

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE HEADQUARTERS

Ottawa, 11th November, 1920.

SECRET

NO. 49

NOTES OF THE WORK OF THE C.I.B. DIVISION
FOR THE WEEK ENDING 11TH NOVEMBER

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General Characteristics of the Period

Slack water still prevails; the revolutionary unions, associations etc. are in a depressed condition, and unemployment, while feared by labour men, has not become serious, and is not causing noticeable discontent. Cases are occurring of acceptance by employes virtually without complaint of reductions in wages. In particular, the One Big Union is so weakened by successive defeats and internal quarrels; and the Communist groups are so small in numbers: that any danger which may threaten during the approaching winter will come from genuine unrest caused by lack of work, and not from effective agitation by extremists. Should distress become general, the extremists of course will exploit it eagerly; but their organization for conducting such exploitation is at a lower point than has been the case since the ending of hostilities. They also are short of money perhaps more so than for a couple of years.

In this week the principal development is the obtaining of further information about the break in the One Big Union. We now have sufficiently full information as to the quarrels: the matters of interest now are the extent to which Winch can retain his hold upon the Lumber Workers;

the outcome of his fight with Midgley; and the result of the Midgley referendum, with its proposal to move the One Big Union headquarters to Winnipeg.

In Eastern Canada revolutionary agitation seems more than ever to be withdrawing into the ranks of the foreign language workmen; and schism is growing among them, the Anarchists proper resenting the opportunism of the Moscow Government, which is upheld by the Communists.

1. The Quarrel in the O.B.U.

2. Midgley's Official Report

The official report of the O.B.U. convention at Port Arthur now is available. Much of it is occupied with the quarrel with the [4] Lumber Workers, the facts of which already are well known. Some of the other passages contain fresh information.

The report of the General Executive Board gave particulars of the work done in the United States. J. R. Knight paid visits to "some independent unions in New York City", which had invited him to do so, and "assisted in giving them information with regard to our movement, and also assisted in gathering together a number of independent and unattended labour organizations". T. S. Cassidy was kept in Chicago from April to 14th August, "when lack of funds compelled the Board to discontinue their assistance".

Up to April last O.B.U. Units had been established in the following places in the United States:-

Chicago	Los Angeles
Milwaukee	San Francisco
Neihart	Oakland
Toledo	Seattle
Butte	

In January the Executive Board asked the O.B.U. local in the United States to appoint a member to represent the United States on the General Executive Board. This soon proved impracticable, and at a convention held in Chicago in April a General Executive Board was elected for the United States, and all of the membership south of the International boundary was turned over to it. "This Board is working in harmony with the Canadian G. E. B., and are issuing supplies similar to those issued by this Board".

Reference is made to the Alberta Coal Strike; the units there were excused payment of their per capita tax for April and the succeeding months.

3. Membership Figure

Midgley's official figures as to membership are, in brief, that during 1919 the number of cards issued was 41,394 and that in 1920 from 1st January to 31st August 30,212 more were issued making a total [5] of 71,606; the highest number being 6,950 in January; after March, when 5,630 were issued, there was a steady decline to 2,375 in August. The

report goes on to say:-

"Unfortunately the financial statement does not reflect in the per capita receipts the actual membership. The detailed figures according to the per capita paid show that the average membership for the five months from January to May was 19,510, which compared with the seventy one thousand memberships that have been issued, indicates that per capita has been paid to the Board on only a portion of the membership. Some districts have failed to pay on even a portion of their membership for several months, and if the average was taken for the eight months the comparison would be more surprising".

Midgley made the following proposal:-

"That the local units pay their per capital direct to the General Executive Board, instead of through the central labour councils and district boards. It will be noticed that nearly all of the isolated units are paid up to date. The reason that the Board has not received the revenue due is not through the failure of the local units to pay but it is because the Central councils and boards have in several cases used the funds for their own purposes instead of paying their obligations to the G. E. B."

This was approved.

4. The Financial Statement

The financial statement shows a budget of not quite \$13,000; the receipts were \$12,929.34, almost wholly from per capita tax (\$12,803.73). The expenditure was \$12,803.04, the principal items being \$3,326 for the head office and \$9,379 for organization expenses. The balance was \$126.50.

The detailed report of the per capita tax receipts shows that the number paying in January was nearly 28,000; that in the four ensuing months it stood at from 18,000 to 20,000; and that in June it dropped abruptly to fewer than 7,800, and in July to fewer than 5,800, rising in August to 6,200. The drop is due largely to the disappearance in June and the following months of the Lumber Workers. Omitting them from the whole statement, the numbers in the first quarters never were fewer than 10,000 or as many as 12,000, and during April and May were 3,200 and 8,800.

In short, 1920 has been a steady decline in payments.[6]

Midgley has issued a circular appealing for funds. The General Executive Board is issuing an organization fund stamp which will be sold to members at 25 cents each and attached to their membership cards.

