

“SAVING THE WORLD FROM DEMOCRACY”

THE
Winnipeg General
Sympathetic Strike

MAY-JUNE, 1919

TRIAL BY JURY DESTROYED BY STAMPEDE FORTY-FIVE MINUTE LEGISLATION—WORKERS ARRESTED AND RUSHED TO PENITENTIARY TO SMASH STRIKE—LEADING LAWYERS, MEMBERS OF EMPLOYERS' COMMITTEE OF 1000—ENGAGED BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROSECUTE WORKERS.

Strike—Arrests—Trials—Penitentiary

Prepared by the Defense Committee, 220 Bannatyne Ave., composed of Delegates from the various Labor Organizations in Winnipeg, Manitoba

PRICE FIFTY CENTS



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*Compliments of
Mrs. R. Morrison
Whalley, B. C.*

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HISTORY

OF

WINNIPEG GENERAL STRIKE

1919

SYNOPSIS OF EVENTS

Leading up to the Walker Theatre meeting, the Calgary Convention, the Formation of the O. B. U., the Winnipeg General Strike—May and June, 1919—and the prosecutions arising out of the same.

Eight men, Russell, Johns, Pritchard, Armstrong, Heaps, Queen, Bray, and Ivens, are now before the Assize Court of Manitoba, charged by the Government with **sedition** conspiracy to overthrow the state, etc.

These men were arrested, together with five non-English speaking men, on June 17th, last, when the general strike was at its height. The real purpose of the arrests was to smash the strike then in existence.

The Crown alleges that they were arrested because they were seditiously planning a revolution and that the strike was an attempt to establish a soviet form of government.

The Crown is attempting to prove that meetings held in Winnipeg in December, 1918, to protest against orders in council, to demand the withdrawal of troops from Russia, and the release of political prisoners; the various meetings of the Labor Church in Winnipeg; a meeting planned by the Socialist Party of Canada—but prevented by rioting soldiers; a convention of representatives from the Trades Unions of Western Canada, held in Calgary in March, 1919; the Winnipeg general sympathetic strike of May and June, 1919, and the formation of an industrial organization in place of the craft organizations, under the name of the One Big Union, are all connected parts of one big conspiracy.

The facts are that the Labor Church was formed by the Rev. W. Ivens, M.A., B.D., when he was denied, or driven

from the pulpit of the Methodist Church, because of his pacifist views. The Walker Theatre meeting was planned because the workers realized that the Trades Congress officers were impotent in the matter of securing from the Government redress of the grievances complained of, and were determined that the voice of protest should be heard. The Majestic Theatre meeting was one of a series planned by the Socialist Party to propagate their views. The Western Convention, held in Calgary, March, 1919, was arranged to form some plan of organization that would free Western Canada from the control of a Trades Congress machine which the Western workers claimed defeated their every plan and proposal. The plan of industrial organization was launched at that convention and was accelerated by the active and persistent opposition of international officers to the Winnipeg strike. The strike itself grew spontaneously out of the refusal of the "iron masters"—owners of the contract metal shops—to recognize the unions or the Metal Trades Council, and the refusal of the Builders' Exchange to recognize the Building Trades Council or to pay the men engaged in all branches of the building industry a living wage.

The idea of a conspiracy is preposterous. The contention of the Crown that these activities were part of an attempt to set up a soviet and to bring about a revolution, is a pretext by which they hope to railroad active leaders of the working class to jail, and an excuse for them to carry on an active propaganda against "Reds," "Revolutionists," "Left Wingers," "Radicals," "Progressives," or whatever they may be called. "Bolshevists" is, of course, the most telling expression from their standpoint.

If they are successful in this endeavor it is quite clear that the Government will pass legislation, or, more orders-in-council, suppressing every organization, and imprisoning every person who in any way seeks to better the general condition of the workers.

That this is no mere suspicion on our part is proven by the fact that, while the strike was in progress, the Immigration Act was re-introduced into the Federal Parliament. It had already been amended and signed by the Governor-General, not more than a couple of days previously. When re-introduced it was re-amended purposely to destroy the right of trial by jury for all British born citizens, and also make it possible to deport the strike leaders, without legal trial. This act was re-introduced into the Ottawa Parlia-

ment, and amended within the short space of time of twenty minutes. It was next rushed through the Senate, then to the Governor-General for signature. From first to last the time taken for the whole process was less than 45 minutes. There is not a parallel for this stampede legislation in the whole British history.

Shortly after this amendment was passed the accused were arrested, rushed to the penitentiary, and, on the third day, brought before the Board of Enquiry, so that they might have a secret hearing and then be deported. That this plan was not carried out was due, we believe, wholly to the storm of protest raised in all parts of Canada against the outrage.

The fact that they were unable under the re-amended Immigration Act, at that time, to accomplish their designs, halted them for the moment, but it also accentuated their determination to crush the whole progressive working class movement.

This means that a publicity campaign such as that secured by these long drawn out trials, where their side of the case is published in the daily press down to the slightest detail, while we have no such means of setting forth our side of the case, will, they hope, create an atmosphere where not only the conditions of the Immigration Act—which are still intact—may be enforced, but also such additional legislation as shall accomplish their designs.

Because of these facts it is necessary that at this time we should present to the entire Labor Movement a complete statement of the various events mentioned in the charges, and the causes leading up to the same, so that it will be able to form an intelligent, complete and accurate opinion of the whole matter, assist us in protecting labor's right to organize, and work out its own emancipation.

We therefore set forth in order the progress of events as follows:—

1. The reason for calling the Walker Theatre meeting and a report of the same.
2. The Majestic Theatre meeting as planned.
3. The formation and aims of the Labor Church.
4. The calling of, and report of, the Calgary Convention.
5. The calling of, reasons for, and progress of, the General Strike.
6. The Arrests, etc.
7. The prosecutions and progress of the Trial.

Section I.

**THE WALKER THEATRE MEETING
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 22nd, 1918**

The Walker Theatre meeting was called by the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, in conjunction with the Socialist Party of Canada, for the purpose of passing **three resolutions.**

These were as follows:—

1. Protest against Orders-in-Council.
2. Withdrawal of Troops from Russia.
3. Release of Political Prisoners.

1. **Orders-in-Council** had been passed and enforced by the Government, and resented strongly by the workers.

Here are a few samples of this protest, as printed in the Western Labor News, the official organ of the Trades and Labor Council.

Oct. 4th, 1918, issue, reports raids on homes in North End of city for banned literature.

Oct. 18th issue, Trades Council discusses general strike against Order-in-Council forbidding the right to strike.

The same issue prints in full the Order-in-Council banning many organizations, and foreign papers.

Editorially, the paper severely condemns at length the whole policy of Orders-in-Council.

Oct. 25th issue prints the result of the strike ballot against the "No-strike" order, and shows a vote of 92 per cent. in favor of the strike.

Nov. 8th, protest against arrest of Bainbridge, of Toronto, for having banned literature in his possession.

In the same issue there was a protest against seven men at Sault Ste Marie being fined \$16,700.00 for belonging to the Social Democratic Party, which had been made illegal by Order-in-Council.

Nov. 22nd the paper contains strong articles condemning the censorship, and further arrests for sedition, and for possessing prohibited literature.

Nov. 29th the Government's Russian policy was condemned and further protests against Orders-in-Council voiced.

Dec. 6th there appears a Toronto protest, which says in part:—

Resolved. That we, the delegates of the International Association of Machinists, representing the Province of Ontario, in convention assembled, do hereby protest

against Government by "Orders-in-Council" as being prejudicial to the best interest of organized Labor and a subversion of political democracy and civil liberty. Under the provisions of such orders many political organizations of the workers have been suppressed and scores of their members thrown into prison. Their papers are banned by the censor and their editors subjected to a most vicious form of political persecution. Trial by jury is not permitted and sentences that are an outrage upon human decency are imposed upon them for the possession of literature in which are expressed the greatest thoughts of the liberators of mankind. And be it further resolved;

That this convention is strongly of the opinion that conditions in this country do not, and never have warranted such an unjustifiable interference with the liberties of the people. We view with apprehension the introduction of autocratic methods and the increasing tendency of a few men to usurp the prerogatives of the people which are alone vested in their elected representatives. And whereas, the constitution of the International Association of Machinists declares the necessity of changing the industrial conditions existing at the present time,—these orders are a direct contravention of its principles and purpose, which, if enforced, will prejudice the liberty of our members, and be it still further resolved;

That in view of the present world movement toward freedom and democracy, when the world rocks with internal ferment, when thrones tumble, when autocrats flee the countries they have brought to the verge of annihilation and Labor is asserting its right to rule,—these orders become a danger to social peace. We therefore demand, that all "Orders-in-Council" under the "War Measures Act" restricting the rights of Labor be immediately rescinded and that all persons imprisoned under its provisions be set at liberty. We affirm our adherence to the constitutional methods of procedure and call upon all labor organizations to give their unstinted support to the purpose of this resolution, and that copies of same be sent to the Premier, Minister of Justice, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, also all local unions and the press.

PRESS CENSORSHIP SUPPRESSES TRUTH

The censorship of the press under Orders-in-Council was made especially obnoxious to Labor by virtue of the mani-

fest policy of the Government to dictate arbitrarily to Labor as to what it should or should not print and read.

For instance, the editor of the Western Labor News states he was visited by the Winnipeg representative of Colonel Ernest Chambers, the Dominion censor, who protested against an article reproduced from The Union of Democratic Control, written by E. D. Morel, of London, England. The editor took the ground that articles printed in Britain and allowed to enter Canada by the open mails should be entitled to reproduction in Canadian papers. Furthermore, if they were true there should be no desire on the part of the Government to suppress them.

The censor replied that it was not a question of truth or the reverse, but it was a question as to whether it was in harmony with the policy of the Government to print such articles.

Upon further protest by the editor, the censor stated with emphasis, that "The people are cattle" and that the Government intended "to drive them where it wished," and they did not intend that he, the editor, should print articles that would lead them in any other direction.

Once again the editor protested against the people being described as cattle, and the censor replied: "They are d...d cattle, and you know they are."

Such an attitude did not strengthen confidence in the Government, but did strengthen the volume of protest against the whole batch of Orders-in-Council promulgated by the Union Government.

The foregoing will make it quite clear that the Orders-in-Council, etc., were rankling in the minds of the workers. It was quite natural, therefore, that the workers decided to protest, and, on Dec. 13th we find in the Western Labor News this extract from the report of the Trades and Labor Council:—

MASS MEETING DECIDED UPON

Mr. Geo. Armstrong was given the floor. He recommended that a mass meeting be held to discuss the various results of the Orders-in-Council. Members were in Stony Mountain, not because they were criminals, but because they had run up against Orders-in-Council.

Mr. Blumenberg wanted to know when we should celebrate the downfall of Canadian autocracy. Liebknecht has pleaded with the German soldiers not to fight against enemy workers. For this he was jailed by the German

autocracy. But today the Canadian autocrats out-Herod the German autocrats. Resolutions are not sufficient, meetings must be held to inform the general public as to the facts. The daily press refused to let the people have the facts of the international situation. He advocated that if necessary a general strike be called to force the Allies to withdraw from Siberia.

Bill Hoop said that the war to overthrow the German military autocracy had brought us under a military autocracy and a big fight would have to be staged to regain any semblance of liberty.

Geo. Barlow was in favor of the abolition of Government by Order-in-Council. But votes must do it.

R. Russell regarded it as useless to hope that the Trades Congress officers at Ottawa would do anything to get the Orders-in-Council repealed. They were in league with the powers that were suppressing the papers and magazines that stood for liberty.

New Orders-in-Council still more oppressive of Labor had been passed during the last three weeks. A mass meeting would draw attention to the facts of the hour.

Delegate Flye said that if Joe Murray was to be freed from the penitentiary there would have to be publicity, followed, if necessary, by drastic action.

Ald. John Queen said that the military authorities today had refused him permission to hold a meeting on Sunday next to raise money for their new Labor Temple. Only persistent action would bring results.

Delegate Jas. Winning drew attention to the depressing effect the Orders-in-Council had had on the Ruthenians. Their efforts to erect a temple should be encouraged and the Orders-in-Council must be repealed.

Mooney

Mooney's death sentence, he said, was repealed only under the threat of a general strike.

Mass Meeting Ordered

It was ordered that a mass meeting against Orders-in-Council and repression in general be held.

In the issue of Dec. 20th, this advertisement appeared:—

**ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 22nd, AT 2.30 P.M.
WALKER THEATRE**

**Under auspices of Trades and Labor Council
Orders-in-Council—Allied Intervention in Russia—And
to Demand Release of Political Prisoners**

CHAIRMAN—ALD. JNO. QUEEN

Speakers:

F. J. DIXON, M.L.A.

W. HOOP R. B. RUSSELL

GEO. ARMSTRONG S. BLUMENBERG

REV. W. IVENS

Workers, Rally to the Colors in the Fight for Liberty

The next issue, Dec. 27th, has the following report of the meeting which was held on Sunday, Dec. 22nd, in the Walker theatre:—

**RED LETTER DAY IN HISTORY
OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT**

Monster Mass Meeting Cheers the Russian Revolution

When the curtain at the Walker Theatre rolled up at 2.30 Sunday afternoon, December 22nd, Alderman John Queen, Chairman, faced a capacity house. He explained that the meeting had been called by the Trades and Labor Council and the Socialist Party of Canada as a protest against three things: (1)—Government by Orders-in-Council; (2)—The continued imprisonment of political prisoners; and (3)—The sending of further military forces to Russia and demanding the immediate withdrawal of Allied forces already there.

In commenting on the autocracies fastened on the Canadian people during the war, the Chairman impressed upon those assembled that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom and that the Orders-in-Council now on our Statutes will remain there unless we show in no unmistakable terms that the working class will not tolerate them. (Loud applause.) It was said at the time they were passed, that, since Canada was at war, they were necessary—today the armistice has been signed, hence the alleged reason for these measures has vanished. The people generally are beginning to feel them irksome,

and in different parts of the country protest meetings similar to this are being held, and the Government is being constantly urged to restore to the people the freedom they used to have. (Cheers).

Comrade "Bill" Hoop started the fireworks by moving the following resolution:

Orders-in-Council Resolution

"Whereas, we, in Canada, have the form of Representative Government; and, whereas, Government by Order-in-Council takes away the prerogative of the people's representatives, and is a distinct violation of the principles of democracy, therefore, we, citizens of Winnipeg, in mass meeting assembled, protest against Government by Order-in-Council, and demand the repeal of all such orders, and a return to a democratic form of Government."

"The Order-in-Council is a negation of all that we have fought for and obtained for centuries. We do not propose for one moment to sacrifice those liberties—not for one moment. It is true that we have had a world-wide war. It is true that the capitalist class of the world has fastened upon the rising democracies chains which bid fair to stay, and unless we rise to the occasion and break them, the Labor movement throughout the world will forever be in bondage. Today, in spite of the world-wide suffering, we have a glimpse of a world just a little beyond which looks beautiful to the intelligent element belonging to the Labor movement, and the hope and glory is stimulating us—very much to the fear of the capitalist class. Democracy begins with the pay envelope—if it doesn't begin there it doesn't begin anywhere, and the Trade Union movement generally has organized its forces so that if democracy means anything, the capitalist class has to loosen up if they are going to save their own pockets. The Order-in-Council is the sum total and reflex of the doctrine of property—property is the corner-stone of all capitalistic constitution. There can be no salvation for the common people until they know the nature of property and with that intelligence seek to abolish it." Mr. Hoop recalled how King Charles the First lost his head in attempting to use Orders-in-Council against the liberties of the British constitution, and maintained that so long as there is a capitalist class, from time to time there would be repetitions of the attempt to use this form of Government. The speaker ridiculed the present Govern-

ment in their attempt to take away the "right to strike," and heavily scored them for lack of preparation for the period of reconstruction, and advised the soldier boys in the audience to go back and demand another six months' pay as soon as the first is exhausted.

In seconding this resolution, Mr. George Armstrong pointed out that the S. P. of C. are sometimes erroneously accused of being enemies of authority, while in reality, although they may be enemies of this or that particular authority, this is no proof that they are enemies of authority, but merely proof that authority has passed from that position where it derives its power from the Government of the nation to where it maintains itself by physical force. He commented on the established rights of minorities under the British Constitution, which is referred to by the whole world, and drew attention to the fact that when inequalities develop, the rights of the privileged small minorities get first consideration at the expense of the vast majorities—the workers and other minorities are ignored. A striking comparison was drawn between Labor conditions in England after the Black Plague swept the country and present-day conditions, and the speaker caused a ripple of merriment by asking if the Governments here and in Washington had interceded because they feared Labor would set its price too low?

The entrance of Mr. Charitinoff, the Russian editor, whose case is now before the Courts on the charge of having prohibited literature in his possession, was loudly applauded. He, however, made no statement about his sojourn behind the bars.

Rev. W. Ivens then introduced the following resolution:
Liberation of Political Prisoners

"Whereas, since the outbreak of the recent European war, certain men have been imprisoned for offences purely political; whereas, any justification that there may have been for their imprisonment vanished when the armistice was signed; therefore, be it resolved, that this mass meeting of the citizens of Winnipeg urges the Government to liberate all political prisoners; and be it further resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Acting Premier and the Minister of Justice."

In moving the above resolution the Rev. W. Ivens said that human nature was inherently restless. Men who were full-blooded always had, and always must, protest.

Progress was impossible without protest. Therefore the men who refused to accept the dictation of the powers that be in the various nations were not necessarily criminals. Quite often posterity recognized in such men the saviours of the race. He was not, therefore, asking for the release of criminals, but for the release of crimeless criminals.

The first duty of the state, as of the individual, was self-protection. Then the government had said that their enemies must be punished. Christianity, in opposition, said "Forgive." But we had forgotten the principles of Christianity.

Who are the enemies of the State? he asked. The answer came back—alien enemies. Germans were enemies, and must be interned. President Wilson had drawn a distinction between the German people and the German Government. The people had fought against and overthrown the enemy we were fighting against, namely the autocracy. Therefore, by their own admission, since the German political prisoners we have are of the people who have overthrown despotism, they are our allies today and should be given their liberty.

Speaking of the Austrian alien enemies, he drew attention to the fact that they, too, had dethroned the autocracy we fought, and were by that fact virtually our allies. But, in addition, Austria was composed of Czecho-Slovaks—a nation we were actually assisting in their attack on the Bolsheviki, therefore it was insane to intern longer these people here. Among the Austrians there were also Roumanians. These, too, were our allies. Bohemians were there, too, and we were in sympathy with their aspirations. In the case of the Poles, the facts were the same. Hence, the day for their release was here.

Another class of political prisoners was the citizen enemy. If these were traitors outright, they were shot, not imprisoned. The Order-in-Council made it a crime to belong to certain organizations. Bainbridge was a criminal under this order. But some were fined a few dollars and some thousands, while others were imprisoned for five years, and still others were dismissed for this crime. This proved that these men were, at worst, crimeless criminals and should now be released.

The Government also imprisoned men for circulating literature, and for having it in possession, and for speaking in contravention to the Orders-in-Council. He instanc-

ed men who had given magnificent service to their various nations who had served sentences under these various charges. Milton had demanded freedom to THINK, to have convictions, and to EXPRESS those convictions above all other liberties. The Star Chamber that oppressed had gone, but freedom lived on. So, too, would go the Canadian Government, that, in the name of liberty, oppressed men and women with convictions.

Men conscientiously objected to war on religious and socialistic grounds. The question at issue was whether the voice of the nation was the supreme voice for the individual, or whether there was an authority higher than the State. Mr. Ivens took the ground that conscience and the Divine command was the higher authority. Yet men were imprisoned for being true to their highest convictions, not for being criminals. Either the system that made the oppression of men with ideals and convictions possible must go, or liberty must go. This was the time to make the choice, and he would stand with conviction and conscience, no matter what the cost. The political prisoners had made the same choice, therefore he demanded their immediate release.

In seconding this resolution, F. J. Dixon stated that he did not believe that a man who follows the dictates of his conscience is necessarily a criminal, and men who were willing to suffer the tortures of the penitentiary rather than be false to their convictions cannot be bad citizens. The greatest danger to this, or any other country, are those unscrupulous men who stifle the voice of their own conscience while they suck the life-blood of the nation. The men whose liberation we seek were sent to jail because the powers that be thought in some mysterious way they were giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Personally, continued the speaker, I think those responsible for the Ross rifle, defective shells, shoddy clothes, paper boots, and the whole black record of profiteering and graft gave ten thousand times more aid and comfort to the enemy than all the Socialists and conscientious objectors put together, but the malefactors of great wealth are not sent to jail. The Rosses, Allison, Flavells, and the shareholders in the Crescent Creamery still have a place in the sun. (Loud applause). Mr. Dixon scored the Union Government for rank discrimination, exempting some men on the ground of conscientious scruples while sending others to jail. The speaker con-

cluded with a strong appeal for concerted effort to free political prisoners, not only for their own sakes, but for the freedom of the general public, also that the nation may not gain the reputation of rewarding its hypocritical knaves with titles and its honest men with shackles.

Withdrawing Allied Troops from Siberia

R. B. Russell moved the following resolution:—

“We, citizens of Winnipeg, in mass meeting assembled, hereby protest against the sending of further military forces to Russia, and demand that the allied troops already there be withdrawn, thus allowing Russia to work out her own political freedom without outside intervention.”

Mr. Russell concurred with the Chairman's assertion that this was the most important resolution confronting the audience. Britain stated that she entered the war on account of the invasion of Belgium, yet four years later we find her invading Russia, the country that sacrificed five million lives in the Allied cause. When the Allied troops first went to Russia, the plea was made that they were to re-establish the Eastern front against Germany, but this plea will no longer be heard as a reason for the retention of Allied troops in Russia, but there is good ground for suspicion that there is a concerted attempt to overthrow the Proletarian Republic of Russia. There is a wide divergence, Mr. Russell asserted, between the press reports of conditions in Russia and the opinions expressed by travellers returning from that country. For example, Mr. Raymond Robbins, one of the last of the Allied representatives to leave Russia, according to an interview published in the Butte Bulletin, asserts that Lenine is the greatest man in the world, and Trotzky a close second; also that the Soviet Government has the support of the majority of the Russian people, and is doing as well as can be expected under the circumstances. Mr. Robbins complains that on his return from Russia, he attempted to interview President Wilson to lay the facts of the Russian situation before him, but was put off on one pretext or another until after Allied troops had landed on Russian soil. Mr. Robbins claims that he has absolute proof that the Bolsheviki are not, nor have ever been, financed by German gold, and it is his intention to publish a book in the near future setting forth the Russian situation as he knows it. The speaker drew a round of applause when he pointed out that even in Can-

ada, whenever the workers took a stand for their rights, they were immediately accused of accepting German gold, whereas the main trouble with the workers is that they don't get gold of any kind. Capital is international, continued Mr. Russell, and it looks very much as though troops were being sent to Russia to protect the investments of capitalists in Allied countries, and prophesied that capitalism must eventually disappear, just as the feudal system had disappeared to give place to capitalism.

In seconding this resolution, Mr. S. Blumenberg said that the Russian question is an international one, affecting the workers of the whole world, as this is absolutely the first instance of a proletarian dictatorship. Ninetenths of the people accept the newspaper portrait of a Bolshevik as a man who never had a shave nor a haircut in his life, with a knife in his mouth, a torch in one hand and a bomb in the other, and Bolshevism is considered as something similar to "Flu" or "black itch." A certain business man, a member of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, said we are going to see that the newspapers handle Bolshevism without kid gloves—they are doing it, not only without kid gloves, but without brains. (Laughter). The speaker reminded the audience of the "turnabout face" of the Free Press in regard to Karl Liebknecht. A short time ago they were painting him as a hero, now, since they can't make people believe he is a criminal, they are trying to paint him as a fanatic. (Prolonged laughter).

Mr. Blumenberg referred to the resolution recently introduced in the Senate by Senator Johnson, of California, asking if it were true that the Soviet Government sought the help of the American Government to prevent the ratification of the shameful treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and that the American Government had not replied to this offer, and from this he developed the idea that the Allies had gone back on Russia, and not the Bolsheviks on the Allies, as commonly contended.

Mr. Blumenberg explained how some Socialists in Moscow, in 1903, had got control of the convention, and since then they had been known as Majority Socialists or Bolsheviks. An interesting picture was drawn between the six-hour day and the \$12 per day wage now being paid to the so-called ignorant Bolsheviks and the condition of the working class elsewhere. The present distrust of the Bolsheviks by the capitalist class, maintained the speaker,

is that they fear the workers here will become enlightened enough to follow the example of the brother workers in Russia. Mr. Blumenberg made a dramatic close by calling upon the class-conscious workers of Canada to send greetings to the Russian Soviet Republic and to wish them success.

Chairman Queen then called for three cheers for the Russian Revolution. The meeting ended with deafening cries of "Long live the Russian Soviet Republic! Long live Karl Liebknecht! Long live the working class!" The meeting ordered that, if possible, the message of congratulation be cabled to the Bolsheviki.

Section 2.

THE MEETING IN THE MAJESTIC THEATRE, JANUARY 10th, 1919.

This meeting was called by the Socialist Party of Canada. It was one of a series planned for educational purposes. Russell, Johns, and Armstrong were the speakers.

The addresses were such as would be made by Socialists anywhere for propaganda.

Socialist Party Holds Mass Meeting in Majestic Theatre

The following is the report of the Majestic Theatre meeting held by the Socialist Party of Canada, as reported in the Western Labor News, January 24th, 1919:—

On Sunday last, at 2.30 p.m., after the failure of the Walker Theatre meeting to materialize, the Socialist Party of Canada held a meeting in the Majestic Theatre, under its own auspices. Comrade Breeze occupied the chair.

George Armstrong was the first speaker. He dealt with the nature of wealth in present-day society. He said:—

"During the four years of war, the wealth of Canada had increased from eight and a half billions to nineteen and a half billions, in spite of it being the most destructive period in the world's history. What better scheme had our ruling class for the future to increase the nation's wealth than that just past?

"All the plans for reconstruction brought forward by capitalist or semi-capitalist parties must be based on a property relationship, hence all their suggestions must contain certain material for the protection and stimulus of property.

"With this knowledge, we will, for a few moments, examine the nature of it. In the early history of Can-

ade and the U.S.A., farm lands, forests, etc., was about all the property existent. Why? Their superior qualities consisted in their being more responsive to the efforts of Labor than the poorer, this being the basis of all value contained in them. In plain words, on these resources the wage laborer could produce a surplus over the necessities of life.

"As time passed, much improvement in machinery and method took place, bringing more land, forests, and also mineral deposits into the realm of property. The increase of wealth being enormous, wage slaves became more plentiful, and poverty presented itself in our large cities. The greater the wealth in capitalist society the larger is the percentage of its population in absolute poverty, and it could not be otherwise, as the wealth of this society is but the expression, or estimate, of the surplus value wrung from the hides of the workers; also the worker must be kept in poverty and increased numerically as a guarantee to the security and expansion of the property of this society.

"Now, fellow workers, we ask you to take these facts into consideration when any scheme of reconstruction is presented to you. Your interest as workers is in opposition to all forms of property, we ask you to support only such schemes as will abolish all exploitation of the working class, which means the destruction of all property rights in the wealth of society."

Comrade Johns was the next speaker.

He dealt with the reconstruction policy of the Manufacturers' Association. He quoted from their official publication, and analyzed them from the workers point of view. He appealed to the workers to get hold of all the working class literature, for, in the rapid changes of today, bloodshed could be avoided only by an educated working class.

R. B. Russell speaks.

Comrade Russell said that the question of reconstruction was being so much talked about that he was afraid if we were not careful it would be included as part of our standard of living. In fact it was being fed to us from day to day by every paper and magazine; and it was even suggested that a new edition of the Bible be issued to deal with this question of reconstruction. (Laughter).

He then proceeded to analyze the reconstruction programme of the Winnipeg Labor Party, stating that all he

could see in their programme was an attempt to cover every possible freak thought that existed, and thereby increase the membership of their party numerically. He then proceeded to show that the Dominion Labor Party, or any other party that attempted to reconstruct the capitalist system was doomed to failure. Let us look around and see what is taking place in Winnipeg. Just before the war started, we can remember the army of 15,000 unemployed who marched to the Parliament buildings on Kennedy Street, and, today, after four and a half years of war, wherein the development of machinery had been so great that with thirty million men actively engaged in war, and two-thirds of the remaining population engaged in the production of munitions, one-third of the workers was sufficient to produce all the food, clothing and shelter, to keep the entire world.

This they had done, and this did not take into consideration the foodstuffs that had been sunk by submarines. What chance, he asked, was there for the capitalist system to function when we take these facts into consideration.

In Great Britain it is estimated that ten million men and women were directly engaged in war work, either as fighters or as munition workers, and, today, with less than one million demobilized, the Government's insurance departments are carrying 276,000 on their pay rolls. Think of it, with other nine millions still to demobilize.

The speaker then attacked the attempts of the Canadian Reconstruction Association, who had opened offices in Winnipeg to distribute literature to try to bring harmony between capital and labor, and, in their pamphlets, outlined the plans of J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., as idealistic.

The speaker then referred to the brutal murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourgn, and said the capitalist press openly welcomed such news.

Referring to the attempts to suppress the activities of the workers in the U. S. A., where they were passing laws prohibiting men from wearing red neckties or carrying red flags, the speaker said that although we did not place much significance on the symbol or its expression, yet the fact remained that whenever the capitalist class attempted to suppress in one corner of the globe, such as the U. S. A., we have the reports now coming through that in Australia the effects of the suppression of the symbol in the U. S. A. had created a desire in the land

of the Kangaroo for its use, and today the red flag flies over their labor temples.

In closing he appealed to the workers to be up and doing and forget reconstruction bogies. What we wanted was a new system wherein the working class, which is the only useful class, would have control.

Blumenberg Last Speaker

Blumenberg opened with an attack on a Winnipeg "Daily," respecting the mass meeting held in the Walker Theatre, which, said Sam, had refused to disclose his nationality. Laughter followed his statement that such a question was entirely unnecessary since the map of Palestine was written on his face, and on his nose was the mount of Zion.

He spoke of the capitalist boast of winning the war, and maintained that they had not fought, but had made profits out of soldier's dependents. Reconstruction policies next came in for review, and he suggested that it would be well for us to know the "reconstruction gang," and questioned their fitness to reconstruct anything beneficial to the workers.

He then remarked that he would not state what he thought of the Canadian Government for fear of being landed in jail, but he proceeded to read an editorial from the Winnipeg Tribune, wherein it characterized the politicians of Canada as tricksters and pirates.

Dealing with the question of reconstruction, the speaker then stated that when you reconstruct a building you do not do it on an old foundation, as, if you did, the plaster would crack and the shingles fall off, and you would find yourself in the same position you were in before. They tell you that we are going to have prosperity, but let me tell you that capitalist prosperity means poverty for the working class.

He showed that in the United States, in the year 1917—the most prosperous year in its history—poverty had increased eight per cent. In conclusion he called upon the returned soldiers, farmers, and workers, to unite and overthrow the capitalist system.

At this meeting it was announced that another meeting would take place the following Sunday, in the same place, to discuss the causes of the German Revolution. During the week the management of the theatre were warned that this meeting, if held, would be broken up by returned sol-

diers. In order to avoid trouble, the Socialist Party immediately cancelled the meeting. It was later discovered that one of the members of the party had, on his own responsibility, announced the meeting for the following Sunday to take place on Market Square.

When the Sunday arrived some 2,000 returned soldiers arrived on the Market Square and started a demonstration. This was followed by the raiding of the Socialist Party headquarters, and developed into two days of rioting and demonstrations against foreigners, and ended by the soldiers marching in a body to various industrial establishments, demanding that Alien employees be dismissed and returned soldiers be employed in their places.

Very little need be said concerning the Labor Church.

It was organized July, 1918, by the Rev. W. Ivens, who was up to that time pastor of a Methodist Church in the city.

He had taken a Pacifist position throughout the war, and was compelled to vacate that particular church on that account. He then started a church for the workers in the Labor Temple.

The platform was open. Subjects pertaining to the fundamental problems of the day were discussed. This, naturally, placed emphasis on both international and economic questions, and brought the church under suspicion of the Government.

From the first it has been a popular movement with the workers, and they have now ten branches in Winnipeg, alone. Other cities are also forming similar organizations.

It stands entirely on its own feet. It has no connection with any other organization. But, being composed of workers, it is keenly alive to their interests.

During the strike it was held in the open air and was attended on Sunday nights by tens of thousands. All its finances were given to the strike funds.

Section 4

THE CALGARY CONVENTION

The Western Convention met in Calgary in March, 1919. It was not a hastily called affair, nor was it the work of a few hot-heads. It was the culmination of a long line of suggestions growing out of deep and long continued discontent of the Western workers. This discontent was largely caused by the fact that the Canadian Convention was always held in the East. Each local had to pay the travel-

ling expenses of its delegates and the vast distances the Western delegates had to travel under this arrangement, deprived them of their proper representation. Many attempts were made to have the convention held at a more central point, but without success.

No better case of this unfairness and the grounds whereon it rested can be found than the conduct of the Trades Congress which met in Quebec in October, 1918.

This Congress defeated all the resolutions sent from the West, with two exceptions. Furthermore, the East succeeded, for the most part, in defeating the candidates for office who were favored by the West, and elected those to whom the West was bitterly opposed.

The result was strong protest which resulted in a series of meetings of the Western delegates while at Congress; the appointment of a provisional executive for the calling of a Western Convention, and suggestions as to date and place of meeting for same.

On the return of the Western Delegates, the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council endorsed the stand of its representatives at the Congress, and the executive of the Council on January 10th, 1919, made the following recommendations re Western Conference:—

Western Conference

In the matter of a special Western Convention the following action was taken:—

The importance of making the coming Inter-Provincial Convention an expression of Labor in the West cannot be over emphasized.

To accomplish this end at least two things are necessary:

1. The necessity for every organization to be represented if possible.

2. A policy to be well thought out and discussed before being adopted by the Council to be sent to the Convention.

We recommend that a committee be appointed to wait upon the unions that have not expressed approval of the Conference, to stimulate their enthusiasm and to get the closest co-operation. A committee of three together with the executive (incoming) to draft a policy to lay before the Council, and the affiliated organizations for approval.

Organizations to be asked to send suggestion along this line to the Council Secretary so that they may receive due consideration.

Respectfully submitted,

E. ROBINSON, Secretary.

Official Call for Calgary Convention

Early in February the following official "call" was sent out from V. R. Midgely, of Vancouver:—

Call for Western Conference

A letter from V. R. Midgley was read calling the Western Labor Conference to meet at Calgary on Tuesday, March 13th, at 10 a.m. Del. Russell supported the Conference, especially in view of the present unrest. He moved that a committee be struck to visit every local to get delegates appointed.

Call for Convention

"To all Labor Organizations in the West: Greeting.

"The Western Inter-Provincial Convention will convene in the Labor Temple, Calgary, Alta., on Thursday, March 13th, 1919, at 10 a.m.

"Last November a circular letter was sent out from this office advising the membership throughout the four Western Provinces that arrangements were being made for a Western Conference. The arrangements necessary for a successful Convention have been completed, and every organization should make an effort to be represented by at least one delegate.

Representation

"Representation at the Conference will be based as follows:—One delegate for one hundred members or less and one additional delegate for each additional hundred members or major fraction thereof. Central Labor Councils will be entitled to two delegates each.

"The election of delegates to the Western Conference does not entail the payment of any per capita tax.

"Write the delegates' credentials on the letterhead of your organization and send them to this office, room 210 Labor Temple, Vancouver, B.C., or the delegates can present them to the Secretary of the Conference at Calgary."

Del. Logan moved that the council appoint its full quota of delegates at the next meeting. Del. Flye moved in amendment that the delegates be now appointed. The motion carried.

Council Appoints and Instructs Delegates.

The Trades Council, on February 11th, appointed R. J. Johns and R. B. Russell as its two representatives to this Convention.

At a meeting held on February 18th it was suggested that special meetings should be held to discuss a programme for the Western Convention. It was further suggested that the delegates to the Conference from all unions should meet for discussion as soon as possible.

On March 7th the delegates met as suggested. Then, on Sunday, March 9th, a special meeting of the Trades Council was called to decide the policy of its delegates at the Convention.

