, near Nordegg, shows conditions to be quiet. It is noted that the settlement by the Soldier Settlement Board of about 200 returned men in the district has steadied the foreign farmers, who have dropped any agitation in which they may have been indulging.

Some Finns of the district who are reputed to have socialistic views are talking of forming a society of some sort.



### III. SASKATCHEWAN

#### 11. No L. W. I. U. at Big River

An investigation into conditions at Big River, north west of Prince Albert, where there is a large lumbermill, shows that the L. W. I. U. is dead there. The situation there is governed by the fact the mill soon will be closed, owing to the exhaustion of its supplies. Our investigator says:-

“At one time the O. B. U. were making considerable progress in this district, having some 200 members, but when the time for action came they refused to act and allowed their leaders to be run out of camp without protest. Since that time to acknowledge membership in the L. W. I. U. is equivalent to asking for a discharge; this has caused all the old members to either turn in their cards or else pay their dues secretly of the latter, so far as I could ascertain, there do not appear to be more than 15 or 20, entirely Russians and Galicians.[12]

“There can be no doubt but that the L. W. I. U. is at an end in Big River, for the time being at least, and there are no delegates or agitators in the camp my opinion is that the L. W. I. U. being aware that this camp will close in the near future have decided that it would not be worth while to make any further attempts to organize it”.

In commenting upon this the Officer Commanding Northern Saskatchewan says:-

“There is no doubt that the failure of the attempted strike last spring at Big River was the downfall of the O. B. U. in that district. I am sure that there will be no further trouble there”.

#### 12. O. B. U. Growing at Bienfait

Under the leadership of Dan Diaczun and the stimulus of the kidnapping of Christophers and the attempt to evict some the miners, the O. B. U. is making rapid progress at Bienfait. Our investigator says:-

“From my own point of view I think this district will be solid O. B. U. by fall. Mr. Miller, the manager, told me he thought the company would give in to the O. B. U. If they do the whole mining district around here will be solid. The company sent up 30 men from Toronto and they have nearly all quit work.

Wild statements have been made by Diaczun in his canvass. He told one man whom he was pressing to join that the O. B. U. had 300,000 members in the West and 58,000 in Winnipeg District; also that they were getting the farmers to join. Two quotations may be made from him:-

“We are getting lots of men to join us and we will be solid by the fall and when we go back to work here we will be boss. We don't want anyone to boss us we will be boss”.

“We are not doing this for ourselves, because soon as things quiet down in our own country we are going back. It's to help the working man who are left in this country”.

The O. B. U. have threatened violence in some cases in urging the men to join.

### 13. Miscellaneous Notes

Further information concerning the O. B. U. unit at Kamsack is to the effect that it is nearly negligible. It has only 15 or 18 [13] members and most of the railway men employed there are contented.

The strike of C. P. R. shop labourers at Moose Jaw seems to have reached rather an odd ending. The men have dispersed to work in the harvest fields, apparently content to quit the C. P. R. service permanently; they do not wish to return, and all sides are satisfied. It was promoted by the O. B. U.

The Regina Branch of the G. A. U. V. had only 14 members present at its on 18th August. The meeting voted against vocational training and settlement on land and demanded the \$2,000 bonus.

The International Bible Students Association are active in circulating their periodical "The Golden Age".

A man named Crawford, a member of this Association, has written to the Prince Albert Herald to controvert the recent pamphlet of the Labour Department.

## IV. MANITOBA

### 14. L.W.I.U. Unit in Winnipeg

Attention has been drawn to the existence of a unit of the L. W. I. U. at Winnipeg; it gave to one Austin Stanley a roving commission as organizer, which seemed likely to bring him into conflict with other organizers upon whose territories he might poach.

Investigation shows that P. G. Anderson is Secretary and Organizer of this Unit in the city of Winnipeg District. Our report says:-

"The Unit consists of farm labour, lumber workers, bushmen miners and workers of all trades in the country. Practically no members belong to this Unit work in the city, therefore, the Unit has a great fluctuation in its strength, one day there may be forty of its members in the City, and the next eighty or ninety.