5. O.B.U. Headquarters in Difficulties

Under date of 23rd October Midgley wrote from Vancouver to Arthur Evans, the O.B.U. District Secretary in the Alberta Coalfields, apparently in response to a request for further credit for supplies. The letter was a refusal, Midgley stating that the uproar provoked at Edmonton by Carl

Berg "had naturally hit our credit with the local bourgeoisie, and the people who manufacture our supplies are not giving us further credit". Midgley stated that his headquarters owe the bookbinder who makes the cases for O.B.U. cards \$1,700; and the bookbinder insists on a payment before he will provide any more. He also reminded Evans that in addition to the Alberta district owing headquarters some \$300, a number of locals also are in debt to the General Executive Board for supplies. He added:-

"The failure of the lumber workers to contribute to the support of the G. E. B. for the last five months has been the main cause of our financial difficulties.

"The Lumber workers who have been the most prosperous section of the organization, and the section that has derived the most from the O.B.U. propaganda should have, by paying their little ten cents per capita, enabled the G. E. B. to have extended your district greater support during the fight that has been forced upon you.

"However, it was perhaps necessary that this question should be settled, and the matter is now before the membership to settle. The O.B.U. constitution gives the members control of their own organization, and they must learn to discipline themselves, all the officials should do is to faithfully perform the wishes of the membership. At least that is what I am endeavouring to do although the difficulties are at times very disheartening".

Another remark by Midgley is as follows:-

"As I informed you yesterday it is as much as we can do to keep Christophers going, and I think it is the desire of the Board to keep him going as long as we can meet his bills".[7]

In connection with the remarks about Christophers, it will be recalled that a few days later he obtained work in the Crow's Nest Pass; so that it would appear that the stringency at headquarters continues.

6. Squabbles at Edmonton

The internal fight in the O.B.U. was active in Edmonton during October. Davis and Bray, the Winnipeg delegation, touring the Prairies, sided with the Midgley faction against Carl Berg; a meeting of representatives of the Building Trades Unit and Transportation Workers was held on 18th October to devise means of combatting Berg's fight to control the Edmonton Transportation workers. It was decided to call in the help of J. R. Knight. Arrangements were made to prevent Berg diverting money from the Midgley office to the L.W.I.U.

The quarrel in Edmonton has had a curious result. One of the Midgley faction sent a letter to the B.C. Federationist describing the meeting at which Berg made public the facts of the dispute; this report incidentally contained unfavourable references to Mayor J. A. Clark. Mayor Clark addressed a heated reply to the Federationist. The editor sent a copy of the letter to the Edmonton O.B.U., and it was considered at a meeting of

the O.B.U. on 27th October; a somewhat shuffling rejoinder was despatched to the B.C. Federationist and it was decided to draft a further letter to the press attacking the Mayor on the grounds that he on the surface favoured labour but worked against it underground.

The O.B.U. officials who engineering the coal strike in Alberta are carrying their personal quarrels before the public. The following is an extract from a report of an O.B.U. meeting at Edmonton on 27th October. The Evans concerned is Arthur Evans, who succeeded Edward Brown as District Chairman, and so mismanaged the strike:-

"On Evans gaining the platform he proceeded to give an account of the recent miners' strike and said the strike could have been won if [8] it were not for the tactics of P. M. Christophers, Beard, Clarke, and a few more of the O.B.U. men who were afraid to use force to gain the demands of the miners. He stated that questions in dispute that were asked Christophers and Beard were answered by them that it was a question for the rank and file. He (Evans) claimed that they should have stayed in the parts where the miners would not come out, that it was nothing to do with the rank and file, but that it was for the officials of the O.B.U. to force their membership out and keep them out. He then attacked the building Trades Unit for breaking away from Berg and going off by themselves, so as to cause dissension among the rest and damage the industrial movement. He was an I.W.W. and always would be one, and the O.B.U. ought to be a movement on the same lines. It was only a few reactionaries like Joe Knight, Midgley and a few others that were opposed to the I.W.W. idea that were causing good men like Berg trouble, and splitting the movement. He got mad and tore into the Building Trades Unit for coming into the meeting and tearing a good 'Wobbly' like Berg to pieces, instead of inviting Berg to come up and discuss it with them in a friendly spirit. He stated that he was going up to Coalspur and tell the miners up there what was what, and that we would hear from him in the near future. Bros. Coombs then replied and told him what this unit knew about Berg, and then things got interesting; such phrases as "you're a God damned liar" etc., being common. It was developing fast, and only finished on account of Evans having to catch the train for the West".

On Sunday 31st October J. R. Knight addressed the O.B.U. in Edmonton, his speech being principally devoted to combatting the influence of Berg, and the cause of the Lumber Workers in the split with the O.B.U.

It is remarked that Knight's speech was much milder than his earlier utterances in Edmonton.

7. The Lumber Workers' Referendum

The referendum which the L.W.I.U. are circulating asks three questions:-

1. Do the members approve the action of their representatives at Port Arthur?
2. Do they desire the L.W.I.U. to vote in the O.B.U. referendum?
3. Do they favour maintaining a "Lumber, Camp and Agricultural workers' department of the O.B.U.", and retaining the right to maintain their own headquarters?

8. The O.B.U. "Attacked from Within"

Midgley has issued a circular which is being addressed to all units of the O.B.U. Purporting to deal with the situation at large, it devotes special attention to the split. Two passages are as follows:-[9]

"We have even observed instances where some groups of workers have endeavoured to bring their craft union machinery and craft union psychology into the O.B.U. with them and have been surprised to find that it did not work. Merely placing O.B.U. cards into the pockets of the members of a craft union will not make that union function more effectively than before. The workers must place their interests as members of the working class above their petty craft interests, in other words they must become Class-conscious instead of craft-conscious."