The following resolutions were adopted:—

Calls for "Industrial Unionism," "Thirty-Hour Week";
Opposes "Industrial Commissions" and
"Liquor Traffic"

The special meeting of the Trades and Labor Council, held on Sunday evening, March 9th, to discuss matters pertaining to the Western Convention, was a "hum dinger." Every seat was filled, and every person was keen. Everything suggests that this Convention will be a land-mark in the history of Canadian Labor.

Industrial Unionism

The first resolution was on industrial unionism:—

Whereas the capitalist class of this country has in the past used every means at its disposal to defeat the workers in their attempt to ameliorate the conditions under which they live; and

Whereas, to successfully conduct a strike, all crafts in an industry must act together; and

Whereas, the present craft union organization which makes it necessary for each craft to secure sanction from its international tends to defeat this object;

Therefore be it resolved that a referendum vote be taken of all affiliated crafts on the following questions:—

"Are you in favor of scientifically reorganizing the workers of Canada upon the basis of industrial organization instead of craft unionism?"

Carried unanimously.

Industrial Committee

In order to more effectively work out the plan of the sympathetic strike in Western Canada, the matter of the appointment of a Central Industrial Committee was introduced. Following is the resolution adopted:—

We recommend; "the appointment of a Central Industrial Committee to function in any dispute that may take place in the West, with a view to united action, and

that representatives be elected according to industries."

Delegates Lovatt, Durwood, Johns, Anderson, Flye, Higley, Hammond, Barlow, and Robinson spoke to this resolution. Carried.

30-Hour Week

The shorter work day again was to the fore. The immediate cure for unemployment is shorter hours even though profits are thereby reduced. The following resolution was passed:

"Whereas the cessation of hostilities has, because of the demobilization of troops and the shutting down of munition factories, caused a state of chaos in the labor market through unemployment; and

"Whereas no provision has been made for such a crisis;

"Therefore, be it resolved, that the Western Convention at Calgary take cognizance of such an emergency and immediately take steps to promulgate a six-hour day, and a five-day week for all labor in this Dominion, so as to assist in absorbing the surplus labor and safeguard against unemployment."

Because of the importance attached by the Crown to the resolutions passed by that Convention, we append the report of these delegates, back to the Council, in full.

Delegates Johns and Russell Report Western Convention

Before starting our report as delegates to the Western Conference, it has come to our notice since arriving in the city last night, that the local press have been attempting to raise a propaganda to disrupt the work accomplished at the Western Conference by unanimous voice; and for the information of the delegates attending here tonight, let us say, that the reports of the Convention in the Calgary papers were exactly what transpired and are fairly accurate and were sent to all newspapers in Canada by the Associated Press (as they appeared in the Calgary papers) and yet, on arriving here we find the Convention proceedings are all misconstrued. However, a verbatim report was taken and will be published shortly, which will clear away any room for doubt—but to proceed with our report:—

At 10 a.m. on Thursday, March 13th, R. J. Tallon, President of the Railway Shopmen Organization (known as Division No. 4) called the Western Conference to order. In his opening remarks he reminded the delegates that, while the Conference was brought about by the

differences in the viewpoints of the workers in the East from those in the West, that the Eastern movement was rapidly waking up—and he trusted the Conference would result in a definite policy being laid down for Labor.

He then called upon David Rees, Vice-President of the Dominion Trades Congress, to take the gavel and open the Convention. Bro. Rees, in his opening remarks, stated that he was pleased to act as temporary chairman, pointing out that the Conference had not been called for the self-aggrandizement of any individual, but in the interests of Labor—he referred to the work the committee had done since the Quebec Convention, to bring about this meeting, and hoped the Conference would at least be as good as the one just finished by the B. C. Federation.

The Credential Committee then reported and recommended the seating of 237 delegates, made up as follows: B. C., 85; Alberta, 89, Saskatchewan, 17; Manitoba, 45; after which a committee on resolutions was appointed, with J. Kavanagh, of Vancouver, as chairman; and also a committee on ways and means, with Bro. Miller, of Winnipeg, as Chairman, after which the resolutions in the hands of the Secretary were read and handed over to the Resolutions Committee.

On reconvening Thursday afternoon, Bro. Tallon was elected Chairman of the Convention (by unanimous vote) after which the Resolutions Committee reported they were prepared to give their first report.

At this time it was decided to wire to Fernie, B.C., for a stenographer—it being impossible to secure one in Calgary, everyone being so busy they could not undertake the work.

Chairman Kavanagh, of the Resolutions Committee, then stated that the committee desired to offer a resolution as to the general policy of the Conference, so that the delegates would be able to deal intelligently with the matters that were brought before them. The resolution was as follows:—

“Realizing that the aims and objects of the Labor movement should be the improving of the Social and Economic conditions of Society and the Working Class in particular; and

Whereas, the present system of production for profit and the institutions resulting therefrom prevent this being achieved;

Be it therefore resolved, that the aims of Labor as represented by this Convention are the abolition of the present system of production for profit and the substitution therefor of production for use, and that a system of propaganda to this end be carried out."

A lengthy discussion followed the presentment of this resolution, and on the vote taken the resolution carried without a dissenting voice, amid prolonged cheers.

The Resolutions Committee then presented the following resolution, as a substitute for the many resolutions presented on Industrial Organization:—

"Resolved, that this Convention recommend to Organized Labor in this Dominion, the severance of the present affiliation with the International Organizations, and that steps be taken for an Industrial Organization of all workers; and that a circular letter, outlining the proposed plan of organization be sent out to the various organizations; and that a referendum on the question be taken at the same time; the votes east of Port Arthur to be compiled separately from those of the West."

This resolution caused considerable debate, but in the main it centered around the question of what form of organization it would be, and seemed to draw out ideas as to the details of the form of organization, in order to provide for a further discussion of the details of the organization. A Policy Committee of representatives of the five provinces was appointed, with Bro. Johns representing Manitoba. After a lengthy discussion, the resolution was finally passed without a dissenting vote, amid ringing cheers from the entire Convention.

The debate on the above resolution will be found in the Labor News, next issue, provision having been made for same.

During the debate on the above resolution, Vice-President Rees, of the Trades Congress, took the floor—stating he was not going to speak on the resolution, but was rising to a point of privilege, and then proceeded to state that there might be a number of Police Spotters and Secret Service men in their midst; and that one man, William Gosden, alias Smith, alias Brown, well known in Calgary Labor circles, as an "Enemy" was in the Balcony of the hall. Every head turned in the direction of Mr. Rees' fingers as he pointed to the figure of a man who sat in the balcony of the hall.

"That man," Mr. Rees stated, "was well known to Labor men as Smith. He went to Fernie, B.C., and tried to make strife there. Some time later he made a visit to Hillcrest. Thinking it would be better for his plans, he changed his name to Brown, and succeeded in getting in on the Miners' Committee, and secured credentials to come to this Convention as a Miners' delegate. On the night he was to have left Hillcrest, he was put under arrest by the police, and the Miners, thinking it was an innocent Labor man that was being put under arrest, stoned the policeman who made the arrest."

A Vancouver delegate stated Gosden came to Vancouver at the time of the Island strike and tried to create sabotage.

Another delegate suggested that Gosden be hailed into the front of the hall so all and sundry could get a look at him. The suggestion was greeted with shouts of laughter.

Friday morning session brought forth the report of the Policy Committee, as follows:—

1. We recommend the name of the proposed organization be "The One Big Union."

2. We recommend the Conference elect a committee of five, irrespective of geographical location, for the purpose of carrying out the necessary propaganda to make the referendum a success.

3. We further recommend that delegates from each province meet and elect a committee of five to work in conjunction with the Central Committee in carrying on the necessary propaganda to accomplish the wishes of the Convention.

4. We recommend the drafting and issuing of the referendum be left to the "Central Committee," also receiving and publishing returns of the vote.

5. In the opinion of the committee it will be necessary in establishing an industrial form of organization to work through the existing Trades Councils and District Boards, and no definite plan of organization be submitted until after the referendum has been taken.

6. The committee further recommend that after the return of the vote is received the Central Committee call a Conference of Representatives of Trades Councils and District Boards to perfect the plans of organization; basis of referendum of affiliated membership of 5,000 or less to be one delegate; over 5,000, two delegates; over 10,000, three delegates.

7. We recommend that an appeal be made to the Trades Councils and District Boards for the payment of two cents per member affiliated to finance the educational campaign for the inauguration of "The One Big Union."

The seven resolutions covering policy were taken up separately, and after a lengthy discussion on each, were passed without a negative vote.

At this time a Telegram was received from the Seamen's Union of America, complimenting the Western Conference in sounding the death-knell of Gomperism, which was handed to the Resolutions Committee to deal with.

Free Press, Free Speech, Political Prisoners

The Resolutions Committee then reported on a number of resolutions, the most important of which were demand Free Speech, lifting of the Ban from Literature, and the Release of Political Prisoners and the delegates were demanding that a General Strike vote be taken on the question; and after a lengthy discussion, wherein it was pointed out that the resolution calling for the six-hour day, five days per week, for a general strike to go into effect on June 1st, if same was not granted—and it was decided to couple the whole lot of resolutions together, and if not granted, let us call the general strike at the one time.

After a further discussion, it was decided to send a wire to Ottawa, demanding the immediate release of all Political Prisoners, and the repeal of Orders-in-Council, restraining the liberties of the workers—and demanding a reply before the Convention adjourned.

Endorse Self-Determination

The next two resolutions read, were passed without a dissenting vote, and were as follows:

Whereas, holding the belief in the ultimate supremacy of the Working Class in matters economic and political, and that the light of modern developments have proved that the legitimate aspirations of the Labor movement are repeatedly obstructed by the existing political forms, clearly show the capitalistic nature of the parliamentary machinery, this Convention expresses its open conviction that the system of Industrial Soviet Control by selecting of representatives from industries is more efficient and of greater political value than the present form of Government;

Be it resolved, that this Conference places itself on record as being in full accord and sympathy with the aims and purposes of the Russian Bolshevik and German Spartacan Revolutions, and, be it further resolved, that we demand immediate withdrawal of all Allied troops from Russia; and further, that this Conference is in favor of a general strike on June 1st should the Allies persist in their attempt to withdraw the Soviet administration in Russia or Germany, and that a system of propaganda be carried out and that a referendum vote be taken.

Another recommendation of the committee which was unanimously adopted and without debate read:—

Proletariat Dictatorship

That this Convention declares its full acceptance of the principle of "Proletariat Dictatorship" as being absolute and efficient for the transformation of capitalistic private property to communal wealth, and that fraternal greetings be sent to the Russian Soviet Government, the Spartacans in Germany, and all definite working class movements in Europe and the world, recognizing they have won first place in the history of the class struggle.

Yet another resolution, on which there was no discussion, and which was adopted, read:—

That the interests of all members of the working class being identical, that this body of workers recognize no alien but the capitalist; also that we are opposed to any wholesale immigration of workers from various parts of the world and who would be brought here at the request of the ruling class.

Six-Hour Day Resolution

The resolution that was adopted at the Convention of the British Columbia Federation of Labor, demanding a six-hour day; five days a week, to come into effect on June 1st, this year, was adopted by the Congress with acclamation.

The following resolution was then taken up, which changes the attitude of Labor towards Legislation:—

Whereas, great and drastic changes have taken place in the industrial world; and

Whereas, in the past the policy of the organized workers of this country in sending their Provincial and Dominion Executives to the Legislative Assemblies pleading for the passage of legislation which is rarely passed, and which would be futile if it were, is now obsolete;

Therefore be it resolved, that this Conference of Western workers lay down as its policy the building up of an organization of workers on industrial lines for the purpose of enforcing, by virtue of their industrial strength, such demands as such organizations may at any time consider necessary for their continued maintenance and well-being, and shall not be, as here-to-fore, sending Executive officers to plead before Legislatures for the passing of legal palliatives which do not palliate.

After a lengthy discussion, wherein it was shown that the time had come for Labor to take a definite position—the resolution was carried unanimously.

The election of the Central Committee to carry on the propaganda necessary for the establishing of the One Big Union was then taken, and after an interesting election, the following were declared elected:—

Pritchard, of Vancouver.
Johns, of Winnipeg.
Knight, of Edmonton.
Midgeley, of Vancouver.
Naylor, of Cumberland, B.C.

The meeting then adjourned to allow the provinces to elect five men from each to carry out the propaganda, and the following were elected to represent Manitoba:—

Russell, Winnipeg.
Lovatt, Winnipeg.
Scoble, Winnipeg.
Roberts, Winnipeg.
Baker, Brandon.

After which a number of resolutions, calling for the formation; also Joint Councils of Soldiers and Labor were carried; also resolution condemning Gompers and Draper, for refusing to participate in Labor Conference was passed and numerous others of less importance. The Convention was declared adjourned to allow the Central and Provincial Committees to get together and start their work.

In closing let us say that our reason for only reporting the most important features at this time was in view of the fact that we have made arrangements to have the proceedings of the Convention published verbatim in the B. C. Federationist and the Western Labor News and also in pamphlet form later.

Thanking the Council for the opportunity of being present at the most important Convention ever held in the North American Continent.

R. B. RUSSELL,
R. J. JOHNS.

The above report completely explodes the theory of any "Conspiracy."

It was a gathering of trades unionists, and was dominated by the spirit of working class solidarity.

Resolutions similar in spirit and content have been passed in every part of the empire, but it remains for the Canadian Government alone to use them as part of a seditious conspiracy.

Causes and Development of General Sympathetic Strike.

Was the Strike a Revolution?

The Crown alleges that the strike was an attempted revolution. We must, therefore, now describe the issues involved in the calling of the general sympathetic strike, on May 15th, 1919.

The two issues of the strike were:—

1. The recognition of the principle of collective bargaining.
2. A living wage.

After the general strike was called a third demand was added; namely, the reinstatement of all workers on strike.

The general strike did not take place until May 15th, after the metal workers and the building trades workers had been on strike for two weeks.

An Ordinary Strike at First, on May 1, 1919

It was in the month of February that the Building Trades Council got into negotiations with the Builders' Exchange upon a new schedule, based upon recognition of the Council as representative of the workers in the industry, and embodying a new scale of wages.

The only objection to the former was the recognition of the laborers. So far as the wages were concerned, representatives of the Builders' Exchange admitted the reasonableness of the claims to the men, but gave as the reason for their inability to grant the increase, that the bankers refused to do business upon the new basis.

A counter proposition was submitted by the employers seeking to divide one craft from another, which was refused by the men, and a deadlock ensued, as a result of which the men went on strike on May 1st.

We reproduce from the Western Labor News of May 2nd, the statement re the Building Trades' strike, as it affected, at that time some 1,400 workers:—

Wages only 18 per cent. higher than in 1914—cost of living up 80 per cent.—Bosses say demands of men reasonable and necessary to maintain standard of citizenship, but others must take responsibility for increase men demand.—Blanket increase of 20 cents an hour.

All workers, including the Building Trades' Council, went on strike on Thursday morning, May 1st, after holding in the convention hall of the Industrial Bureau, the greatest meeting in the history of the Building Trades Council. The vote was 1,199 for strike to 74 against.

A. E. Godsmark, Secretary of the Building Trades Association states that "the firms have reached the limit of their ability to pay with the proposal they had submitted to the men." The following figures do not bear out his contention. The fact is, that, while building expenses have increased 35 to 40 per cent. during the war, the wages of the men have increased on the average of all trades involved, only 18 per cent. An increase of only 18 per cent. in wages while the cost of living has increased 80 per cent., proves both the justice of the present demands of the men and their lack of responsibility for the added cost of building construction.

The average increase offered by the master builders is 15 1-3 per cent., while the men are determined on a flat increase of 20 cents per hour, or approximately 32 per cent. on present prices. This still leaves them considerably worse off than before the war. This is the reason the bosses themselves admit that the claims of the men are reasonable and justified. But, they say, other persons than the builders must bear the responsibility of increasing the cost of construction. The defence of the worker is that he is worthy of his hire and he must have a living wage.

Here is the schedule of wages now paid, the offer of the bosses, and the demands of the workers:

NAME	Present Rate	Rate Offered
Bricklayers and Masons .....	.80	.90
Painters and Decorators .....	.55	.65
Plasterers .....	.70	.80
Sheet Metal Workers .....	.58½	.68½
Structural Iron Workers .....	.75	.85

Asbestos Workers .....	.60	.70
Steamfitters .....	.70	.75
Plumbers .....	.65	.75
Mill Hands—Class A1 .....	.55	.65
Mill Hands—Class A2 .....	.50	.57½
Mill Hands—Class B2 .....	.47½	.55
Mill Hands—Class C3 .....	.40	.45
Stone Cutters .....	.75	.80
Stone Carvers .....	.87½	.92½
Planermen .....	.60	.70
Hoisting Engineers—A .....	.75	.85
Hoisting Engineers—B .....	.70	.80
Hoisting Engineers—C .....		.70
Firemen .....	.42½	.60
Carpenters .....	.60	.75

Strikers demanded an increase of 20 cents per hour on present rates of pay.

Master Builders Say Demands Are Reasonable. The Figures Speak for Themselves

And the master builders openly acknowledge the reasonableness of the demands.

The fight in this case, therefore, is not on because the men are unreasonable, but that the employers say that a further rise in wages will make building prohibitive.

Here is the crux of the whole thing, so far as they are concerned. The master builders say, your demands are reasonable, you cannot live on less than you demand, yet we cannot pay the increase. The reply of the worker was a perfectly natural one. He said, well, if I work I must have a living wage. I cannot live on less than a living wage. His only resource and his only alternatives were work and starve, or strike for a high enough wage to live. And now let us say once more, the bosses themselves agreed that his demands were reasonable.

Demands of Strikers Exceeded When Strike Smashed

It is a fact not generally known, that, when the strike was smashed, and, after the Government had railroaded the workers into jail and penitentiary, the employers actually agreed to pay wages in excess of the schedule demanded by the Building Trades Council. In the case of the plasterers, as an example, the demand was for an increase of 20 cents per hour, while the wages actually agreed upon was an increase of 30 cents per hour.

The Bankers and Financial Magnates Dictate

There has never been any misunderstanding on the part of Labor as to the real merits of the case, or as to the real source of the denial of a living wage to them. There has not been written a single line of vituperation concerning individual employers in the various building trades. There was no need for this. They were not the impossible ones, but the persons who were responsible for the refusal of a living wage were the men who control the finances of this city; bankers and brokers and the big interests.

These are the very same men who are directly responsible for the high cost of living. They controlled the markets—the workers did not have a say as to the increase in the cost of living. Their part was to pay the higher price as it was demanded at the store. The storekeeper charged higher prices because the wholesales charged higher. The wholesales raised the prices because they and the bankers, etc., were in absolute control. Full proof of this contention is supplied by the parliamentary committee that investigated the High Cost of Living.

Prices of Living Go Up, Up, Up!

Flour jumped in price over night. Bacon did the same. So did butter and eggs. So did shoes, and clothing and beef, and coal, etc. The only salvation for the workers was to ask more wages, and when this was denied his only way of enforcing a higher wage was through organization.

Then, when he presents his schedule, the boss says his demands are fair and reasonable, but he cannot pay the increase. This has been so with a vengeance for five years. The result is that the financial magnates have heaped up wealth as never before, while the struggle for the workers has steadily become harder and more impossible, till at last they have reached the point where it is impossible to live on the wages offered. Then when they ask for a further raise of pay they are told that the limit has been reached. That is why the crisis has been reached at this time. That is why Labor as a whole is standing behind the men.

Cost of Living as Submitted to Mathers' Industrial Commission.

We take a set of figures presented to the Mathers' Commission while in Winnipeg in May, 1919, on the amount that an average working family must spend to maintain life and decency. The figures are not exaggerations, nor are they the absolutely irreducible minimum, but they are

based on an actual statement as taken from the books of the person who presented same.

We were informed that the second column was the amount this family actually spent, and the first column is his deduction therefrom as to where some slight reductions could be made in his monthly budget.

**Cost of Living at Winnipeg, Monthly, During the Year 1918,
for a Family of Five, Including Three Children
of School Age**

	Minimum Healthful	Comfort Reasonable
Groceries	\$25.00	\$27.00
Meats	9.00	9.00
Bread	4.50	4.50
Milk	6.00	6.00
Fruit and vegetables	6.00	6.00
Total Food	\$50.00	\$52.50
Clothing for children	\$10.00	\$10.00
Clothing for husband	5.00	7.50
Clothing for wife	5.00	7.50
Total Clothing	\$20.00	\$25.00
Rent	\$25.00	\$35.00
Fuel	8.00	11.00
Water and Light	1.00	2.50
Total Shelter	\$34.00	\$48.50
Help and Laundry	\$ 9.00	\$ 9.00
Medical	5.00	11.50
Replacements	5.00	5.00
Gifts	2.00	4.00
Total Sundries	\$21.00	\$29.50
Recreation	\$ 2.00	\$ 6.50
Education	1.00	7.00
Car Fares and Lunches	3.00	9.50
Subscriptions, Telephones, Church, etc...	2.00	9.50
Health Insurance, Lodge Dues	3.00	8.00
Total Extras	\$11.00	\$40.50
Recapitulation		
Total Food	\$50.50	\$52.50
Total Clothing	20.00	25.00
Total Shelter	34.00	48.50

Total Sundries	21.00	29.50
Total Extras	11.00	40.50

Grand Total before providing for Life

Insurance	\$136.00	\$196.00
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Let anyone compare this budget with the schedules demanded by the building workers and it will be seen that they are not asking that their wages reach these figures. That is why their demands are said by the Master Builders to be reasonable.

Building Trades Council Makes Statement.

Once more we quote from the Western Labor News, issue of May 16. In that issue appeared an official statement from the Building Workers in part as follows:—

What does the future hold for the workers in the building industry? During the last four years they have been the victims of the great world war. Transformed from a country engaged only in the art of extermination. With practically no building going on these men have been forced to leave the country or compete with the laborer in an open market. The result is he has not been getting that standard of living a citizen of the community is entitled to. He has not been getting a living wage. The building trade worker is less fortunate than the worker in most other industries, due to the fact that his work is purely a seasonal occupation. There seems to be a mistaken idea abroad that the building trade mechanic is one of the most highly paid worker in industry. This is easily understood when all that is taken into consideration is the rate per hour the worker receives while working, no consideration is given to the actual time lost due to climatic conditions and other unforeseen circumstances that arise from time to time or the actual wages earned from year to year. A little investigation would show the average time worked by the average mechanic in a normal building season is between seven and eight months. At the present rate of wages this is totally inadequate to maintain an average family of five, self-supporting and in a normal state of health. After going very carefully into this very important matter, the workers decided that in order to maintain their families' self-supporting it would be necessary to make substantial wage demands upon their employers. This has been done. A committee of five representatives of the workers in the industry

met in negotiations a like committee from the Builders' Exchange, representing the employers.

Demands Reasonable

After stating our demands and setting forth our reasons why we thought they should be considered, we were met with the bold reply: "We know what you say is true, you are not earning what can be considered a living wage, but half a loaf is better than none, and if you persist in your demand for more wages, it will have the effect of stopping all building, so that there will be no work for anybody." This statement would seem on the surface to be a very logical statement, but we who have given this matter our careful consideration know how absurd it is, and we believe the public should know the truth. We have stated that the average time worked by the mechanic in the industry is between seven and eight months, this would be approximately 32 weeks, taking the average paid worker at 65c per hour, 44-hour week; this would mean that he would earn in the year \$915.20, a sum totally inadequate to meet living expenses, as we shall see. Going into the cost of living very minutely, we have arrived at the following conclusions: The average increase in the cost of living over pre-war prices (1913) as at Sept. 1918, is 68 per cent. Since Sept. 1918, up to last month it has increased another 7 per cent., which means that the cost of living since 1913 up to the present day has increased approximately 75 per cent. After making an extensive survey a cost of living budget has been drawn up and which can be verified at any time, showing that for a family of five it took \$1,503.21 (Winnipeg prices) to pay for living expenses for one year. This does not include a great many articles that the family should have had, but could not afford to get. This also shows that if it takes \$1,503.21 to maintain a family of five and the worker only earns \$915.20, he has gone in debt to the extent of \$588.01. It becomes necessary; then, in order to wipe out this deficit to get a hold of some other fellow's job, sometimes he is successful, other times he fails; so the struggle for existence continues. We believe that labor used in the construction of buildings is about the cheapest in the labor market today.

Wage Increase Only 18 Per Cent.

The average increase in wages received in this industry since pre-war days is about 18 per cent., and because the

trades doing the largest amount of work on the building have received the smallest increase, the net increase in the labor cost of a building has not exceeded 18 per cent. Assuming that the labor cost amounts to one-third of the total cost, a 15 per cent. increase in wages would amount to about five per cent. on the total cost of the building. Should the workers get this increase they have asked, which is about 33 per cent. on their present wages, the net increase on the building would amount to about 17½ per cent. over pre-war prices, we are prepared to accept responsibility to that extent and no more.

Compare this with, say, the increase in the price of wheat. Wheat sold in the pre-war days at about 96 cents a bushel. Today it is almost three times that amount, or an increase of 200 per cent. If the farmer gets this large increase, there can be no argument against an increase for the building trades in excess of 18 per cent.

To this official statement nothing need be added. It is self-evident that the building trades were compelled to strike to secure an increase.

It must not be forgotten, however, that during the whole time of the war, if any of these trades talked of a strike, it was thrown at them that they were purposely "retarding production" in order to aid the enemy, and reference was made to the "Foreigners" in their unions to back up the preposterous claim of the bosses and the press. When the war was over and they called a strike, it was a "Revolution," fomented by "Foreigners."

Smash Them, One by One!

When the workers refused an offer of the employers of half the increase asked, the employers came back with the threat that if their offer was refused they would refuse to recognize the Building Trades Council and would deal with the unions separately.

This meant, in essence, that they would smash them one at a time. As a matter of fact the council was afterwards ignored by the employers, and, faced with these facts, the building trades workers called upon the whole body of labor to come to their aid in their fight against the master builders, backed by the banking interests.

Metal Trades Workers Also on Strike

In addition to the strike of the building trades, there were other strikes in progress, and, among these were the metal trades workers.

For several years the metal trades workers have attempted to negotiate schedules with the employers, but have always been met by the same obstacle, viz., the obstinate refusal of the three big contractors: The Dominion Bridge, the Manitoba Bridge, and the Vulcan Iron Works, to recognize, in any way whatever, the men's organization.

In 1918 the Metal Trades Council was formed, which included all the employees in the metal contract shops in the city, and on the presentation of proposed schedules, based on recognition of this Council, the men were again met with a refusal.

The matter was brought to a head by a strike being called. The men received an advance in wages, but did not attain the recognition of the union.

Again, in 1919, the same proposition was submitted, but met with absolute refusal. After consultation with the Trades and Labor Council Executive, and after, upon their advice, submitting to the employers a much modified proposal which met with no better reception than the previous one, the men struck work on May 2nd.

Of the dispute in the metal trades, the Western Labor News, of June 27th, says:—

When we turn from the Building Trades Council dispute to the case of the other large factor in the strike, the denial of recognition of the unions and council of the metal trades workers, we have the same factors as before, and one new factor.

Here the demands are for increased wages, shorter hours and for the recognition of the right of labor to form its own effective organizations.

Their Wage Demands

That their wage demands are reasonable is demonstrated by the fact that they are asking that they be paid a wage similar to that paid on the railways for similar work under the McAdoo award.

Their argument in this regard is that a wage fixed and agreed upon by a commission in the U. S. and Canada for the metal trade work of the railway shops is a reasonable thing to ask. That the claim is well based is proven by the fact that it is now being paid in Winnipeg by the railways to the men who do similar work.

Their Demand for Reduced Hours

Their demand for a reduction of hours from ten to nine is in absolute agreement with the decisions reached by

all the Allied Governments at the Paris Peace table. These Governments have signed the treaty that includes the eight-hour day. In addition, there are thousands of schedules in other trades based on the eight-hour day. It is the standard for the railroads over the whole continent.

There is a demand in Britain for a six-hour day for miners, etc. And that demand found a response at the Western Conference in Calgary a short time ago. But the demands of the men did not include a six-hour day. They simply asked to be placed on a level with the millions of workers in other plants.

The employers refused point blank to even discuss an eight-hour day. They offered a nine-hour day to their respective shops, but would not in any way open up negotiations on the eight-hour basis.

Recognition of Unions

Their further demand is the recognition of their unions and its affiliation with the Trades and Labor Council.

Once more they are standing on the agreement reached at the Paris Peace Conference. The same principle is recognized by Britain and France, and the U. S. A. and the Canadian Governments. Nor is their recognition a mere matter of form, for when these Governments wish to confer with labor they approach in Canada the Dominion Trades Congress; in the U. S. A. the American Federation of Labor and in Britain the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Congress. Yet Mr. Deacon, speaking before the Mathers Commission, and his compatriots, Barrett and Warren, at various times and places, take the stand that labor has no right to organize, and they refuse to recognize any union they form.

The most they have been willing to do is to meet a committee of their men. This, provided they have no connection with the Trades Union Movement. Barrett and Deacon and Warren may meet and plan together, but this right is denied their employees. They can form their associations with the Winnipeg Board of Trade, with the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, etc., but Labor has no such right. And if it forms such unions, the members are dismissed at the first opportunity.

In the Robertson agreement, 1918, made with the Vancouver Shipyards, the Minister of Labor recognized, and initiated just such a council as the Winnipeg workers demanded.

Furthermore, the Minister of Labor—Senator Robertson—May, 1919, recognized the Building Trades Council at Ottawa, based on principles identical with those for which the workers of Winnipeg were demanding recognition.

Peace Table Terms Support Strikers

Lest some should feel that we do not state fairly the position when we say that certain things have been recognized by the Paris Peace Conference, we quote their **nine demands** which received the signatures of all the Governments concerned. Sir Robert Borden signed the agreement for Canada.

“The Commission on International Labor Legislation issued the full text of their report. It is proposed that the following nine clauses be inserted in the Peace Treaty as embodying the ideals of organized Labor throughout the world:—

“1. In right and in fact the labor of a human being should not be treated as merchandise or an article of commerce.

“2. Employers and workers should be allowed the right of **association for all lawful purposes.**

“3. No child should be permitted to be employed in industry or commerce before the age of 14 years, in order that every child may be ensured reasonable opportunities for mental and physical education. Between the years of 14 and 18 young persons of either sex may only be employed on work which is not harmful to their physical development, and on condition that the continuation of their technical or general education is ensured.

“4. Every worker has a right to a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life, having regard to the civilization of his time and country.

“5. Equal pay should be given women and to men for work of equal value in quantity and quality.

“6. A weekly rest, including Sunday or its equivalent, for all workers.

“7. Limitations of the hours of work in industry on the basis of eight hours a day or 48 hours a week, subject to an exception for countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organization or other special circumstances, render the industrial efficiency of the workers substantially different. The International Labor Conference will recommend a basis

approximately equivalent to the above for adoption in such countries.

"8. In all matters concerning their status as workers foreign workmen lawfully admitted to any country, and their families, should be ensured the same treatment as the nationals of that country.

"9. All States should institute a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the workers."

Reasonableness of Demands Brought Labor Solidly Behind Building and Metal Workers

Had the demands of the workers concerned been unreasonable they could not have secured the united support of the whole Labor movement they have at this time. That the tens of thousands of workers have rallied to the help of those who at first went on strike is proof that they believe their cause was just.

There is no royal way of calling a general strike. Each union must decide the issue for itself, and each union must cast a secret ballot. This gives to every worker the right to express his convictions without fear or favor. Furthermore a union may refuse to take a vote. This course has been followed by the Typographical Union in this city up to this time. Let us say it again, therefore, **NO UNION CAN BE COMPELLED TO STRIKE**. This must be done upon its own volition after the facts are presented.

Section 5

HOW THE GENERAL STRIKE WAS CALLED

The steps taken to call the general strike are well known. First, the unions concerned in disputes with their respective employers were already on strike. One after the other they ceased work at the hour their agreements ceased. Then they presented the matter to the **Trades and Labor Council**.

This body is composed of elected representatives from every union in the city that decides to affiliate. Some unions, such, for instance, as the Railway Engineers and Conductors, and some of the Telegraphers, etc., have not asked for affiliation, and have no connection whatever with the Trades and Labor Council. Other bodies ask for affiliation and are not received for reasons adduced. Sometimes it is impossible to secure a charter for a union from the Internationals and so the unions are not received into affiliation.

But such as compose the council elect their delegates on the basis of proportional membership. These delegates vote only on issues that affect the whole council. The council on its part, has **NO CONTROL WHATEVER** over the affiliated unions. All it can do is to make a recommendation upon the known facts, and this recommendation is carried back to the various unions concerned by the delegates of that union.

The reports of the Metal and Building Trades Councils were given to the Trades and Labor Council on May 6th.

There the matter was thoroughly discussed. It was shown that every means had been tried to come to an amicable arrangement, but everything had failed and they came before the council to ask for the support of the organized movement of which they were a part.

The council endorsed the demands of the men on strike and agreed to call for a strike vote of the affiliated membership, as to whether support was to be given or not, the report to be given at a special meeting of the council on May 13th, and a majority vote was to decide the issue.

The local union delegates reported to their organizations, the ballots were taken and the membership recorded their opinion.

This is How it Works

The men chosen by the unions to the council are elected by open nomination and secret ballot. In the council the vote is taken after full discussion upon the floor of the council, and the majority must be convinced before a vote can carry.

There are some who seem to think that Labor can be stampeded. But if these persons had attended a few meetings of the council and realized how often their leaders were recalled from office, or their recommendations turned down, they would realize how wholly democratic the Trades Council is.

No wild-eyed agitators lashed the membership to fury, no fiery speeches were required and none were given. It was the most spontaneous response ever given to a request for assistance.

When the general strike was recommended, there was **NOT ONE DISSENTING VOICE ON THE FLOOR OF THE COUNCIL**. The delegates were instructed to report back to their unions and have a vote taken by a certain date.

For the most part this was done by that date, and the vote sent forward to the Secretary of the Council. Let it be clearly understood that the only persons to make the

report back to the respective unions were the elected delegates. These are from the rank and file of the unions themselves and are elected for one year. There is never a meeting of the Council when old members do not drop out and new members come in. These delegates present the matter under discussion to their own local union, and their vote is taken by ballot.

In spite of this procedure there are those who urge that Labor is dominated by agitators, etc., etc. Such a charge is wholly beside the truth.

some of the organizations not having had an opportunity to call meetings, but it showed the overwhelming feeling of revulsion against the attitude of the employers and of sympathy with the men.

The report given on May 13th was only a partial one,

Partial Vote for the General Strike

Just how Labor regarded the crisis is revealed by the vote. We quote once more from the Western Labor News, May 16th. This is the partial vote that had at time of then going to press reached the Secretary of the Council. Returns since that time have possibly been even more favorable for the strike. We present the figures so that all may know whether Labor is in the general strike unwillingly, and whether it looks as if the workers were out unwillingly.

Partial vote, as reported Wednesday morning, previous to calling of strike. Several Thousand votes came in after this list was compiled.

	For	Against
Boilermakers, 126	124	26
Boilermakers, 529	82	0
Boilermakers, 566	152	0
Boilermakers, 451	101	8
Carmen, 550	656	26
Carmen, 6	133	10
Carmen, 371	706	68
Blacksmiths, 147	113	8
Blacksmiths, 61	121	6
Railway Clerks, 613	91	14
Railway Clerks, Unity	126	15
Municipal Employees, Winnipeg	173	86
Municipal Employees, Assiniboia	28	3
Municipal Employees, St. Boniface	14	0
Firemen, City	149	6
Firemen, St. Boniface	14	0

Police, City	149	11
Waterworkers	44	9
Electrical Workers	22	8
Bakers and Confectioners	272	2
Retail Clerks (partial vote)	450	10
Lithographers	28	2
Printing Pressmen	50	21
Bookbinders	37	24
Sleeping Car Porters	67	2
Caretakers	133	5
Upholsterers (partial vote)	11	8
Stationary Engineers, 498	182	4
Brewery Workers	152	22
Flour Mill Workers	58	34
Machinists, 122	269	75
Machinists, 189	80	0
Machinists, 457	138	1
Machinists, 484	292	7
Machinists, 863	106	15
Mill Hands, 172	283	5
Carpenters, 343	371	4
Postal Workers	250	19
Pipe Fitters, 479	181	10
Plumbers, 254	60	0
Sheet Metal Workers, 420	56	2
Cooks and Waiters (partial vote)	278	0
Garment Workers	143	27
Motion Picture Operators	26	0
Moulders	59	1
Patternmakers (partial vote)	4	0
Tailors	155	13
Teamsters	611	3
C.B. of R. E. (Transcona Stores)	17	1
C.B. of R.E. (Transcona)	112	4
C.B. of R.E., 67	78	3
Jewelry Workers	70	6
Plasterers, 34	72	0
Other votes	31	1
Other votes	62	6
Other votes	118	1
Other votes	21	1
Other votes	56	2

An Unparalleled Response

These figures show a clear determination on the part of the workers as a whole to do their part. But they do not tell the whole story. There are some thousands of men and women, as before stated, who are not in any way affiliated with the Trades Council. These could not be reached in any way by the Council against their wish. But many of these struck work at the same time as the affiliated workers; this, in many cases without even the knowledge of the Council. Others came out when the matter was presented to them and their assistance requested. The decision was entirely in their hands.