"It is safe to say the full strength of the Unit throughout the [14] Western Provinces is not more than seven to eight hundred members, as in most mining localities the miners have a Unit of their own, thereby taking considerable members away from this Unit.

"The membership is comprised principally of Russians and foreigners of different countries, there being scarcely any British subjects amongst their numbers.

"The general feelings of this Unit lie with the I. W. W. of the United States, and on this account, they had considerable trouble getting their affiliation with the Central Labour Council of the O. B. U.

"Although this Unit is not very strong in any particular part of the country, it is a very active unit, owing to the large scope of country

it covers, and the class of labourers it meets with, and can be called practically harmless as yet, but owing to its spreading propaganda through the country and every member being a practical organizer, the Unit is making very good headway.

"The Unit has not as yet extended any of its activities farther East than Sudbury, Ontario, its locality running West from this point to the Coast.

"The Unit takes in all miners who have not established themselves strong enough to support a unit of their own in their locality.

"Practically nothing has been heard regarding any farm labourers being members of this Unit. If any, they are Russians or Galicians, as no English speaking people are ever seen around the Unit's headquarters on Henry Ave."

#### 15. O. B. U. Building Trades Unit Possible

The Carpenters' Unit O. B. U. met in Winnipeg on 23rd August with an attendance of 60. Following was the business transacted:-

1. Arrangements were made for the O. B. U. convention at Port Arthur in September.
2. Hammond the organizer, said that the formation of a building Trades Unit, by amalgamation of the Carpenters with the painters, was expected.
3. Hammond claimed a paid-up membership of 400, said that the Internationals were showing signs of weakening and that the employers were slowly yielding and declared that the bricklayers showed signs of changing over.

4. One odd episode is thus reported:-

"It was then brought to the notice of the meeting under the heading of new business, that the Government was trying to issue new laws declaring the O. B. U. Ex-Soldiers' and Sailors' Labour Party and Dominion Labour Party illegal.[15]

"This was considered of very little importance as the Government had been trying to do that for some time, it was stated".

A recent incident in Winnipeg shows how keen is the quarrel in the building trades. The Eaton firm is erecting a new building. On 19th August the men working on it voted by a large majority not to discriminate against either O. B. U. or Internationals. Forthwith the officers of the Building Trades Federation had all the O. B. U. men employed on the job dismissed; they also showed a disposition to discipline all Internationals who voted for the resolution. Of those in danger of being dealt with one is James Winning, who was chairman of the strike committee in 1919.

Attention has been drawn to the fact that the O. B. U. Bulletin must be issued at a loss. The question arose as to how the deficit is met.

#### 16. The Labour Church

The Winnipeg Labour Church celebrated its second anniversary on

22nd August by an open air meeting in Victoria Park. The attendance was 2,000. The speakers were W. D. Bailey, M.L.A., and Ald. A. A. Heaps. The speech of the latter was a review of the trial of the strike leaders, with the usual abuse of the R. C. M. P. Mr. Bailey's topic was "Industrial Peace". It was an attack on Capitalism and a Socialistic speech throughout.

## V. ONTARIO

### 17. Knight on the O. B. U. Situation

J. R. Knight was in Hamilton on 25th August. In private conversation he made the following statements:-

1. He had just come from Montreal, where he had been helping W.E. Long to organize the men in the Angus shops to form two locals of the O. B. U.; he expected within the next two weeks to have 100 men organized.[16]
2. As a result of his two month's work in Northern Ontario he had established a Central Executive to oversee matters from Cochrane to North Bay; it would be self-supporting.
3. The situation in the East was picking up, and soon things would be better in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Niagara Falls, etc.
4. He volunteered to represent the Hamilton local at the approaching O. B. U. convention at Port Arthur.
5. The O. B. U. now had the West pretty solidly organized and should devote more time to the East, it now being the more important of the two. For this reason he proposed to insist upon having the Central Executive Board moved from Vancouver to Winnipeg.
6. Several speakers are developing in the Labour College at Toronto. He also could draw men from Edmonton. Armstrong of Toronto also would be available.
7. He might be displaced at the convention, as there was strong criticism of him for neglecting the East in favour of the mining section of Northern Ontario.