"Now, however, the O.B.U. is being subjected to an attack from within, not from those who desire O.B.U. but from those who wish to build a number of distinct industrial unions, each with its separate headquarters, officials and organizers, which would result in confusion, duplication of effort and the expense that we are trying to leave behind us with the craft unions".

9. Utterances in the Labour Press

Two internal feuds of the organization are being freely ventilated in the extremist press.

The Western Labour News of 29th October attacked the O.B.U. vehemently, describing it as a failure, as having injured the cause of labour, and as having "inherent constitutional defects". One of those is "a fatal weakness in the form of organization", which is illustrated by the quarrel with the Lumber Workers. It says:-

"The dispute there existing is not a casual dispute such as may occur in any body, but one which must arise sooner or later between every large body of organized workers and the governing forces of the O.B.U. The Lumber Workers could not be represented in the organization as Lumber Workers; because then they would exercise a virtual control, so the attempt was made to introduce the ward principle of representation by which they lost their identity as lumber workers. The central clique says they should lose their identity as Lumber Workers if they are to remain in the O.B.U. As they have no intention whatever of losing their identity as Lumber Workers, the only course left for them is to get out of the O.B.U.

The Building Trades Unit of Edmonton and the National Railway Workers' Unit have seen the point and also withdrawn. The point is that the same trouble not only will but must arise with regard to every large body of men in a basic trade industrially organized which affiliates with the O.B.U., and, if they do not withdraw in a body, they will certainly withdraw individually. This process of disintegration is already very seriously affecting the association in Winnipeg".[10]

The Alberta coal strike is mentioned as a failure "in contact with external conditions":-

"The O.B.U. engineered the strike without any organization to sustain it, or for any object that was worth while. The O.B.U. put its members among the miners up to making a fight for the O.B.U., but when the fighting began, it was not in the line itself but in some organizer's mouth and pocket at a distance. And even if the loyalty of these men to the O.B.U. can stand this treatment, they face the same position later on as the Lumber Workers are in just now, which is rather a bad lookout for them".

In conclusion, the Western Labour News says:-

"The serious matter for organized labour as a whole in the ill-fated business is that just when a universal drive in favour of the open shop is on, Labour is in a bad position to meet it, precisely to the extent in which the propaganda in favour of the O.B.U. has been a success".

Elsewhere in the same issue the Western Labour News describes the coal strike thus:-

"The event showed that as a grievance the checkoff is a good deal like death and taxes, things everybody claims a constitution/right to grumble about.

"As a strike the whole proceedings were ridiculous. There was no organization and no solidarity, and the cause for which war was declared was not to improve the wages of conditions of the men, but to break up a rival organization which is the only one which has ever been able to function in the interests of the men".

The significance of the remark about the open shop is to be found in the fact that elsewhere in the same issue appear several paragraphs to the effect that a general attempt is to be made by employers in Canada and the United States, this winter to break the unions and to institute openshop.

The O.B.U. Bulletin of 30th October has a general air of depression, and in its editorial column shows embarrassment. It discusses "Industrial or Geographical organization" in a gingerly way, its clearest statement being the following:-

"There is a tendency to fight and divide over the question of Industrial vs. Geographical form of organization. This is pure

foolishness. Both forms of organization are needed and overlapping is bound to occur. Sensible men cannot make a fight on these lines. The miners, the railway workers, the building trades, the textile [11] workers, are bound to come together, to consider their needs as workers, in their own industries. Industry, itself is not simple; it is complex. There will come a time when the workers in a given community will require the aid and support of their immediate neighbours of every industry, when the class interests are uppermost. Both the industrial and the community, or geographical, forms of organization will be required".

The B.C. Federationist of 29th October has columns dealing with the internal quarrel. So far as this particular is evidence, the fight seems to be going adversely to Winch and the L.W.I.U.; two or three camps have declared against him, and the Coast district seems hostile.

The Lumber Workers' Unit of the O.B.U. in Winnipeg is very bitter against the local Central Council O.B.U. in having threatened to decry in the foreign-speaking papers. Popowich, who is the editor of the Ukrainian Labour News, also is secretary of this unit.

10. Within the Lumber Workers' Unit

A report from Vancouver dated 4th November contains the following paragraph:-

"I heard, also that J. Kavanaugh is running hard for Winch's job, and that the mine workers in the East are backing up the L.W.I.U. in their quarrel with the O.B.U."

A report upon the L.W.I.U. dated Vancouver 4th November, contains the following passages:-

"After investigation at all local employment offices, I find a great many men looking for work; from what I learn from Employment Agents there is very little work coming in on account of camps closing down. As a rule, most of the camps close down during the Winter for repairs, but this year, they are closing on account of the lumber market being so poor, and as near as I could find out about 80 per cent of the Logging camps are shut up for an indefinite time. Several large lumber mills are, also, closed down owing to having nearly a year's supply of cut lumber on hand, with no sign of a market from the Prairies yet.

"I ascertained that 90% of the Shingle Mills have shut up also, on account of poor markets.