The membership affiliated with the Trades and Labor Council at this time was about 12,000, whilst figures tabulated during the strike showed that approximately 24,000 men and women were on strike.

Claim Police Under Orders of Strikers

The Police voted 149 to 11 for strike.

Before the strike began, violence and mob rule were hinted at quite openly in quarters opposed to Labor. Letters appeared in the daily press stating that disorders would occur in the event of a general strike being called.

Desiring to remove all foundation for the expressed fears of lawlessness and rioting, the strike committee, as its first official act, requested the Police to remain on duty.

This the Police agreed to do, but gave the committee distinctly to understand that they would do one thing or the other. If they stayed on the job they would carry out their duties and would "break the heads" of the strikers if they were so ordered by the chief if disorders occurred.

The committee replied that it was in order to prevent disorder that they requested the Police not to act on their strike ballot, but to remain on duty so that the city would not be placed under Martial Law.

Would Not Support Revolution

For the benefit of those who fear the strike had some ulterior purpose, such as the overthrowing of the present system, the establishing of a Soviet form of Government, and the calling of a revolution, let us say calmly and with conviction that the workers of Winnipeg would respond to no such call. Even supposing a few hot-heads made such an appeal, the mass of the workers would defeat it by their votes as overwhelmingly as they supported the strike.

No, the workers are dissatisfied, but they are not revolutionists. They want the control of industry in their own hands as soon as possible so that they can get the full product of their toil and eliminate production for profit. But they will wait until this is accomplished by constitutional processes. Some of the leaders who are most maligned and suspected at this juncture are members of the Labor Party, whose platform is that of gradual change from the present system to that of a more equitable one. Were they revolutionists they would form some revolutionary society of their own or link up with some already in existence wherever they were found.

It was this fact that the workers were prepared to carry on the process of education so that reform could be achieved by peaceful means, that was behind the general strike, for the amelioration of their position. Their demands were for the recognition of the right to organize, and the establishment of a living wage and there were no other demands.

Strike Supported by Returned Soldiers

If there is one body of men more than another that has declared its opposition to revolution and Bolshevism, it is the returned soldier. Yet he was with the strikers in May and June.

In a united mass meeting called to line them up with forces opposing the strike they turned down the prepared resolution and passed a resolution strongly supporting the strikers in their demands.

In face of these facts it is impossible to misunderstand the situation. The returned soldier delegates were never absent from the Strike Committee; they knew everything that transpired; they had an equal voice with the other delegates from all other striking bodies in the decisions rendered; they were supported by over a score of returned soldier delegates from other bodies. So that the element that is staunchest for law and order was there at the centre of things in full force.

There are some who think that only a small percentage of the soldiers were with Labor at that time. This is not correct. The majority of returned men were with Labor; some persons place the figure as high as eighty-five per cent.

Strike Called May 15th, 1919—A Memorable Morning

The arrests that smashed the general strike, together with the unprecedented solidarity manifested during the progress of the strike, have made Thursday, May 15th,

1919, a date that will live long in the history of Winnipeg.

The workers in every occupation, with but few exceptions, walked out on strike to help their fellows, and the whole city was tied up in a general strike.

Within a short time the telegraphers and the newspaper men were also on strike and the city was practically cut off from the world.

The first issue of the Strike Bulletin, published with the greatest difficulty, on Saturday night, May 17th, said:—

“About 95 unions are out 100 per cent strong. The phones are closed, the waterworks are out,” etc., etc.

General Strike Committee Organized

When the Trades and Labor Council called the strike it decided to ask each union to appoint two delegates to a Strike Committee. Later this was increased to three delegates.

The Council elected, by ballot, five of its members, in addition to the Executive officers, to be the nucleus of the Strike Committee until the unions should have time to elect delegates. This is the origin of “The Red Five.”

From this Strike Committee a Central Strike Committee of fifteen was later struck off to expedite business. This committee had no power of its own, but considered matters of vital importance and reported periodically back to the main committee.

The General Strike Committee decided all matters of policy and appointed all subsidiary committees, such as press, relief, organization, food committees, etc.

Strike Bulletin Issued Daily

When the daily press was closed it was discovered that the demand for a daily strike paper had to be met, so a Press Committee was appointed.

This committee discovered that the Pressmen's Union had, by resolution, decided to do no printing whatever during the period of the strike; and had specifically mentioned in their resolution that they would not print even for the Labor Paper. To overcome this difficulty the union was asked to supply men who would volunteer to print a daily strike bulletin without pay. This request was granted.

The Strike Committee controlled the policy, size, finances, circulation, and appointed the editor of the Daily Strike Bulletin. It also appointed a Censor Committee, after complaint had been made by the G.W. V. A., that a notice de-

tribunal to their organization of a meeting to be held, had been published, and the Secretary of the G. W. V. A. was made a member of that committee.

THE STRIKE AND ITS PROGRESS

As the hour fixed for the strike approached, the feeling on all sides was one of tense expectancy. The daily press, true to form, had freely circulated alarmist reports, had consistently worked up an agitation on behalf of the interests which own and control it. The workers on the other hand had only their weekly paper to offset these efforts of the vested interests. On the whole, however, the morning of May 15th, 1919, was marked by a firm determination on both sides to bring the fight to a successful issue, and the bitterness that marked the later stages was happily not manifest. For some days previous there had been feverish preparations on the part of all local organizations to gather in all the unorganized workers and to those heroes of many fights, old and young, in the ranks of labor, the desire on all sides to join forces with the recognized labor organizations augured well for victory, but even the most ardent and optimistic had but faintly gauged the unanimity of feeling on the part of the workers.

In less than two hours the whole productive industry of a whole city was tied up, as men and women, boys and girls came trooping out of shop and store and factory, not a wheel was turning in the big plants, not a street car was visible, and on the face of every worker was the cheerful optimistic smile of confidence in the justice of their cause, and the firm determination to assert the workers' right to organize in any manner, for any lawful purpose, which would better their conditions and assure to all a living wage.

Not only was the productive industry tied up, but the workers in almost all branches of the distributive system were out, in sympathy with their fellows, and this provided problems that required executive ability to handle satisfactorily.

The General Strike Committee had already requested the policemen to stay on duty in the interests of "Law and Order," and to this request the loyal men had readily agreed, even going so far as to offer to remain on duty for twenty-four hours a day and forfeit their holidays, but for some reason or reasons unknown the offer was not accepted by the city authorities.

The waterworks employees of the city had also been requested to stay at work and maintain a supply of water at 30 lbs. pressure for domestic use. It may also be pointed out in this connection that the firemen's organization, which had gone out with the civic employees, also offered to the civic authorities a full and complete life-saving crew for service in case of fire where human life was in danger. This offer, like that of the police, was also rejected without any reason being given. The only inference to be drawn is that the civic authorities and the Citizens' Committee (who had virtually assumed control of the civic government) had decided to line up with the reactionary interests and to fight the workers to a finish.

At the outset it was realized that the question of the bread and milk supply was the one most likely to call for all the ability and ingenuity of the workers to handle, as not only were the bakers out, but all the teamsters of all the bread and milk firms. Realizing the urgency of this matter, the Strike Committee at once appointed a sub-committee to wait upon the City Council and discuss with them the best methods to adopt in order that the city might be fed, and especially that the necessary supplies might be obtainable for women, children, and invalids.

The City Council expressed their appreciation fully and officially of this offer of co-operation of the Strike Committee, and at once appointed Aldermen Fisher, Sparling, Hamlin, and Queen as a sub-committee of the City Council to devise ways and means and put them into effect, in co-operation with the sub-committee of the strikers. At this joint meeting of the sub-committee from the City Council and Strike Committee there also appeared two leading members of the Citizens' Committee, in the persons of Messrs. A. J. Andrews, K.C., and W. J. Botterell (albeit, they stated that they were there as private citizens, and not as members of the Committee of 1000) who stated that they were anxious that the milk deliveries should be resumed for the children's sake, and expressed their satisfaction that arrangements had been made to that end. It was at this meeting that the cards were first discussed, and at the instigation of the manager of the Crescent Creamery Co., Mr. J. M. Carruthers, it was decided to have a card printed in order that the general public and the strikers would know that these employees were not scabbing, but discharging a very necessary duty at the request and with the sanction of their fellow-workers.

It was thought advisable at the outset by this Joint Committee to operate through the medium of food depots, but on investigation this plan was deemed unwieldy, and in all probability would result in the unequal distribution of the commodities, leaving a loophole whereby those in affluence could secure more than a fair share of the necessaries, and those less fortunately placed financially would be at a disadvantage.

It was eventually decided to ask the bakers, teamsters, etc., directly concerned, to resume their labors, which they were willing to do, provided they had something to show their fellow-workers and the general public that they were not scabbing—which sentiment was fully concurred in by the sub-committee of the City Council and by the managers of the particular firms concerned; in fact two of the aforesaid managers, distinctly instructed their employees not to take out their delivery rigs without first securing the cards agreed upon by the Joint Committee of representation from the Strike Committee and City Council, which cards were to be obtainable at the Labor Temple. These cards, about 12 x 16 inches in size, bore the inscription: "**Permitted by Authority of the Strike Committee.**" Employers of labor, from the firms involved, voluntarily went to the Labor Temple to secure these cards, knowing what was printed thereon, and themselves placed these cards upon their own property.

Notwithstanding the campaign of lies, misrepresentation and calumny of the vested interests, through their Citizens' Committee and the kept press, the vast machinery of supply and distribution of these two essential commodities, milk and bread, was not dislocated for more than one day and for anyone to have suffered inconvenience, not to say hardship, was proof of their own shortsightedness and bad management.

If proof were needed that there was absolutely no desire on the part of the workers to cause hardship, it is abundantly supplied by their action in requesting the elevator operators and stationary engineers to resume their work at all the City Hospitals and in the fact that volunteers were sent to some of the hospitals in response to a request to take down the storm windows and put on the screens, which involved several days' work, and which was done gladly and without remuneration of any kind by striking carpenters.

Both sides realized that the large number of returned soldiers in the city would affect the result of the struggle,

and both laid claim to their support. The executives of the three returned soldiers' organizations then in existence in the city were largely reactionary in their stand and tried to line up the rank and file behind the Citizens' Committee of 1000. To that end they called a mass meeting of returned men in the Convention Hall of the Industrial Bureau, and submitted a carefully prepared resolution to hand over the rank and file to the forces of reaction. This meeting was called for the evening of May 15th. (The first day of the strike). However they failed in their object, as the following clipping from the Strike Bulletin, of May 17th, will show:

VETERANS DECLARE SYMPATHY WITH PURPOSES OF STRIKE.

Rank and File Turn Down Recommendations of Executives

Any hope that the employers may have entertained that the returned soldiers would in any way oppose labor in the present strike must have been dissipated by the mass meeting of veterans held in the Convention Hall of the Board of Trade Building last Thursday night. The meeting was called by the executives of the Great War Veterans, the Army and Navy Veterans Association, and the Imperial Veterans of Canada. After a stormy meeting the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"That this meeting declares its full sympathy with the purposes of the present strike to meet the general condition of the people, and pledges itself to use every legitimate means to preserve law and order; and that after the strike is settled labor and the returned soldiers get together and discuss the deportation of the enemy alien."

A much longer resolution submitted by the executives was defeated. It read:

"Whereas, a state of social and industrial unrest has existed in the City of Winnipeg for a considerable time, which has this day resulted in the outbreak of a strike of large dimensions.

"And Whereas, by far the largest number of returned soldier-citizens are drawn from the ranks of labor, with whose legitimate demands they are in complete sympathy; but at the same time it is apparent that an insidious campaign has been inaugurated amongst certain sections of labor and of the returned citizens for the purpose of spreading propaganda of the most virulent

and disloyal type with the avowed object of causing unrest and instigating a revolution.

"And, Whereas, we stood shoulder to shoulder on the battlefields of Europe; where thousands of our comrades laid down their lives, to uphold and maintain the ideals of true democracy, British justice and fair play, all of which are now threatened by revolutionary doctrines and propaganda mentioned as well as by the undesirables, enemy aliens and others, permitted to remain at large in our midst and in many cases to debase the labor unions and obtain the employment to which we are justly entitled.

"Now, therefore, be it Resolved, by this mass meeting of three thousand returned soldier-citizens of Winnipeg that we do:

"(1) Endorse the policy of strict neutrality in this present strike adopted by our various associations.

"(2) Stand shoulder to shoulder now, as we did in the past, to uphold the same principles for which we fought, the preservation of law and order, and the public peace and safety, for the remedying of our grievances by constitutional methods and for the suppression of all agitators and revolutionary propagandists, no matter what their nationality.

"(3) Place ourselves at the disposal of the civic, provincial and military authorities in order to carry out these purposes to the best advantage and to combat any attempt to introduce into Canada the doctrines of the so-called Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

"(4) Once again inform the Dominion Government in clear and unmistakable terms that unless it immediately shakes off its apathy, disposes of undesirable enemy aliens and other agitators, eliminates the profiteers and monopolists, takes steps to reduce the high cost of living and shows a disposition to conduct the affairs of the country with business foresight and acumen, it cannot be considered other than an inducement to disturbance and a menace to the public peace and safety it purports to maintain.

"(5) Call upon our Dominion governing bodies to impress upon the Government the necessity for immediate action, failing such that they demand that the Dominion Government shall resign.

"(6) And be it further resolved that this meeting request all loyal British members of labor unions to sup-

port returned soldiers' organizations in maintaining law and order now and at all times."

The discussion which took place before the shorter resolution was passed was lengthy and heated at times, but the result showed that the great mass of veterans realized that they had a common interest with labor.

Comrade R. A. Rigg had the honor of drafting and moving the resolution, with the exception of the last issue, which was added at the suggestion of Comrade Mansfield, following a very able speech which did much to clear the way for action.

This declaration of the veterans in sympathy with the purpose of the strike is a big contribution toward victory for the workers. Its importance, in view of the whole issue is decidedly far-reaching.

By this time it was realized that the campaign carried on in the newspapers was calculated to unnecessarily alarm the people of the city, in that they were deliberately attempting to incite the populace to riot and disorder by attributing dishonorable and revolutionary motives to the Strike Committee, especially the Central Committee (who were constantly and incorrectly referred to as the "Red Five") so much so that reports were made to the General Committee that inhabitants of the wealthy residential districts were refusing, through fear, to sleep in their own homes and were preparing to sleep in barracks and churches. Reports were circulated in American and Eastern Canadian newspapers that the City of Winnipeg was in the throes of a revolution, that the streets of the city were running with the blood of its citizens and that whole residential districts were being burned down.

By noon on Friday, May 16th, the Stereotypers and the Webb Pressmen had taken their vote and had joined the ranks of the strikers, and as a result, the daily press was automatically closed up for five days.

Mayor Gray, when addressing a meeting of returned soldiers in Victoria Park, some time later, referring to this matter, expressed the opinion that: "It was a good thing the press was closed down during the early days of the strike." That this did much to clarify the situation there can be no doubt, and had it been possible to keep them closed up for the duration of the strike there would have been no disorder, there would never have developed that bitterness which became so marked a feature as the strike progressed.

The press, when it resumed publication, howled about this "outrage"—the Citizens' Committee of 1000 howled in unison—but the general public were fairly well content.

But the closing of their chief channel of misinformation and misrepresentation was not at all to the liking of the reactionary Citizens' Committee. If the press was lost to them their cause was lost, for how could they convince the innocents that this was a revolution and not a strike? How convince them that theirs was the only pure and disinterested view and that they had a monopoly of loyalty and patriotism? How convince them that their lies were truths and that they were the real saviours of democracy, if the columns of the prostituted yellow press could not blaze it forth to the world?

In this closing down of the daily press, the workers of Winnipeg learned a lesson that time can never erase from their memories—the lesson that the popular idea of the freedom of the press is a myth and a delusion—the lesson that the press is the willing servant of the big interests.

However, "Needs must, when the devil drives," and this so-called Citizens' Committee, robbed of the usual means of spitting forth its venom, rose to the occasion and published a sheet styled "The Winnipeg Citizen"—a paper which puts to shame forever the most yellow of any of the yellow Northcliffe effusions—which out Bottomlied the one and only Horatio.

Get, for instance, extracts from "The Winnipeg Citizen":

THE WINNIPEG REVOLUTIONARY STRIKE

For nearly a month, all eyes in Canada have been turned upon Winnipeg. For nearly a month the citizens of Winnipeg have been fighting whole-heartedly and with a very generous measure of success, against a determined attempt to establish Bolshevism and the rule of the Soviet here and then to expand it all over this Dominion.

In their fight, the citizens of Winnipeg have contended against great odds. When through the machinations of a number of confessed Bolsheviks in the Winnipeg Labor Temple, between twenty and thirty thousand were tricked and betrayed into striking, the issue went right to the heart of the great body of middle class citizens whom the strike leaders sought to deprive of the very necessities of life, of food and water, and of light, police protection and fire protection.

It aroused them to organization and to action, and it sounded a note of warning throughout Canada as to what might be expected all over the Dominion if this effort to fasten Bolshevism upon Winnipeg were not decisively defeated. From the moment that the general tie-up took place over a dispute between some metal workers and their employers, the general strike was recognized as an attempt at revolution—and the citizens proceeded to combat it as such.

The revolution in Winnipeg was the outcome of a Bolshevik movement started at Calgary last March and directed by the I. W. W. Organization in the United States. That convention elected a "Red Five" Executive for Canada. One of these is Victor Midgley, of Vancouver, a notorious agitator whose expulsion from Vancouver was demanded by returned soldiers last August when he and others led a one-day general strike in that city in memoriam to a military slacker and defaulter who was shot while resisting arrest.

The second is W. A. Pritchard, of Vancouver, who participated in the same unpatriotic escapade. The third is Joseph Knight, of Edmonton, one of the most notorious of Western agitators of the mining districts and a man who demands the release from internment of men who were actively working in Canada for the German Government during the war.

The fourth is Joseph Naylor, a Bolshevik by his own frank admission, who is out to overturn the present system of Government. And the fifth is R. J. Johns, one of the worst Red agitators in Canada, a Winnipeg man who in 1917 at a public meeting of the Trades and Labor Council urged a general strike against conscription and national registration.

Johns is one of the prime organizers of the Winnipeg strike and he also went to Toronto and was largely instrumental in bringing about the abortive general strike there. Another local leader is Mrs. Helen Armstrong who, according to her own word, has spent some years of her life in an insane asylum. Her husband, George Armstrong, another notorious "Red," is one of the local leaders, who drew down upon himself the wrath of returned men both over the conscription issue and latterly when returned soldiers went on a rampage against a Bolshevik meeting which sent greetings to the Soviet Government of Russia, and the Spartacans in Germany.

F. J. Dixon, a soap-box orator who is a member of the Legislature, had to flee for his life and was battered by returned soldiers when he addressed a meeting in the Market Square in 1917, counselling everybody to burn their registration cards and to resist conscription. He is another of the leaders of the local revolt. Still another is John Queen, a Socialist alderman, who participated in the same meetings and was one of the objects of the patriotic soldiers' ire.

Andrew Scoble and R. B. Russell, two more of the prime agitators in this defiance of constituted authority, were active participants in the Red convention at Calgary which passed resolutions for the release of German agents, others for the establishment of Soviet Government and proletarian dictatorship, and still further resolutions favoring minority dictatorship of labor by manipulated votes such as that which brought about the general strike here.

A further leader is R. E. Bray, who poses as a returned fighter, but who never saw the firing lines, and who told Premier Norris in cold-blood on June 2, that he was a Bolshevist and out for the establishment of Soviet Government in Winnipeg. The historical survey of facts and the editorial expressions thereon, published below, clearly present the viewpoint of the great middle class of Winnipeg, the innocent victims of the revolution.

In the columns of this sheet are to be found the best samples of journalistic prevarication that human or (inhuman) ingenuity could conceive—not only were its columns full of deliberate lies both about the cause and the conduct of the strike—but they also contained what should be anathema to old Ananias himself—half truths and distortions of the truth.

Whoever were responsible for its printing and publication were and are to this day so heartily ashamed of their creation, that they have never dared in one issue, or in the pamphlet published since the strike and distributed all over this continent by the hundred thousand, to publish one single name. They had, however, the saving grace of humor in paying an indirect compliment to every sensible person who should come in contact with it, to print in large type on the front page: "This paper is free, please do not pay for it." This was the medium through which they vented their spleen, this the outlet for their hysteria—in it they raised their cry of revolution, Soviet and Bolshevism—

they were totally ignorant of what these expressions meant and as is usual in such cases, they howled the louder and spilled the more ink, on the assumption of the professional politician: "That if you throw enough dirt, some of it will stick."

This was the medium through which they incited the Provincial Treasurer to resort to intimidation of the proprietors of moving picture houses, by sending representatives from his department with threats of cancellation of licenses unless they removed these cards from their theatres—indirectly through this medium they had the mounted police assume authority to tear them from the delivery rigs and resort to various other little practices that were convincing of their desire to maintain "Law and Order" so long as it was their own particular kind of law and order that was being maintained. All this despite the fact that the cards had been tacitly accepted by the official representatives of the City Council on the Joint Committee.

Through the columns of this sheet they howled about the inhumanity and brutality of the Strike Committee in shutting off the supply of milk to women and children—yet the very interests which were and are behind the Citizens' Committee were responsible for the shutting off of the entire milk supply of the city for three days in 1918 because the City Council had appointed a Commission to examine the books of the Milk Trust, to find and report the profits that were being made, prior to allowing the Trust to raise the price of milk.

Partly owing to this campaign of the Citizens' Committee and partly owing to the increasing duties of the Central Committee of seven, it was decided to increase the membership to fifteen. The committee had no inherent power to act, but acted only in an advisory capacity; all their actions had to be ratified by the General Committee, consisting of three delegates from every striking organization, and which numbered approximately 300. There were daily interviews with the City Council, at which the Citizens' Committee was fully represented, and on these occasions Mr. A. J. Andrews was one of the leading spokesmen, as well as Mr. Isaac Pitblado, Mr. A. T. Sweatman, and Mr. Crossin, the first three of whom are now figuring as counsel for the crown in the prosecution of the eight strike leaders.

THE MAYOR AND THE IRONMASTERS

As an indication of the feeling existing between the two

factions up to this time and as indicating the attitude of the Citizens' Committee of 1000 towards the demands of the strikers, the following partial report of a meeting of the City Council, taken from the "Strike Bulletin" is given:

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE PREVENTING SETTLEMENT Metal Trades Employers Not Own Bosses

Mayor Gray, at Council meeting Thursday noon reported that Messrs. Barrett, Lyall, and Warren, representing the Metal Trades employers, had met him yesterday. He had shown them the letter from the Strike Committee, containing the terms of settlement. They said they were requested by the Citizens' Committee of 1000 not to open negotiations and were acceding to that request.

Ald. Heaps: "Then the Citizens' Committee is standing in the way of a settlement."

Mayor Gray: "I wrote this in front of those three gentlemen and told them it was my report to Council."

Fireworks Banned

The Council resolved to ban the use of fireworks during the strike.

Papers Not to be Distributed From Fire Halls

Ald. Heaps moved, seconded by Ald. Queen, that the distribution of papers from Fire Halls be stopped. It was so ordered. This motion arose from a notice in "The Citizen" telling people to call at the Fire Halls for that paper.

Running Trades Appear Again

Wm. Best, on behalf of the Running Trades once more urged the Council to take some action toward a settlement. Their men, he said, were excited, and many of them were anxious to "go over the top." They looked to duly constituted government to see justice done no matter how it hurts or whom it hurts. They stood solid and united for the right of workers to the right of self-determination in the selection of their representatives to deal with their employers. If the Committee of 1000 was standing in the way, he would tell them that the workers standing behind the strikers were as numerous as the leaves of a forest.

Learning to Shoot

Messrs. Andrews, Pitblado, and Sweatman, for the 1000, all declared that before any settlement could be made, the sympathetic strike must be called off.

W. T. Cox, admittedly of the middle class, said he did not care how long he worked. He was prepared to eat grass. He was learning to drill and shoot at Minto Barracks. The best thing they could tell Robertson and Meighen was: "Go back to Ottawa" (Applause from members of the Citizens' Committee.)

Ald. Simpson: "It is your duty, Mr. Mayor to call representatives of the employers, the strikers, the Citizens' Committee, the Dominion and Provincial Governments together and try to effect a settlement."

Ald. Fowler: "I don't agree. I'm out to do all I can to put this sympathetic strike out of business."

Council adjourned till 10.30 tomorrow.

MEIGHEN AND ROBERTSON ARRIVE FROM OTTAWA

After the strike had been in progress for nearly one week, there appeared in Winnipeg the Hon. Arthur Meighen, Minister of the Interior (and at that time acting Minister of Justice, in the absence of Hon. J. C. Doherty) and Senator Robertson, Minister of Labor. It had been rumored on the street that certain leading lights of the Citizens' Committee of 1000 had gone East to meet these two representatives of constituted authority and it has subsequently been fully proven and admitted by Senator Robertson that two members of that Committee did meet the train at Fort William, and that one of these two was the man who was subsequently made the Deputy Minister of Justice to handle the Winnipeg trials. A few miles outside the city a further delegation of two from the same Committee of 1000 met the train, and of the four, three of them, A. J. Andrews, K.C.; Isaac Pitblado, K.C., and W. A. T. Sweatman, are the leading lawyers for the Crown in the prosecution of the men on charges of Seditious Conspiracy.

Under the circumstances there is little wonder that the average man feels convinced that there was a "Conspiracy," not on the part of any of Labor's spokesmen, but on the part of the Committee of 1000. The minds of these two ministers already poisoned by the highly colored reports from the West, were well prepared for the reception of the plausible stories poured into their ears by the spokesmen of reaction, and without taking the trouble to find out the truth or otherwise of the tales that were told them (and this much was admitted in his own office by Senator Robertson) they proceeded to denounce the so-called leaders as

undesirable agitators who were anxious to overthrow constituted authority and bring about a revolution.

With the usual shortsightedness of the professional politician they could not (or would not) see what was apparent to a child, that had the Strike Committee any sinister motive, there would have been no consultation or co-operation with Civic, Provincial or Federal Governments. But the facts are that at the very time these gentlemen were pouring out their hearts to the Committee of 1000 and through them to the world, the Central Strike Committee was in attendance on the City Council, and as soon as the Strike Committee learned of the presence of these gentlemen, they sent a delegate to wait upon them, and invited Senator Robertson, as Minister of Labor, to come and give whatever information and counsel he had to the representatives of the strikers as a whole. This he declined to do, although it is the specific work for which he draws his salary, but he preferred to stand on his dignity and sent a reply to the Strike Committee that: "It would not be consistent with the dignity of a Minister of the Crown to attend the Strike Committee meeting, but he would be ready any time the following morning to receive a deputation and hear the strikers' side of the story." At the same time intimating that he thought the sympathetic strike was unlawful and must be called off.

MAYOR GRAY'S ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

About the same time (May 23rd) Mayor Gray had called a special Round Table Conference to go into the causes of the strike and to seek, if possible, a solution.

Following is a brief resume of the proceedings. From it the readers will gather many pointers that need no elaboration, but which throw a good deal of light on many phases of the situation and the attitude of both sides.

This is taken from the "Strike Bulletin" of May 26th:

MIDNIGHT SESSION ABORTIVE

(Fine Debate But No Decision)

Mayor Gray, on Friday night, called together a Committee to consider the strike and, if possible, recommend some solution. The Committee consisted of His Worship, in the chair, Aldermen Fisher and Simpson, Messrs. Winning and Russell, of the Strike Committee; Messrs. Andrews and Sweatman, who said they were acting as individuals; Messrs. Carroll and English, of the Running Trades, and D. J. Scott.

No Big Five

Mr. Anderson, chairman of the Central Strike Committee explained that there were 300 men on the Strike Committee, which had elected 15 of their number to a Central Committee. The members of this Central Committee would attend all conferences or negotiations to give the lie to the statement that five men were running this strike. This Committee is composed of Messrs. Anderson, Pickup, Allen, Veitch, Russell, Flye, Robinson, Smith, Miller, Lovatt, Shaw, McBride, Winning, Greer, and Scoble.

Russell Reviews Strike

R. B. Russell reviewed the history of the strike and the efforts of the Strike Committee to get a settlement. **Much capital** was being made out of the Iron Masters' statement that they had submitted a plan of collective bargaining to the Mathers' Commission on May 10th. Their insincerity was shown by the fact that on May 13th, in the presence of the Mayor, they had refused to deal with the Metal Trades Council. This Council had written every Metal Trades Employer and never received one reply.

More Chicanery

Members of the Strike Committee had been told that the Ironmasters were prepared to recognize collective bargaining under the auspices of the Industrial Commission Bill. The Strike Committee did not object to this course—but it now appeared that the employers were not free to act on their own behalf, but were controlled by the Committee of 1000.

Collective Bargaining

A lengthy discussion occurred on different forms of collective bargaining. Alderman Fisher said: "**The man who opposes collective bargaining is 20 years behind the times.**" A. J. Andrews said very few were opposed to it.

J. Winning: "Will the T. Eaton Co. recognize it in any form?"

A. J. Andrews Explodes

A. J. Andrews said this strike had gone beyond the original issue. So far as he was concerned there would be no negotiations until the postal employees, firemen, water-works employees and telephone operators were back at work. It would be splendid diplomacy for the

Strike Committee to yield that point. Afterwards the principle of collective bargaining would be recognized.

R. B. Russell: "What assurance can you give us?"

A. J. Andrews: "We can't give you any."

R. B. Russell explained that governments had violated agreements in order to uphold a principle. Italy had broken her agreement with Germany to support the cause of the Allies. This was right. The firemen had acted from the same motive.—But this was held to be wrong.

Insurrection Ridiculous Claim

The labor movement was not attempting to overthrow the State. This strike had not the slightest semblance of an attack on the State. Everything had been done in a constitutional manner. The onus for the trouble was on the employers.

Winning Proposes Possible Settlement

J. Winning: "We are fighting under constitutional trade union rules. The duty of the Trades Council is to render assistance to any part of the movement that is in jeopardy. We have conferred with the City Council, the Provincial Government and Senator Robertson; that shows we recognize constituted authority. We cannot request postal employees, firemen, etc., to go back to work. If they did that where would our economic power be? We have a solution to offer. Give us a guarantee that collective bargaining will be recognized and we will all be back at work in 48 hours."

A. J. Andrews: "We say you've done a wrong. You now have a chance to retire gracefully. If you do not do this, we will line up against you the Dominion, Provincial, and Civic Governments."

Remove the Cause

R. B. Russell:—"We would remove the cause of this trouble, that is the lack of collective bargaining."

J. Winning: "Our action is quite constitutional. The American Federation of Labor, a very conservative body, has a clause in its constitution which says that no local Council shall enter into any agreement which forbids a sympathetic strike."

A. J. Andrews: "If your attitude is that the causes must be removed, we shall have to wait for the millennium."

J. Winning: "This discussion is on the wrong track."

A. J. Andrews: "I'm not here to go into causes, but to advise a certain line of action."

R. B. Russell: "We are prepared to go further and remove the cause of sympathetic strikes."

A. J. Andrews: "This matter is within the rights of the Provincial Government. **Legislation should be passed guaranteeing the right of collective bargaining, accompanied by a Dominion Law, making it a crime for unions to violate agreements.**"

R. B. Russell: "How would this do?" presenting resolution passed by Strike Committee.

Strikers Favor Legislation

"That we go on record as being in favor of legislation, making it compulsory on employers to recognize the right of their employees to collective bargaining, through the representatives of their organizations, as expressed in craft unions, industrial unions, trades councils, and trades federations."

Passed by Strike Committee, May 21st, 1919.

Ald. Simpson: "Is it possible to get a guarantee of legislation?"

A. J. Andrews: "I will not make a bargain that I am forced to make by present conditions."

Ald. Simpson: "Let us have a guarantee of legislation backed by the Provincial Government, the Mayor, and the Committee of 1000."

A. J. Andrews: "I will not negotiate until the men on the public utilities are back. I will not bargain."

R. B. Russell: "Senator Robertson has promised recognition."

A. J. Andrews: "It is not a Dominion matter."

T. B. Carroll: "Mr. Andrews' position is a threat. It resolves itself into a question of who should yield first. The employers must yield some. I can't see that the men are responsible. In the Running Trades we would go a long way before striking, but we can strike. Our employers frequently yield points. Why can't the Ironmen do the same?"

A. J. Andrews: "This is not a case between employers and employees."

T. B. Carroll: "What about the statement made at the Industrial Bureau that the policemen and firemen would be put in a position where they would never strike

again. Do you intend to prevent that by giving them ideal working conditions and wages?"

A. J. Andrews: "The sympathetic strike is wrong."

Ald. Simpson: "We propose to remove the cause by legislation."

Ald. Fisher suggested that a smaller committee might act more quickly, but this suggestion was not acted upon. The committee rose at 12 p.m.

EDWARD MCGRAWTH AND THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

At the very time Messrs. Meighen and Robertson were shouting from the housetops that this was not a strike, but an attempt at revolution, the Strike Committee, determined to leave no stone unturned in their efforts to effect a settlement, and to explore to the limit any avenue that was likely to lead to that end, were in constant communication with the Provincial Government. Mr. Ed. McGrath, formerly closely identified with the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, but at this time an employee of the Provincial Government as Secretary of the Bureau of Labor, submitted to the Central Strike Committee what was apparently a bona-fide offer from the Provincial Government to the effect that if the workers would reconsider their opposition to the Industrial Disputes Act, and would appoint two delegates to sit as representatives of Labor on the Board to administer the Act, the Government would withdraw from the Board two members that it had already appointed thereto and would accept the appointees of the Strike Committee, in order that the whole strike situation might be brought before the Board as a means of obtaining settlement.

The Central Committee reported this offer to the General Strike Committee, which body, though opposed to the principle of the Act, finally consented to the appointment of two of its members to the Board. This was done so that it could not be said by the Government that Labor itself stood in the way of a settlement.

Not until these two representatives presented themselves to the Provincial Government was it discovered that this proposition of Mr. McGrath was at best a vision, for the Government disclaimed all knowledge of the offer, and refused to consider it.

The Strike Committee had acted in perfectly good faith and this decision of the Provincial Government came as a shock, especially in view of the fact that the majority of



R. B. Russell

the committee had swallowed in the first place their natural objection to having anything to do with politicians as settlers of labor disputes; but the fact that they did so, will ever stand to their credit as an indication of the lengths they were prepared to go in order to effect a satisfactory settlement without compromising on principle.

SENATOR ROBERTSON, THE POSTAL EMPLOYEES AND THE ULTIMATUM

In the meantime the doings of the representatives of the Dominion Government, Messrs. Meighen and Robertson, had been dark and mysterious. Nobody (in the ranks of labor) knew what they were doing and what steps, if any, they were taking to function in their official capacity, but this was presumably well known to the employers and the Citizens' Committee of 1000.

However, on the Sunday afternoon, May 25th, Senator Robertson called a meeting of the postal employees in the post office, at which a few were present, but the majority left him severely alone, and attended a meeting of their own organization at the same hour in the Labor Temple to take a vote as to whether or not they should accept the "ultimatum" that had been issued, and go back to work, or whether they should play their part like men and "Stick." Needless to say it was overwhelmingly in favor of playing the man's part and they "Stuck." This ultimatum was issued to every striking postal employee, calling upon them to return to work at 10 a.m. Monday, May 26th, 1919, to sign an agreement never again to take part in a sympathetic strike, to sever their connection with the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, failing which they would be discharged from the Government's service, lose their right to pension, and forfeit the right to employment by the Dominion Government.