Several of the foregoing remarks are explained by the attack made upon him by Carl Berg at Vancouver, and the rumours which have been mentioned as circulating about him.

### 18. O. B. U. Notes

A well informed correspondent in Toronto regards the O. B. U. cause as looking up. The District Trades Council recently passed resolutions of a sympathetic nature, as a result of which the International organizers there have redoubled their efforts.

"Jimmy" Simpson is expected to be a candidate at the approaching Dominion Trades Congress, perhaps for Secretary, possibly for President.

Additional cases have come to our attention of men proceeding to the West as harvesters being signed up by the O. B. U. at Toronto. It appears that the organizer spoke to them at the station and told them that it would

be hard to find a job out West without an O. B. U. card.

A report on Iroquois Falls says:-

"About all the local O. B. U. succeeds in doing at Iroquois Falls is to prevent men forgetting petty grievances and in spite of all the [17] company is doing in the way of, well fare schemes there is a steady resentment against the company which shows itself in childish criticism of any scheme which has not been tried elsewhere."

Examples are given of the disposition to find fault, and it is added:-

"Meanwhile the efforts made to keep the men undoubtedly make for better conditions for the labouring men, and make it more difficult for small mines and such like to compete for men in the labour market with the big manufacturing plants".

A short strike of carpenters, in which they behaved rather unreasonably, is declared not to be due to the O. B. U.

A Toronto man named Jim Brereton has turned up in Hamilton. He is a brick-layer, carries an International Card, and is given to holding open-air meetings at which he denounces the Internationals. He ran away to the United States to escape conscription, and when away worked with the I. W. W. He may be employed by the local revolutionaries to join the Hamilton local of the Building Trades Union and "Work from the inside", in order to swing it to the O. B. U.

It is interesting to note that this man, who is 27 or 28 years of age, stated that he had enough money to keep him until next spring without doing a day's work.

We have received somewhat doubtful information to the effect:-

1. That a branch of the Ex-soldiers' and Sailors' Labour Union has been founded in Toronto, Farnell, the man recently released at Winnipeg, and J. Flinn (? J. H. Flynn) being concerned in it.
2. That an arrangement has been made whereby members of the "G.U.M.W." (?G.A.U.V.) will ipso facto be members of the Ex-Soldiers' and Sailors' Union.
3. That a project is entertained of carrying the "G.U.M.W." (? G.A.U.V.) over to the O. B. U.

#### 19. The Thorold Riot and the Foreign-born Population

A particularly capable and trustworthy investigator informs us that the attempted lynching of McNeal at Thorold had a marked effect [18] upon the foreign-born population who were out in full force as spectators. Their conclusion was that the power of the people was mighty", and that the crowd which defied the authorities and the police could easily overthrow the Government.

This correspondent found established in a foreign colony just outside of Welland, called "Ontario", a secret Communist Anarchist organization led by a very extreme man named Teschkevich, who was taking the Thorold riot as a text to prove that labour was ready to overthrow the

present capitalistic government "everywhere". This society maintained relations with one in St. Catharines. Our investigator regards it as ready to resort to violence if opportunity offers, and remarks that the colony is not far from the stores of explosives used in the work on the new canal. The people are Ukrainians, Russians and Poles.

#### 20. The Foreign Colony in Hamilton.

The same correspondent furnishes us with an account of conditions in the foreign colony in Hamilton, which he describes as principally Ukrainian. There is in existence there, with what he calls a "charter" from the civic authorities, an organization called Ridna Schold (Ukrainian Native School); it has premises, and apparently so far has been well-behaved. There also is a branch of the Russian Communist Anarchist Party, it formerly was the Union of Russian Workmen, and had an office etc. but was broken up when the ban was issued. This new society is in difficulties as to a place of meeting; it used the I. O. O. F. Temple for a while, but the Oddfellows lately have refused the further use of their premises, and the city has refused to "grant a charter", moreover, the local police are suspicious of their open-air meetings.