"I interviewed Mr. Weaver, manager of the Brooks, Scanlon and O'Brien Lumber Company, and had a talk on the Labour question. He informed me that the reason for closing down in the logging industry was on account of the poor market and the high wages being paid, and [12] that the association was going to close all camps and try to open later with a cut in wages, with more production; he

could not say for what length of time these camps would be closed. From a general idea, I gather that the question of unemployment is going to be a serious one this winter, as so many harvesters from the East have come to Vancouver, figuring on obtaining work in the logging camps for the winter."

II. BRITISH COLUMBIA

11. The Slocan Strike

An investigation into the strike in the Slocan conducted on 21st October shows that at that date the conflict still was in progress but that signs of weakening were beginning to show among the O.B.U. members in the district. Their numbers had declined, and of the miners at work about half were O.B.U. the rest being either Internationals or non-union men.

Picketing in the O.B.U. is still carried on, and this makes it difficult for the mines to secure new men.

Sandon still is closely organized by the O.B.U., under the guidance of T. B. Roberts.

Roberts appears to be working with the Midgley faction of the O.B.U.

12. Miscellaneous Notes

R. P. Pettipiece spoke at Vancouver under the auspices of the Federated Labour Party on 31st October. His subject "Politics and the Liquor Referendum"; he expressed regret at the victory of the Moderates on the ground that prohibition aided the cause of the revolutionists. The meeting was not well attended and the audience was not unanimous.

Jack Kavanaugh addressed the Socialist meeting in Vancouver on Sunday 31st October. The meeting was well attended and the audience interested. He declared that "this Capitalist class will never be thrown out of business by the use of the ballot".

An investigation of certain small lumber camps near Kitchener in the East Kootenay sub-district goes to show that in that region [13] little interest is taken now in the O.B.U. A delegate at one of them told our informant that he was tired of the post. At this camp roughly half the men are O.B.U.

A sentence in the report is:-

"Wages have been cut all along the line, but there is very little kick as the men expected it".

A detachment report from Ocean Falls states that labour conditions are more settled there than has been the case for many months past. The large logging camps are expected to close down before Christmas owing to ice and snow.

Seditious Indian literature is once more coming into British Columbia including copies of Ghadr (Mutiny), the principal anti-British organ of Hindu revolutionists. The tone of this paper continues violent.

13. Individual Agitators

Three agitators have come to our attention at Nanaimo: Thomas Beattie, who up to about 8 months ago was active in the Crow's Nest Pass, and was boycotted there by the miners; James Cartwright, who lately has been boycotted in Nanaimo owing to his persistence in agitation; and Arthur Jordan, who has served jail sentences in New Zealand in connection with labour troubles. All three of these men have joined the Self-Determination for Ireland League.

Mention was made some weeks ago of the sudden disappearance, on being questioned by the R.C.M.P., of an O.B.U. agitator in the East Kootenay sub-district named Dandineau. He has returned to Kitchener from the prairies, but has refused to resume work as a delegate. Our informant states that he "is apparently scared stiff".

It is worth noticing that this man who belonged to the L.W.I.U. does not wish to see it break away from the O.B.U. but advocates the withdrawal of the per capita tax until the L.W.I.U. are given full voting power at conventions.

An O.B.U. organizer named E. Robinson has been trying to [14] organize the lumber miller at Yahk. He was unsuccessful, getting only one new member, and failing to induce anyone to take the job of delegate. His collections for dues barely paid his expenses.

III. ALBERTA

14. Conditions in Drumheller

The strike in Drumheller has been followed by the blacklisting of about 100 men by the Red Deer Valley Coal Operators' Association. Among these are a number of men like Christophers, Carl Berg, Sherman and Evans who have not been associated with the Drumheller region; others like Joe Ormond and Mike Lumich are local agitators. The attempt to renew the strike because of this seems to have failed.

Our information is that most of the men are satisfied with the new rate of pay and conditions. Further, a considerable number of English speaking miners have returned from the harvest fields seeking employment.

The O.B.U. Bulletin in its issue of 30th October prints a statement by H. Davis concerning the Alberta coal strike, in which the following sentences appear:-

"There is a certainty of another strike in the Alberta fields There is not a satisfied miner in that country That the unrest will produce a shut down and it will be when the country is bare of coal. The workers of Winnipeg should understand the situation and be prepared".

A careful survey of the Drumheller area shows that on 22nd October the total of men at work, was 1,948. There were of the following nationalities:-

English-speaking	989	-	50.7	per cent
Austrians	358	-	18.3	" "

Italians134 - 6.8 " "

Russians 119 - 6.0 " "

and small numbers of Danes; Norwegians; Serbs; Belgians; Dutch; Hungarians; Ukrainians; Germans; Swedes; Spaniards; Bohemians; and Chinese.

On 28th October George Palmer visited Lethbridge for the purpose of consulting H. Ostlund, the O.B.U. lawyer, as to the [15] legality of the Drumheller injunction. Apparently Ostlund advised him that it was illegal.