Under such terms and with so much at stake it would almost have been pardonable if these men had capitulated, but the bond of sympathy was so strong, the justice of the strikers' demand so obvious that only something like sixteen returned to work, and it was reported that four of these quit again, refusing to work under such conditions.

POSTMASTER McINTYRE'S TELEGRAM

Despite this, there was dispatched East and West a telegram bearing the signature of the postmaster (the authenticity of which he denied under oath at the preliminary

trials) stating: "Am happy to say that the majority of the employees are returning to work with the exception of a few irreconcilables, and these under 'Bolsheviki' influence."

A SINISTER CONSPIRACY

Striking evidence of "conspiracy" on the part of the trinity of governing bodies (apparently under pressure from "Big Business") to undermine the morale of the strikers and cause disruption and disintegration of the solid mass of labor, and to smash labor organizations, was provided when the Provincial Government proceeded to follow in the footsteps of the Federal Authorities, and issued a similar "Ultimatum" to the striking telephone girls, followed immediately by one from the Civic Government to the Civic employees in the various departments, and from the corporations and big private employers.

But a new psychology had developed, something entirely beyond the comprehension of our rulers and statesmen, whose vision was so narrow that they could conceive of no other solution of labor unrest than the application of coercive measures to bring the workers into submission.

Following the lead of their fellow-workers in the postal service the telephone girls voted to stay out and take the consequences, and they in turn were supported by the Civic employees.

DESERTERS AND REINFORCEMENTS

As was to be expected, there were a few deserters. A fight with all the forces of constituted authority and the vested interests lined up in opposition to 25,000 wage slaves, could not be carried on without desertions, but the reinforcements were coming up in the ratio of 100 to 1. Daily, almost hourly, the Strike Committee was receiving offers of help from cities, towns, and villages.

THE STRIKERS STEADFASTNESS AND SOLIDARITY

As indicative of the solidarity of the workers and the grim determination exhibited by the strikers, below are given a few clippings from the "Strike Bulletin" of May 27th, 1919. The first:

A MARVELLOUS STRIKE

We are, we believe, speaking the literal truth when we state that never in any country, at any time was a strike of such magnitude as the Winnipeg strike carried on in

such a wonderful spirit. There has not been one single case of disorder. Not a cent's worth of property has been damaged. Not a single policeman has been called to take a hand. The record of the police court is lower by far than normal; lower than at any time in months.

What is the secret of it all? Or, is it just an accident?

We are credibly informed that the people living in Fort Rouge were literally terrorized over the thought of revolution. They are reported to have slept in the churches. They swarmed into temporary militia regiments and slept in barracks. And all this when there was not a breath of disorder among the strikers.

Why the terror on the part of the wealthy and the tranquility on the part of the strikers?

There are those who say that the whole reason is that there were reports abroad that the strikers were intending to start a revolution. That they had set up a Soviet in the Trades Hall. That the foreigners were ready to overrun the whole city. Are these reasons adequate? Who started the revolution story? Who believed it? And why?

To answer these questions is to enter the realm of both fact and psychology. The rich, who have become rich on war profits, know that this is the price of blood. The gold that has touched their palm has left its stain both there and in their conscience, and they cry: "Out damned spot," but it will not out. They live trembling at the thought of the future. They are afraid of retribution. They live in fear today and dread tomorrow. They feel deep down that there is a day of reckoning. So they fly to the churches—to the altars.

The workers, on the other hand have no need of fears. They have served well and faithfully. They have at last found it impossible to live and so say we must get more. Not the whole do they ask, but a larger share. They know their cause is just. This knowledge gives them confidence.

Wonderful Confidence of Strikers

Are we downhearted? No. This is the tone of the thirty-five thousand workers on strike in this city today. Every kind of attempt has been made to get the workers back on the job, from Government ultimatums to petty bribes on the part of individual employers. But in spite of all, the thousands stick and every local stands as solid

as adamant. There is no give. Every striker says it is a fight to a finish and we will finish it.

Never was there such a spirit of brotherhood. Offers are tumbling in for homes for girls who are in need of room rent. We have a spare room. Send us up a couple. Tell the committee we can help them out if they are stuck. Tell the girls that they are welcome at our place to such as we have. Such are the magnificent offers that the strike is bringing from every source.

It is not that the homes of the workers are big, or that they have abundance. But the girls and the thousands of men struck for sympathy on a principle, and that principle is today being justified as never before. The spirit is marvellous. It is worth a strike to see this marvellous spirit of comradeship and unselfishness. This is the spirit that will bring such a victory as labor never dreamed of before.

And the second being a short resume of the proceedings of the Labor Church meeting in the Victoria Park on Sunday evening, May 25th, 1919:

VAST ASSEMBLY IN VICTORIA PARK

Addressed by Ivens, Pickup, and Dixon

"No!" Five thousand times "No!" was the answer of the strikers to the ultimatum of the Citizens' Committee given in Victoria Park.

Rev. Wm. Ivens—the terrible—called out: "The Citizens' Committee say you must call off the sympathetic strikes. What is your answer?" Five thousand men and women answered "No!" These speak for 35,000 more. So the strike is still on.

Lawrence Pickup outlined the position of the postmen, explaining that promises made to them a year ago were still unfulfilled. The only hope of the postmen was in the organized labor movement. In spite of the threats of Senator Robertson the postal employees had voted to stay out. (Loud applause.)

F. J. Dixon, in opening, said he felt like the old darky who wanted to join a fashionable city church, and the minister, knowing it was hardly the thing to do and not wanting to hurt his feelings, told him to go home and pray over it. In a few days the darky came back.

"Well, what do you think of it by this time," said the preacher.

"Well, sah," replied the colored man, "Ah prayed, an' de good Lawd, he says to me, 'Rastus, Ah wouldn't bodder mah haid about dat no mo'. Ah've been trying to get into dat chu'ch mahse'f fo' de las' twenty yeahs, and Ah done had no luck."

There were churches in Winnipeg being used as recruiting stations for the purpose of drilling men to subdue strikers. The strikers had demonstrated that they were the friends of law, order, and peace. The Lord was certainly not in the churches that were being used for such a purpose.

Jesus was a carpenter's son, not a lawyer, financier, or iron master—it was easy to guess which side he would be on in this struggle.

He was on the side of the poor. It was the high priests, the scribes, and the Pharisees—the same class of men as comprised the Committee of 1000—who had crucified Christ.

The Persecuted Are Blessed

The fact that the men who had been elected by the strikers to guide the destiny of the strike were being reviled by the opposition was a certificate of good character. The more vile and despicable the attack made upon these men the greater should be their glorification.

Spread the Strike

The best answer they could make to the various ultimatum was to spread the strike. If the strikers started going back to work on any pretext the strike would be lost. The only way to win was to stay out and stick together.

Big Collection for Girls

A collection of nearly \$500 was taken up to feed the girl strikers who might need it.

Against the restraint and moderation manifest in the foregoing articles, (and they are in keeping with the general character and tone of the strikers' speech and press at this time) may be set the following choice selection from the Winnipeg Telegram of May 26th, 1919, entitled:

THE CAUSES AND THE CURE

"There are in Winnipeg, unfortunately, a handful of English and Scotch agitators who are openly and even proudly Red Socialists and Anarchists. They are held in

contempt by their own fellow-countrymen, are despised and loathed. That is the complete list of our trouble makers, our revolution makers, our Soviet makers—if we except a more than half-mad preacher who was kicked out of his church for preaching treason. . . . It was comparatively easy for the traitors and hostile foreigners to lead the loyal element astray.” It explains all the above by saying: “We all have a pain today—and a severe one.”

“The way to solve the problem is to clean up Winnipeg of both human rubbish and quacks.” This so “that our nerves will not soon again become so frazzled.”

ONE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE STRIKE

From the inception of the strike, meetings had been held daily in many city parks and open spaces attended by thousands of strikers and sympathisers (and incidentally, as we have found out since, by that particular species of the animal kingdom, anathema to every honest-minded man and woman, the “Spy” and “Agents Provocateur”) and after the strike had been in progress two weeks, the crowds at these meetings had increased in size and demands were made for speakers, which it was found increasingly difficult to supply.

RELIEF FOR THE GIRLS

By this time also, it was evident that something must be done to assist the large number of girls who had come out with their fellow-workers.

This large body of girl and women workers from the departmental stores, laundries, garment factories, candy kitchens, hotels, and restaurants never had more than a week's margin between the pay-envelope and starvation.

THE WOMEN'S LABOR LEAGUE

The Women's Labor League had secured free of charge for ten days the use of the large dining room and kitchen, with partial equipment of one of our city hotels on Main Street, the “Strathcona,” and here the girls were fed free of cost, not luxuriously, but with enough, and in addition were given a cash grant to meet room rent. The men were also invited and made welcome and when they had the money were expected to pay, but if they, too, were without funds, then they were fed free on production of a ticket issued for that purpose by the Relief Committee. This ac-

tivity on the part of the Women's Labor League did not meet with the approval of the financial interests of the city and eventually the proprietor of the hotel asked the strikers to vacate.

Not to be outdone, the women, good fighters that they were, went on the hunt for other premises, where the vested interests could not wield the big stick, and found them at the Oxford Hotel, where a bigger and a better dining room, and fully equipped modern kitchen were put at their disposal. Here were served from 1,200 to 1,500 free meals daily, the expense being provided in part by the Relief Committee, in part by donations, and in large measure by collections taken up at the various meetings of the strikers held throughout the city.

THE LABOR CHURCH

In connection with this, the Labor Church, whose membership is composed almost entirely of workers who were out on strike, contributed approximately \$4,500.00 during the six weeks of the strike.

A word concerning the interest and activities of the Labor Church may be very appropriate at this juncture.

The second Sunday the strike had been in progress the service was held in Victoria Park, with an attendance of well over 5,000, and there was a collection of approximately \$500.00; the third Sunday there was an attendance of over 10,000, and a collection was taken of \$1,504.10.

This was one of the most inspiring episodes of the whole of the never-to-be-forgotten six weeks.

PROFESSOR ALLISON AND THE STRIKERS

As a typical instance of the temperate and reasonable manner in which the vital issues at stake were kept to the fore on the part of the strikers as against the deliberate attempts to sidetrack them on the part of the Committee of 1000, here are appended three short articles from the "Strike Bulletin." They are self-explanatory and shed much light on the situation:

GOVERNMENT SHOULD RESIGN

Professor Allison Compliments Strikers on Order.—Says They Stand For Constitutional Authority

"The best thing the Union Government could do would be to resign," declared professor W. T. Allison on Tues-

day evening at a large meeting in the Selkirk School grounds.

There would not have been this great unrest, he said, if we had a good Government at Ottawa. All Governments since Confederation had been largely directed by the railways, manufacturers, and banks. The Union Government had a great opportunity, but it had fallen down. He hoped to see a Labor Party in Canada similar to that in Britain.

The Professor said it looked as if the whole weight of authority was against the strikers. What will you do? He enquired. "Stick, Stick, Stick!" shouted the crowd.

He regretted the summary action of the City Council and suggested the questions at issue were of sufficient magnitude to warrant a referendum vote of all the citizens of Winnipeg being taken.

He also suggested the formation of a representative committee of 100 citizens—distinct from the self-constituted 1000—to try to effect a settlement.

Professor Allison complimented the strikers on the perfect order which prevailed and said he was satisfied that all wanted to settle this matter by constitutional means. "Keep smiling," were his parting words. Strike Bulletin of May 27th, 1919:

WHAT IS A LIVING WAGE?

What is a living wage? This is one of the demands of the strikers. What does it mean? Judge Mathers, while here as Chairman of the Industrial Commission, said that it meant more than a bare existence; it meant, he said, enough to supply all reasonable needs and to put by a little for a rainy day.

In the light of this definition let us examine a few cases from this city. The writer has before him the sworn affidavit of a number of employees. Here are a few. We take them from cafes run by men who are members of the Restaurant Keepers' Association.

Let us take six of these, the C. V. Cafe, the Carleton, the Venice, the Kensington, the Olympia, and the Club Cafe. In these places the hours are:

The long day, 7.30 a.m. to 2 p.m. Then return 5.30 p.m. to 1.30 a.m., or fourteen and a half-hour day.

The short hours are:

11.30 a.m. to 8.30 p.m., or a nine-hour day.

Meals are supplied while on duty.

THE WAGES ARE 15.00 PER MONTH. No, not per week, but per month. Three days off per month. In several instances only one day off per month.

Out of the above \$15.00 per month the girls pay for laundry \$1.00 per week, and fifty cents per week to the busy boy. Or six dollars per month.

THESE -GIRLS THEN HAVE NINE DOLLARS A MONTH to pay room rent, clothes, recreation, outdoor meals, etc.

It is a sin that cries to heaven.

Men Get Shameful Pay

Here is the record of two men employed in a building owned by a prominent citizen. We forbear the name at this time.

Mr. A. works from 8.30 p.m. to 7.45 a.m. Cleans several floors. Seven lavatories. Brass and glass work. Runs elevator from 5.30 a.m. to 7.45 a.m. One day each week he has to look after furnaces. Wages \$50.00 per month. Lives out of building.

Mr. B., fireman in this same building, works from 6 p.m. to 5.30 a.m. Besides his furnaces he runs the elevator from 6 p.m. to 10.30 p.m. In spare time he is required to do general cleaning. Wages \$55.00 per month. In both cases the men work 74 hours per week in all.

When we are asked what is a living wage, we point to the above wages for men and girls, and say NOT THAT. But a decent living wage.

Still we are told the workers are avaricious and ought not to grumble. Surely the time to strike has come. It is time the citizens of Winnipeg rose in their might and said, it is enough.

"THE ALIEN CRY"

The workers were content to rest their case with the judgment of the people, but this was not acceptable to the "Big Interests." Red herrings of various degrees of rottenness had been repeatedly dragged across the path, such as cries of "Soviet, Bolshevist, Revolution and Permit Cards," and last, in an effort to arouse the ire of the patriotic element, they started a flag waving campaign, and especially to rally the support of the returned soldiers, they raised the cry of "Alien."

THE ALIEN QUESTION

"Yah! yah! aliens! aliens!" shrieks the self-constituted Committee of 1000 through its megaphonic press. The

Strike Committee challenges a comparison of its personnel with that of the 1000.

The bosses love the alien when they can use him to break strikes. In fact in many cases he was brought here for that purpose. For example in the Nova Scotia miners' strike (1913) the bosses circularized southern Europe, offering the princely wages of 11 cents to 15 cents per hour for mine and steel plant workers.

During the war bosses wanted to pay alien labor \$1.10 per day and put the difference between that and the prevailing wages into their own pockets. Labor successfully protested against that dastardly project. It had to in self-protection. If the bosses could get aliens for \$1.10 they would pay no more to anyone. Remember the bosses brought the aliens here. Remember also that thousands of aliens have asked for passports and have been refused.

The bosses have no quarrel with the rich alien, no quarrel with the unorganized alien. The only aliens they complain about are those who have had sense enough to join the ranks of organized labor and therefore cannot be used to scale down wages.

"But alien is one—of class, not race—he has drawn the line for himself;

His roots drink life from inhuman soil, from garbage of pomp and pelf;

His heart beats not with the common beat, he has changed his life-stream's hue;

He deems his flesh to be finer flesh, he boasts that his blood is blue:

Politician, aristocrat, tory—whatever his age or name,
To the people's rights and liberties, a traitor ever the same.

The natural crowd is a mob to him, their prayer a vulgar rhyme;

The freeman's speech is sedition, and the patriot's deed a crime.

Whatever the race, the law, the land—whatever the time, or throne,

The tory is always a traitor to every class but his own."

At the time the Committee of 1000 were agitating the public mind against the "alien" with demands for his deportation, "Milady" was touring the alien district in limousine and taxi, begging, pleading, imploring and bribing the

"female of the alien species" to come to her aid and replace the female workers who were on strike.

Employers, large and small, sent deputations to beg of the alien to come back to work.

But the alien declined the tempting offers made them and they stuck tight as a postage stamp. For the workers of Winnipeg, the barriers of color, race and creed had been torn down and are now beyond hope of being rebuilt. "Which is as it should be."

In the "Strike Bulletin," No. 12, of May 30th, 1919, there appeared on the front page the following reiteration of the strikers' demands, and a statement of what they did not want:

WHAT WE WANT

The Demands of the Strikers are:—

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

WHAT WE DO NOT WANT

1. Revolution.
2. Dictatorship.
3. Disorder.

THE TORONTO STAR AND THE STRIKERS

As evidence of one of two things either that there still live some editors of the daily press who will not prostitute their ability for money, or that the "big strike" had not completed its circle, we reprint an excerpt from the "Toronto Star," on May 23rd, 1919:

TORONTO STAR BACKS STRIKERS

IT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE CLEAR THAT THE ISSUE IS NOT BOLSHEVISM OR ANY ATTEMPT TO URSURP THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, BUT A DISPUTE BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED ON THE QUESTIONS OF WAGES, HOURS, RECOGNITION OF UNIONS, AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. A strike covering a wide range of industries of course causes great public inconvenience. But what is the remedy? IF IT IS LAWFUL FOR ONE SET OF WORKERS TO STRIKE, SHALL IT BE MADE UNLAWFUL FOR TWO OR A DOZEN TO STRIKE? The difference, of course, is that when a strike is general or of very wide range, the matter becomes one of national

importance, and the Dominion Government may be warranted and even in duty bound to take strong measures to effect a settlement.

THOSE EMPLOYERS WHO HOLD OUT AGAINST COLLECTIVE BARGAINING—that is, negotiating with unions which have members working in various establishments—**ARE CLEARLY WRONG AND THEIR POSITION CANNOT BE MAINTAINED.** Collective bargaining is the inevitable result of the modern concentration of industry, and to oppose it is just as extreme as to propose the abolition of organized capital. The organization of labor and the organization of capital are the hard facts of the situation, and must be recognized.

The Star is not a labor paper, but a leading Toronto daily. Yet it supports us on the issues for which we are on strike.

Not a Bolshevist Uprising

Speaking of the wonderful conduct of the strike it says:

The stand taken by the organized body of returned soldiers in Winnipeg is one that has had, probably, a highly corrective influence on affairs.

The ex-soldier citizens have given their full sympathy and support to the strikers in their demands for the betterment of their conditions, on the definite understanding that there is to be no disorder or lawlessness in connection with the strike.

When one considers that Winnipeg has been tied up for a whole week, that over thirty thousand men have been on strike and feeling running high, it is a credit to that city, its people, and all concerned in the whole affair that such excellent order has been preserved. To some extent this desirable result may probably be attributed to the stand taken by the G. W. V. A. and returned soldiers generally. They sympathize with the demands of the workers; they approve of the strike and desire it to succeed, but they want no resort to riot and violence. The labor leaders are doubtless anxious to retain this important support and sympathy.

So far they have retained it, and we have difficulty in reconciling this fact with the statement that Winnipeg is in the hands of Bolshevists and the foreign element.

THE CANADIAN PROBLEMS CLUB AND THE POLICE ULTIMATUM

As a further indication of the willingness of the Strike

Committee (as representing all the workers) to investigate every possible opportunity that presented itself to effect a satisfactory settlement of the strike, when a delegation from the "Canadian Problems Club," (an organization composed for the most part of professional men) waited upon the Central Committee with a request that they be supplied with certain information, and an enquiry as to the acceptance by the Strike Committee of their organization as mediators, Messrs. Winning and Russell were instructed to wait upon the Canadian Problems Club and give them all the information required. This they did, to the entire satisfaction of that body. They also intimated the willingness of the Strike Committee to avail themselves gladly of the service of any individual or organization that might be able to effect a settlement.

In contradistinction to this friendly and conciliatory attitude of the Strike Committee, must be recorded the actions of the so-called Citizens' Committee of 1000, which refused any information and declined altogether the offer of the club.

This is a copy of the "Ultimatum" to the police and civic employees, respectively, together with a resolution passed by the Winnipeg Policemen's Union, held in the Police Court room on May 30th, 1919:

To Board of Commissioners of Police
of the City of Winnipeg:

1. I hereby acknowledge that the supreme governing power of the police force is vested in the Police Commissioners alone, and I hereby agree to observe the orders, rules and regulations of said Police Commissioners at all times.

2. I further agree that I will not join or remain a member of any union or association which is directly or indirectly in affiliation with any other organization to whose orders, directions or recommendations such union or association or its members are obliged or agree to observe or conform, or act in concert with; that I will be governed by and observe and comply with all rules and regulations in force from time to time for the management of the force in which I may be employed, whether prescribed by the Police Commissioners or the Chief Constable; that I will not take part in or support or favor what is known as a sympathetic strike; and that upon

a breach of any of the above conditions occurring I shall be liable to instant dismissal from the force.

3. I hereby acknowledge that I have received a copy of the rules and regulations governing the department and agree to obey same.

Dated at the City of Winnipeg, this _____ day
of May, 1919.

Name

Rank

In answer to this the following resolution was passed by a mass meeting of the members of the Winnipeg Policemen's Union held in the Police Court room 30th May, 1919:

Having had no time to consider the ultimatum presented by the Police Commissioners, and feeling that it is a violation of our agreement by the Police Commissioners, just recently signed, we wish to affirm our position, that we stand behind constituted authority and are willing to do all in our power to preserve law and order as loyal British subjects.

Everybody loves the police—except the 1000. The soldiers gave them three cheers.

The police have won almost universal endorsation by the way they have conducted themselves during this strike and almost everyone, outside of the coterie of 1000, feels that the Police Commission has grossly insulted these real men by putting up such an agreement to them at this critical time. All Law-abiding citizens want the civil police kept on the streets. Any attempt, directly or indirectly, to force them off the streets will be greatly resented.

The above was called "The Slave Pact," and the "Western Labor News" comments upon it as follows:

BRITONS NEVER SHALL BE SLAVES

The City Council upon order of the Board of Trade Soviet, has drawn up the following pledge for its employees:

"I hereby agree that if I am appointed to any position in the city's service, I will not join or remain a member of any union or association which is directly or indirectly in affiliation with any other organization to whose orders, directions or recommendations such union or association or its members are obliged or agree to observe or confirm, or act in concert with; that I will be governed by and observe and comply with all rules and regulations in

force from time to time for the management of the department in which I may be employed, whether prescribed by the City Council or by the head of such department; that I will at all times be loyal and faithful to the city; that I will not take part in or support or favor what is known as a sympathetic strike; and that upon a breach of any of the above conditions occurring, I shall be liable to instant dismissal from the city's service."

It is this same City Council that asks the Provincial Government to make collective bargaining compulsory.

It is safe to say that no person who understands the nature of liberty and collective bargaining could have drawn up such an abject pledge of subservience.

**ONLY A SLAVE COULD SIGN IT. A FREE MAN,
A WHITE MAN—NEVER!**

In this connection is the following brief report of an incident which occurred during the City Council meeting in the afternoon of Friday, May 30th, 1919, taken from the "Strike Bulletin" of May 31st, 1919:

POLICE GIVEN 24 HOURS' EXTENSION

Canadian Problems Club Suggests Modification of Civic Pledge

At the request of G. K. Wark, Vice-President B.L.F. and E., and A. McAndrew, Assistant General Chairman of the C.P.R. System I.B.M.W., the Police Commission has given the police another 24 hours in which to consider the agreement submitted to them. This was announced by Alderman Sparling to the City Council Friday afternoon.

Remove Root of Antagonism

A delegation from the Canadian Problems Club, consisting of R. A. Rigg, F. M. Black, R. F. McWilliams, and Professor Chester Martin, waited on the Council urging a modification of the pledge which the city was asking its employees to sign.

R. A. Rigg pointed out that as the Civic Employees Unions were affiliated with The Trades Congress of Canada the action of the Council was a direct challenge to that body. He pointed out very clearly that the Trades Council had no power to compel any union affiliated with it to strike. Affiliation was purely voluntary and unions acted on their own initiative, free from any outside dic-

tation. He asked the council to modify the stringency of its resolutions.

Alderman Fowler: "No chance."

R. A. Rigg: "I'm sorry to hear that." His concern throughout had been that this quarrel might be settled in the best interests of all. In order to avoid future trouble the root of antagonism should be removed.

R. F. McWilliams suggested that the trouble should be so disposed of that there would be no possibility of recurrence. In its resolutions the Council in endeavoring to ban sympathetic strikes had overshot the mark and by interfering with a man's fundamental right to associate with others for mutual benefit had taken a stand which might create difficulties with the whole labor movement.

Alderman Fowler said they were dealing with facts, not theories. He didn't see how they could change.

Alderman McLean said the question would never be settled. The Council must hedge the civic employees in as the peace conference was hedging in the Germans.

SOLDIER STRIKERS TAKE ACTION

On the evening of May 30th, 1919, a meeting of returned men in sympathy with the objects of the workers in their struggle, was called at the request of Ex-Sergeant A. E. Moore,—at that time an employee of the Provincial Government, in charge of the Alien Investigation Board—and now President of the Provincial Command of the Great War Veterans' Association—in order that the advisability of interviewing the Provincial Government could be discussed.

The meeting assembled at a few minutes after eight and did not adjourn until after eleven o'clock.

After going into the matter thoroughly, it was unanimously decided that it would serve a most useful purpose if a delegation of returned men waited upon the Provincial Premier and his Cabinet and asked them to settle the dispute by the enactment of special legislation, making collective bargaining compulsory upon every employer of labor in the province.

The result of these deliberations is briefly stated in the following account taken from the "Strike Bulletin" of May 31st, 1919:

SOLDIERS' ULTIMATUM TO NORRIS

Demand Police Ultimatum be Withdrawn—Newspaper Bolshevik Campaign Must End—Campaign of Villifica-

tion of Labor Leaders be Ended—Will Stay on Job Till Collective Bargaining and Living Wage Granted—Will Meet Government at 11 a.m. Saturday for Reply—Will Not Stand for Threats of Martial Law.

Two thousand returned soldiers waited on Premier Norris on Friday morning and demanded an immediate settlement of the strike on the basis of collective bargaining being made compulsory by legislation. They will return for an answer at 11 a.m. tomorrow, Saturday.

Soldiers' Resolution

The Honourable T. C. Norris,
Premier,
Province of Manitoba.

"Owing to the serious condition of affairs in this city, we feel it incumbent on us as returned soldiers to draw to your notice the desirability of an immediate settlement, which we believe can be done, through either the Provincial or Dominion Governments taking immediate action, and making this disputed question of collective bargaining as it now exists on the railways, effective by statutory action."

Back of Police

The soldiers also pointed out very emphatically that the Police Commission regulation insisting that the police sever connections with organized labor was a bad mistake. They thought the Committee of 1000 had used its influence to get the regular police off the streets in order to replace them with the military. They thought it was grossly unfair to put the police up against such a proposition at this time and said the order must be repealed to avoid trouble.

The veterans made their presentations very strong. They especially insisted on the police commission order being modified. (This demand was cheered with tremendous enthusiasm.)

The delegation was under the chairmanship of A. E. Moore and the several speakers did some plain talking. They wanted to know if the Premier would call them "Bolsheviks" or "Aliens?" Mr. Norris assured them that he would not. The soldiers bitterly and emphatically resented the press attacks upon strike leaders, and were especially incensed at the term: "English and Scotch anarchists" as applied to those men. They made it abso-

lutely clear that this campaign must be stopped, and stopped at once.

They insisted that the Premier use his utmost influence with the press to prevent a recurrence of this abuse. Mr. Norris promised so to do and later informed the reporters in his office of the stand taken by the soldiers.

On Saturday, May 31st, in pursuance of the intimation to the Provincial Government the previous day, the returned men lined up on Market Square and marched to the Legislative Building, Kennedy Street, and the following brief reports of events there is taken from the "Strike Bulletin" of June 2nd, 1919:

SOLDIERS BACK STRIKERS TO LIMIT

Ten Thousand Wearing Buttons March to Parliament Building—Tell Norris to Call Off Committee of One Thousand—Urge Special Session to Legislate re Collective Bargaining—Denounce Treatment of Telephone Girls—Going Back to Interview Government Monday Morning—Visit City Hall and Demand Withdrawal of Ultimatum to Civic Employees—Insist That Police Remain on Duty—City Council Leaves it Stand Over Till Tuesday Morning—Give Policemen Ovation — Carry Flag to Labor Temple—Say Sympathetic Strike Cannot be Called Off Till Collective Bargaining Established—Resent Press Campaign of Villification—Say It Must Stop—Give Three Cheers for Labor News.

At 11 a.m. on Saturday ten thousand returned soldiers followed the flag down Kennedy Street to the Parliament Buildings, to get from Premier Norris an answer to the demands they had presented on Friday.

The legislative chamber was packed and thousands stood outside in the drizzling rain awaiting the result.

Greatly Disappointed

After the Premier had expressed himself, the spokesmen for the returned soldiers expressed bitter disappointment at the attitude the Government had assumed. Instead of demanding that the sympathetic strike be called off they said the Premier should call of the Committee of 1000(?)

Resent Abuse of Flag by 1000

Some commotion was created at the outset by the fact that an individual in the press gallery was wearing a flag

in his button-hole. The returned men thought this indicated that he belonged to the Committee of 1000 and demanded the removal of that emblem. One man finally jumped into the press gallery and removed it. Comrade Bray later explained that the soldiers respected the flag and they did not intend to see it prostituted by the Committee of 1000. He was informed that the man who had worn the flag had a son who had been over there. The soldiers did not wish to hurt anyone's feelings, but they could not stand for any abuse of the flag by the Committee of 1000.

Will Defend Law and Order

Comrade Moore explained that the soldiers had fought for law and order and were always prepared to defend it. They wanted a settlement of this strike and did not think the press campaign of vilification was helpful to that end. Then came cries of "Take the reporters out" and "Give them one more chance"

Comrade Moore said they were there for an answer to their previous demands for legislation compelling collective bargaining. Premier Borden had said this was a provincial matter so they wanted to know when the Government would deal with it.

Comrade Moore then presented a resolution on behalf of the delegation which stated that the announced extension of the ultimatum to the police was entirely unsatisfactory. That ultimatum must be withdrawn. The resolution also asked for an answer from the Government to the request for legislation re collective bargaining.

Let Police Stay on Beats

Comrade Moore was especially emphatic and received tumultuous applause when he demanded that the police remain on duty and be not asked to sell their birthright during the present crisis.

Police Have Proven Loyal

Comrade Bray said the returned men knew what loyalty meant. They had demonstrated their loyalty at the front in order that governments might continue to exist. The police had likewise demonstrated their loyalty; in fact, many of them were returned men. The Premier now had a chance to demonstrate his loyalty by backing the police.

The returned men were out for law and order. The police had done all they could to preserve law and order.

They deserved consideration. It was an insult to the police to ask them to sell their birthright, especially at this time.

Sick of Dilly-Dallying

Comrade Bray contended that this was a time for action—not talk. There had been too much dilly-dallying in this matter. The returned men were anxious for a settlement giving all a square deal.

Press Campaign Deeply Resented

The attitude of the press was not helping to effect a settlement. The returned men would be gentlemen and not descend to scurrilous personalities as the press had done. They would like the Premier to think what the boys had done in France, to consider the sacrifices they had made. As for them, they would continue to be soldiers and gentlemen.

Flag Incident Explained

Comrade Bray referred to the unfortunate incident at the opening of the meeting. The man wearing the flag had a son who had been over there. It was inadvisable to wear flags at this time because the men who had fought to defend it were determined that no skulkers hide behind it. They despised the action of the Committee of 1000 in trying to hide behind the flag. (Cries of "Crime! Crime!") and use it against men who were fighting for justice and a living wage.

The boys, said comrade Bray, want you to represent the people and not that bunch of financial barons in the Manufacturers' Association. In addition to our other demands we want you to withdraw your ultimatum to the telephone girls.

Norris Severely Heckled

Premier Norris said he was wearing a flag, not because he represented any faction, but because he thought the flag represented all classes (a voice: "It is being prostituted by a faction"). It is the same flag as yours. Another voice: "Get on with the strike"). Mr. Norris asserted that his sympathies were with labor. He had conveyed to the reporters the message of the returned men that they resented the press campaign of misrepresentation. He had told the City Council what the soldiers thought about the ultimatum to the police. He understood that representatives of the Railway Brotherhoods were even now try-

ing to get employees and employers together with a view to settlement.

Sends Soldiers to City Hall

Mr. Norris said the police affair was beyond his control. The soldiers should put it up to the City Council. (Cheers and shouts of, "we will!").

The Government has met the wishes of the returned men in many things. He was sure they would not be unreasonable. It was impossible to promise legislation about collective bargaining immediately. The Government would have to find out its power. At the request of the representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods he had written Messrs. Barrett, Lyall, and Warren suggesting that they meet their employees through the mediation of those representatives.

Government Opposed to Sympathetic Strikes

He announced that the sympathetic strike must be called off before the Government could act; (loud boing and shouts of: "call of the Committee of 1000).

Mr. Norris continued: If the strike was called off the Government would use all its energies to settle dispute; (a voice: "soft soap!"). The Government had taken the stand that there must be no sympathetic strikes on public utilities and food services. They had attempted to avoid such a condition as this by the Industrial Conditions Bill. If the soldiers would use their influence to call off the strike and get the Trades and Labor Council to nominate two men to the Industrial Council, the Government would see that sittings were held at once and proceedings pushed. (Cries of No! No!! No!!!)

We are in sympathy with labor repeated the Premier.

Question: "How about the postal employees?"

Mr. Norris: "That's a Federal matter."

Question: "How about the telephones?"

Mr. Norris: "There is no ultimatum in that connection."

Question: "How about the firemen?"

Mr. Norris: "They are under the Civic jurisdiction."

"I have stated my case. I have told you what we're going to do (Shouts of: "Nothing!" and "Resign! "Resign!")

Answer Unsatisfactory

Comrade Moore deprecated personalities and said that the Premier's answer was very unsatisfactory. They

wanted something done. If the Government insisted that the sympathetic strike must be called off, the strike would last another six months. They wanted the strike settled on the basis of the right of collective bargaining and a decent living wage. Everyone who opposed these things was prolonging the strike. He was going away disappointed. (Cries of: "We all are!").

If the sympathetic strike was called off, the committee of 1000 would say they had won.

"Call off the Committee of 1000," continued Comrade Moore amid deafening applause.

Premier Should Reconsider Decision

Comrade Batsford got the floor and asked the Premier to reconsider his decision. As returned soldiers, who had upheld constituted authority, they had appealed to constituted authority in a constituted way. The Peace Conference had endorsed collective bargaining and they were asking Premier Norris to call a special session of the legislature and promise to introduce a bill dealing with the matter.

What Government Can Do

Comrade Bray said no man was satisfied with the interview. The Premier had told them what he could not do. He would tell the Premier what he could do. He could put pressure on the Telephone Commission to call off their ultimatum and stop the war on the telephone girls. He could bring pressure to bear upon the City Council to cancel its ultimatum. One Alderman (McLean) had said the city must hedge in its employees as the Peace Conference was hedging in the Germans. "Is that democracy?" he asked. The building rocked with shouts of "No!" a thousand times No!"

Spineless Ninnies at Ottawa

Comrade Bray said the Norris Government had helped to elect that bunch of spineless emasculated ninnies at Ottawa and they might now get busy and put some ginger into them or help to get them out of the way. Furthermore, he said, the Government itself should stop paying "scab" wages and become a model employer.

One Thousand Want Martial Law

Comrade Speers, in concluding, asserted that they were sorry nothing had been accomplished. The soldiers want-

ed this strike settled satisfactorily. They had fought for democracy and had returned to find an autocratic Committee of 1000 trying to run the city.

The city was wrong in putting their ultimatum to the police at this time. He believed the Committee of 1000 wanted to get the police off the streets and put men with bayonets on them. The returned men would not stand for this. The Committee of 1000 must be destroyed. (Deafening applause).

March to City Hall

After the meeting with Mr. Norris the soldiers marched to the City Hall and swarmed into the chamber. The Council was in session, but at once adjourned and Mayor Gray attempted to address the vast crowd, mostly returned men, from the City Hall steps. The meeting was decidedly stormy.