In these circumstances the Communist Anarchists have conceived [19] the plan of uniting with the Ukrainian Native School and using its privileges to get in revolutionary books and papers. As part of this scheme they on 10th August put on a revolutionary play entitled "Strike".

They have a sort of reading room and centre for revolutionary reading matter in the office of "Rotenburgs Ltd.", a firm which does business among the foreigners as agents and bankers.

#### 21. Foreign-Born Revolutionists at St. Catharines

The same agent has reported upon St. Catharines. The city authorities there recognize a society known as the Polish Co-operative Society; this contains only two Poles, the bulk of the members being Russian, Ukrainian and Austrian; the younger members are very radical.

Our agents attended a wedding here which was entirely Communist, with no religious ceremony. One remark made was that when the first child of this wedding arrived the world would be free from capitalists and kings. A man named Afanasy made a speech in which he deplored the attention given by local Russians, Ukrainians and Poles to Church, drunkenness and card-games.

#### 22. The Welland Communists

Later our agent visited Welland, where he confirmed our earlier reports, which came from an entirely different source, of Henry Dworkin's visit to Welland. Dworkin addresses a Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Party meeting; the Party meets every Sunday in Welland.

The two leaders in this set are Peter Najkalick and Karp Vakaluck. They get in much revolutionary reading matter. Najkalick on the occasion of our informant's visit made a good deal of his belief that "all English-

speaking labourers" sympathized with the Bolsheviki. He also thought that they wanted a Bolshevik Government in Canada, and [20] would support a revolution in Canada.

Our correspondent describes the forcing element in this part of Ontario as very radical, ready for trouble and in high hopes of a revolution here. There will be more activity, he says, when the harvesters return from the West.

### 23. Zluka at Work in Toronto

Our correspondent on 22nd August attended a meeting of Zluka in Toronto. One Mike Malarchuck spoke on "The cause of Labour Weakness". The speech contained an attack on the Church, and a eulogy of the Bolshevists and Lenin.

Our correspondent was told by English-speaking revolutionists in Toronto that in England six million trade unionists were ready for revolution. This evidently is a reverberation of the agitation in England against a Russian War.

In addition to Zluka there are two other Russian organizations in Toronto, one called "The Russian Progressive Library", which seems a continuation of the "Union of Russian Workmen" and the other (which has just been started) called the Technical Motor School.

V. Dodokin, who seems the leader among the revolutionary Russians in Toronto, presided over a meeting held on Sunday 29th August to organize a "school". Some 18 men have joined and about \$100 has been subscribed.

## VI. QUEBEC

### 24. Conflicting Theories of O. B. U. Organization

A report from Montreal dated 20th August confirms Knight's statement that he had been in Montreal conferring with Long and Binette. Apparently his visit was designed to strengthen his party in the fight which is pretty sure to happen in the Port Arthur Convention. Our informant says that Knight "conveyed to Binette and Long the possibility [21] of a split amongst the O. B. U. delegates when they convene at Port Arthur".

The result of Knight's visit was seen at the joint meeting of the two Montreal Units, Metal Trades and General Workers, which was held on 26th August, to elect a delegate to Port Arthur. Although an urgent whip had been sent out, only 35 persons attended.

Rebecca Buhay moved that the delegate elected should be uninstructed but should be free to "support the best form of organization for the workers". Behind this was the issue of Industrial versus Geographical organization which has been mentioned several times in this summary, and which is agitating the O. B. U. Behind that, again, lie the personal interests of two groups of organizers. And a third idea, that of "Class" organization has champions.

There was a heated debate on this motion. Binette held that the

delegates should represent, not his personal opinions, but those of the membership. He personally

“Was in favour of an ‘Industrial’ form of organization, so that in case of a strike the O. B. U. would be able to paralyze the industries from Coast to Coast and if the O. B. U. ever gets away from that form of organization, it will be a failure like the Knights of Labour proved to be”.