15. Other Collieries

A report from Fernie dated 1st November states that the threats of renewing the strike if William Sherman was not taken back by the Coal company had come to nothing. The report says:-

"Since the passing of this resolution there has been a considerable change of heart on the part of the coal miners and the leaders find that they are not so ready now to lay down their tools at the first word, with the result that although the men discriminated against have not been reinstated, the miners have made no effort to go on strike. As already stated in previous reports the rank and file of the miners do not want any further stoppage of work and it is only among the haulage hands that there appears to be any possibility of a stoppage of work. However, at the present time everything is quiet and the indications are that the mines will continue working steadily".

The Brazeau Collieries are working full time again, with conditions practically normal. Men are constantly arriving at the camp and by 25th October they had over 500 on the pay roll. The N.C.O. in charge of the detachment reports:

"Everything appears to be going along very quietly, but the majority of miners in this camp are not in favour of the U. M. W. of A. check-off. This may cause trouble at any time".

16. Miscellaneous Notes

Bray spoke at the Dunvegan shops in Edmonton on 19th October; he encountered considerable opposition from the Berg faction of the O.B.U. As usual, his speech was merely an account of his experiences in the Winnipeg strike and in the subsequent trial. One statement which he made was of interest; it is reported thus:-

"He stated that on the day that the verdict was returned, at 11 o'clock there were three of the jurymen strong for acquittal and they were dismissed to bring in a verdict at 2 o'clock. When they came in at 2 o'clock they were all agreed on the verdict of "guilty" and one of the three who was in financial difficulties was able, directly after the trial to pay off his debts and retire. It was similar in the other two cases as they had not had to work since the trial, and that the Judge had warned them what had happened in the Juryroom was

sacred to themselves".[16]

Another address by G. B. Williams of the International Bible Students' Association is reported from Edmonton; it was delivered on Sunday 31st October. In it he predicted the coming of revolution and anarchy.

G. L. Ritchie addressed the Edmonton Labour Church on 31st October on "Luxury and Poverty". His speech was a denunciation of the existing form of society.

17. The Searchlight

Another issue of the Searchlight has been got out, dated 22nd October, Lawson is over \$800 in debt to his printers.

Mention was made in No 48 of a wild scheme for financing the Searchlight which was devised by Evans. The meeting of the District Board which he called to consider it came to nothing, as only one member of the Board besides Evans took the trouble to attend.

IV. SASKATCHEWAN

18. Miscellaneous Notes

A report on the O.B.U. at Saskatoon states that Mill, the local organizer, gave information as to the conditions of the organization. Our report is:-

"It appears that there are 330 names on the books at the present time. Subscriptions are not all paid up and many remained unpaid so far back as June last. There is a growth of 30 members since mid-summer, but these are all practically harvesters (classed as General Workers) with a few C. N. R. men (unskilled labour). In reality the movement has lost ground as those owing dues to the organization might be termed deserters quite reasonably, although Mill is still outwardly optimistic".

A further paragraph in the report is as follows:-

"Mill states that the miners at Drumheller (O.B.U. men) are going to take "vacations" of two weeks and a month at a time, and this I understand is the weapon now to be used to hinder the output of the mines".

An investigation at Moose Jaw shows the O.B.U. cause there to be stationary. McAllister, the local leader there, said:

"We have not had a meeting for months; we are getting a few members now and again, and we have about 200 O.B.U. men in Moose Jaw at the present time".[17]

One remark by McAllister of Moose Jaw is significant:-

"That man Bray of Winnipeg, is in bad with the head men of the O.B.U. there; they seem to think he has been paid money by Government agents to supply information of the O.B.U. doings".

A Mrs. Dorothy Carter is co-operating with Austin Stanley in trying to organize the O.B.U. in Regina. Her assertions do not lack for hardihood; one of them is that the O.B.U. number 300,000. She advocates the Soviet Form of Government. She is a hotel waitress, who is separated from her

husband, apparently in circumstances not wholly devoid of scandal.

A report on conditions in Regina dated 1st November states:-

"For the average labourer in Saskatchewan there is still plenty of work, on farm by season contact; in the woods or on railway construction".

V. MANITOBA

19. The Ukrainian Labour Temple

With reference to a report from Ontario (see para 24.) that the Ukrainian Labour Temple at Winnipeg cost \$76,000, investigation shows that the building permit put the cost at \$40,000; any additional cost would have to be reported to the building inspector, and added to the original permit. The building inspector expressed the opinion that the structure may have cost more than \$40,000 because of the high price of labour. However, all the men who worked on the building were sympathizers with the cause, so that it would be reasonable to conclude that some work was given free.

This discrepancy recalls earlier suggestions that the affairs of the Temple were a great deal of mystery, and that money was being poured into it without satisfactory accounts being rendered.

Another report which has been received is that the total cost of the building was \$70,000, that of this \$42,000 has been paid; leaving \$28,000 unpaid. The present debt, which was the subject of discussion [18] at a meeting on 2nd November, includes the sum of \$1,800 which the Temple owes to individual members who wish to return to Europe, and accordingly want their money. An effort is to be made amongst the Ukrainian workers in the city and in the Western provinces to raise this money. Another debt which apparently causes some concern is one of \$10,000 for building materials.

In addition to serving as a place of entertainment, the Temple accommodates an "after 4o'clock school" when the Ukrainian language and literature are taught to about 100 pupils free. A school for adults for teaching Ukrainian and English is contemplated.