Re-Affirms Council's Position

The Mayor insisted that there must be no more sympathetic strikes on public utilities. He was prepared to stand or fall by that decision. (Shouts of: Resign! Resign! For you will fall!). He was finally booted into the City Hall.

No Police Ultimatum

There was no ultimatum to the police, asserted Mayor Gray. "Oh! Oh!" shouted the crowd. The representatives of the Running Trades were now meeting with the police and trying to make a settlement.

The crowd made it very plain that it wanted no interference with the police.

Council's Silly Position

Several returned men addressed the meeting, going over much the same ground as covered in the legislative chamber. There was no mincing matters. It was straight talk from strong and determined men.

It was pointed out that the Council had put itself in a ridiculous position in passing a resolution in favor of collective bargaining and then reducing its own employees to the level of slaves.

Comrade Munro announced that he had visited the post office and had seen there a sign "Mail for Business Men Only." He wanted to know who were the citizens.

Aldermen Queen and Heaps addressed the gathering and were heartily applauded.

Police Ultimatum Suspended

It was announced later that the ultimatum to the police had been suspended until next Tuesday.

Soldiers Will March Again

The returned men will wait on Premier Norris Monday morning at the same hour. They say they will go daily until their demands are granted. They will also march on the Committee of 1000 and the City Hall is likely to see them again unless the slave pact is withdrawn from all the employees. They say openly that this is not the thing they fought for and they will not stand for it anywhere in the city.

Never before has Winnipeg seen such a morning. The soldiers and the workers are united into a solid fighting front.

Appropos of the general attitude of the returned men, the following article, reprinted from the "Strike Bulletin" of June 2nd, 1919, gives very concisely some of the reasons for the strong feeling expressed by the ex-soldier:

THE SOLDIER AND THE STRIKE

The severest jolt the financial magnates of Winnipeg ever got was administered by the returned soldiers early in the strike, when the mass meeting representing all the returned soldier bodies reversed the decision of the combined executives and threw in their lot with the strikers.

Since that time these employers have chafed with chagrin and disappointment. They had spent so much time and printers' ink and so many beautiful words on the returned soldier. They have met him as he left the ship and the train with select news items. They met him with brass bands and tinkling cymbals and honied phrases. They pointed out to him the traitorous acts of LABOR while they, the soldier, fought. Labor was their enemy—the masters were their friends.

And now: Presto—Donner and Blitzen—their campaign was a "dud." Their "black beses" failed to explode. Something is wrong.

The Soldier Fought and Fought

The soldier can't be white-livered. No one can call him yellow. His feet are not cold. When he went over the top he silenced all suspicions and overcame all opposition.

What Then is the Matter?

What is the matter? Well he damned the politicians while he tried to "carry on" with a Ross rifle. Jamming rifles while men fall all around don't make contented soldiers. He cursed as he choked in trying to swallow the Ironsides soldiers' meats. He inwardly fumed to see his \$1.10 a day melt against the sudden "rise in prices." He ground his teeth while he read his wife's letters telling him how she tried so hard to make ends meet on her small and ever-smaller "allowance." It did not take him long to think of the Hun in Canada—the Hun behind his back. He does not love him today.

Then upon his return he finds a pension awaiting him that is a positive insult. It is so niggardly as to shame the very devil. He thinks hard as he sees the difference between his pension and that of Colonel Sir Punk. He wants to know why, and why and why?

Just as soon as he is discharged and looks for a job he faces life once more as it really is. If he is partially disabled, and has a pigmy pension, he finds Sir Augustus Nanton writing a letter like the following:

This is an extract from a letter received by a returned soldier who won a D. C. M., and lost a leg, from Sir Augustus Nanton. Lady Nanton was Auxiliary President of the battalion to which the man belonged.

Sir Augustus writes:

"In your case, I have no doubt that, in addition to your salary, you are receiving some partial disability allowance from the Government, which, I sincerely trust, together with your salary, brings in to you an income which will enable you to live.

"Yours truly,

"(Signed) A. M. NANTON."

The letter needs no comment. One such letter is sufficient to do its work with any soldier.

Then he turns around and finds a Lieutenant-Governor paying another returned man \$13.00 a week. Others get 31 cents an hour. The railways offer 32½ cents an hour. And at wages such as these he cannot find employment.

Where women are concerned things are no better. Restaurant girls get as low as \$15.00 per month. Women who work cleaning offices at night get \$15.00 per month. And all along the line it is unemployment and low wages.

Low Wages and High Prices

The low wages would not matter if prices were also low. But prices are controlled by trusts, and combines, and banks, and milling interests, and grain exchanges, and pork packers, and all the long line of profiteers and parasites.

They own cars and mansions and declare their dividends on an ever-increasing scale. They boast of their growing wealth, while he pays a tax on matches, and on tobacco, and on tea, and sugar, and shoes, etc., until a dollar buys only half as much as formerly. He has quit fighting—but he still thinks, and he says, at last, well, I guess we shall have to fight once more.

So he lines up the friends and foes, and his thinking has led him to see his present enemies in the men who buy full page advertisements in the daily press for tariffs, and tirades against labor. He sees his friends in the men against whom these things are aimed.

He Acts Only When He Knows

He does not act in a hurry. He has been taught to wait. So he waits until he gets the facts. Then he acts.

He has decided that the profiteer is the real Bolshevik, and he has signed up against the profiteer. That is why he is in the ranks of the strikers.

He has read the daily press with growing hostility during the last ten days. He has heard himself described as an alien, led by anarchists; so at last he marches to the Parliament Buildings and asks the Premier the question: "Do you call us aliens and Bolsheviks?" The Premier has but one answer. That is—No!

Then says the soldier: "You must cut this stuff out of your campaign against us strikers; and you must cut it out of your press!"

He Protests Against Injustice

He also sees the real nature of the contemptible campaign of villification of labor leaders, and he tells the Premier you must cut this out too. We have had all we intend to take of it.

He takes the same stand re the policemen. As a soldier, he has as a class passed the stage of fear, and so the soldier body told the Premier in plain language, that he must see that that ultimatum was withdrawn. Then he gave three cheers for the police.

The absolute unscrupulousness of the employing class is seen clearly by the soldier. He knows what machine guns mean in a mob, and he has found out that he—the returned soldier, with the other strikers—is the mob; so once again he issues a warning, and said once again quite plainly, if you call out the soldiers, you will find that two can play at that game.

Just how much lies behind that lone voice is impossible to tell. But, as the returned soldier demands a living wage and the right to collective bargaining, and says he will “carry on” until he gets it, his cry that he can play with guns bears a fearful import.

He Must Get Justice

He smarts under his disadvantages. He has no hall where he can meet en masse. While there are 10,000 returned soldiers, the city hall holds less than a thousand. It seems that he cannot have the Industrial Bureau because the Committee of 1000 has leased it for the period of the strike.

What road hogs they are. They have a monopoly of everything. They own the earth; they dictate over the whole of the soldiers' existence. He has obeyed, and has been ordered about as long as he can stand it, he says; “I fought for Justice and Liberty and now I want a little bit of it.” This is why the returned soldier has lined up behind the strikers.

It is for him another fight for Justice, and he has said we shall “Carry on,” until the fight for a living wage and the right to organize is won.

SOME CHURCHES AND THE STRIKE

From the time the returned men demonstrated on which side their sympathies lay, the Citizens' Committee of 1000 and the interests opposed to the strikers were active in an attempt to secure other support, and some of the leading city churches were used for that purpose. At Westminster Church a special meeting was called ostensibly to discuss the issues at stake, but it was solely for the purpose of securing recruits for the special-strike militia, that was being organized for the purpose of suppressing demonstrations, and for other services during the continuation of the strike, this despite the protest of the Pastor, Rev. Dr. Christie. These special service men recruited from the large offices in the city, and from some of the large department



W. A. Pritchard

stores, were in many cases confined to barracks where they were instructed in the use of fire-arms.

In addition to this special force, many of the large firms had a "special force" of their own. It was an every-day occurrence to see, on the premises of some of these firms, a strong force of men, including many of the despised aliens, being instructed in squad drill and the use of the rifle, under the charge and direction of army and ex-army officers.

It is also a fact that in almost every school playground in the city, as well as in the grounds of the City of St. Boniface, squads were being drilled and instructed in musketry three or four nights of every week.

It was also stated that the O. C. of one of Winnipeg's famous battalions, even as early as ten days before the strike, called a meeting of the old members of his battalion and appealed to them to join up for special service during the troublous times ahead, and in the course of his address to the men, exhorted them somewhat after the manner of ex-Emperor Wilhelm, and told any man there, who would have any scruples about bloodshed, or who would not be prepared to shoot and shoot to kill, to retire from the gathering.

Added to this story (manifestations of reactionary sentiment on the part of the workers' opponents) is the proof of the unscrupulous manner in which the same interests were willing to deceive and mislead, not only the public, but the sympathizing strikers at points outside of Winnipeg.

The following cutting from the "Strike Bulletin" of June 3rd, 1919, is self-explanatory, and needs no further comment:

BEWARE OF FAKE TELEGRAMS

Villainous Attempt to Get Railway Workers Back to Work Monday Morning

The following forged telegram, signed Robinson, shows the depth of degradation to which the opponents of labor will descend to defeat the strikers.

The railways had issued their ultimatums to the workers to return to work Monday or they would lose their jobs. This was seized upon as an opportune moment to invent a spurious telegram for the railway workers. It reads plausible, and is signed Robinson.

But one thing gave the game away—that was the instruction to use the mails. The railway workers did not believe that the strikers would use scab post office work-

ers even to help the strike, so they despatched personal messengers to Winnipeg.

This brought to light the damnable strategy of our enemies. Here is the telegram:

G. N. W. WIRE

“Winnipeg, Man., May 31.

“J. W. Walsh, Sioux Lookout,—

“At meeting last night it was decided to instruct all shop railway foremen, except Transcona and Winnipeg, to resume work at once, and each member must contribute \$1 per day towards maintenance all local members in Winnipeg.

“We are badly in need of funds, collect all possible at once and mail by registered letter to Treasurer Trades and Labor Council, Winnipeg. See all further amounts come by assessment forwarded weekly, and return to work not later than Monday morning.

“Robinson, 1040.”

MORE FIENDISH TACTICS

Bosses Make “Plants” on Strikers.

The strikers may thank their stars these days that the plans of the other side come to them almost in their entirety. It helps them to avoid pitfalls.

The latest dastardly plot is that there are to be “plants” framed up for the leaders. If a bomb can be planted in one of their pockets and then have them immediately arrested and the thing found on them this will fix them. Complaints of too much Ivens in the past. This is not sufficient to get Ivens, so he is to be made the target for a scheme that will destroy his character, etc.

We shall not here give names, or times, or places, but we warn all strikers to be careful that these inhuman fiends do not get any of you.

THE THIRD SOLDIER DELEGATION

From the same issue of the same paper, we append an account of the third delegation of soldier strikers to the

He wanted to know if it was true that the military Provincial Government. The sight of these thousands of ex-service men marching with military precision and maintaining such order as could not be excelled under the strictest military discipline, was having a very favorable impression on the minds of all who saw them and they were beginning to realize how they had been misled by the

Citizens' Committee of 1000, through the columns of the yellow press, and it was a common expression that "our boys" would not line up so strongly, if there was any cause to fear revolution." The following is from the "Strike Bulletin of June 4th, 1919:

SOLDIERS INSIST ON ACTION

Provincial Government Again Visited—Delegation Growing in Numbers—Returned Soldiers Only Allowed in Chamber—Demand Government Legislate, Resign, or Take Referendum—Say Majority Favor Collective Bargaining—1000 a Bunch of Boodlers—Dixon Loudly Cheered.

Eaton's store and the Free Press were loudly booed by the returned men who marched to the Parliament buildings yesterday to seek from the Government an answer to their demands presented last Friday and Saturday. A tremendous crowd had gathered on Government ground long before the boys arrived, but none other than returned men were allowed in the legislative chamber. A few buttonless men who managed to get in by way of the window were gently but firmly ejected.

Returned Soldiers Only

The committee in charge of the delegation—distinguished by white badges—cleared the house of all but returned men. The chamber was filled to its utmost capacity and thousands were unable to obtain entrance.

Flag Cheered

When the standard bearer entered a rousing cheer was given for the flag. Messrs. Norris, Brown and Johnson received the delegation. Comrade Bray, in opening, asked for perfect order and a fair deal to every speaker. He then read a resolution which had been previously passed at a meeting of returned men, stating:

Legislate or Resign

"That, whereas Senator Robertson and Premier Borden have said that the Dominion Government has no authority to pass legislation guaranteeing the right of collective bargaining, and whereas they have declared that the Provincial Governments are the authority having that power;

"Therefore, be it resolved that we herewith demand such legislation at once.

“Also that we demand the withdrawal by the Provincial Government of its ultimatum to its employees;

“And, further, that in the event of the Government not complying with our demands we call upon the Government to resign.”

This resolution was endorsed with loud applause by the soldiers. Comrade Bray further intimated that the delegation wanted an answer to the demands they had presented on Friday and Saturday.

Norris Again Negative

The Premier congratulated the soldiers on the peaceable and gentlemanly presentation of the resolution. Evidently the soldiers wanted the Government to take drastic action, but the Government must proceed along constitutional lines. He had appealed to the press for fairness and moderation. He had presented civic matters to the City Council as requested.

As to convening the Legislature in special session there was a certain constitutional procedure to be followed. The Government tried to represent all the people and the people's representatives would have to be consulted. He was not sure that the Government had authority to call a special session and therefore it was impossible to announce that he would do so.

Personally he was in favor of collective bargaining and opposed to sympathetic strikes—especially on public utilities.

Conciliation Committee Working

The Premier reminded the delegation that a Conciliation Committee of the Running Trades was in session. He hoped that committee would work out a solution. If collective bargaining could be established by mutual agreement that would be better than legislation. Further, the Premier said, he did not think it would be satisfactory to declare sympathetic strikes unlawful, because men would strike against injustice.

However, he was prepared to submit to the decision of the majority, expressed by constitutional means. His colleagues were prepared to do everything possible along the lines suggested.

Soldiers Deeply Disappointed

Comrade Bray commented very forcibly on the Premier's remarks. He declared that the soldiers were deeply

disappointed at the attitude of the Government. The delegation felt that it represented all returned soldiers and that they had the backing of a majority of the people of Manitoba. He had seen in The Telegram (hisses) a report that Premier Norris had promised the City Council that his Government would give the matter of passing legislation, making collective bargaining compulsory, serious consideration. Premier Borden and Senator Robertson had said this was within provincial jurisdiction. If they were wrong to whom could the soldiers appeal?

Helped Elect Norris

Comrade Bray pointed out that thousands of men who had since been overseas voted for the Norris Government in 1914 and 1915. It was they and their class that elected the Government and not the 1000 boodlers at the Industrial Bureau.

Cheers for Dixon

There was only one man in the Legislature, declared Comrade Bray, who had grit enough to come out on the side of the workers at this time and, in spite of the admonitions of the Premier, this man was still being reviled by the daily press. That man had been on the side of labor all the time. His name was Dixon. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

Government Must Choose

You speak of the hardships to women and children, continued the speaker. What about the profiteers? What about Flavelle?—(Boo's)—What about the 1000 that raised the rent? Did they think of the women and children when they profiteered while we were "over there"? It was for the Government to choose whether it would tacitly side with that shameless bunch of profiteers or, at this late date, come over to the side of the workers. If the Government could not supply the need of the hour it should resign. The strikers certainly had a majority of the people on their side.

Running Trades Called Tories

As for the Running Trades effecting a settlement. They were the old Tories of the labor movement, but the Strike Committee, in accepting their offer of mediation, had shown its willingness to try all avenues that might lead to a settlement.

The Strike Committee had tried, and would try, every means to achieve an honorable settlement, but they would never compromise on a principle. This sympathetic strike would never be called off till effective recognition had been given the principle of collective bargaining. (Loud cheers.)

Stop War on Telephone Girls

Comrade Bray said the soldiers had been informed that Superintendent Williams had notified six telephone girls that the Citizens' Committee would not allow the Government to reinstate them. What usurped authority did that Soviet bunch at the bureau enjoy?

He also stated that he had reliable information that there was a plot on foot to place bombs upon the persons of some of the strike leaders and then arrest them.

He was credibly informed that a squadron of the Fort Garry Horse was kept at attention last Saturday from the time the returned men gathered to parade until they dispersed.

authorities had placed machine guns in strategic positions in the Parliament Buildings?

Premier Norris said he had no knowledge of any such action.

Comrade Bray, in concluding, challenged the Government to take a referendum vote on the principle of collective bargaining.

Fifty-Fifty

Comrade Bathie protested that he had been misunderstood. He was for the returned men all the time and any man who would not back the workers was no man. When he said fifty-fifty—he meant a square deal for every speaker. He contended that an element other than returned men had tried to get into the parade on Saturday. (Shouts of, No! No!)"

"How about Mrs. Armstrong?" "She is with Labor."

He has suggested going to the Industrial Bureau and letting only returned soldiers in.

A voice—"It was too late."

Comrade Bathie—"Is this a returned soldiers' meeting or a labor meeting?"

Chorus—"Fifty-Fifty."

Who Would Be Hurt

Comrade Farnell pointed out that Mrs. Armstrong had

not spoken on Saturday. The committee in charge had restricted the speaking to returned men.

Comrade Bathie's suggestion about the Industrial Bureau had been made too late to be acted upon. He thought the Premier would like to pass the Legislation asked for, but that in some way the Committee of 1000 had tied his hands. But he hoped the Premier would have backbone enough to call a special session and legalize collective bargaining. Such action would benefit the great majority and hurt nobody except the Committee of 1000.

Oration on the Flag

Comrade Munro had been taught that red in the flag represented bravery; white, purity; and blue, justice. He asked the Premier to be brave and act for the welfare of the majority on behalf of purity and justice. Act, said he, according to the colors of the flag.

Return in the Morning

Comrade Bray thanked the Premier for the interview and announced that the delegation would return in the morning to ascertain if, after further consideration, the Premier would either call a special session or resign.

March to St. Boniface and Industrial Bureau

Appealing for a continuance of the perfect order which had prevailed, Comrade Bray announced that on leaving the Parliament the soldiers would parade to St. Boniface to insist that the City Council there withdraw its ultimatum to its employees, and from there parade to the Industrial Bureau.

On the way to St. Boniface the march was past the Industrial Bureau. There, the big sign, reading: "Headquarters of Citizens' Committee of 1000," caught their eye, and it was soon in their hands.

The Committee of 1000 were nowhere to be found, and, on the advice of the police, the crowd started for St. Boniface.

Their march was headed this time by the Union Jack and the "Committee" sign mounted on two tall poles. It was evident that the headquarters had suddenly been transferred from 1,000 men to some 10,000.

Mayor of St. Boniface

The boys say that they found the Mayor of St. Boniface white. He agreed to call off all scabs from civic

employ and man the plants wholly with volunteers. He had called a meeting of the Council and the policemen's ultimatum would be discussed thereat, and he would be prepared to give them an answer at 11 a.m. tomorrow.

City Hall Again

From St. Boniface the soldiers returned to the Winnipeg City Hall. But their quarry had again escaped. Mayor Gray and the Council had been run to earth on Saturday and they had no desire to meet the soldiers again.

The boys laughingly said: "We'll call again in the sweet by and by."

On to Victoria Park

Leaving the City Hall the flag once more swayed across Main Street. Some of Eaton's rigs were unloading at a warehouse; and the drivers had an uncomfortable fifteen minutes. Finally someone called out: "A guilty conscience needs no condemnation. Leave them to themselves," and then on surged the marching army.

Just behind the same warehouse a Cocoa-Cola wagon was unloading. The soldiers wanted to know whether it was loaded with machine guns or "pop" guns, and they made a speedy examination.

When it was found to be "pop" the crowd booted the drivers and gave them generally a hot time.

Then the move was made to Victoria Park.

They speedily filled this to overflowing. Various speakers dealt with the strike situation, and all were once again urged to maintain order under all conditions.

The crowd here was composed of soldiers and civilians, and both were on the platform as speakers.

Nothing but the best of good humor was manifest. They had made their jaunt. They were tired and hungry. But, for a few minutes before they went home to eat, they had to have a good time.

Determination, optimism, and solidarity are there as never before. It is only a matter of days when their tremendous power will compel a satisfactory solution.

Tomorrow morning at 10.30 the Market Square will again be the place for the gathering of the class.

DOINGS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

On June 3rd, whilst the returned soldier strikers were having their third interview with Premier Norris and the

Provincial Cabinet, Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M.P., was saying in the House of Commons at Ottawa:

"The hand of the Government should not be hampered, and that full liberty of action should be given it in order to affect a speedy settlement of the industrial troubles. Still he regarded the situation as largely the result of negligence, maladministration and blunders on the part of the Government. Troubles were spreading in place where formerly there was peace. Governmental action had been impotent and inadequate."

Which statements are in somewhat startling contrast to the words of Dr. M. R. Blake, representing North Winnipeg in the same House of Commons, who, speaking on June 2nd, is reported in the Manitoba Free Press as follows:

Ottawa, June 2.—Dr. M. R. Blake, of Winnipeg north, moved the adjournment of the commons this afternoon to discuss the strikes in Winnipeg and other Canadian cities. He was seconded by W. F. Nickle, of Kingston.

Dr. Blake stated that the great majority of labor men in Winnipeg had not voted in favor of a strike. This was evidenced by the fact that only 8,600 cast the votes for a strike, although about 35,000 were now out. The heart of labor was all right, he said, but many of the labor leaders were wrong. He agreed with the Minister of Labor that the situation in Winnipeg partook more of the nature of a revolution than a strike.

As a result of this report, a mass meeting of his constituents was held in St. John's Park, on the evening of June 4th, attended by over six thousand, to protest against this attitude of Dr. Blake, and stating that he had not represented the views of his constituents.

In further contrast to these statements of Dr. Blake was the speech of Major G. W. Andrews, D.S.O., M.P., speaking on June 2nd, in the House, in relation to the Winnipeg Strike as taken from the Hansard report:

MAJOR G. W. ANDREWS, D.S.O., M.P., DEFENDS WINNIPEG STRIKERS IN PARLIAMENT

**Strikers Are As Loyal Citizens As Canada Ever Had—
Collective Bargaining Necessary—Demands Backed by
League of Nations—Sympathetic Strike Natural and
Logical—Repudiates Bolshevism—Time For Change of
Government.**

Winnipeg Member's Testimony

Major G. W. Andrews, D.S.O., M.P., (Centre Winnipeg)
in House of Commons, June 2, 1919. (Hansard report).

When the election was on, a year and a half ago, it was my privilege to address an audience of Winnipeg work-ingmen on the subject of winning the war. The issue at that time was quite clear cut. I told them I was a candi-date for the Union Government and as such stood for the conscription of men. I pointed out that this meant the particular men I was talking to. I also told them that I stood for the conscription of money, which meant their money, and for the conscription of the last dollar and the last man in Canada, if need be, to win the war. That was pretty straight talking. When I got through one of the men got up and said: "Well, we understand exactly what you mean now." I told them I would not think of going over the top with men who were not prepared to go all the way. When the 17th December came they knew exactly what it meant for the men who were going to the war. When the election was over, in spite of the fact that my opponent was the secretary of the labor union, it was found that they had voted for me in the proportion of three to one.

These are the men who, today, are on strike. There is certainly something wrong somewhere. In addition to those men, as good and as loyal citizens as Canada ever had, there are many of my own comrades who stood in the trenches in France; they are on strike. I say, stand-ing in my place here, that eighty per cent. of the returned men of Winnipeg are in sympathy with the strikers and the object of this strike.

On the first of May the men of the Metal Trades went on strike, partly because the masters refused an eight-hour day and a larger hour wage, but chiefly because of the employers' refusal to recognize their union. The building trade employees presented their schedule to the masters who frankly admitted its fairness and reason-ableness, but declared their inability to meet the demand. Here we have the two vital causes of the strike (1) a living wage, and (2) the right to organize. This is the cause of the strike in my opinion after the most careful consideration and after using every means in my power to find out the facts. When the ironmasters let it become known that they were going to make it a trial of endur-

ance, the Trades and Labor Council called for a sympathetic strike of all organized labor in the city. A vote was taken, and all unions, including public utilities, came out.

The single workman is helpless against the great corporation; the individual union or craft is equally so. Collective bargaining is the logical outcome of organization, and it is now too late in the day for any corporation to refuse it—that principle is embodied as one of the provisions of the charter of labor formed by the League of Nations.

The sympathetic strike is the natural and logical sequence of organization. What more natural than that men who have interests in common should stand together in an emergency? A particular union or craft in striking may be striking for a principle that is absolutely vital to every man in the industry and just as the employers can down one single man so they can down a single union unless all stand together. This is co-operation; it is brotherhood, and it is absolutely the same principle of sticking together that was employed in France.

There is another point I want to touch upon for a moment or two. Twice this afternoon I have heard the term "Bolsheviks" applied to the strike leaders in Winnipeg. Gentlemen, if you apply the term to those men you apply it to me, because they are my friends. There is a man called Jas. Winning, a good, level-headed Scotchman, who has spent practically all his life working for his fellowmen. The only erratic thing he has done in this agitation has been closing down the press and participating in the strike. As to the press, I had the misfortune to hear an Honourable Gentleman, one of the oldest members in the chamber, state his opinion that the press was corrupt, and he was not called a "Bolshevik" for saying that. If ever a strike by workingmen in newspaper offices was justified it was in this case if the newspapers were not playing the game. There is another man called Russell in Winnipeg. Russell is a Socialist and not a man who advocates force. I know these men, and for them force would be absolutely the last resource. Russell wants a change. So does Robinson, so does Simpson, and so does Rigg. They want a change because they are not satisfied with present conditions. How many Honourable Gentlemen in this House are satisfied? I venture to say many of them would welcome a change of Government.

Mr. Andrews: "I feel a little that way myself, but I would like to see some further action by the Union Government first.

Some Honourable Members: "Hear! Hear!"

PARADE AND COUNTER PARADE

Wednesday, June 5th, was perhaps one of the most interesting days of the whole strike. It was in the morning of this day the soldier strikers paraded with such effect through the wealthy residential districts of South Winnipeg, some four thousand strong. It was to the "boys" a reminder of some of the happier days of service, when "marching at ease" they would sing some of the old favorites or whistle to their heart's content. This was the day when the first counter parade was held at the instigation of the Citizens' Committee of 1000, and those they represented, a parade of any returned man, who has sunk to the level of a scab.

In the afternoon of this day, three crippled veterans limped into the Labor Temple, and told the Strike Committee of the plot by which they had been lead to lend themselves to such mean purposes, and this is their story:

"About 3.30 a.m. about 25 of the best cars in Winnipeg came out to Tuxedo Military Hospital and asked how many of the boys would like to join in the soldiers' labor parade, and, of course, lots of us went, but instead of being taken to Victoria Park, which we knew was used as the assembly place for the real parade, we were taken to near the corner of Broadway, in the rear of the Hudson's Bay Co., and though we thought there must be some mistake, it was not until we heard some of the speeches that we realized how we had been mislead, but it will never happen again."

Some of these same crippled veterans were placed in special positions at the City Hall to excite the sympathy of onlookers and help the cause for which this scab parade was called. It is a fact that almost all large plants in the city paid their scab employees for all time lost in attending these parades, and some went so far as to threaten their employees with dismissal, if they refused to attend. Notwithstanding these dispicable tactics the forces of reaction could not muster a sufficiently strong parade to suit their purpose, and so the ranks were numerically improved by calling up the lawyers, insurance and real estate clerks. If readers of this pamphlet could see the moving picture film

of the two parades they would have no doubts as to which was composed of real veterans.

This counter parade attended upon the Premier and upon Mayor Gray and tendered resolutions, couched in honeyed phrases, of their devotion to "Law and Order" and "Constituted Authority" and various members who were spokesmen for it boasted of the dire consequences that would follow if they were permitted to visit the Labor Temple. After listening to the lip service these men rendered the Governments, Civic, Provincial and Federal, Mayor Gray expressed his satisfaction by saying: "It is like a drink of new wine to hear such expressions of loyalty." But it is a singular fact that at the close of this much talked of "Loyalist" law and order demonstration, the police were called upon to arrest a man for carrying a gun (the first arrest during the strike) and despite the fact that to comply with his request would be a grave violation of the Law, Mayor Gray ran bare-headed through the street after the policeman in charge of the prisoner and demanded his release.

THE G. W. V. A. MEETING

End of Neutrality

On this same date for the first time during the course of the strike no fewer than four gunmen were arrested, two of them strangers to the city, but as different people in authority vouched for them, including Mayor Gray, they were released and no charge was laid against them.

In the afternoon of this day James Duncan, of Seattle, addressed an enthusiastic audience of over 10,000 in Victoria Park, the following account of the G. W. V. A. meeting of Wednesday, June 4th, taken from the "Strike Bulletin," speaks for itself:

GREAT WAR VETERANS ENDORSE STRIKE

Neutrality Ended—Mass Meeting, 2,000 Strong, Overrides Chairman—Emphatic Resolution Passed—Monster Parade Visits Crescentwood—Spectator Arrested For Pulling Gun—Counter Demonstration Organized—Some Soldiers Deluded Into It—Soldier Strike Supporters Meet in Victoria Park at Ten This Morning.

Some two thousand members jammed the Great War Veterans Association meeting in Manitoba Hall, Tuesday evening. It was soon evident that the great majority of those present were strongly in favor of the strike and its

objects. Some returned men who were working at Eaton's and had only joined the Association that afternoon were refused the privilege of the floor. An officer present said this treatment was an insult to those men. He was asked to apologize, but refused and left the meeting.

Resolution Instructing Executive to Support Strikers

"Whereas great changes have taken place in the strike situation in Winnipeg;

"And, whereas the time has come for the G. W. V. A. to declare its position as to which side is right in the present struggle;

"Therefore, be it resolved that this mass meeting of the G. W. V. A. go on record giving their entire support to the present strikers and that our Executive Board be instructed to give all necessary assistance to the workers now on strike in order to bring an early settlement."

Chairman Over-Ruled

Vice-Pres. J. O. Newton, who was in the chair, expostulated that this resolution was out of order, as the policy of the Association was one of neutrality.

The meeting, however, over-ruled his decision by more than a two-thirds majority and the resolution was sustained.

The following excerpts from the same source are worthy of reproduction at this time, as throwing considerable light upon actual happenings:

THE NAMELESS ONES

Where is the anonymous Citizens' (?) Committee? Who are they? Who is their chairman? Who elected them? Where are their headquarters? How many of them are there? Who gave them power over the City Council and the Parliaments? Who? Why? When? Where? What? It is all a mystery to the citizens as a whole.

They are rich men, of course. They can spend money on full page advertisements. They can publish the names of the labor delegates to the Calgary Convention. But their own names are never allowed to appear in public. Who are they? Why their timidity? Who is their chairman? Who? Who? Who?

Ah, said the owl: Who? Who? Who-oo? They work in the dark. They burrow underground. They hire others to plant their dark designs. They enroll a militia to fight their fight. They order the dailies to throw their mud

bombs. The editors who take the pay for their advertisements are the same men who malign and vilify and mislead and misrepresent, but who gives them their orders? The labor leaders are known, but who are these who fear the light and work in the night?

We venture to say that they are as much ashamed of their identity being known as they are of their cause being known. They pay others to say that the principles of the strike are not those of collective bargaining and a living wage. They hire lawyers to erect a straw man over the definition of collective bargaining. They purchase a press to prove that Bolshevism is the deep design of the workers. They concoct schemes about alien uprisings. They invent and design and lie "ad nauseam." But who are they?

Worry not as to who they are. Sufficient to know that there are the celebrities of the Manufacturers' Association, the Greater Winnipeg Board of Trade, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Real Estate Men's Association, etc. They are the men who believe in a living wage and the right to organize for themselves, but deny it to others. They cannot in decency give their names. So we must not ask the impossible.

After the arrests had proved the presence of hired thugs and gunmen (the usual policy of capitalism all over the world) the appeal of the Strike Committee to all strikers and their sympathisers to preserve law and order and beware of agitators was reiterated and the following appeared on the front page of the "Strike Bulletin," on the morning of June 5th:

STRIKERS, HOLD YOUR HORSES!

This is the hour when you can win

STEADY, BOYS, STEADY

KEEP QUIET

DO NOTHING

KEEP OUT OF TROUBLE

DON'T CARRY WEAPONS

Leave this to your Enemies

Continue to prove that you are the friends of law and order

The following account of what was perhaps the best and most inspiring of the many parades of the returned men, also appeared in the same issue. This parade was acknowledged to be the finest and best disciplined parade ever seen in the City of Winnipeg:

TEN THOUSAND MARCH FOR JUSTICE

Returned Soldiers Demonstrate Strength

Ten Thousand March For Strikers—Perfect Order Maintained—Clash Narrowly Averted—Labor Temple Not Visited by the One Thousand—Counter Demonstration a Side Issue—Provokes Some Trouble—Tribune Lies Exposed—Meet Again Today at 10 a.m.

Incensed by the despicable tactics of the Committee of 1000 and the gross misrepresentation by the kept press in reporting Wednesday's parade, the returned boys turned out yesterday morning, ten thousand strong, to demonstrate that they were supporting the strike in dead earnest. No sane man can now doubt where they stand. Yesterday's parade made the workers of Winnipeg thrill with pride and confidence and struck terror into the hearts of the one thousand autocrats. It was an inspiring sight to see the boys stepping blithely along behind the old flag to the skirl of the pipes and the roll of the drum. They marched south on Main, Portage and Kennedy, swung back along Broadway to Main, north to Selkirk, and back to Victoria Park.

Something Nearly Happened

When the boys reached the Royal Alexandra on the return march word was passed through the ranks that the One Thousand had carried out their threat and marched to the Labor Temple. The parade immediately became electric. In a trice every man had his handkerchief tied round his right arm. Teeth were set and steps quickened. The report, however, proved to be a false alarm as our boys swung from Main Street down James Street to the Labor Temple the crowd deserted the counter demonstration, which was at the City Hall, and left them to their own devices.

This parade not only proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the returned men are backing the strikers to the limit, but it was also a demonstration of the strength of labor. The soldiers kept the crowd clear of the parade, but on each side of them marched at least twenty thousand strikers and their sympathizers. Cheer after cheer from the bystanders proved that the real public is with the strikers.

Banners a Feature

Wednesday some of the soldier strikers got into the wrong parade by mistake. But this was remedied yes-

terday. A dozen banners proclaimed the objective of the soldiers. "Britons Never Shall Be Slaves." "Down With the Profiteers." "Deport ALL Undesirables." "We Stand For 35,000 Against 1,000," and "We Fought the Hun Over There. We Fight the Hun Everywhere," were some of the inscriptions.

On Guard

When the boys assembled in Victoria Park they were asked to stay there until it was seen if those who had threatened to raid the Labor Temple would attempt to carry out that threat. When it became evident that there was nothing doing they gradually dispersed to meet again in the morning.

THE EVENTFUL SIXTH OF JUNE, 1919

June 6th, 1919, is a day that will ever live in the annals not only of Winnipeg and Canada, but of the whole British Empire, for it was on this day that the infamous "Forty-minute" legislation was enacted at Ottawa. While these Winnipeg dailies were carrying full page advertisements, paid for by the Citizens' Committee of 1000, of which the following, taken from the "Free Press," of June 3rd, is a sample:

THE UNDESIRABLE CITIZEN IN OUR MIDST

How much longer is the alien to run amuck, to insult our flag, take it by force from Canadian-born citizens in our streets, continue his threatening attitude to Law and Order, is the question thousands are daily demanding our Citizens' Committee of One Thousand to answer.

During the past four years when aged fathers and mothers, when wives and sisters were bullied and insulted by this element, they console each other by saying: "Just wait till the boys come home."

Must Deal With the Alien Now

There are some 27,000 registered alien enemies in Winnipeg district. The same "Reds" who are prominent leaders in this strike, led them during the war to hamper and block in every conceivable way, recruiting our reinforcements and supplies from going forward to the front.

The demand pouring in on our Citizens' Committee from thousands of loyal citizens that the alien question has reached the limit of endurance and must be dealt with now is receiving your Committee's grave consideration.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF ONE THOUSAND.