W. E. Long favoured the “Geographical” form; the L. W. I. U., he said, were the only organization who desired the “Industrial” form, whereas the miners and the transportation workers wanted the other. He supported the Buhay motion.

Binette in rejoinder angrily

“Pointed out that the West is not in accordance with the middle West and the East some of the delegates from the Pacific Coast have already received instructions to support the Industrial platform, while others have instructions to support the Geographical form of organization. In Winnipeg they have decided to support a Class form of organization, and if we do leave it to our delegates to use his or her good judgment, I feel confident that this convention will cause a split in the O. B. U. movement and, instead of having ‘One [22] Big Union’ we will have “Three Small Unions”.

There was a grand squabble over this and in the end Miss Buhay’s motion was carried by 10 majority. The following is the report of her final utterance:-

“During her long speech she said that, personally she would be for a Class form of organization, where all workers could be untied, irrespective of race, creed, or colour, with power to act, when the opportune time arrives. ‘I believe in Mass Action, force is what we want’ she stated. She went on to say that all the strikes taking place these days have not the same meaning as they had years ago, when they used to strike for better wages and shorter hours; the strikes today are direct between labour and the state and we must continue with those principles until we have become the owners of all industries and the dictation of the world.

The upshot is that the delegate, who is W. E. Long, with Rebecca Buhay as substitute, goes to the convention with a free hand. Long favour the Geographical, Miss Buhay the Class idea.

### 25. Personal Rivalries

Our correspondent, who is an exceptionally competent authority, gives the following elucidation of the inner significance of the quarrel:-

“E. Winch, secretary-treasurer of the Lumber Workers O. B. U. unit, favours the Industrial form of organization. By so doing, he will be able to establish a large fund in his own Unit and instead of paying the dues into the O. B. U. Central Executive, he would only be



paying the 10 cents per capita tax, which action would make the Central O. B. U. Executive do some tall thinking.

"V. R. Midgley, secretary-treasurer, of the Executive of the O. B. U. is in favour of a Geographical form of organization, where he will be able to collect a dollar for every member affiliated with the O. B. U. each month and the ten per cent capita tax would go to the Central Labour Council O. B. U. which is in reality a strike fund, but, if a form of Industrial Organization is adopted, at the Fort Arthur Convention, Midgley will not be able to collect any more dues.

"There are also the Miners of District 18 who are in favour of an industrial organization and according to Joe Knight, E. Winch and Naylor, Miners, have already told V. R. Midgley that, if it were not for the miners and Lumber workers, there would be no O. B. U. and they intend to get the rest of the delegates to recognize their power of the Lumber Workers and the Mines. Long and Binette, [23] further informed me that Joe Knight and a few others especially from Winnipeg are in favour of a Class form of organization because Mass Action is the best policy and they will use all their power to convince the Conference to adopt that platform, but Long stated that the three different parties seem to have made up their minds to stick to their respective platforms, if none of these factions gives into the other, there will be a split which will destroy the O. B. U. for ever. "Most of the members present at this meeting expressed dissatisfaction with the manner in which the meetings are being carried on lately.

"In my opinion, by adopting that resolution giving the delegate a free hand at the Convention, the members of the O. B. U. at Montreal have overlooked the fact that they are getting away from the O. B. U. constitution and, instead of the rank and file having the power to act, they look for leaders to carry out their work and wishes".

The N. C. O. in charge of C. I. B. work at Montreal suggests that there is a chance of a split which would be the beginning of the end of the O. B. U.

It will be noticed that Knight seemed to think that Winch and Naylor were allied against Midgley; whereas we have recent information to the effect that Naylor sides with Midgley. Knight has not been in Vancouver recently, and probably is wrong in his idea.

Later information from Montreal is that the O. B. U. convention at Port Arthur will comprise only 35 delegates. It also is that the adherents of the three parties, "Class", "Geographical" and "Industrial", are determined, so that a split is possible. If it is averted, there will be trouble for those delegates who give way when they face their locals.