20. Miscellaneous Notes

An organization termed the "Young Labour League" has recently been launched in Winnipeg to educate the young workers regarding the class struggle. It is comprised almost wholly of, Ukrainians, Russians and Poles. While it has held a few meetings, the attendance has been small, the collections have been insufficient to pay for the rent of the hall, and it consequently is about \$120 in debt. The members will appeal to the older organizations for help, and if these do not respond generously the organization probably will dissolve.

This League held a "Mass Labour Meeting" at Liberty Temple, Winnipeg, on 29th October; about 30 people attended, half of whom were young girls. John Houston gave an address on Labour organization which

included a friendly account of the I.W.W.

One Crittendon also gave a Socialist speech at this meeting. He spoke favourably of the Soviet system and of the withdrawal of rights from persons who do not belong to the working class.

A person named Kohn was the speaker at the Socialist meeting held in Winnipeg on Sunday, 31st October; he was introduced as a well-known member of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. His speech was an account of labour conditions in Great Britain in a strongly [19] revolutionary vein.

In connection with the pending municipal elections in Winnipeg, it is reported that many of the International labour men are beginning to think that it would be better for their own men to be defeated at the polls than to allow the radical members of the party to be successful.

Mr. A. E. Smith, M.L.A. addressed the New People's Church in Brandon on Sunday 31st October; about 100 persons were present. Mr. Smith's subject was "Labour in Political Development", and he does not seem to have said anything of a revolutionary nature.

VI. ONTARIO

21. Situation in Western Ontario

The Officer Commanding Western Ontario in his confidential monthly report for October notices the strong action being taken by several prominent men in Labour circles to offset the O.B.U. and radical propaganda, and in particular to drive the "Red" element out of the District Trades and Labour Council in Toronto. "It cannot be disguised", he writes, "that there is a strong radical element here, but reports from agents, etc. point to the fact that the majority of Labour is beginning to realize that they are being exploited by their 'red' leaders". He continues:-

"There have been small strikes among the employes in five camps along the Algoma Central Railway, during the past month, and a strike of 250 men in Neimi's camp at Ruel is threatened. The men are asking for higher wages and an 8-hour day. The trouble can be laid at the door of the O.B.U. So far there have been no disturbances, and the managers of the camps affected, hope to replace the dissatisfied men. They do not intend to submit to their demands. The situation is being kept in touch with.

"The main trouble along the Algoma Central is among the Finns employed in the camps. They are mostly O.B.U. members and a radical bunch. A patrol from the Sault Ste. Marie detachment is now in progress along this line".

The Officer Commanding Western Ontario proceeds to give a general survey of the O.B.U.:-

"As stated above, the discontent among the various camp workers is caused by the activities of the O.B.U. agitators, several of whom are busy in the Algoma district. There is a split in the ranks of the O.B.U., caused by the Finns desiring to form a local of their own,

not contro led by H.Q. of the O.B.U. in Vancouver. The outcome [20] of this dispute is being watched with interest.

"There has been a certain amount of activity in Hamilton lately, the principal agitator being one Roberts.

"In Toronto the O.B.U. have been holding their usual open air meetings each week, but do not appear to be getting a great deal of support. At their business meeting arrangements have been made to hold weekly meetings in the Empress Theatre, Toronto, during the winter months. The leaders of the O.B.U. appear to be anxiously awaiting developments of the trouble in England".

Dealing with other revolutionary agencies, he says:-

"The man Almazoff, late of Winnipeg, is apparently keeping very quiet, and nothing suspicious has transpired during the past month, although he is being kept under surveillance. Most of the members of the S. P. of C. which is almost defunct in this City are now members of the Russian School, Plebs League or the 'Zluka'.

"An attempt is being made to get the Russian Bolsheviks and the Ukrainians to unite into an anarchist group, but the two parties are antagonistic and always quarreling among themselves. The meetings of the 'Zluka' are poorly attended and no definite plan of action has been arranged by the members. With regard to the Russian School, most of their meetings are in the form of social events but Dodokin Siniloff and Almazoff, who are interested in tjis School, are dangerous men.

"Plebs League is a branch of the Anarchists Communist Party, the principal organizers being, Bell, Armstrong, Berg and Mrs. Cus-tance. At their last meeting only 17 persons were present. The league is a new one here, and is apparently an offshoot of a similar league in England. Their programme of propaganda has not yet been decided upon".

22. The O.B.U. in the Sudbury Region

A report from Sudbury states that Walter Cowan has been much disturbed over the threatened withdrawal of the Sault Ste. Marie Finns from the Sudbury district, O.B.U. in the event of the coming referendum favouring the retnection of the administration in Vancouver. Our report says:-

"The Finns demand the retnection of the per capita tax in the East and failing that will form a separate O.B.U. organization at Sault Ste. Marie comp sed entirely of Finns. (This will be a pretty radical branch of the O.B.U. without doubt.) The Finns here also intend to form a separate organization".

Eugene Guertin apparently has succeeded Cowan as secretary-treasurer in the Sudbury district. Cowan's headquarters, as has been noted in previous summaries now are at Montreal. Our report says:-[21]

"About all that is known of Cowan here is that he is a native of Scotland, a quiet fellow who has had his hands full in keeping the foreign element of the O.B.U. here from getting the O.B.U. prosecuted as an out and out Bolshevist organization his policy has been one of quietly organizing".