And whilst the kept press of the Dominion were bending all their energies in the same direction, presumably at the instigation of the same interests, the Senate at Ottawa defeated Senator Bradbury's amendment to the Immigration Act, expressly forbidding immigration from enemy countries, an amendment which, he said, was "called for by the blood of 55,000 Canadian dead," by a vote of 26 to 19, an achievement which should prove to the most sceptical the shallowness of capitalistic pretensions.

WHO SAID CONSPIRACY

The doings of this day afford conclusive proof of one of the most dastardly "conspiracies," not on the part of the workers or any of their organizations, but on the part of organized capital and the Government it controls. It was about this time that the Government of Canada was seeking a loan of \$100,000,000 from the financial magnates of Wall Street, and it was rumored in Winnipeg, and it was the report in Ottawa, that one or more representatives of these same interests were insisting that drastic action be taken by the Government to put down the "Revolution" in Western Canada, before the loan would be made. The Immigration Act, which had already been amended during that session of the House, was further amended to enable the Government to deport British Born subjects. This was done and the bill read the third time in both houses and given the Governor-General's assent in less than 40 minutes.

GENERAL KETCHEN AND THE LOYALISTS

Whilst this was being done at Ottawa, the so-called "Loyalist Returned Soldier Association," (the outcome of "scab parade" referred to earlier in these pages), was holding a meeting in the Amphitheatre and listening to violent speeches of an inflammatory nature from various speakers. It was at this gathering that Mayor Gray stated that he could not countenance any violence, "but he would advise those present to march around the Labor Temple, seven times seven, as the Israelites of old did around Jericho, and perhaps the walls would fall down."

The principal speaker at this gathering and the guest of honor was Brig.-Gen. H. D. S. Ketchen, O.C., M.D. 10, and that he was in on the conspiracy to rob British-born men and women of their citizenship is proved by his words as reported in the following article taken from the "Free

Press Evening Bulletin," of June 6th, 1919:

TO DEAL WITH UNDESIRABLES, SAYS KETCHEN
Military Head Cheered to Echo by Loyalist Veterans at
Mass Meeting—Further Response to Mayor's
Appeal for Constables.

Brig.-Gen. H. D. B. Ketchen told a mass meeting of the Returned Soldiers' Loyalist Association in the Auditorium Rink this morning that all undesirables, alien and otherwise, would be fully dealt with. This assurance, coming from the officer commanding Military District 10, encouraged the veterans to a wild demonstration of enthusiasm. Following a second appeal by Mayor C. F. Gray, hundreds of the returned men remained after the meeting to be sworn in as special constables. The Mayor's proclamation, banning parades, was received by the loyal veterans in good spirit and without a single voice in opposition. With hand raised in salute, General Ketchen stood on the platform while the immense gathering of returned soldiers roared out three cheers and a "tiger." Mayor Gray also was greeted with deafening applause and cheering when he appeared.

Gen. Ketchen Speaks

Brig.-Gen. Ketchen first said to the men—"I want to congratulate you, the loyal veterans, on the stand you have taken, showing that you are absolutely behind law and order and for the constituted rights of this country. I know there is one point on which you would like assurance from me. Is the undesirable element, alien and otherwise, to be dealt with? I am not permitted by the Government or anybody to make this announcement to you. However, I want to tell you, as one of yourselves, that I can give you my assurance that at this present moment steps are being taken in that direction.

"Every one of those fellows, alien or otherwise, who have shown themselves to be undesirable, will be dealt with fully."

Here clamorous cheering forced the general to pause. He was unable to speak for about two minutes.

Continuing, he said—"I think that when the time comes for this information to be given to you officially, you will realize that I have told you only a part of it. Right now it is our duty to support civic authority, and I would ask you to do your best in backing up the Mayor in whatever he puts before you.

"If the time comes when the Mayor is unable to handle the situation he knows what he can do. And if that situation arises I know that every right thinking returned soldier in Winnipeg is going to support me."

Mayor Cheered Loudly

Mayor Gray, on rising to speak, was cheered with wild enthusiasm. He said—"Yesterday I had the privilege of addressing you. When I got back to the City Hall one of my own aldermen said to me, 'I was at that meeting, Gray, and you did nothing but incite riot.' "

Name him! Name him!" the crowd shrieked.

"Alderman Robinson!" the Mayor shouted in reply.

"Shame! Shame!" the crowd returned, many continuing to jeer until the Mayor raised his hand to speak further.

"I am in a very difficult position," he continued. "When that trouble occurred in front of the City Hall yesterday people came to me and said, 'Read the Riot Act! Call out the military!' But not a bit of it. We do not need that action yet." (Prolonged applause.)

Acts Constitutionally

"I am going to appeal to you, as I did yesterday, to stand behind me and help me all you can smashing this thing constitutionally. If I cannot handle the situation with two thousand men I want to feel that it is only an advance guard and that I can call on every one of you. When this thing is over the British flag will still be on the City Hall, and not the red flag!"

Someone called from the audience, "What about Duncan, of Seattle?"

"He is out of town," the Mayor replied. "We can trust to the general to deal with men of Duncan's type. He is not going to lie down until he finishes the job."

Capt. Charles Wheeler delivered another characteristic anti-Bolshevist speech and appealed to the men to remain behind after the adjournment of the meeting, to be sworn in as special constables.

C. V. Combe appealed for volunteers to ensure distribution of the Manitoba Veteran, the official organ of the G.W.V.A., the second issue of which is just off the press. He declared that posters would be placed around the city today saying, "Neutrality means Bolshevism, says the G.W.V.A."

Start Referendum

A good start was made Thursday by Secretary Laidlaw, of Winnipeg Great War Veterans, in sending out circulars for a referendum vote of the 10,000 members on the action of the Executive in repudiating the proceedings at Tuesday night's fiasco meeting and in lining up the Association unequivocally on the side of constituted authority as against the forces of Bolshevism. There is no doubt in the mind of the officials as to what the result of the vote will be. They are absolutely confident that the overwhelming majority of the returned soldiers will vindicate the Executive's action.

The strong stand taken by the Executive, it is of interest to note, was enthusiastically confirmed yesterday by the Returned Soldiers' Loyalist Association, which has been formed for the purpose of prominently displaying the attitude of the great mass of veterans in the city while the strike is on.

MAYOR GRAY BANNS PARADES

It was on this day also that Mayor Gray issued his proclamation banning parades, a procedure which is unconstitutional. But the big parade planned for this day, headed by the Pipers' Band, with the Transcona Brass Band, and a Drum and Fife Band, were requested by the police not to continue the parade, as they had instructions to stop it, and it would likely cause disorder, and as this was the one thing desired by the reactionary interests it was decided to comply with the request, and the parade was marched back to Victoria Park, where cheers were called for the police, and drew a hearty response from all present.

A committee was then dispatched to interview the Mayor and ask his reasons for banning the parades, and his answer was that it was on instructions from the Attorney-General for the Dominion, Mr. Arthur Meighen. He was then invited to speak to the returned men in the park the following day, which he consented to do.

ARRIVAL OF DOMINION DELEGATES

By this time the strike has spread to towns and cities, East and West, and in view of the general situation it was deemed advisable to have delegates from all outside points to sit on the Strike Committee in order to better keep in touch with the workers who were so practically demonstrating their sympathy with the workers in Winnipeg in their

fight for the recognition of collective bargaining and the right to a living wage.

The following two messages received by the Strike Committee and reprinted from the "Strike Bulletin," of June 7th, will give the reader some idea of the widespread interest that was being taken in the Winnipeg situation:

VANCOUVER GOING STRONG

A wire from Vancouver stated that the whole waterfront was tied up, the strike was progressing, and a complete tie-up was expected within 48 hours.

Minneapolis Offers Aid

The Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly voted unanimously Wednesday evening to send fraternal greetings to the men and women of Canada who are so courageously winning a victory, not only for themselves, but for the workers all over the world. Your solidarity will be an inspiration to American organized labor in these days of turmoil. Be assured that we are with you to the end. In whatever way we can assist you command us.

Yours fraternally,

Minneapolis Trades and
Labor Assembly,

L. SINTON, Secretary.

MAYOR GRAY BEFORE SOLDIERS' PARLIAMENT

On Saturday, June 7th, Mayor Gray addressed the Soldiers' Parliament in Victoria Park and made many significant statements and admissions. He stated that General Ketchen had been pressed continually by a certain section of the community to call out the military, but he had refused each time. In answer to requests for permission to parade, he said:

"No, gentlemen, you are for law and order. I know it. I wish all the people could see you, it would remove a lot of misunderstanding. This is the most orderly meeting I have addressed for some time. I honor and respect you."

One comrade present asked: "What did you do for the babies when the Crescent Creamery put on milkless days?" And the Mayor answered, while scratching his head: "How would you like to be me."

STRIKE COMMITTEE

At this time the chief business of the General Strike Committee was the receiving and dispatching of wires and com-

munications from outside points, though there were almost daily conferences between the Central Committee and different bodies in the city anxious to effect a satisfactory settlement.

Added to these duties was the provision of speakers for the daily meetings in Victoria Park, St. John's Park, St. James' Park, Norwood Ball Park and the many other places where the strikers gathered to hear the progress that was being made.

WOODSWORTH ARRIVES

On Sunday, June 8th, there arrived in Winnipeg Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, formerly Methodist Minister, later in charge of Social Research work for the three Prairie Governments, and still later, a longshoreman on the water front in Vancouver, and the crowds that assembled to hear him at the Labor Church service in Victoria Park in the evening, was a testimony to the high esteem in which he is held in the city, that was the scene of his activities in his ministerial capacity.

It was at this gathering the workers of Winnipeg were introduced to a man of sterling worth, and of whom they cherish the most pleasant thoughts in the person of the Rev. Canon Scott (Lieutenant-Colonel) who has been referred to as the "Idol of the first contingent." Canon Scott came all the way from Quebec, when he heard that some of his old boys of the 27th Battalion were engaged in another "war," and of his excellent services we shall speak later.

The following is from the "Strike Bulletin," of June 9th, 1919:

WOODSWORTH ADDRESSES 10,000 AT LABOR CHURCH

**Dixon, Dobinson, Rev. Canon Scott, and J. S. Woodsworth
Speakers—Offering \$1,540.00 Given to Strikers—Marvellous Spirit of Solidarity—Voluminous Decision to
Continue Strike—Greatest Meeting in History of City.**

What was easily the greatest meeting ever held in this city was held in Victoria Park on Sunday night. For three hours some 10,000 people at the Labor Church listened with rapt attention to a masterpiece address on the economic situation, from J. S. Woodsworth. The offering amounted to some \$1,540.00 and was given to the strike fund to feed the striking girls and needy families. It was a truly marvellous gathering from start to finish. F. J. Dixon was the first speaker. He caught the crowd

from the first moment. Ald. E. Robinson was also quite equal to the occasion. He outlined the situation to date and exhorted the strikers to stand fast. We will give a further report in next issue.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE AND FINANCE

Monday, June 9th, was another red letter day in the history of Winnipeg. Great excitement was caused in the strikers' ranks when a comrade produced copies of letters that had been sent out to business men appealing for financial support, and a perusal of these letters will show the determination of the vested interests to break the strike at any cost. The following is from the "Strike Bulletin," of June 10th, 1919:

\$1,000,000.00 TO CRUSH STRIKERS

Plan of Finance of Committee of 1000 Exposed—One Million Dollars Subscribed to Defeat Strikers—Volunteers Will be Compensated for Time Lost—Frantic Appeal for More Funds.

To prove to the workers that this is a fight to the death, we publish the financial side of the efforts of the Committee of 1000 to defeat us. We have our dollars and justice, they have their hundreds of thousands and injustice. The strike is costing them millions, we must stay with the game, and, if necessary, a plan must be devised to compel the 1000 to feed the strikers. A hungry multitude is a menace to our civilization. We shall not starve in spite of their millions. We shall fight on and win.

Here are the facts as taken from various communications sent out by the 1000 Committee:

Copy of Letters

"Dear Sir,—This will serve to acknowledge receipt of yours of even date, enclosing signatures to the compensation fund, totalling \$249,000. On behalf of our Committee I beg to express their sincere thanks to yourself and those responsible for securing these pledges.

"Answering several enquiries you have received I am authorized to say that the Compensation Board of Citizens' Committee of 1000 will administer the fund in the following manner:

"No. 1. Whatever claims may be received will be fully investigated and, if found deserving, suitable compensation will be awarded and amount paid by Union Bank of Canada.

"2. The fund at this date is approximately \$800,000 and in all possibility will be increased to \$1,000,000.

3. The object of this fund is to provide compensation for injury or loss to volunteer workers serving at the request of the Citizens' Committee during the present strike and on its termination the Board will assess to each signatory his or their share of the total disbursement made by the Compensation Board in the proportion of amount subscribed by him or them to the total amount pledged.

"We hope this will satisfactorily answer points mentioned in your letter and that you will be good enough to so advise under authority of this Board those making such enquiries. Yours very truly,

"W. H. McWILLIAM, Chairman."

One Million Dollars Not Enough

"Dear Sirs,—The Finance Committee of the Citizens' Executive of 1000 find it necessary to raise some further moneys to carry on in order to defray unavoidable expense at the present time. All commercial interests in the city are being canvassed to renew or increase their recent contribution. We have been asked to appeal to _____ for further contribution of \$25 or \$50. Can we ask you, please, to do the needful and send it down on behalf of the Citizens' Committee of 1000.

"H. BAIRD, and C. LILL."

These letters will give to the strikers the strength of the situation against them. Those who think the strikers are on strike just for fun will begin to grasp the significance of the strike from this million dollars to defeat us.

Where did their million come from? They robbed it from the workers. Now they use it to defeat them in the strike. We demand that the system that permits this shall be changed in the future. We demand today that we get a living wage through the right to collective bargaining.

After Gen. Ketchen and Canon Scott had spoken, resolutions were passed (and afterwards forwarded to the respective Governments concerned) calling upon the Federal, Provincial and Civic Governments to withdraw the "Ultimatum" submitted to their respective employees.

**CITY COUNCIL, POLICE COMMISSION, AND POLICE
LOCK OUT**

Despite this resolution of protest, and pleading of strong

delegations before the City Council, and later before the Police Commission, these bodies yielded to the pressure that was applied by the big interests as represented by the Citizens' Committee of 1000. Orders were issued to the Chief of Police, instructing him to call upon all members of the force to sign the agreement, which has well been designated a "Slave Pact." Each constable as he came off his beat was taken into the office of the chief and asked to sign, but despite his pleading, and his strong urging of every selfish reason why some of his old comrades should turn traitor to their fellows, every constable justified the high esteem in which the force was held, and refused to sign.

By 10 p.m. the entire force was locked out, and the City of Winnipeg was left without police protection.

In the afternoon a strong deputation from the returned soldiers waited upon the Police Commission to make a last plea that the Commission listen to the dictates of reason and common sense and not persist in the suicidal policy of dismissing the regular police force. At exactly 4 o'clock the chairman of the Police Commission informed that deputation that the matter was then under consideration by the Board and no decision had been arrived at.

In view of this statement of Ald. Sparling, chairman of the Police Commission, the deputation were amazed to find as they left the offices of the Board at 4.15 p.m., that newspapers were already on sale by the newsboys, stating in glaring headlines that the police were to be dismissed if they refused to sign the new agreement, and giving the decision of the Police Commission to that effect.

GENERAL KETCHEN AND CANON SCOTT

At the Labor Church meeting in Victoria Park the night before the appearance of Lieut.-Col. (Rev. Canon) Scott had excited much enthusiasm and as Brig.-Gen. Ketchen was invited to address the Soldiers' Parliament on Monday morning, an invitation was also extended to Canon Scott.

Gen. Ketchen arrived in the Park amidst the cheers of some thousands of returned men, hundreds of whom had served with him in France and Flanders. He is not a brilliant speaker, and was somewhat hesitant in giving replies to some of the questions put to him at the meeting, whether on account of his ignorance of the subject matter, or as a matter of diplomacy, it is hard to say, but there was no hesitation, but absolute sincerity in voice and manner when he said:

"I wish to compliment you, boys, on the orderliness and perfect discipline of your parades." After General Ketchen had spoken there were loud calls for Canon Scott.

In his opening remarks he told how he had served as chaplain with the First Canadian Contingent; how he heard in Quebec of the "war" that was raging in Winnipeg and felt that he should be with his "boys" in the new warfare; how despite the protestations of his family he had come all the way West to be with them and to use whatever influence he had to help effect a settlement.

The following clipping from the "Strike Bulletin" will show how he felt after he had been in the city a few hours, and had got a little insight and first-hand information:

CANON SCOTT SPEAKS

Pressed by the returned men to mount the rostrum, Canon Scott gave another of his characteristic good-humored speeches. He had been invited Sunday night to All Saints' Church, but had come to All Sinners. Perhaps some capitalist would hit him with a gold brick for doing that. He thought there was misunderstanding on both sides. It seemed to him that the initial mistake had been made when some men had been refused the right to form an organization that was quite legal.

Collective bargaining should not be objected to. Opposition to it was unconstitutional. Winnipeg was tame compared with what he had expected. The workers must be given an intelligent interest in industry and a share in the profits. They must stick until the workers got their just rights and those on strike were reinstated. The cheering was renewed as Canon Scott concluded, and many pressed forward to shake him by the hand. One veteran remarked: "The last time I saw Canon Scott was at Hill 70."

It would be interesting to know two things in this connection, but the facts are to this day withheld from the public knowledge. The first is: "Why did Ald. Sparling and other members of the Commission tell the deputation that 'No decision had been arrived at,' if such a statement was not correct?" And the second: "What was the conspiracy, and who were the conspirators that were so sure of the operation of the machine that they dared to give the results of the deliberation of the Board to the newspapers before a decision had been arrived at?"

The feeling throughout the city was one of great indignation at this policy of the Police Commission, and the Soldiers' Parliament, the following morning, passed the two following resolutions:

ACTION OF THE CITY COUNCIL—GENERAL SITUATION

Whereas, we learn with regret that the City Council has shown by their attitude all through this trouble that they are not attempting to voice the will of the majority of the Citizens, but have lent themselves to further the ends of the financial interests of this city, who are a comparatively small minority; and by their actions have proven themselves in opposition to the true spirit of Democracy which we, the returned soldiers, have fought for on the fields of Flanders;

Therefore be it resolved, that we, the returned soldiers, call upon the Mayor and his Council to immediately take the necessary steps to have a plebiscite of the citizens taken, in order to demonstrate that our contentions are the wishes of the vast majority of the citizens of Winnipeg.

R. E. BRAY, Chairman,
F. H. DUNN, Secretary.

ACTION RE POLICE

We, returned soldiers of the City of Winnipeg, in mass meeting assembled in the Victoria Park, strongly condemn the action of the City Council and Police Commission in dismissing the members of the police force of the city, for their refusal to sign away the liberty and right of every British citizen.

We heartily endorse the action of the police force in refusing to sign a new agreement, and demand full reinstatement of all men so dismissed; failing which members of the City Council favoring such action immediately resign and appeal to the electors.

R. E. BRAY, Chairman.
F. H. DUNN, Secretary.

But the "interest" that was desirous of seeing violence and disorder on the streets had succeeded in their nefarious plans, they had applied sufficient pressure to have common sense and good judgement overruled and the way was open for the hirelings of capitalism to get in their deadly work.

The Policemen's Union, totalling 240 members, of which

nearly half had seen active service, fighting for the very principles for which they were now dismissed, passed the following resolution:

POLICE REQUEST HONOR ROLL BE VEILED

At a meeting of the Police Union yesterday, the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"That a delegation of returned soldier members interview the Chief Contable, Donald McPherson, requesting that the Roll of Honor situated in the Police Station be veiled, and the photographs of the men who gave their lives in defense of the Empire be taken from the walls until the police force is honorably reinstated to their positions without prejudice."

THE SPECIAL POLICE

After the dismissal of the regular police force, on Monday night, June 9th, the streets were patrolled by "Special Police," hired at the rate of \$6.00 a day. It had taken the "Regulars," a well organized, well disciplined force, many years of hard fighting to get a living wage, but the forces of reaction were willing to pay 2,000 green hands a larger salary without hesitation.

In this connection it may be well to recall the report of a deputation of returned men who waited upon Mayor Gray on June 2nd, when the "slave pact" was first under discussion with him.

At that interview Mayor Gray repeatedly asserted that he had "inside information" of a well organized plan to take control of the city and that he was in receipt of letters from every part of the city stating that the regular police were not doing their duty. He stated, if the deputation only knew what he knew they would be shocked; that the "Bolshevists" fully intended to bring about a revolution, etc., etc.

To this Comrade A. E. Moore said: "If you will give us the information, and we think we are entitled to it, 10,000 returned men will clean up any organization with such foolish notions." Needless to say, Mayor Gray could not give what he did not possess. He further stated to this delegation that he "was credibly informed that it was the intention of the police force to come out on strike if asked again by the Strike Committee, and he had reason to believe it was the intention of the Strike Committee to ask them to do so."

When the members of the deputation told him there was absolutely no ground for his fears, that there was no such



J. S. Woodsworth

intention either on the part of the Strike Committee or of the police force, he said:

"Will you guarantee me 200 men to maintain law and order in such an eventuality?" and he was immediately pledged, on behalf of the returned soldier strikers, the support of 2,000, who would serve "without pay" for the duration of the strike, if the police force came out on strike.

But after the arbitrary action of the Police Commission in locking out the regular force, instead of availing himself of the services of these men, which could have saved the city something like \$225,000, men were hired at the rate of \$6.00 per day.

These "Specials" appeared on the street on the morning of June 10th, armed with a "New Emblem of Democracy," in the shape of wagon neck-yokes sawn in two and about the shape of a baseball bat. These men, some mounted, some afoot, patrolled the city in sections of six. Instead of the one "man in blue" who had hitherto succeeded in directing and controlling all the traffic at Winnipeg's busiest intersection, there appeared at about 11 a.m. Tuesday, two of these imitation policemen, which number officially or otherwise, was doubled later in the day.

It was a lovely summer day, the streets were crowded with sightseers, men, women and children. In the absence of street cars, automobiles of every make and description thronged the streets, and the "green" pointsmen, whether from over excitement, or a new sense of dignity and importance, got somewhat muddled, and where one "blue coat" had been able to keep traffic moving, including a street car every two minutes, these two soon got hopelessly tangled, and at one o'clock there was every indication of incompetence and incapacity on the part of these two specials as pointsmen.

Their dilemma was the subject of many jocular remarks on the part of the passers by, but about 1.45 p.m. the situation got worse, the hundreds of people on the streets saw the amusing spectacle of these two pointsmen who should have acted in unison, so hopelessly out of harmony with each other that one was calling the traffic forward, whilst his partner behind was holding it back. Under these conditions it was only a few more minutes until the traffic was brought to a complete standstill.

The crowd started to ask embarrassing questions of the pointsmen, adding to their confusion: "Are you not afraid of being run over, standing in the middle of the street?" or

"Are you lost?" "Does your mother know where you are?" The crowd was having a good holiday time. It increased in numbers until the front ranks were crowded off the sidewalk on to the road. Some of the "patrols" came along and clothed with their brief authority started swinging their new "Emblems of Democracy" amongst the crowd of sight-seers, and when eventually a woman was struck on the arm, the real trouble started. A few returned men standing near resented the activity of the new guardian of the peace, and the last view of that particular "special" obtained by most of the crowd, was of a man, minus his hat, coat and half his shirt, seeking oblivion.

The mounted "specials" on their ponies (which it was commonly reported were the property of some of the large department stores of the city and lent for this particular purpose) here appeared on the scene and assembling in squadron formation, proceeded to charge into the crowd. Their activities, and the ruthless manner in which they charged into the crowds of women and children aroused all the latent antagonism of both men and women, and soon the air was thick with flying missiles—bottles, bricks, and any other loose material being used.

These mounted men had little more control over themselves and their actions than they had over the horses they rode. Their methods are only comparable to those of the Cossacks at their worst. They deliberately charged into the crowds on the sidewalks, swinging their clubs. Mayor Gray, himself an onlooker, admitted that their actions were unnecessarily harsh and callous, and was so impressed with the brutality of one man in particular that he made notes of the man's description, but no steps, so far as can be ascertained, were taken to punish any of these men, and certainly none have ever been brought to trial for such violation of every law of decency and humanity.

The blame for the whole business lies entirely at the door of the civic authorities, and the interests which dictated their action in dismissing the regular police and substituting such incompetents.

It was during this melee that a well known V. C. received his injuries. Notwithstanding the stories that appeared in the yellow press and which were spread broadcast through the world to the effect "That a V. C. hero had been brutally attacked, dragged from his horse, and nearly kicked to death by aliens" the same man has since sworn under oath, on three occasions, that he was never off his horse. So well did

the papers play up this little episode, that it was believed that he was on the verge of death, while, as a matter of fact, his injuries were only slight and it was at the hands of returned men and not aliens that he received his thrashing.

MAJOR LYLE, THE "SPECIALS" AND "THUGS"

The "Committee" of returned soldier strikers, realizing the possibility of serious rioting which might lead to bloodshed and the declaration of Martial Law, called upon the returned men in the crowd (which by this time numbered several thousands) to fall in at Victoria Park, the usual meeting place.

At that gathering a delegation was appointed to wait upon Mayor Gray with a request that the mounted men and the special constables be taken off the street in order that normal conditions would ensure.

To this request the only reply of the Mayor was an alternate thump on the palm of his hand and on his office table, accompanied by the expression: "By God, I am the Mayor of this city, and I will maintain law and order."

It was pointed out to him by the delegation that his position was not being disputed, but that it was the presence of the "mounties" and "specials" with their baseball bats that was directly inciting to disorder, but the delegation appealed to his common sense and reason all in vain for at least forty-five minutes, and then left his office with a reiteration by the Mayor as a farewell: "By God, I am Mayor of this city and will maintain law and order."

When the special police were hired, there appeared on the scene from somewhere (nobody seems to know here) one Major Lyle, and this gentleman was waiting for the deputation in the Mayor's outer office and with pale face and evident great agitation said to the departing delegation: "Boys, I wish you would come up to my office, if you have time." The delegation readily consented, and after being seated, accepted cigarettes at the invitation of Major Lyle, as to use his own expression: "We can discuss things reasonably if we smoke." When all were settled and smoking, great was the astonishment of the delegation to hear Major Lyle say: "Boys, I want your advice." It was quite a shock, after being maligned and villified as the instigators of revolution, to be called upon for advice from the organizer of a force of special police.

The first piece of advice that was tendered by the delegation, was that the mounted men be taken off the streets, and to this Major Lyle answered that they were violating his instructions in leaving their patrols and produced a copy of typewritten instructions which he claimed had been handed to every man before going on duty that day.

That the first piece of advice of the delegation was acted upon there is good reason to believe, as Major Lyle apologized for leaving the room, as he wished to telephone, and ten minutes afterwards the mounted men were on their way to their quarters, and Major Lyle, re-entering the room, said to the waiting delegation: "Now, that's done, am sorry to have kept you gentlemen waiting."

He then requested further advice from the delegation that would help him in his administration of the special force in such a manner as to minimize friction as much as possible. To this the delegation advised him to take away the clubs. To this he replied that he had issued instructions that the men should keep their batons concealed as much as possible. It was also pointed out that each constable should have a number, plainly visible for identification, in case some exceeded their authority. To this suggestion he readily agreed.

Then he was advised to send the men out singly or at most in two's and was promised the help and support of one or two thousand men, if necessary, in case of any infraction of the law. In answer to this suggestion he made a most astonishing and significant admission, as follows: "This force was recruited hurriedly, and I know there are a number of thugs amongst them. I have not had time to select them yet. I had to send them out six at a time, as it was only one in six that I could rely on, and I sent them out in that manner in order that the one I did know could keep the others in order."

It was further suggested to him that the men be not allowed to carry fire arms as they were nervous and would be apt to shoot each other or the public, and he said he had definitely instructed every man to that effect.

But that his instructions were not carried out was demonstrated one or two days later when one of the special force shot his comrade on Main Street during an arrest.

CANON SCOTT AND THE "SPECIALS"

Whilst the disorder at the corner of Main Street and Portage Avenue was at its height and the Soldier Parliament

were selecting their delegates to wait upon Mayor Gray, Canon Scott, in his Colonels uniform was addressing the crowd, from the seat of an automobile at the corner of Portage Avenue, pleading with them to disperse in the interests of law and order, and this the crowd was more than willing to do, if the scab policemen were recalled with their obnoxious baseball bats.

But the activities of Canon Scott and his individual sympathy with the strikers had been noted and the proof of capitalist displeasure was soon to be visited upon him. During his short stay in the city, coming here with an open mind, he had made it his duty to seek and obtain first-hand information from both sides.

The Strike Committee placed at his disposal all the minutes and correspondence, besides spending several hours in conveying information, but on his application for information from the Citizens' Committee of 1000 he was peremptorily refused and told they had nothing to say.

The worthy Canon also functioned as chairman at a joint meeting of representatives of the Loyalist Soldiers' Association and the Strike Committee, and on that occasion had to remonstrate with the strikers' opponents for their ungentlemanly manner in handling their part in the debate. Shortly after this the word was issued to Canon Scott to report for duty and with many regrets he said good-bye to his many new friends and acquaintances, and after a sharp rebuke to the Military officials who accompanied him to the train for their reactionary attitude to organized labor and its demands, he said: "I am getting old, but I am going to dedicate the rest of my life to fighting labor's battles." And "I shall go back to the East and tell to all I can that after being on the spot, seeing and knowing all from the inside, my sympathies are all with the strikers."

In closing references to this episode we append copies of two short articles appearing in the "Strike Bulletin," of June 12th, 1919:

POLICE REPLACED BY INCOMPETENTS

In the fracas on Portage Avenue Tuesday afternoon, one of the strikers had his head split open with a murderous looking chain some 16 inches long, covered with leather to make it stiff, to the end of which is attached a short heavy clevice and bolt.

This chain is one of three that were seen last week in a meeting held under the auspices of the Committee of

1000. There was another loaded hose pipe also, and the four weapons were handled by what was nick-named "The Dirty Four."

These men were at that time volunteers in a fire hall near Broadway.

Today our streets are filled with such men who have replaced the police. They are not maintaining law and order, but are brutally attacking any person who voices any opinion favorable to the strikers.

Black Hand Gang

Two of these thugs are known to be hold-up men. They have robbed homes and held up small store-keepers within the past 48 hours. Their presence is a disgrace to our City Council. They are thugs placed on the streets for the express purpose of creating trouble. They are the last actors in the most damnable piece of viciousness ever perpetrated.

Our Little Grey Mare

"Man, proud man, dressed in a little brief authority, plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven as makes the angels weep."

To see the special police mounted on prancing ponies and to think that these are the men who are supposed to be keeping law and order is ridiculous. Many of them are but mere youths. The novelty of the thing catches their imagination. But they have no cause to defend. They are paid mercenaries facing men aflame with a passion for justice who next to ignore the existence of the puny paid private police.

Some of these special police stayed in the Gladstone school over the week-end; and so vile were their minds that the teacher on Monday morning had the disgusting task of erasing obscene drawings from the blackboards and destroying obscene books, etc. before the children could be admitted.

These are the men upon whom we are asked to expend \$150,000.00 while our policemen, who nobly refused to become slaves after fighting for freedom, are dismissed from the force.

PERNICIOUS PRESS CAMPAIGN

A more pernicious press propaganda was never carried on than is being carried on at this time. The strikers for 24 days maintained such order that the police court record

was lower than normal. The hospitals had no victims of violence to care for. Scarce a single doctor could find anyone who had been injured. But this was not satisfactory to the 1000. There had to be special police, and the regular force had to walk the plank. Then the trouble started.

The Tribune, on Tuesday evening, had a headline: "Mounted police charge huge crowds in streets." It was the first sign of disorder on any large scale. One would naturally expect the dailies to be averse to such disorders and the dismissal of the police force which was responsible for such. But no, no, no. Instead of this we find a full column editorial condemning the police who had refused to become abject slaves, and lauding "the Police Commission" which "acted wisely."

The statement is made that the city has been only "half-heartedly policed since the strikes began." Let us hope, then, that the Tribune is satisfied with the present state of affairs. It is asking for more disorder in almost every line. Its propaganda is pernicious.

When there was no disorder and no arrests the city was half-heartedly policed. When men's heads are broken and mounted police charge the crowd conditions are apparently satisfactory, what will it be when "we have normal police protection."

Coupled with the above is the renewal of the campaign against the leaders. Deport the leaders and all will be well. No need to remove the cause of the trouble. Just deport the agitators. Don't touch the profiteers.

ARRESTS AND RUMORS OF ARRESTS

After the incidents of Tuesday afternoon, the city was left practically without police protection, in many respects resembled the frontier town one reads of in "dime novels" and "penny dreadfuls." Whilst the melee was in progress, the most innocent and harmless individuals were arrested and several sentenced later to terms of imprisonment on the most flimsy evidence, none of which was absolutely reliable and all being given by the servants and tools of "big business."

But the general feeling of resentment on the part of the vast majority of the population at the methods used by the authorities, led the better element in the ranks of the specials themselves to refuse to be used longer for such miserable work, and more than one tore their armlets from

their sleeves, and said they would not do such police duty for \$60.00 per day.

On Wednesday morning it was reported that out of the boasted force of 2000 only something like 36 returned up for duty, and many of these, it is rumored, refused to go out on patrol. Many complaints were lodged with the Strike Committee of criminal acts on the part of the members of the special force; one to the effect that two men, returning from the lumber camps, B.C., staying at a city hotel, were approached by one man wearing the armlet of the special police, and armed with a six-shooter, who told them he had a warrant to search them and their room, and arrest them, but was willing to let them go on a payment of \$10 each. After some argument they compromised by paying him \$5 each to avoid a scene.

The following three clippings from the "Strike Bulletin," of June 11th and 12th, 1919, and also of June 13th, will give the reader some insight into the action of the authorities and their servants and show to what lengths capitalism will go to beat the workers into submission:

A HUNNISH ATROCITY

A returned soldier, Wm. H. Jacques, who has been gassed twice and is suffering from consumption, was thrown into jail last Monday without a charge being laid against him. His wife, who is in a delicate condition, becoming alarmed at his non-appearance communicated with some of his comrades who discovered him in jail on Wednesday. Although Comrade Jacques was in a very bad state of health owing to the treatment he had received, and notwithstanding the fact that no charge had been preferred against him, his comrades could not secure his release until \$2,000 bail had been put up. This is a sample of the justice which is being meted out in Winnipeg in this year of our Lord 1919. It is part of the "Soldiers First" campaign.

PROSTITUTE JUSTICE

The record of our magistrates at this time is a travesty upon the very word justice. Gun men and thugs employed by, or friendly to, the Committee of 1000 and their servants the City Council, are released from the police station without so much as a charge being laid, while the wives of strikers are being held for a bail of \$2,000.00. Strikers are held for \$500.00; \$1,000.00 or

\$2,000.00. It is just another dastardly attempt to "bleed 'em dry."

Surely wrong rules the land and waiting justice stands.

SPECIAL POLICE THUGS ARE HOLDING UP AND ROBBING PEOPLE

A Disgrace That Cries to Heaven

Residents of Barber Street report to us that city special police have called at their homes, and by threatening them with their clubs have extorted what cash they could get. In one or two cases \$10.00 was secured. That is, they are daylight thugs paid \$6.00 a day for their work.

These specials have been sworn in by the city irrespective of their character or nationality. The one qualification is opposition to the strikers. One man who was signing up these men said openly that he would take a bunch of Germans if they would help to smash the strikers. They were supplied with bludgeons and carry them in their hands at all times.

Imagine such men as these being paid \$6.00 a day to maintain law and order. It is a disgrace to our city. It is time for it to end.

After Tuesday's disorder (the blame for which rests absolutely and entirely on the authorities) rumors were freely circulated that the many veiled threats of arrests and possibly deportation, under the Immigration Act, of some of the leading spokesmen for the strikers were to be put into effect, and the men who were, according to these rumors slated for arrest were constantly appealed to not to go around alone, but to avail themselves of the protection of the many who volunteered their services as a bodyguard, whilst on the other hand, it was no uncommon thing to hear whispers from friend to friend on the part of those whose personal safety was the first consideration, to "keep off the platform or else be very careful of what you say." It was at this time that some of the officers and organizers of the A.F. of L. "packed up their tents like the Arabs and silently stole away," only to be heard of later in distant fields, preaching docility and submission to the respectable, beneficent Government and employer recognized and blessed organization, the American Federation of Labor.