## 26. The O. B. U. Policy

Interesting speeches were made at a meeting of the Metal Workers Unit, O. B. U. in Montreal on 19th August. W. E. Long, the secretary-treasurer, reported having asked leave of the civic authorities to hold an open air meeting on Sunday 22nd August. The granting of permission he regarded as gratifying proof that the O. B. U. had made its mark even in Montreal. [24] Thereupon, O. Charette, secretary-treasurer of the General Workers' Unit, O. B. U. objected that to ask permission was to make too great a concession, and wanted to put a motion that a letter be written to the city authorities informing them that the O. B. U. would hold open air meetings wherever and when ever they wished, and that as long as they were orderly the city was bound to protect them. Our report continues:-

"W. Long, in replying to Charette's remarks, stated that he regretted more than any one present that the O. B. U. was not sufficiently strong enough to be able to do what Charette had in mind, and also regretted to say, that for the present, that's the only way the O. B. U. will be able to spread its propaganda. The O. B. U., Long continued, is not strong enough to carry out such action, the rank and file is not with the O. B. U. yet, and, until the workers get to understand their position in society, and fully realize that their interests are not identical as the master class, we will not be able to accomplish very much.

"I was distinctly told, Long stated, that the workers in Montreal must not be worked up in such a state to create what the workers of Winnipeg have created during the sympathetic strike, and if that state of affairs is brought about, some of us might go to jail as they did in Winnipeg. If we had a strong organization like they have in England, Long said, we might be able to defy the Capitalistic Government and hold meetings at any place, but, under the circumstances, we must, act according to our strength".

Some references to Poland, Russia and the attitude of labour in England followed. Then:-

"Long went on to say that he was also very pleased to see that the psychology of the rank and file has changed since 1914, the same spirit of patriotism does not exist as it did in 1914, the Capitalistic Government might have that flag before the rank and file, they might call for volunteers to defend their capital invested in Poland against Soviet Russia, but I am positive that none will respond to such a call".

In concluding Long referred in friendly terms to the Labour College which is being established.

The open air meeting on Sunday (which was reported in the press) was attended by 500 or 600 persons, 95 per cent of whom were Russian Jews. In his speech Long made the remarkably untruthful statement that the O. B. U. has no officials under salary. [25] One or two of the other speeches

merit a word. Auna Buller described the O. B. U. organization and urged that it be converted into an organization like the Triple Alliance in England. Michael Buhay:-

"Stated that the workers of England are so well organized, that in a minute's notice they can paralyze the wheels of industry in the country and stated that the workers of Canada must, do likewise and put their industrial power into the hands of one man as they have done in England and when the opportune time arrives, take over the industries of production and run them for use instead of for profit. With that, Buhay asked the audience to get busy and form a committee of action".

#### 27. O. B. U. Working with the Communists

Binette, the O. B. U., organizer in Montreal, on 15th August took the chair at a meeting of the French Socialist Communist Party, at which the cause of the Bolshevists was championed. Concerning this a well-informed agent says:-

"I was very much surprised to notice that Binette accepted the offer to act as Chairman at the above mentioned meeting after he has been fighting the Communist Party since he, Binette, became an official of the O. B. U. because he claims that they are too far advanced in their ideas and that the O. B. U. should be the only organization that the workers should support.

"It appears to me that since Russia has attacked Poland most of these radicals, who were rather quiet previous to this incident, now they seem revived against and support the most radical movement in existence, none of them were as bold as they are now".

Subsequently this agent asked Binette why he did this, and Binette's reply was:-

"Oh, I'm just doing it to keep in the movement, my principal object to attend these meetings is to offset any attacks which may be made against the interests of the O. B. U."