Dave Rainville, who was associated with E. Guertin for some time as organizer for the O.B.U. in Northern Ontario, apparently has abandoned this occupation and proposes to work as a trapper and hunter during the coming winter. A report upon the situation says:-

"There are getting to be more and more French Canadians in the O.B.U. and I cannot help thinking that these Frenchmen are enjoying a little of the joys of town life and railway travel at the expense of the O.B.U. I think a good many of them are humbubs and that the Finns see through their little game hence their anxiety for a separate union".

A patrol is being made along the line of the Algoma Central Railway. The report of the first week's work shows that visits were paid to about a dozen camps employing about 200 men. The O.B.U. is powerful on this line and has won several successes.

Several reports have been received concerning the strike in Neimi's camp, mentioned above by the Officer Commanding Western Ontario. The camp is near Haileybury. According to one report, the strike occurred among the Finnish labourers. The working strength of the camp was 210, and of these 140 left. The company decided to fight it out, and the prospects were that the men would be beaten. The N.C.O. in charge of C.I.B. work in the Cobalt sub-district remarks that the O.B.U. evidently had been deceived by the victory they had won in the Algoma Central Railway strike and had been nonplussed when this company showed fight.

An earlier report, from Sudbury, dated 1st November, says:-

"The Spanish River Pulp Company evidently intend to put up a fight and as it is just what the local O.B.U. needs to give impetus to a recent revival in recruiting here there is likely to be trouble particularly as 60 or 70 per cent of the men involved in Neimi's camp are Finns, who have also the present incentive to say 'we are the only members of the O.B.U. who have ever had the courage to start something, and now that we have got rid of Cowan and his anti-radical policy, we are going to make the O.B.U. something to fear in the Sudbury district'".[22]

The report goes on to say:-

"It is just possible that the result of the Referendum voting which closes today may have a very great influence on local O.B.U. matters the Finns are expected to secede and form a branch of O.B.U. of their own in the event of the Referendum favouring the continuation of the allegiance to O.B.U. headquarters at S.S. Marie

and can be depended on to set a hot pace for the more conservative English speaking branch here and it is predicted among that latter that the Finns will have this District in the lime light from now on".

23. Extremists in Toronto

A man named MacKenzie spoke on 30th October at an open-air meeting of the O.B.U. in Toronto, his subject being "The Miners' Strike in England". He expressed the strongest desire to see a struggle. One passage in his speech is thus reported:-

"Why is it that Russian Workers have advanced to first place, when they are not so well educated as the English workman? Becsue there was no compromise between the Capitalists and the Labouring class. In other countries, where strikes are allowed and there is a policy of give-and-take, the wreckage of the Capitalist,system has been avoided".

At a meeting of the Plebs League on Sunday, 31st October T. Bell lectured on the "Downfall of the Second International". Our report says:-

"His explanation of the cause of the downfall was the absence of the dictatorship which would establish discipline in the rank and file of the proletariat and thereby concentrate their united power against the enemy.

"The Socialists, he said, cannot be Called Communists because they are not violent in doctrine and not revolutionary enough: their moral teachings alone cannot obtain control over the country, and unless they apply force they will never reach the goal. There are I.W.W., Independent Labour Parties and other similar organizations who are radical, but they are not communists because they are not revolutionary enough".

Asked if the Irish Transport Workers were revolutionary enough to be called communists Bell replied in the negative "because they were not trying to overthrow the Government".

The meeting was small; the audience comprised only 17 persons.

24. Foreign Born Revolutionaries

A meeting of Zluka was held in Occident Hall, Toronto, on 31st October. A man whose name apparently is Volmenko, spoke on behalf of [23] the Russian Soviet medical relief fund. He described himself as an anarchist; the agitator Stefanitski opposed him from the Bolshevist point of view. Our report of the incident is as follows:-

"Stefanitski, a lab our agitator, got up and told the speaker that he did not understand the nonsense of the Anarchists, who are preaching their ideals but who never explain themselves without dictatorship, He said that such statements as "take what you need" is ridiculous. If anyone can take what he needs, then naturally someone will take more than he needs, while you cannot prevent him doing it and there will be the same capitalist greed in existence.

Again, he continued, how would you explain the term need? One needs one loaf of bread a day, while another needs three, and there can be no hard and fast rule as to the needs of each individual. Then about power. How can you express your power if you have no discipline? What is any organization without a dictator? Dictatorship only can lead to victory. Communism under proletariat dictatorship can distribute the produce among its members, and then everyone will get what he wants to live on, ever one will be a worker and be useful to the community”.

This is one more example of the quarrel which is developing between the two factions of revolutionists.

Michniewicz and several others are trying to form in Hamilton a local branch of the Ukrainian Labour Temple, the headquarters of which are at Winnipeg. He places the cost of the new temple recently built there at \$76,000. He states that about 100 foreigners had pledged themselves to collect money to undertake a similar building in Hamilton, but had been obliged to postpone action for a while.

A report upon Welland dated 2nd November states that no great activity prevails at present among the Ukrainian Socialists there, nor is there a Russian Communist party in existence there at present. In this locality the Communists and Anarchists are strongly opposed to each other; the Communists uphold the proceedings of the Moscow Government.