RUMOR PERSISTS

The following from the "Strike Bulletin," of June 12th, 1919, gives some indication of the extent to which the doings

of our opponents were known to the Strike Committee.

It was this faculty of getting information from reliable sources, of the contemplated action of the authorities at the dictates of the Citizens' Committee of 1000, that was so exasperating to our opponents and so frequently brought their plans to naught:

UGLY ACTION CONTEMPLATED

Rumors of Martial Law and Wholesale Arrests of Leaders

If the information that reached the Strike Committee last night proves to be correct, then things will be doing shortly.

It is said that between 100 and 150 strike leaders are slated for early arrest. Provincial police are pouring into the city. Part are being put into uniform, and others are dogging the steps of the strike leaders. They are wholly at the disposal of the authorities. In addition to these, the military members of the Committee of 1000 and their friends are being mobilized. The special strike militia has been ordered to stand to. All soldiers in the city are confined to barracks. The mobilization headquarters and ordinance corps is Minto Street Barracks. Private automobiles are standing under requisition. Each man is ordered to pick up four passengers and carry them to the barracks. Martial Law is to be declared, and an armored car is ready for action.

The latter course is contemplated in view of the disorder that is likely to ensue when the leaders are arrested. Such, in a nutshell, is the word that reaches us as we go to press.

It is known that Mayor Gray is at his wits' end. He said on Wednesday to a deputation: "I'm in a . . . of a fix. The Citizens' Committee has thrown me overboard. The strikers are against me. Even my old friend Knox McGee, has declared war on me because I refused to declare Martial Law." His only friends, he declared, were the returned soldiers in the camp of Labor, and he was not sure of them. He wanted to know if he could depend on their support at this stage. He was utterly dejected, and intimated that he had got to the point where he despaired altogether.

The solution is not in deportation or Martial Law. It is in **getting** the workers and the employers together.

Up to date, the Committee of 1000 has made this impossible.

SOLDIER PARLIAMENT AND WOMEN STRIKERS

From the "Strike Bulletin," Friday, June 13th, 1919:

WOMEN ATTEND SOLDIERS' PARLIAMENT

Returned Men Jailed Without Charge—Woodsworth Speaks on Woman's Rights—Equal Pay for Equal Work—Dixon Exposes Tribune—Martin Denounces Telephone Buncombe—Rental Agents Threat Ridiculed—Committee Reports this Morning.

It was ladies' day at the Soldiers' Parliament in Victoria Park yesterday morning. At the invitation of the committee in charge a large number of women and girl strikers occupied seats of honor near the central platform. In the rear stood the returned men and a number of strikers.

Comrade Bray called attention to the fact that returned soldiers were being thrown into jail without a charge being made against them and then \$2,000 bail demanded before they were released.

Law and Order

He read from a letter by Col. Wm. Morley the line of action to be taken by his men in case of serious disturbance. The audience cheered when Comrade Bray announced that the returned men would not be intimidated from doing what was just and right by any threats. He also related the facts of the shooting incident at the corner of Higgins and Main Streets, thus exposing the incorrectness of the press reports: The returned men, he said, were out to win this strike with clean hands. They would not be clubbed into submission. They would not go back to work as serfs or slaves. They would only go back as free men, when the strike was won. He intimated that there was a move afoot by the bosses to oust the elected head of the city and appealed to all returned men to be on hand this morning to protect their own interests.

Police Records of Special Police

Comrade Bray read the police records of some of the special police. One had been convicted of stealing an automobile and another of bootlegging.

Dixon Denies Tribune Report

F. J. Dixon requested all who heard him speak on Wednesday morning to hold up their hands. The great major-

ity of the crowd complied. He then read an account of the meeting from the Tribune which reported that he had said "Coppins got what he was looking for when he signed up with the mounted police."

"Will those who heard me mention Coppins' name hold up their hands?" asked Dixon.

There was not a single hand. The speaker explained that he had never made that statement anywhere. "Go after them!" "Make them apologize," etc., shouted the crowd. Bro. Dixon explained that he was taking the matter up with the Tribune.

Women Will Fight Till the End

J. S. Woodsworth gave a historical review, showing how women had been drawn from the hearth into great modern industries by economic causes. The day of emancipation for women was yet to come. One of the provisions made at the peace conference was that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work. He pointed out that while the state had conscripted the boys whom the mothers had reared with infinite pains that the state had not made the financial outlay necessary to rear those boys. The day was coming when children would be considered the nation's greatest asset.

In the coming day women would take their place side by side with men, not as dependents or inferiors, but as equals. Thus there would be better relationships based on fundamental love and affinity. This strike was part of the great movement for the emancipation of women.

At the conclusion of the address many women and girls shouted: "We'll fight to the end."

Camouflage and Buncombe

Comrade Martin warned the strikers to beware of camouflage and buncombe. The civic and provincial authorities were working a scheme by which managers of departments telephoned up employees and told them that their chums had signed the slave pact and were back at work. This was only another cunning attempt at deception and it would fail to achieve its purpose. The rental agents, too, were threatening to eject workers from their homes if they were behind with the rent. "Well, they can't throw us all out," declared Comrade Martin, amid laughter and cheers.

The returned men will meet again in Victoria Park at ten o'clock this morning.

PRITCHARD ON THE JOB

The following brief account of Comrade W. A. Pritchard's first appearance before a Winnipeg audience is from the "Strike Bulletin," of June 13th, 1919:

GOVERNMENT TREACHERY EXPOSED

Pritchard Unmasks Robertson—Emphasizes Political Aspect—Vancouver Backs Postal Employees—Must Be Reinstated—Borden Must Change His Mind—Workers Will Return Altogether—Cowley, Armstrong and Others Address Multitude.

The feature of Thursday's mass meeting in Victoria Park was an electrifying address by W. A. Pritchard, of Vancouver, who was given more than the regular three cheers and a tiger when he concluded.

Appeals From Gideon Drunk to Gideon Sober

With telling emphasis Bro. Pritchard drove home the fact that the kind of collective bargaining demanded by the Metal Trades employees here, and repudiated by Senator Robertson, was exactly identical with the kind of collective bargaining contained in an agreement between the Metal Trades Council of Vancouver and the Shipyard employers. This, which was known as the Robertson agreement. The Government today was opposed to the workers of Winnipeg getting exactly the same kind of collective bargaining that the same Government had given to the Metal Trades employees of Vancouver one year ago.

Postal Situation Brought Vancouver Out

The action of the Government in discharging the postal employees, who had come out in support of organized labor because organized labor had supported their just demands last year, made the fight a political one. The extension of Government ownership, coupled with the fact that if this fight were lost, the loyal postal employees would be blacklisted from any job in the civil service, made organized labor in the West take the position that all the postal employees must be re-instated without discrimination before negotiations could be opened.

Premier Borden had changed his mind many times to suit the exigencies of politics, he must be made to change it once more in the interests of the workers of Canada.

Daily Labor Paper Coming

Referring the capitalistic papers as "detestible perverters of the truth," Bro. Pritchard emphasized the fact that the only way to overcome their pernicious influence was by the establishment of a daily labor paper.

Let us Rise!

Complimenting the strikers on the splendid manner in which law and order had been preserved through four trying weeks, the speaker went on to say that this strike would be won by their intelligent self-sacrifice of the mass. The workers would not be saved by any great man but by themselves. "The great," quoted Pritchard, "appear great to us because we are on our knees. Let us rise!"

Labor Cannot Lose

Bro. Cowley drew hearty applause when he suggested that the strikers should wear a badge bearing the inscription: "Labor Cannot Lose." Such an emblem would show our strength. The street cars were not running because the men "did not deem it advisable to accede to the request of the management." A medal for meritorious conduct should be given to the returned soldiers who had so splendidly supported the strike. Bro. Geo. Armstrong is speaking as we go to press.

On a previous occasion, when dealing with the interview with Major Lyle, we referred in brief to a shooting incident that took place on Main Street during the attempted arrest of a striker. The following account, taken from the "Strike Bulletin," of June 13th, can be vouched for by a score of witnesses. In spite of this and in direct violation of the facts the police authorities, through the columns of the daily press, professed ignorance of the identity of the man who fired the shot, and went so far as to advertise the payment of a reward of \$50.00 for information which would identify the criminal and lead to his conviction.

Surely the ruthlessness and viciousness of capitalism has a strangle hold on "Constituted Authority" when such methods must be adopted:

THAT SHOOTING INCIDENT

Facts From an Eye-Witness

Sharper than a serpent's tooth is base ingratitude. This was never more clearly exemplified than by the reports

in the daily papers of the shooting incident which occurred at the intersection of Higgins and Main Streets on Wednesday last.

About 4.30 a passerby noted a special constable displaying his baton and passed some remark. Whereupon the constable struck him across the forehead with his baton. This incensed the bystanders who started to jostle the constables. Two returned men, who are on strike, defended the constable. While they were doing this a car driven by Capt. Drewry arrived. Another special constable in the car fired a gun into the crowd, narrowly missed one of the returned men, who was assisting the constable, and hit the constable who immediately dropped to the ground.

The two returned men jumped upon the footboard of the car and insisted that it be driven to the police station. There they requested that the man who had done the shooting should show his authority for packing a gun. They were told that they (the specials) did not have to show their authority to everybody. As a matter of fact, the man who did the shooting wore no mark to indicate that he was a special constable. He carried his badge inside his coat. The constable on duty refused to take the names of the occupants of the car and an individual, apparently a member of the One Thousand attempted to lay a charge of mobbing the automobile against the two returned men who had accompanied it to the police station. This is a bare recital of the facts, which speak for themselves.

The number of the car from which the shooting was done is 7578. It is apparently owned by Capt. Drewry. He was in the auto with one other man, if men's eyes are to be believed, and, either he or his companion fired the shot. They were both taken to the police station, and were sent away again by the authorities without any charge being laid against either. To pretend that strikers did the shooting, or that it is not known who did it is erroneous.

In addition to all that has been written in preceding pages and all that follows, there are thousands of most interesting incidents that for lack of space must be either omitted altogether or only touched on very briefly in these pages. If time and space would permit, a two or three thousand page history of the Winnipeg Strike could be written and every page be full of matter of vital importance to the reader and

to the working class all over the world. Perhaps at some future date it may be possible to issue a more imposing work than this, wherein the "Little things with the great potentialities" may be enumerated.

Space forbids to go into details of the organization of the Newsboys' Union—of their thousands of copies of the "yellow press" that littered the streets of the city; of "Society" ladies stepping from their luxurious limousines on to the sidewalk to sell or give away the "Sifton Press" or the "Winnipeg Telegram" or the "Winnipeg Tribune"—the organs, respectively, of the Liberals, the Tories and the Opportunists; of the inglorious exploits of the Millionaire Volunteer Fire Brigade, using their hands to break glass instead of using their hatchets; of members of the "parasitic" class, having to walk up eight and ten flights of stairs to their offices in the sweltering heat of 86 degrees in the shade; of intimidation and assault of women and little girls who were selling the "Strike Bulletin" or peacefully picketing the warehouses and stores.

Of the profiteering of the champions of "Law and Order" in raising the price of the necessities of life, of the efforts of individuals, organizations, and public bodies to effect a settlement—of the delegations that waited upon the Mayor and the chief of police, on behalf of the North-End residents of foreign birth, to protest against the incitement to violence and to massacre, through the paid advertisements of the Citizens' Committee of 1000—of how that delegation, including in its personnel a leading lawyer and a prominent doctor, met both the Mayor and the chief of police who advised them to interview the Citizens' Committee—how this delegation protested that such an interview would be tantamount to acknowledging the Citizens' Committee as a "Constituted Authority"—how they were refused admittance to the Committee meeting by W. A. T. Sweatman, K.C. (afterwards one of the prosecuting counsel for the Crown) and told "that the alien residents had nothing to fear, the committee were not particularly concerned about the "alien" but they wished to divert the issue and that they were out to smash collective bargaining—of how one leading luminary on the Committee of 1000 blamed free education for all the discontent and unrest, and stated that on account of said free education "the workers know as much as we do ourselves"—of reports brought in and afterwards verified of the Federal Government paying charwomen at the Tux-

edo Military Hospital the miserable pittance of 1.16 per day—of restaurant girls getting \$15.00 per month, out of which they had to pay their laundry bills and maintain a certain standard of dress—of the conspiracy of certain restaurant keepers, headed by a notorious strike-breaker from the U.S.A., to close up their business in order to inconvenience and starve their employees into repudiating their union—of the driving out of the volunteers from one suburban fire hall in the city, by the enraged women of the district, whose men folk were on strike—of the cheerful endurance by wives and mothers, of privation and suffering in order that victory might be achieved in this fight for liberty—of how foreign-born citizens were picked up by police and charged with being strikers and union men and when no union card was found on their person being offered jobs at the rate of \$1.00 per hour if they would only “scab”—of how young lads were approached by their bosses and asked if they were in favor of “Law and Order,” and then being asked to sign a card, not knowing that they were signing on for the emergency Strike Militia—of how the mothers of some of these boys spent weary anxious hours when they did not return home for supper and found out afterwards that they were “confined to barracks.”

These and thousands of other incidents and episodes of a like nature have to be touched upon briefly, but if dealt with in detail are of sufficient import, and reveal such a depth of infamy on the part of our boasted guardians of “Law and Order” and upholders of “Constituted Authority,” as to fill any man or woman, in whose veins flows good red blood, with anger and resentment.

Of the secret meetings and “conspiracies” of leading lights in our city pulpits—of attempted bribery by bottles of whiskey—of these things we could write at length, but space and the editorial committee forbid—but don’t despair, dear readers, perhaps in the quietness and seclusion of Manitoba Penitentiary we may write other and interesting accounts of what took place during May and June of 1919—unless the workers of this Dominion rise to their glorious opportunities—and we have faith enough in them to believe they will do so—unless they make their protest heard to such effect that our “despotic” and “Prussianized” Government will step out of the way, and make room for men who can and will handle the present economic situation in a statesmanlike manner.

THE LABOR CHURCH AGAIN 8,000 IN ATTENDANCE AT LABOR CHURCH

Addresses by J. S. Woodsworth, W. A. Pritchard and Rev. A. E. Smith—\$1,000 Offering for Strikers' Relief Fund—Splendid Band—Great Enthusiasm—Members of 1,000 Committee Seen.

The stifling heat did not prevent the teeming crowds from once more flocking to the Labor Church last night in Victoria Park (now renamed Liberty Park). The trees in their new covering of beautiful green formed a magnificent background for the improvised pulpit. The Committee of 1000 has prevented the Labor Church from procuring the Industrial Bureau for these services, consequently several women fainted from exhaustion due to the heat and the prolonged standing. One man also collapsed.

An excellent band opened the services with appropriate music, and the hymns were rendered with great enthusiasm.

Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, the first speaker, drew attention to the representative nature of the congregation. He had endorsed the principle of the One Big Union for the industrial fight, he endorsed the principle of the One Big Church as well. The real test was brotherhood. The one requisite was the forward look.

The pioneers of such new movements had always been persecuted, but the movements could not be stopped by persecution. The time had come for a forward march economically, and the old forms of religion were inapplicable today. The trouble with theologians was that they had insisted that they had found the ne plus ultra. The world today wanted forms that expressed the spirit of the hour.

Rev. A. E. Smith, ex-President of the Manitoba Methodist Conference, was the second speaker. He stated that the time had come when it was next to impossible for a preacher to preach the genuine gospel of Christ in the churches. The Methodist Church at its last General Conference had declared for a radical reconstruction of society, and the substitution of the co-operative system for the competitive system. The result of this had been that rich men had threatened to leave the Church. "Let them go" he said. The Church that thought more of real estate than of principles had no place in the life of today.

He described the Bankers' Association as a One Big Union. The same was true of the Committee of 1000, yet these same men opposed any effort of the workers to organize a similar movement.

The sympathetic strike was just as religious a movement as a Church revival. It was just as ethical as the fight in Flanders. Those who opposed this strike did so because they were individualists; the workers supported it because they put society and the interests of others ahead of their own interests. The individualist has no programme, hence he attacks the man or the body that tries to work out a programme.

Lying back of all the unrest was the profit system and private ownership. The individualist was spending all his strength in defending a system that was passing rapidly. It has been tried and found wanting. The great common mass was aware of this, and so the heart of the workers of the world was one heart. When the worker stopped working it was like the heart of a man stopping its beating. It meant death. The solution of the unrest of this hour is the greatest task we have to face. It is a religious problem. The only way to find a solution is to put service in the place of profits.

He made it clear that there is a large body of thought in Winnipeg that is not finding voice in the Committee of 1000, though they call themselves the Citizens' Committee. These men, and those on the City Council do not accurately express the mind of a very large section of the community. These people do not approve of the continued attempts of these men to get the city under Martial Law. They are sick to death of the fooling being put over in the name of patriotism. A way must be found for this vast body of people to express its convictions.

Pritchard of Vancouver

Pritchard, of Vancouver, was given a rousing welcome, and as he spoke it soon became evident that the vast crowd had not misjudged its man. He is an orator and a thinker of the first water.

He referred in scathing tones to the vicious attack of the Winnipeg press upon his character. They were described as cesspits from which nothing clear could be expected.

He gave a brief review of history, pointing out how he was taught the Magna Charta meant liberty and jus-

tice at a time when his father, a British miner was on strike, and he was punished because he could not pay the school fees.

Every great change in history had come because classes of men were rising to a consciousness of their power. Luther was a product of the change from feudalism into capitalism, while he stood for a measure of religious liberty, he was no democrat, for he urged the cruel suppression of the peasants.

Existence is the only thing common to all things. Understanding is the cement that binds together. Hence the great need for this hour is understanding. When men understood, no thunderings or threatenings can shake their faith.

The world moves forward, but there is a section of humanity that insists on standing still. They live in the dead past. Such a body is the Committee of 1000.

The truly educated person is he or she who can correctly understand the nature of economic crisis as they approach and act accordingly.

This the 1000 had failed to do.

The speaker paid a tribute to the workers as the natural supporters of peace and law and order. He drew attention to the fact that the editors of the three daily papers and the Committee of 1000 have used every power they possessed to create disorder and introduce Martial Law and bloodshed, but the intuitive sense and good judgment of the workers had foiled every attempt. The workers produce everything that is useful; the only thing the other side ever do produce is trouble. That is the game.

This was no accident, he averred. He had, in England, met on the job, Italians, Slavs, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Scotchmen and other savages. They had discussed economics and philosophy, and in the university of experience had got down to the root of the matter. Because of this, the workers were able to act intelligently in a crisis while their masters became panic-stricken.

The workers did not ask that anything they said be taken for granted. Take the word of nobody, he said, but test out every proposition, and see for yourselves.

Describing the condition of Scotland, Lord Roseberry had said there were two kinds of Scotchmen: "Scots who hae, and Scots who hae not." In Britain there were those

who produced all and possessed nothing, and those who produced nothing and possessed all. In Canada there were those who live and do not work, and those who work but do not live. This condition must be changed. This was the fundamental cause of the unrest.

Vancouver was now tied tight, and it would stick until every striker was reinstated, and until collective bargaining was fully guaranteed. When Ottawa acted to crush labor, then Vancouver struck to help labor. If you are whipped we are whipped. If you go down we will go down in the same boat. But if you are to be victorious we must help you. And we will. (Thunderous applause.)

The boys of the bulldog breed never had a job to do like the present job. If they had not lost all their teeth hanging on to a job, this was the time to bite and hang on.

Ottawa had had a chance to put out a little fire at the first, but they had tried to put it out with coal oil and it had spread. Borden believed in collective bargaining in Versailles, but not in Winnipeg.

People talked of democracy, the strike was not democracy, but he maintained that when four old men got together behind closed doors and secretly settled the destinies of all mankind that was the very antithesis of democracy. Labor wanted none of it. The workers stood for open discussion and decision by the ballot. That was how this strike was called.

The following account of the meeting of the Soldiers' Parliament on Saturday, of June 14th, 1919, taken from the "Strike Bulletin," of June 15th, is inserted because of its valuable information, which is well worthy of more than passing notice:

THE SOLDIERS' PARLIAMENT

Labor Party Mooted—Raids in North Winnipeg—Sensations Promised—Precautions Taken—Bathie Answered—Bribe Refused—Telephone Operators get \$110.00—Another Meet this Morning.

"Business as usual" was the slogan at the Soldiers' Parliament in Victoria Park on Saturday morning.

Comrade Bray reported for the committee and promised something extra interesting for Monday morning.

The press has shouted through its headlines that something big was to have happened in the last 24 hours. Whatever had been contemplated had not eventuated.

He pleaded with the returned men to keep off the streets and continue to preserve law and order.

North Winnipeg Raids

Information had leaked out that an order had emanated from Kennedy Street that several cars, manned by Provincial police, were to raid the north end and arrest any one who might be shooting craps. If they could not catch anyone violating the law, they were to "get them anyway."

Forty to One, and that One a Woman

Information was to hand that a body of forty, purporting to be special police, had broken into several houses in the North End about 3 o'clock on Saturday morning. They had a warrant for the arrest of one man. In one of the houses the sole occupant was a woman. Nevertheless the house was broken into and furniture smashed.

Something in the Wind

There was something in the wind. Imported spies were on the streets asking returned men if they were "strikers or citizens." Booze was being liberally supplied at the special police headquarters and the strike militia were confined to barracks. Provincial police were also being concentrated in Winnipeg and members of the Soldiers' Committee were being shadowed.

Fifty-Fifty Answered

Attention was called to a letter signed by Comrade Bathie, which had appeared in the press. It was doubtful if he had written it. The statements it contained were a flat contradiction of the statements made by Comrade Bathie before the G.W.V.A. and on the floor of the Provincial Legislature.

The Unseen Hand

A certain slippery politician had offered money to soldiers to assist in the formation of a Political Organization, but this had been indignantly refused. The Committee was, however, considering the formation of a permanent organization in the nature of a Soldiers' Labor Party. It was not yet ready to report.

The High Cost of Living

A document was quoted showing that Premier Borden had \$9,500.00 worth of stock in the Manitoba Cold Storage Company. Members of the Committee of 1000 also

had stock in that and other cold storage companies and yet they prated about reducing the cost of living.

Spontaneous Offering

A Committee moved among the crowd and sold \$50 worth of tickets for the ball game next Tuesday afternoon on Wesley Grounds, the proceeds to go to the aid of the striking telephone operators. At the conclusion of the meeting someone started a volunteer offering for the same purpose, which netted \$60.

A fine spirit prevailed and after listening to a final plea for the preservation of law and order under all circumstances, the assembly dispersed to meet again this morning.

THE STRIKE COMMITTEE AND THE MEDIATORS

In the meantime, whilst the events we have chronicled were taking place outside, what of the work of the representatives of the thousands of strikers, who were sitting, two and three sessions daily on the General Strike Committee?

At this time the last body to offer themselves as "mediators," were the Grand Lodge officers of the Railroad Brotherhoods.

These men held daily sessions with the ironmasters, submitting propositions, receiving counter propositions which, in turn, were submitted first to the Central Committee and through them to the General Committee. There they were discussed at great length and such amendments suggested as the collective knowledge of that Committee thought desirable.

Many times the Brotherhood officers were on the verge of giving up in despair of ever being able to convince the upholders of industrial autocracy that new times demanded new conditions; but they were asked to continue their efforts and went to their task with greater energy and zeal, as they realized that a great tie-up of the great railroad systems was imminent unless a satisfactory agreement could be reached.

In the "Free Press," of June 15th, was a report to the effect that "the men who had gone out were mostly firemen and switchmen. Last night the C.P.R. issued an official notice that all passenger trains had been dispatched. There would be reduced freight service," and the following from the same paper and same date explains the situation of other railroads:

FREIGHT YARDS AFFECTED

The running trades walk-out is creating considerable difficulty in the railway freight yards. The C.N.R. Fort Rouge yards and the Paddington yards in St. Boniface are most seriously affected. The Union stock yards are still in operation, the shunting engine remaining at work to handle livestock.

In the Fort Rouge yards practically all enginemen, firemen and switchmen of the Canadian National Railways are out. C.P.R. engineers have stayed with their engines almost to a man, it is reported, but a number of firemen and switchmen joined in the strike movement. Office help and yardmasters are replacing them.

The train and yard men in the C.P.R. had taken the ballot and it was circulated on the lines West of Winnipeg, and the sentiment, so far as could be ascertained, was overwhelmingly in favor of striking in sympathy with Winnipeg, notwithstanding the fact that James Murdock, Vice-President B.R.T., gave a lengthy statement to the press denying the accuracy of the strikers' contention, and in the issue of the "Strike Bulletin," for June 17th, there appeared the following:

RUNNING TRADES REPUDIATE STATEMENT

A statement appeared in last evening's issue of the "Tribune" claiming that the strike vote recently taken of men in train and yard service on the C.P.R. was taken under misrepresentation. The statement was attributed to Jas. Murdock, International Vice-President of the Trainmen's Brotherhood. The undersigned Committee representing men in train and yard service wish to say that this is nothing but a glaring falsehood. They believe it was issued by Murdock for the apparent purpose of discrediting the men active in the movement; and, also, for the purpose of attempting to stampede some of the men back to work.

Every man who voted was acquainted with the fact that the ballot was to be used locally in a progressive strike.

This is only one of the many fruitless attempts made by Murdock to gain a following by the employment of illegitimate methods.

(Signed) RUNNING TRADES
PUBLICITY COMMITTEE.

Running Trades Mean Business

Members of the Running Trades assert that the whole of the West is alive to the strike situation, and will likely be out in large numbers within a few days. Brandon, Dauphin, Saskatoon, Vancouver, etc., are right on the job. Dauphin foremen walked out this morning.

On Monday, June 16th, there appeared in all the Winnipeg daily papers a lengthy letter from Metal Trades employers, signed on behalf of the Vulcan Iron Works, by E. G. Barrett; Manitoba Bridge and Iron Works, by H. B. Lyall, and Dominion Bridge Company, by N. W. Warren.

This letter purported to outline to the citizens of Winnipeg their position and definition of the term "Collective Bargaining." This letter and definition of collective bargaining was followed by letters from, first, Senator Robertson (whose endorsement, in view of his record during the strike, caused the strikers to look for the proverbial joker); second, the members of the Railroad Brotherhoods who had been acting as mediators, signed by: Ash Kennedy, B.L.E.; George K. Wark, B.L.F. & E.; James Murdock, B.R.T.; H. G. Barker, O. of R.C.; D. McPherson, O. of R.T.; A. McAndrews, M. of W. Employees; and lastly, by the resident Winnipeg managers of the three railroad systems: D. C. Coleman, C.P.R.; A. E. Warren, C.N.R.; W. P. Hunter, G.T.P.R.

THE DUPLICITY OF THE HOLY TRINITY

This definition of collective bargaining on the part of the ironmasters was not satisfactory to organized labor as represented on the General Strike Committee.

In further proof, if it were needed, of the contentions of the strikers that neither the ironmasters nor the Citizens' Committee of 1000 (who had arrogated to themselves the right to make a settlement) were sincere in their profession of seeing a settlement made, and as an exposure of the deceit and duplicity and prevarication during the whole course of the strike, we append the following cutting from the Winnipeg "Tribune," of June 17th, 1919:

ASSERTS IRONMASTERS DID NOT ACCEPT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING UNTIL AFTER MEDIATORS HAD QUIT

Running Trades' Board Reviews Attempts to End Strike
Refusal of the Ironmasters to recognize the Metal Trades Council was the rock on which the mediation ship

was wrecked, according to a statement issued today by the mediation board.

The statement reviews at great length the proceedings of the board.

It concludes with the assertion that the ironmasters' letter, published Monday, was their first acceptance of the principles of collective bargaining as practised by the railway organizations. The board declares that no such proposal was made by the ironmasters while the mediators were in session.

"We desire to point out," reads the statement, "that during the period of mediation no proposition was submitted by the employers which could be endorsed as being identical with the practises of the train service organization."

In the report they draw attention to the ironmasters' refusal to accept the various proposals made to them, each containing the definition of collective bargaining as in operation between the various railroads and their employees.

As further evidence of conspiracy and collusion and determination to break the strike by undermining the morale of the strikers, is the fact that two or three days after this, there appeared in the daily press a full and complete definition of the term, with all the necessary details, together with a signed statement signifying the willingness of the ironmasters to accept their definition therein contained as a basis for a settlement.

But they stated that a copy of this same document had been forwarded to the Strike Committee for acceptance, whereas in fact it was a few days after their insertion in the daily press, that copies were received from Senator Robertson, who had in his possession a reproduction of what appeared in the papers.

By such dispicable tactics they hoped to stampede the strikers back to work, and bring discredit upon the strike leaders, for not accepting a definition of the term in accordance with their own specifications.

PRUSSIAN ESPIONAGE

Whilst the Strike Committee were giving close attention to these matters of such great moment to organized labor, what of the busy world outside?

The rumors that had been in circulation for over a week, later confirmed by reliable information, were gradually

developing into facts. Strange, mysterious noises were heard under the window sills of men's homes as they conversed with their families—hurrying footsteps revealed the presence of eavesdroppers—speakers at strikers' meetings saw faces with singular persistence and regularity at the different meetings at which they spoke—strangers adopted all the familiarity of intimate acquaintances—strange shadows dogged the footsteps of the men afterwards arrested—with stealthy tread strange forms appeared from under verandahs and vanished in the darkness—veiled threats were made that "we will get you yet"—all reminiscent of what we have read of the Prussian spy and the Agents Provocateur.

Some of these gentlemen had an unpleasant experience in St. John's Park where Comrade Bray was addressing a meeting. At the close of his speech some half dozen of these spies said: "We'll get you yet, Bray," and much to their chagrin and disappointment, some twenty women in the crowd immediately caught them by the arm and coat lapels, and invited them to "come and get him now," but they beat a hasty and very shame-faced retreat in the high-powered cars in which they had arrived.

THE COWARDLY ARRESTS

Monday, June 16th, 1919, like all the days that preceded it, had been a strenuous one for many. Strike business in the morning, including a general view of the situation, a hurried lunch, an hour in the Strike Committee, away to address the awaiting crowds, pass along the information available, back to the Strike Committee till 6 o'clock—a hurried supper, away to all points of the compass, within the city, and outside, to talk to other waiting crowds; back to the Strike Committee, until the "wee sma' hours"; a weary tramp homewards, except to such as owned a "bike" or could beg a ride in some auto. Such was the daily round.

The weary workers for a better day for the whole of mankind had hardly closed their eyes in sleep when a rap on the door, followed by another and still another, reverberated through the quiet of that lovely summer's morning, and a voice of command: "Open the door or we shall break it open." Something new in the experience of all to whom the summons came, but as the doors were opened, in marched a stalwart guardian of the law, and the first intimation of his errand was conveyed to the astonished householder, when the first intruder was followed by two, and in some

cases three or four red-coated members of the R. N. W. M. Police, each packing his gun and loaded riding whip, bedecked in sombrero, top boots and spurs, whilst in the first light of early dawn could be seen a big high-powered car in charge of a chauffeur, who kept his engine running, and footsteps betokened the presence of other servants of constituted authority guarding any possible means of escape from the rear of the house; though why such precautions should be taken, when the intruders each packed a gun, and the poor victim was clothed only in pyjamas or nightshirts, it is hard to understand.

Simultaneously, at a few minutes to three, these high-powered cars, with their armed occupants started on their errand; simultaneously nine families were roused from their sleep by these minions of the Law—and many and varied were their experiences.

Arriving at the home of George Armstrong, on Edmonton Street, they knocked and demanded admission, but no admission did they get until Mr. Armstrong had telephoned the police station and made sure from the Chief of Police that they were there on the King's (?) business.

Then the door was opened and armed with a blank search warrant, they proceeded to investigate every nook and corner of the house—gathering up books papers and periodicals—the valued sources of knowledge—knowledge of the truth, which shall eventually set men free.

At the same hour, a similar knock resounded on the door of the home of Ivens, the terrible, whose unpardonable crime was that he had told the truth as editor of the "Western Labor News"—who loved mankind better than the worn-out creeds and rituals of a Church which existed only to cover the nakedness of the exploiters of his fellow-men. Here the same search for incriminating letters, papers, books or documents.

It is hardly necessary to give him the prefix and affixes to which he is entitled, as so many know him and of him, but in case some reader does not, he is the Rev. William Ivens, M.A., B.D., a Minister of the Methodist Church, and today the pastor of the largest Church in Winnipeg, with more adherants than any other church in the continent of America, the "Winnipeg Labor Church."

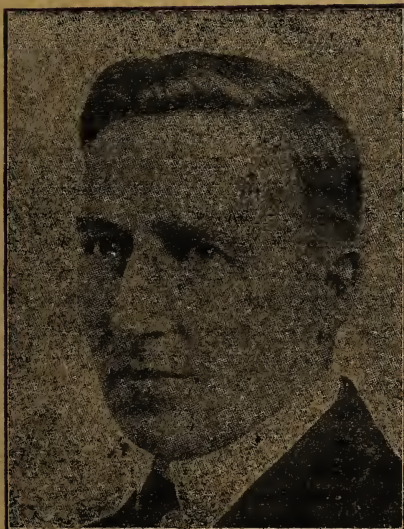
The press, of course, and all his enemies insist that his last affix signifies "Bad Devil," but many a good laugh was had as "Bill's" expense when he was trying to convince

Serg. Reames (head of the spies' department of the R. N. W. M. P.) that the men who had arrested him and searched his house "were not gentlemen." Whilst Ivens was being arrested and searched, other parties were arresting R. B. Russell, out at Weston. If there is a man in Winnipeg who is dearer to the heart of the workers, or who has fought harder on their behalf, the workers would like to know him.

At the same time another party was at the home of R. E. Bray, who, when told by the first intruder that he had a warrant for his arrest and a search warrant to look over the premises, told them to go ahead whilst he got dressed. But the three men followed at his heels and despite protest entered into the bedroom and proceeded to turn over the bedclothes and mattress before his wife was allowed to dress, even going so far as to search the bedroom of his sleeping children, "looking for seditious literature or concealed fire-arms," as though a child's bed was the place to find either. The Mounties nosed around and seemed very disappointed at not being able to find anything of an incriminating character.

Simultaneously the home of Alderman Heaps was visited. It so happened that Alderman John Queen, whose family was staying at Gimli for the Summer, was spending the night with his brother alderman, and these two, who were the elected representatives of one of the largest wards in the city, were handcuffed together like a couple of common criminals. On the same warrant, charged with some offences, were the names of R. J. Johns who, since the middle of April, had been attending sittings of the National Railway Board in Montreal, as the elected representative of all the Machinists on all the Railways in Canada, and that of W. A. Pritchard, who had been sent by the Trades and Labor Council of Vancouver (of which body he was an Executive member) to look over the situation in Winnipeg, and was at the time the others were arrested speeding home to his wife and bairns, anxiously awaiting his home-coming.

To add "color" and for "theatrical effect" there also appeared in the self same warrant the names of the five foreign citizens, whose homes were visited by the guardians of the Law: M. Charitonoff, editor of the "Working People," a weekly paper published in Russian, suppressed during the war, but for the publication of which he had in his possession, at the time of his arrest, permission from the Federal authorities at Ottawa; M. Almazoff, a student of the Mani-



Rev. Wm. Ivens

toba University, a writer and thinker who had come to Canada from Russia at the age of 23; Sam Blumenberg, a delegate to the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, formerly a member of the Socialist Party of Canada; and, lastly, the name of one Davieatkin, also of Russian birth, but who had been away on his farm for nearly two months prior to June 17th, and it is in connection with him that one of the greatest outrages ever committed in a British Dominion in the name of justice was perpetrated. This man had left in charge of his home a Russian youth by the name of Verenchuck, who had retired to bed leaving the inner door unfastened and only the screen door hooked on the inside. According to Verenchuck's own story minions of the Law did not trouble to knock but made a hole through the fly screen, unhooked the door, and without the formality of turning on the light and waking the sleeper found the way to his bedroom by means of a flashlight, threw back the bedclothes, grabbed him by the feet and flashing the flashlight in his eyes whilst two of the red-coats pointed their guns at his head gave him five minutes to get dressed.