#### 28. "Forget the Church"

The same society held a meeting on 22nd August, at which Gottsall spoke. Our report is:-

"He stated that the workers especially those belonging to the Province of Quebec are in need of an education very badly, they must [26] forget the Church and become members of the F.S.C.P. where they will achieve the proper education. Gottsall stated that, although the Province of Quebec is very backward in the movement, yet it does not hinder the Bolshevists of Russia from progressing and the day is coming when Quebec must follow and if the people are not ready to accept such conditions, there will be a wholesale of murders".

#### 29. Gerrish; his Party and His Outlook

F. W. Gerrish, self-appointed Secretary-Treasurer of the proposed

Quebec Independent Socialist Party, has conceived the plan of throwing his organization into the Sinn Fein agitation, with the idea of attracting Irish members. His next mass-meeting will be devoted to the Irish question. He is looking hopefully for MacSwiney's death as a fillip to his meeting.

Gerrish admits that the other radicals of Montreal view him coldly. They all know, he said in conversation, that he aspires to political office in the Province. The following is his statement in private conversation, of his political outlook:-

"If a revolutionary Government was established in this Province, it, would enable such a Government to get all the Radicals from the United States to come to Canada and carry on their propaganda; but under the present Conservative Provincial Government this Province is way far behind of all countries and we will never be able to accomplish our object until we use some of our power in the political fields; that the British Empire is about to crumble to ashes. If England is made a Republic, even a Capitalist Republic, Canada must also go Republic; the Western Parts of Canada are ready for it, but this province is very backward yet; that's why I would like to put some Socialist M.P.'s in the Quebec Provincial House who would be able to deal with the situation".

Our informant remarks that "there is much petty jealousy and hatred between these would-be labour leaders and would-be politicians".

Gerrish's self-seeking seems so artlessly open that it is impossible that he and his society will come to anything. It has not yet been really organized.

### 30. A Committee of Vigilance

However, he managed to hold a meeting of it on 20th August,[27] about 90 people attending, who presided, said that the object of the meeting was to get the opinion of the member present as to the formation in Canada of a "Committee of Vigilance" which would have the same power in this country as the Council of Action of the Allied Trades Unions in England. Our informant says:-

"No one complied with the chairman's request, as to what action the meetings should follow with the view to elect a committee of vigilance, but I feel confident that another effort will be used endeavouring to form such committee".

Hyman Edelstein who has been mentioned before, moved a resolution protesting against Canadian action against Russia and made a violent speech. After attacking the press and the Government he is thus reported:

"In his closing remarks Edelstein said that he was aware of the fact that by advocating the overthrow of the present form of Government by any methods, other than by political action was seditious, but stated that the time had arrived when they must come out openly,

that they intend to overthrow the present system of Government by industrial action. If something should happen they will do to us like they have done to the strike leaders in Winnipeg, throw us in jail for working in the best interest of our fellow workers.

"Edelstein recommended the O. B. U. for being the sole organization in Canada with that psychology that if a flag would replace the Union Jack in Canada, it would be the Red Flag. The Red Flag does not mean victory or aggression, but universal brotherhood, Edelstein said".

"Edelstein further stated that there are men giving financial support to this party, who do not wish their names to be mentioned for the present, but it will be a shock to the Government when the truth is revealed, because these men are holding a responsible position as officers of this Government.

"F. W. Gerrish informed me that what Edelstein has said about high officers giving official support to this party is true, but I have not been able to learn anymore.

Our correspondent's opinion of Gerrish and Edelstein is that they are merely political adventurers who are trying to obtain some personal advantage, such as being elected to Parliament.[28]

### 31. Miscellaneous Notes

At the meeting just mentioned those present were asked to sign a letter to the Minister of Justice asking him to release Sava Zura, who is serving a term of imprisonment for being in possession of prohibited literature. The letter is not couched in particularly respectful terms, and the terms in which Edelstein asked for signatures were contemptuous and sarcastic. He spoke, for example, of "The Dishonourable Minister of Justice".

The organization styled the "Educational Press Association" of Montreal is active in circulating revolutionary reading matter in French, brought from France. One Parisian paper which is imported is "Le Soviet".