25. Martens' Office Heard from

A Russian named Volzt visited Hamilton on 5th November on his way to Winnipeg. He described himself as a confidential clerk in Martens' office in New York, and he seems to have some connection with the collection of funds for medical supplies for the Soviet Government.[24]

According to his statement, the appeal has been made broadcast throughout the United States as well as Canada, and he placed the amount so far collected at about \$43,000; he expects to collect that much more within the next month. While his exact business was not ascertained, it appears that he will visit some of the prominent revolutionists there, including the management of the O.B.U. Bulletin, to ask for support in this connection.

Volzt described Martens' Office as intending to open a branch in Canada with the idea of placing large orders for various sorts of materials with important firms, thereby averting unemployment, and so obliging the Government to treat the Soviet representatives in a more lenient manner.

26. Miscellaneous Notes

Examination of Molot, an Ukrainian publication issued in New York, shows it to be maintaining its revolutionary nature.

Additional information has been received as to Koldofsky. Two stories are in circulation among the Jewish Trade Unionists in Toronto concerning him. One is that he has gone to Poland to obtain first hand knowledge

as to conditions there; the other, which it is not easy to understand is that he is there in the interests of the Garment Workers' Association. It is suggested that he may be a courier for Dworkin.

Information has been received from an outside source that Dworkin is under arrest in Poland, charged with smuggling men through for the Soviet Government; that two of his associates have been shot, and that he is awaiting trial.

VII. QUEBEC

27. Conditions in Montreal

The Officer Commanding Quebec in his confidential monthly report for October states that there was not much activity among the radical element in the city during October. He notes that the plumbers of Montreal have been on strike during the whole month; a recent move in this has been the invocation by the masters of the clause in the [25] Criminal Code forbidding picketing.

One episode, which has been the subject of angry comment in the extremist press in Western Canada, is thus reported:-

"The textile and boot and shoe trades are still working short time, and one of the largest boot factories in Montreal has made an offer to the employes to accept a reduction of wages to enable the factory to keep running, with the alternative of closing down. The employes have accepted the reduction in good spirit realizing what the factories are up against under the extraordinary conditions in the money market prevailing at this time. It is expected that other industries will have to follow suit in the near future, or else there will be a great deal of unemployment here this winter. Navigation closes at Montreal on 26th instant, this will release a large labouring class, but a large number will be absorbed by the lumbering industry where there is still a big demand for men".

28. Thetford Mines

An investigation at Thetford mines shows that there is no danger of revolutionary unionism there. Such labour troubles as exist are in the form of a conflict between the International Union and the National Catholic Union the organizer of the former, a man named Bastien in reality is a man of conservative tendencies, but is pronounced by the National Union as a radical.

29. Miscellaneous Notes.

At the instigation of recent arrivals from the United States, the Jewish Socialist Party of Montreal met on 29th October to discuss the formation of a Communist Party which should yield full allegiance to the Third International. Amongst those attending were Schubert, Michael Buhay, Isidore Boltuck, Freiger and St. Martin. After a sharp discussion the majority decided to form the proposed party. The committee of organiza-

tion consists of St. Martin and two others.

An All-Soviet convention is to be held in New York on 28th November. The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia in Montreal is to send two representatives, Zarrovetz and Gurin.

According to revolutionists in Niagara Falls, Ben Legere intends within the next few weeks to visit Montreal.

A woman agitator known as Miss B. Hall. is reported at work in Montreal. She is a graduate of the Rand School of Economics in New York and desires to become a teacher at the projected Montreal Labour [26] college. The institution is to be held in St. Joseph's Hall, which is above the premises occupied by the Educational Press Association.

VIII. MARITIME PROVINCES

30. Possibilities of Trouble

A report from Halifax, from the O. C. Maritime Provinces, dated 8th November describes the labour situation in Cape Breton as serious. Once more apparently the U.M.W. of A. executive would prefer a settlement, but were afraid of their men; meanwhile, the operators were prepared to fight the union, and were taking steps looking to that end.

An earlier report upon labour conditions at Sydney Mines, New Waterford, Glace Bay and Birch Grove states that the mines are running in full blast and that every one seems fairly well satisfied. The prospects now are adverse to a strike in these localities during the coming winter.

The Officer Commanding Maritime Provinces in his confidential monthly report for October makes the following observations:-

"Generally speaking labour conditions in the Maritime Provinces are very quiet now, and the attitude of labour has been much more normal.

"The Independent Labour Party of Nova Scotia have established a labour temple in one of the Relief Commission's old buildings on Sackville Street, and by the admission of women hope to have their party 10,000 strong before the next Federal election".

He adds, however, that recent civic bye-elections have been very discouraging to these people.

Discussing the recurrent reports of trouble in the Cape Breton coal mines he observes:-

"Living conditions are very bad indeed in most of the mining towns in Cape Breton, and although being established for years, the towns of Reserve and New Waterford have no water or sanitary arrangements of any kind. This feature has much to do with the prevailing unrest, and were living and social conditions improved there would be less food for discontent".

He adds that there is considerable unemployment in Halifax and that labour circles are anticipating a hard winter and unemployment.