Inquiry shows that "W. Gordon", mentioned in an earlier summary as at once a Pole and a Bolshevist has no official Polish standing.

## VII. THE MARITIME PROVINCES

### 32. The Coal Fields

Reports from the Nova Scotia Coal Fields are to the effect that all is quiet at present.

However, we have a report of a conversation with J. J. McNeil, U. M. W. of A. Board member for Inverness and Port Hood. The following points appear in it:-

1. McNeil, who is a strong Socialist, favoured the O.B.U. and said that though it is practically dead in Nova Scotia at present, he expected it to be a live issue in the future. He deemed it the only solution of the labour problem.
2. He put the strength of the U. M. W. of A. in Nova Scotia at 14,000.

3. The miners were bent on having their wages raised to the same level as those of the United States miners.

Our informant says:

"I would take from McNeil's conversation that the miners in the ranks of the U. M. W. are prepared for a strike, and that these petty strikes, that have been taking place at various times in Cape Breton, are for the express purpose of showing their industrial strength, and influencing the Royal Commission to grant the miners their demands".

#### APPENDIX

The Weekly Report upon revolutionary organizations in England for 19th August is very grave.

The summary in part is as follows:-

"The event of the week has been the establishment of the "Council of Action", which tried to regularise its position in the Labour world by obtaining authority from the Conference held on August 13th. It is being borne in upon moderate men throughout the country that the "Council of Action" and its subsidiary Committees are Soviets and that the establishment of such bodies is in conflict not only with the constitution of the country but with the constitution of Trade Unions themselves. The revolutionaries alone have no misgivings. It has been a gala week for them and some of their speakers have shown symptoms of intoxication.

"The publication of the wireless messages indicating that the "Daily Herald" is subsidised from Russia has, to judge from the apologetic tone of the "Herald's" disclaimer, shaken the position of the paper. The publicity happens to have struck the exact psychological moment.

"Though the industrial situation is grave there are encouraging symptoms. The miners are determined to strike unless their demands are granted and the gas workers are nearly out of hand but there is a strong body among responsible labour which would be glad to defer the struggle. Moreover, the output in engineering centres has improved during the last three months an encouraging symptom.

"The tension over the Polish question is largely artificial and is really due only to the fear of conscription, but there are genuine grievances in the increase in rents, railway fares, bread and coal, and behind all hangs the dark shadow of unemployment.

Concerning the "Council of Action" the report says:-

"In form, the body is a Central Soviet and is in conflict with not only the Constitution of the country but the laws governing Trades Unionism.

"The Council is entrusted definitely with the executive power to

call out at a moment's notice and without question this or that section of the Labour Movement. It can organize, and is prepared to organize, complete control of foreign policy, and of that domestic production and distribution of commodities which, in the last resort, determines policy".

"The arrogation of power to call a general strike cuts at the roots of trade union policy as, in the great majority of cases, a ballot of members is essential before even the properly election Union officials can call their men out."

Following are utterances by Labour speakers:-

Ebury at Leeds:- "Announced, in a very jubilant manner, that the British Central Soviet is now firmly established. They could call it 'Council of Action' or any other name they like. It [2] did not matter, revolution is imminent".

Bromley at Sheffield:- "Fifteen of his colleagues in London had practically taken over the Government of the Country for the purpose of peace or war".

A. Ponsonby, at the same meeting said he was proud to be on the same platform with a 'member of the present Government'.

N. Ablett at Swansea:- "He was formly convinced that the "Council of Action' would eventually become the real Government'.

A report by a correspondent in Yorkshire contains the following paragraph:-

"Great uncertainty also prevails amongst the more advanced section of the Independent Labour Party and the Communists as to the motives behind Thomas Clynes and their change of tone at the Congress on the 13th. They suspect some treacherous move by these men by which a sort of Kerensky or Noske regime may be finally set up if the present Government cannot carry on against the organized labour agitation".

There has letterly been a marked increase in the hostility shown to speakers from patriotic platforms.

There are disquieting reports that the loyalty of the Navy is being sapped.