Never a mention of a warrant, never asking his name, but at the point of the guns compelling him to dress and go with them. This was brutal and inhuman even for a hardened criminal, but here was a boy who in 1915 volunteered to help "make the world safe for democracy"; was wounded and recovered and passed through all the stages of hospitals, convalescences, retraining and another draft for France, where he was wounded the second time and shell-shocked on the Somme in those terrible days of 1916. Back to Hospital, Blighty, and home to Canada, where he was honorably discharged in 1917. And his name was not on the warrant and in fact no warrant was issued for him until he had been in the Penitentiary 36 hours.

But there was worse to follow for him, which will be told on a later page.

NORTH WINNIPEG POLICE STATION

The cars started from their station in time to make the arrests simultaneously and the only thing that prevented simultaneous arrival at the North End Police Station, was a difference in the time taken to search the different homes, and as it was there was only twenty minutes between the first arrival and the last. On arrival there the thing that was most noticeable was the evidence of panic which was written on every countenance of those in authority and

which manifested itself in the "jumpiness" of all the officials; and it is safe to say that could the few hours' work have been done there, it would have saved the "powers that be" much worry and many dollars.

By the irony of fate (or perhaps with malice aforethought) Armstrong was placed in one of the cells that he himself had built and with his characteristic humor he remarked that he had often heard Ivens talking about "they that build fine houses shall live in them," but he hardly expected to live in the cell he himself had built.

A cursory examination for firearms and the arrivals were placed in the usual cells and the doors locked, and with the refinement of cruelty that is a product of our vaunted civilization and vulgar curiosity the tools and servants of a corrupt Government wandered around from cell to cell, gazing upon the outcome of their infamous raid, as they would at animals in the Zoo. "Where's Ivens! Where's Bray! Where's Russell! and the poor ignorant boobs would gaze and grin at their victims who were guilty of what? Trying to make the world what it should be.

THE TRIP TO STONY MOUNTAIN

Less than thirty minutes from the arrival of the first "prisoner" a pompous individual bedecked in all the trappings of the R. N. W. M. P. his arm gaily decorated with three gold braid stripes appeared at the door of the cell, took out the prisoner and placed him in charge of two "subordinates" each armed with gun and loaded whip, and anything in the nature of human treatment and ordinary civility called forth his strongest condemnation. "Take hold of that prisoner both of you," he bawled to the two privates who were leading Bobby Russell outside to the waiting car.

The "nine" were led to the two high-powered cars waiting outside, the chauffeurs were at the wheels, seated beside them was one of the city's special constables. The prisoners were placed in the rear seats, with a Mountie on either side, and in that sweet fresh summer morning, the cars sped over the prairie to the place where lie buried so many hopes, to that living tomb, where all that is best and noblest in human nature is stifled, where the laughing voices and the rippling laughter of little children is never heard, where the angelic presence, the sunny smile, and the gentle touch of a woman's hand is unknown. Arrived outside those grim forbidding walls, over twenty feet high, smooth as glass, atop of

which an armed guard kept watch—there was none to open until the warden was wakened from his slumber.

Was it through the dwelling on the possibility of the execution of the threat of arrest, or was it some intuitive sub-conscious knowledge that led Ivens, on the night before to set out the headline of the "Strike Bulletin"? However it may be, it was most appropriate and very significant that the headline of the issue for June 17th, 1919, should be:

"COMRADES! HOLD THE LINE."

As was both title and subject matter of the leading article of the same issue:

THE MORNING DAWNS?

It looks as if a settlement of the strike is approaching—so says the man on the street. Maybe yes, maybe no. Many a battle has been lost by over-confidence. Now is the time for boys of the bull dog breed to hang on." Don't let go. Don't be too optimistic—the fight isn't won yet. We are still carrying on trying to get others to come to our help. Hold the line. Keep quiet. Do nothing. If the other fellow is wavering, lend him a quarter to buy ice cream to cool his fever, or to buy a roll of wool to keep his feet warm. Don't let the enemy fool you with over-confidence. It is his last card. Don't be fooled. The "Western Labor News" will announce the settlement when it comes. Till then, hold your horses and do nothing.

Remember that over twenty cities are out in sympathy with you, so you must hold the line till the battle is won. Negotiations are entered into whenever an opening appears, but the Strike Committee will make no settlement that is not honorable and worthy of the fight. At present we must "Carry on."

**STONY MOUNTAIN PENITENTIARY OUTSIDE
AND INSIDE**

Stony Mountain is the highest ground around Winnipeg, and it was to this spot the early settlers fled in time of flood when the surrounding prairie was one vast lake.

The district itself is similar to any other prairie settlement, with the exception that here one sees the quaint buildings of some of Manitoba's early settlers, in strange contrast to the modern buildings where dwell the wardens and guards of the penitentiary. Outside the walls on that Summer morning, all looked so quiet and restful, the white-

washed houses and barns, the cattle in the pasture and the meadow larks singing; it seemed as if the big city was in another land with all its noisy traffic, its jostling crowds, and its bitter strife. The green of the prairie grass and the leaves of the trees gently rustling in the morning breeze, accentuated the evil that was being done by man to his fellow-man, and the red-coats and the shining spurs of the "Mounties" made each feel more deeply the great injustice that was being done in the name of the Law.

Ten men, whose one object in life, whose one ambition it was to make all the world as restful, as contented and as happy as their surroundings, at that moment were being led into that living tomb before them, because, forsooth, their activities were stopping the profits of the exploiters and slave drivers.

The warden appears and the massive steel-barred gates are opened and the "prisoners" are marched in and the door "clangs" behind them. Inside the gravelled courtyard they are lined up in a row, until the order is given to pass into the building proper—how dark and forbidding it looks, only those who have passed through its portal know. Through four or five of these steel-barred doors they are led and the doors are closed and locked behind them; into the office, where they are searched from the crown of the head to the toe of the boot, pockets turned inside out and every vestage of tobacco dust shaken from the corners; every piece of paper, watches, rings, tie pins, all taken and stored in canvass bags with the name of the owner on a slip of paper; names entered in a register, and they pass out through other steel-barred doors, ceasing to be human beings, becoming things designated by a number. Up a flight of stairs into a big room with rows of cells each about nine by five feet with a bedstead, stool and table, brick walls two feet thick, the only opening a steel-barred door so situated that no two prisoners can see each other, and all that can be seen of the great world outside is the blue sky by day and the stars by night. Such is the place they send human beings into to "reform" or "remake" them. A typical criminal factory, a model product of capitalist society and "Christian" civilization.

It was to this same penitentiary that the millionaire was committed for two years, after a jury had found him guilty of defrauding the Province of Manitoba of something over \$1,000,000 in connection with the new Legislative buildings;

but who never entered a convict's cell, never wore a convict's suit, never submitted to the regulation hair cut, never ate the penitentiary fare, but was supplied from outside with the best that money could buy, on orders from the Government at Ottawa.

This was the statement given under oath by warden Graham.

The men arrested for helping to "make a new world" thought they would at any rate get decent fare, at least until they were convicted, but when the jailer came around at seven o'clock the first morning it was to hand in a bowl of porridge, minus both milk and sugar, but decorated and flavored with cooking molasses, one round of dry bread, about one and a half inches thick, minus even the despised Margerine, then the door was locked again. Shortly after there appeared a man in the black and brown striped suit of the convict, with close cropped head, bearing a watering can with a yard long spout, and in a voice that would wake the dead, yelled: "Want any tea," and poking the long spout of tin can through the bars of the cell door filled up the little enamel mug with colored water, minus milk and sugar. This was breakfast; dinner, tasteless boiled beef, with all the nutriment boiled out, potatoes mashed with skin, eyes and all, and more dry bread; supper, hash, dry bread and more colored water. This was the fare for three days, with the exception of soup one day for dinner and radish and dry bread one day for supper.

COURT SITS IN THE PENITENTIARY

In the afternoon there appeared at the penitentiary the leading and chief mouth-piece of the Citizens' Committee of 1000, in the person of A. J. Andrews, K.C., this time in the role of Deputy Minister of Justice, an office conferred upon him, according to Senator Gideon Robertson, by the acting Minister of Justice, Honorable Arthur Miegheñ, on the recommendation of the Senator. With him was a police magistrate, and when the "boys" were lined up, this gentleman arose from his seat at the table in this improvised courtroom, and mumbled in a typical police court style something which afterwards turned out to be the charges that had been laid against them. When he had finished Andrews got up and asked for a remand for eight days. That was the first intimation the "boys" had that they were in a court of justice. Of course, protests were made that the prisoners had not seen their counsel and they were informed that the

solicitor for the Trades and Labor Council had started, but that his car had got mired, but they had no need to worry, they would, in all probability, be on the Atlantic homeward bound to the land of their birth inside of 72 hours. Further protest was made and application for bail, but Mr. Andrews said he was instructed to refuse bail under any consideration and of any amount, but that the special Immigration Board was on its way from Ottawa and they would be tried either Wednesday or Thursday with their wives and families. It was at this time that it was discovered that there was no warrant for Verenchuck and Warden Graham also swore later that there was no warrant for Armstrong.

The daily paper came out on Tuesday with glaring headlines in red ink that ten strike leaders were in jail, and the following account appeared in the afternoon "Tribune," of June 17th, about the same time the "boys" were in court in the "pen":

GOING TO KINGSTON FOR TRIAL, IS REPORT; MORE MAY BE NABBED

Labor and Ukrainian Temple and Liberty Hall Raided by Royal Police, Assisted by Special Constables

Ten men, including six who have been prominent as leaders in the Winnipeg strike, were arrested early this morning by Royal Northwest Mounted Police, assisted by special city constables.

The ten were taken in automobiles to the penitentiary at Stonewall. From there, it was reported this afternoon, they may be taken to the penitentiary at Kingston, Ont., within a day or two, for arraignment and trial.

Those arrested are:

Rev. William Ivens, editor of the "Western Labor News," pastor of the Labor Church and chief orator of the strikers.

R. B. Russell, Secretary of the Metal Trades Council.

John Queen, Alderman from Ward Five and business manager of the "Western Labor News."

A. A. Heaps, Alderman from Ward Five.

George Armstrong, street car motorman.

Moses Alamazoff.

R. E. Bray, leader in strikers' parades and "Chairman of the Soldiers' Parliament."

Mike Verenchuck.

S. Choppelrei.

F. Charitonoff, editor of the Russian "Working People."

Raids were made simultaneously on the Labor Temple, Ukrainian Temple, Liberty Hall and homes of the arrested men by about 50 Royal "Mounties" and 500 special city police. The police had a warrant for each of the ten. No resistance was offered by any of them.

According to Acting Chief Newton, charges of seditious conspiracy are to be preferred against the prisoners.

A. J. Andrews, K.C., will represent the Government as special prosecutor in these cases, Crown Prosecutor R. B. Graham announced. It is understood that Mr. Andrews swore out the warrants on instructions he received from Ottawa Monday afternoon.

Mr. Andrews, in an interview this afternoon, said he was acting on instructions from the Federal Department of Justice.

"Federal officers have been investigating for two weeks and the action taken is the result," he declared.

It is reported that the Dominion Government contemplated arresting alleged agitators simultaneously in all Western cities where strikes are in progress. Latest dispatches from Vancouver, Regina, Brandon, Edmonton, Moose Jaw, Calgary, and Saskatoon this afternoon were that no arrests had been made in any of those cities.

The raids and arrests came as a dramatic climax to a long period of inactivity on the part of Federal, Provincial, and Civic officials, during which rumors that such action was contemplated were circulated everywhere.

The fact that the responsibility for the raids and arrests rests entirely upon the Federal Government is attested by statements made by Premier Norris and Mayor Gray, in which they declare that they had no previous knowledge of the plans.

A delegation from the Strike Committee called upon the Mayor shortly before noon and asked whether the city had ordered the arrests.

"We have just come from Senator Robertson," they said. "We asked him who ordered the raids and he referred us to you."

The Mayor asserted that he knew nothing about the matter.

Premier Norris was equally emphatic. When asked what he knew about the affair, he said: "Just leave us

out of it." Other members of the Provincial Cabinet said they knew nothing about it whatever.

Warrants for the arrest of several more men were issued this morning on orders of A. J. Andrews, K.C., prosecutor for the Dominion Government, it was stated at the police station. Their arrest, it was said, would be only a matter of a short time.

Included in the charges of seditious libel are the following allegations:

"That the men did conspire against his person, King George V."

"That they conspired with intent against the constitutional Government of Canada."

"That they conspired with intent to oppose the authority of constables appointed by the City of Winnipeg."

"That certain articles published in the 'Western Labor News' were published with intent to ridicule the constitutional Government of the Dominion."

The charge of seditious conspiracy, along with an innuendo of considerable length, reads:

"That these men did conspire with intent to overthrow the constitutional Government of the Dominion of Canada."

More than 500 special constables and 50 members of the Royal North West Mounted Police were used in the raids.

Automobiles which were mobilized on Broadway, near Main Street, and in the vicinity of the R.N.W.M.P. headquarters, at Smith Street and Assiniboine Avenue, were used to visit the homes of the men taken into custody.

The first auto left police headquarters at 2 o'clock this morning with a warrant for the arrest of Alderman Heaps. Twenty other cars followed, each loaded with mounted and special police. At 4 o'clock the round-up was complete.

At the same hour, the Labor Temple, Ukrainian Temple and Liberty halls were raided. Quantities of literature were seized and loaded on a truck, which was taken to the police station.

Books and literature in connection with the Calgary convention also were seized, it is understood.

The biggest haul in literature was made at the Labor Temple, where the truck was more than half loaded.

Literature printed in Ukrainian, English, German, and Polish, was found in the two other places raided, police said.

Draw Cordon Around Temple

While the squad of North West Mounted Police and special constables raided the Labor Temple, more than 400 constables drew a cordon around the building, to prevent interference. The men were armed and had instructions not to allow anybody to approach the building.

Inspector Henry Green was in charge of the squad.

"Open in the name of the Law," he shouted, after rapping on the door of the place.

No one replied.

He then tried the door. It was locked.

The plate glass in the window was then smashed, and the door opened. No one was found in the building. The janitor, who, according to police, is on duty there all night, was not to be seen.

Desks were opened and literature and documentary evidence seized.

Safes Are Sealed

Safes were sealed and guards placed over them. On the second floor, which was occupied by Mr. Russell, and the Cloak and Garment Makers' Union, police found copies of the "Red Flag," an organ published at Vancouver.

Copies of literature endorsing the Soviet Government as the one body approaching perfection, were also found on this floor, according to constables.

The office of the Trades and Labor Council, on the main floor, was then raided. A large quantity of literature was found there.

Heaps First Arrested

Alderman Heaps, from Ward Five, was the first man arrested. He was in bed when special constables, and two members of the Royal North West Mounted Police arrived.

He protested vigorously, and is said to have told the constables that they should have waited until later in the morning. He did not attempt to resist, however, and when the warrant was read to him, he dressed and accompanied the policemen to an automobile and was conveyed to the Central Police Station.

"Wait, that's all," Alderman John Queen, is said to have told the two constables who apprehended him. He

dressed and quietly accompanied the officers.

R. B. Russell, Rev. William Ivens, George Armstrong, F. Charitonoff, and Moses Alemazoff made no statements when apprehended.

Mrs. Armstrong, however, is said to have protested, when officers attempted to arrest her husband.

"You cannot get him out of this house until Chief Newton tells me you have the right to," she told the policemen.

The officers waited while Mrs. Armstrong ran to the North-End police station. She telephoned Chief Newton from the station.

"They have a warrant to arrest George," she told Mr. Newton.

"I guess it's all right, then," Chief Newton replied.

Mrs. Armstrong then went home and "formally" released her husband to the officers.

R. E. Bray, leaders of the strikers' parades, fainted when policemen woke him up, according to constables who were in the house when he was arrested.

He was revived, but wept all the way to the station, constables said.

City Officials Ignorant of Raids

Civic officials were ignored by the Dominion Government authorities in connection with the arrest early today of strike leaders. They declared they knew nothing about it and did not know it was to take place

"I don't know anything about it," Mayor Gray said. "I have nothing to say except that I was asleep at Elm Park when the arrests were made."

Alderman J. K. Sparling, Chairman of the Police Commission, was equally in the dark.

"I knew nothing about the arrest until I came down town this morning," he said. "It was carried out entirely by the Dominion authorities."

The arrests were the chief topics of conversation around the city hall.

Alderman John Queen, one of those arrested, is a member of the Civic Food Committee, but he had attended only one meeting since the city established food depots in schools.

Mayor Gray said he knew nothing about the possibility of Martial Law being declared. Other Council members

said they also knew nothing about any action along that line.

Say Constables Swiped Cigars

"A lot of special constables are smoking union made cigars today," according to men at the Labor Temple, who said the cigar stand had been more thoroughly ransacked than any other part of the building.

Every room of the building was searched. Even cartoons were taken from the windows and carried away as evidence.

Two hundred special police and North West Mounted men were in the group that carried out the actual raid on the Labor Temple. About 400 others were held in reserve.

The streets about the temple were lined with machines, each one loaded with special police.

Every way one might turn there were police and still more police.

Some of the specials were in their shirt sleeves although the morning air was chilly. They had been called hurriedly out of bed without warning.

"Come on, there's something doing," was all the orders that some of them received. But they showed up at once.

According to specials in the party only the officers knew of the plans to raid the Labor Temple and arrest the leaders.

And on Wednesday, June 18th, the following two choice articles appeared, confirming Andrews' statements to the "boys" in the penitentiary, and, incidentally, proving the "conspiracy" that led to the infamous amendments to the Immigration Act on June 6th, at Ottawa, at the instigation of U.S.A. financial magnates. This was the result of what General Ketchen described to the meeting in the Arena Rink on June 6th, as "the steps that were being taken at this instant, to enable the Government to handle all undesirable agitators, British-born and otherwise:

DEPORTATION ORDERS COME FOR REDS HERE

Action Will be Taken Under Amended Immigration Act.

Ottawa, June 17.—Comment here today dwelt much upon the arrest of strike leaders that orders for the deportation of the men arrested were sent to Winnipeg by the Minister of Immigration yesterday afternoon. Action was taken under the amended Immigration Act

calling for the deportation of persons who strive for the overthrow of constituted authority by forcible means. The act as first amended this session referred only to aliens in this regard and it was found unworkable as applied to men of British birth; as it now stands it may apply to anyone who is not a British subject by birth in Canada or by naturalization therein and will, therefore, include in its scope nearly all British-born who have declared themselves as being for the forcible overthrow of constituted authority. From present indications it is the intention of the Immigration authorities to proceed at once with the other formalities necessary to the carrying out of the orders issued.

The above despatch from Ottawa confirms information received locally by the Free Press that the arrests are preliminary to deportation proceedings in the case of these leaders, who are not of Canadian birth. Meanwhile they are also facing charges of seditious conspiracy.

TRIAL OF REDS TO BE BEHIND CLOSED DOORS

**Special Board Will Hear Allegations on Deportable Charge
—Immediate Action is Prosecutor's Decision—Accused
May be En Route Across Atlantic in 76 Hours, Says A.
J. Andrews, K.C.**

Red leaders arrested in Winnipeg early yesterday may be on their way across the Atlantic within the next 76 hours, it was announced today.

They will be tried at Stony Mountain tomorrow, provided the board coming from Ottawa to hear the charge against them, arrives in the city tonight.

This board, it is stated by A. J. Andrews, K.C., who is conducting the case for the Crown, has the power to deport them right away. If they are not deported they will be dealt with under the criminal code. Bail will not be allowed, if Mr. Andrews can possibly prevent it, according to his statement.

The public will not be admitted to the hearings which are expected to start at Stony Mountain at 10 a.m. tomorrow.

Coming From Ottawa

Three members of the board are coming from Ottawa. Their names were not available.

Also eligible for membership of the board are Col. Stearns, of the R.N.W.M.P., Commissioner A. A. Perry,

and Thomas Jelley, acting Commissioner of Immigration in Winnipeg for the Federal Government.

Counsel for the accused has been given permission to appear for them. The press may be admitted by a permit from the Chairman of the Board.

T. J. Murray with Mr. Andrews met Senator G. D. Robertson at the Royal Alexandra at noon today. Following a conference lasting more than an hour, Mr. Murray was the first to leave. He declined to make any statement at this juncture.

Immediate Deportation

"Under the amended Order-in-Council the Board will have power to deport the accused immediately," said A. J. Andrews. "If they do not come under this amendment they can be dealt with under the criminal code on all the charges named. The Board may not consider the charges sufficiently serious for immediate deportation, in which case criminal proceedings will be immediately instituted."

More charges, in addition to those already laid, may be preferred against the accused, counsel for the Crown intimated.

"LAW AND ORDER" AT THE LABOR TEMPLE

Whilst the homes of the men were being visited and the men themselves being whisked away to Stony Mountain, some hundreds of "Special Police" and "Mounties" were raiding the various meeting places of the strikers and headquarters of organized labor.

At the Labor Temple on James Street, the large plate glass doors were broken and every room broken into and searched. In room 14, the office of the Machinists' Local, No. 122, the headquarters of Brother R. B. Russell, a desk was deliberately smashed open and in addition to the papers and documents there was between \$50 and \$60 in cash, dues paid in by members after banking hours the previous day; and when these minions of the Law left, after their search, this money as well as the papers and documents were missing.

The show case on the ground floor was liberally stocked with cigars, cigarettes, and tobacco, but without specifically charging the searchers with theft, it is a fact that after they left there was hardly so much as a cigarette paper left.

On a subsequent visit the three safes in the building were opened in a most expert manner, and despoiled of their contents. The Ukrainian Labor Temple was visited and suffered wanton destruction in the same manner. Type already set in the printing machine in the basement was scattered all over the floor and machines wilfully damaged.

About \$38 worth of chocolate and candy were taken from the show cases here, as the cigars, etc., from the Labor Temple.

A DISCREDITED GOVERNMENT AND AN ERSTWHILE RESPECTED FORCE

One of the charges laid against the men arrested is that "of bringing His Majesty's Government into contempt and ridicule," but this charge could lie more properly against the Government itself, for its own policy and action have earned the contempt of 85% of the population; and never in the history of Canada has a Government been held in such contempt by the mass of the people as the present Union Government.

By wholesale disfranchisement, by the manipulation of the "floating" vote of the soldiers, by intimidation, they rode into power, and disgusted the entire electorate by their policy of Government by Order-in-Council. All this was bad enough, but when they use the members of what was looked upon as one of the best constabulary forces in the world for such base purposes as stool pigeons and common spies, it shows to what lengths they are prepared to go to bolster the crumbling reign of despotism.

HOLDING THE LINE

After the arrests, meetings were held to protest against the Prussian methods adopted by our "Democratic Government," but there followed no unseemly demonstrations, only a quiet firm determination to carry on "till the fight was won." "Hold the Line!" was the rallying cry, and hold the line they did.

The "Strike Bulletin" came out as usual, with J. S. Woodworth as editor, and as evidence of fearless courage and undaunted enthusiasm, we append the following article from the issue of Wednesday, June 18th, 1919:

FOOLS AND KNAVES

"Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad."
When the knaves on the Committee of 1000 started the

villainous campaign which has resulted in the arrest of six of the most devoted men who ever served the cause of labor, they fondly and falsely imagined that by securing the arrest of these men they could break the strike. During the early part of the strike the plutocratic 1000 expected to starve the workers into submission in two weeks. When the workers refused to submit they said:

"The fact that these workers can live more than two weeks without working shows that they are getting too high wages. We must grind them down." Later the Committee boasted that its position had been endorsed by the Civic, Provincial and Federal Governments. Then came thundering the ultimatums of the various Governments and corporations. These failed of their purpose, which was rank intimidation.

While the old police force was on the city streets, peaceful and law-abiding citizens could sleep quietly in their beds without fear of molestation. Citizens could walk the streets unafraid of gunmen, because they could rely on the old city police to administer the Law without fear or favor. This was not to be liking of the 1000, so they maligned the loyal police until the Police Commission was induced to lock them out.

Then followed a Cossack-like attempt to club the workers into submission.

All the miserable tactics of the 1000 have failed of their main purpose. They have failed to break the strike. They have failed to prevent the strike from spreading.

After a month's campaign of villification, misrepresentation and intimidation, unparalleled in this country in its intensity, there are more men and women on strike in Winnipeg than there were a month ago. The Committee of Knaves realizes this and as a consequence they have gone stark raving mad.

We thought their last card was played when they ousted the men who were the embodiment of law and order from the streets. But they had another card up their sleeve, namely, the brutal arrest of strike leaders. Perhaps they have another card yet. Let them play it. They will find that the strikers can give them cards and spades and then beat them. It is impossible for that infamous Committee to descend much lower, but let them go the limit; we have no intention of following them. Whatever foul tactics may be indulged in by the opposi-



F. J. Dixon, M.P.P.

tion, the strikers will continue calm and strong, resolved to win by lawful and orderly methods those righteous principles which are at stake. It is not the fact of this or that man that will decide the issue. It is the firm resolution to win that will overcome and cast down the greedy tyrants from the pedestal on which they have placed themselves. The actions of the Committee of 1000 indicate that its policy is dictated by mad knaves and carried out by credulous fools. They will find out, however, that the brains of the labor movement are not all contained in the heads of six men; that the determination of the labor movement is not confined in six hearts. They will be taught that 35,000 brains and hearts are united and that these brains and hearts will in the long run rise victorious through all the nefarious machinations of the 1000, secure the objects for which this strike is being waged and vindicates the men who were arrested on Tuesday morning.

DOMINION WIDE PROTESTS

Meantime, while the "boys" in Winnipeg were determined to close the ranks and carry on, protests were being sent from every point of the Dominion to the Trades and Labor Congress, as the following clipping from the "Free Press Bulletin," of June 18th, will show:

LABOR HEADS KEEP OUT OF CITY TROUBLE

But Dominion Congress May Intervene if They Are
Appealed to

Ottawa, June 18.—The Dominion Labor Congress is ready to back the Winnipeg strikers with all necessary assistance as circumstances may demand, but it is up to the Winnipeg strikers or their Committee, or the arrested leaders themselves, to ask the Congress to take action.

Until the Winnipeg labor men resume communication with the Congress, President Tom Moore holds that it would be indelicate and uncalled for on his part to interfere. For this reason he has so far given no answer to a score or more of telegrams, from labor councils all over Canada demanding that the Congress call anything from a Dominion wide one-day strike to an indefinite general strike lasting until all the grievances of the Winnipeg men are remedied.

Labor councils all over Canada are standing by the Winnipeg strikers, and are up in arms over the arrest of the leaders, their telegrams to Ottawa are said to show.

Vancouver Men Silent

Vancouver, B.C., June 17.—Up to a late hour this evening recognized labor leaders here had no comment to make publicly concerning the arrests this morning in Winnipeg of radicals and agitators. There were no new developments locally in the strike situation.

“The World”, which is now the only regularly published daily newspaper in Vancouver, commenting on the Winnipeg strike, says:

“The Dominion Government has at last acted with vigor in Winnipeg; it has ordered the arrest of the strike leaders and the seizure of evidence. The leaders are now under detention and a raid on the Labor Temple has yielded up many documents.

“The Government in directing these arrests and this seizure is acting under process of Law. It is acting in the name of the citizens of Canada, and it is clothed with the authority to do what it has done.

Must be Established

“The conclusion does not follow, however, that because the strike leaders have been arrested that they are necessarily guilty or that they have been plotting to ‘overthrow the Government.’ Nor because documents have been found in the Labor Temple are they necessarily incitements to break the Law. The facts relating to these matters have yet to be established in a Court of Law and they can be satisfactorily established in no other way.

“The strike leaders will receive a fair trial. They are entitled to it and must receive it. If they have broken the Law by act or word they must meet the consequences. If they have not broken it and their deeds or language are merely irresponsible and not illegal, then the public, which has foreseen so many calamities impending in the last week or two, may be reassured.”

Proof Required, Says Moore

Ottawa, Ont., June 18.—“The Trades and Labor movement will not stand for strong arm methods for the suppression of legitimate labor demonstrations, and if the proof is not sufficient to show the Winnipeg labor leaders were plotting danger to the State, the Government will be held strictly accountable,” said Tom Moore, President

of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, when speaking of the arrests of the Winnipeg labor leaders.

"The news of the arrests came as an absolute surprise to me," Mr. Moore continued.

Welcomes Arrest of Reds

Edmonton, Alta., June 17.—The arrest of ten of the so-called strike leaders in Winnipeg early this morning has caused considerable of a flutter in local strike circles. No action under the new Act in Edmonton is expected. But strike leaders here, nevertheless, are keenly interested in Winnipeg developments.

"If these arrests are confined solely to Winnipeg and strike leaders there are arrested wholesale, it will only have the effect of making the strikers more determined," said one strong union man who is not on the Strike Committee. "On the other hand, if the real 'Red' agitators throughout all Canada are gathered in it would be a good thing. There is really one such man in Edmonton now. Vancouver has one or two, also."

Karl Berg, Vice-Chairman of the Central Strike Committee, declared that the arrests in Winnipeg would only "inflamm" the strikers and make them more determined than ever to stay out until they get what they are fighting for.

Locally, the strike situation remains unchanged. No trainmen, firemen or switchmen in Edmonton have gone out on strike, and the railway situation is as it was a week ago.

Want Dominion Strike

Calgary, Alta., June 18.—Request that a Dominion wide strike in protest of the arrest of the strike leaders in Winnipeg be called by the Dominion Trades Congress, has been made by the Trades Council here in a wire sent last night to Tom Moore, President of the Dominion Congress. Strike leaders here do not discuss the Winnipeg situation except to say that their cause is a just one and that they have nothing to fear.

Pritchard Disappears

Brandon, Man., June 17.—Quite a mystery surrounds the complete disappearance of two prominent labor men from this city tonight.

A mass meeting of labor had been called to take place in Rideau Park at 7.30 this evening, at which time close

on 400 people were present. W. A. Pritchard, of Vancouver, and H. M. Bartholomew, of this city, were scheduled to be the speakers. After waiting for about an hour and a half, part of which time was taken up with impromptu speakers, Chairman Ayers announced that he feared something happened to them, hinting that the same fate might have befallen as that which befell the leaders in Winnipeg.

The meeting shortly afterwards broke up.

Such of the Mounted Police as could be interrogated denied any knowledge of the affair, and up to the time of writing no trace of the men had been found.

Demand Winnipeggers' Release

As the result of the arrest of the labor leaders in Winnipeg, resolution was passed this afternoon by the Brandon Trades and Labor Council to this effect:

That the meeting assembled protest against the summary arrest of six labor leaders at Winnipeg and calls for their immediate release and places itself on record that the workers of Canada refuse to discuss a settlement of the present strike until their leaders be released and reinstated. Further be it resolved that this resolution be sent Premier Borden, Premier Norris and Mayor Gray and copy of same to every Strike Committee.

Toronto Strikers Protest

Toronto, June 17.—General indignation is expressed by local labor men over the arrests made at Winnipeg. The most pointed intimation of how they feel about it came from the striking Metal Trades Council, who framed a telegram which was sent to Sir Robert Borden. The telegram reads:

"The Metal Trades Council of Toronto representing several thousand workers on strike in this city, recognizing that the Dominion Government is evidently assisting the employing class in Winnipeg with the intention of destroying the labor movement of the West and in Canada, demand that your Government take steps that will assure the release at once of representatives of labor arrested in the City of Winnipeg.

"We further demand that the recent act intended to be used for the purpose of injuring the working class movement be repealed immediately. We declare that the connivance of the Government with the employing class

is inexcusable and criminal and invites grave trouble over the whole of Canada."

Coast Situation Better

Vancouver, B.C., June 17.—The fifteenth day of the Vancouver strike finds the city undisturbed in its domestic life and very little affected in its business life. The strike is marking time. The Strike Committee has "nothing to announce." Secretary Cavanagh merely remarking, when he heard the news of the Winnipeg arrests, that the strike would now spread to unorganized labor.

Some of the strikers in different industries are going back to work in ones and twos. Some of the longshoremen have gone back, and are working alongside of volunteer longshoremen, who are unloading an occasional boat in the harbor. There has been not the smallest approach to rioting anywhere.

Naylor Not Wanted to Speak

Nanaimo, B.C., June 17.—The Retail Clerks' Association of this city at a meeting here tonight repudiated the action of their Executive in asking Joseph Naylor, organizer for the One Big Union, to address them on the question of affiliation with the O. B. U., and voted by a large majority not to permit Naylor to address them.

Would Purge Winnipeg

Toronto, June 18.—Regarding the arrest of strike leaders in Winnipeg, The "Mail and Empire" says:

"The Government must not stop half way or listen to the Counsels of the solemn owls who undertake to utter clap-trap in the name of the citizens. The citizens want to have Winnipeg purged of the gang who did their best to throttle it and set up a rebel Government. Riel was hanged for resorting to arms to do what they were attempting.

"Those who insist that the smoking out of anarchists will be resented by labor are slanderers of labor."

The "Globe" editorially says:

"As to the wisdom or unwisdom of the Government's action at this time, the details so far to hand do not afford ground for decision, but having assumed responsibility for so drastic a step, it is incumbent upon the Federal authorities to satisfy the public that it is justified. If the arrests are part of a plan to railroad the strike leaders out of the country without trial, under the terms

of the amendment to the Immigration Act, they should be abandoned now."

New Westminster to Strike

New Westminster, B. C., June 18.—The General Strike Committee appointed last week by the New Westminster Trades and Labor Council issued a call this morning for a general strike of union workers in this city, to take effect at 1 o'clock this afternoon.

A telegram has been sent to Ottawa declaring that the strike order is made as a protest against the arrests of the Winnipeg strike leaders.

Retail clerks and drivers of milk and bread wagons are exempted from the stop work order. Printers and postal employees will ignore the call, it is said. More than 400 street car men probably will quit work, however, and tie up all suburban lines to and from Vancouver, with the exception of the Fraser Valley line. These suburban routes have not been affected by the Vancouver strike.

No Arrests in Calgary

Calgary, Alta., June 18.—No arrests of strike agitators have occurred here yet. Shopmen remain at work on receipt of instructions from R. J. Tallon, at Montreal, that the strike has been indefinitely postponed.

BRITISH LABOR PROTESTS

But perhaps the most interesting news is as follows, taken from the "Telegram," showing that beyond the confines of this continent, the working class had their eyes upon Winnipeg: Telegram, June 26th:

BRITISH LABOR WANTS CANADIAN GOVERNMENT TO AVOID DEPORTING

LONDON, June 26.—The Labor Party Conference at Southport has passed a resolution protesting against the attempt of the Canadian Government to secretly deport British-born leaders of labor for participation in recent industrial disputes in the Dominion and urging the British Government to use its influence to prevent the Canadian Government from proceeding with such a step.

PRITCHARD ARRESTED IN CALGARY

As the ten prisoners in their solitary cells at Stony Mountain awaited news of the world outside, the following dispatch was received in Winnipeg from Calgary, telling its

own story, of frustrated hopes and anxious hours for a lonely wife and waiting bairns:

PRITCHARD IS ARRESTED ON CALGARY TRAIN

Calgary, Alta., June 20.—W. A. Pritchard, prominent organizer of the One Big Union, and one of its officials, is a prisoner in the Calgary city jail, awaiting transportation to Winnipeg on a charge of having knowledge of seditious conspiracy.

Pritchard was taken from the westbound C.P.R. train at Calgary at 6.40 o'clock last night by Staff-Sergt. Hall, of the R.N.W.M.P., who have been watching all trains on the lookout for the fugitive. The prisoner was brought before Police Magistrate Sanders, D.S.O., this morning and was briefly informed that he would be held pending the arrival of an officer from Winnipeg.

"Do you know what the charge is against you?" inquired the police magistrate of Pritchard.

Knew About Charge

"Yes, I know," responded the prisoner briefly, which was the extent of his remarks while in the dock. He was removed again to the cell and the case remanded until Monday pending the arrival of a Winnipeg officer.

In spite of the screaming headlines in the kept press, to the effect that the arrested men would be deported without the formality of a civil trial: "That in 76 hours they would be on the high seas," and despite the statements of A. J. Andrews that: "Bail would not be granted under any conditions," on Thursday evening, June 19th, as the various members of the Strike Committee, who had been out addressing meetings returned to the Labor Temple, it was seen that something was in the air. Little groups stood around discussing earnestly some information that had been handed out, whilst others were laughing and flinging their caps in the air and when it was finally announced that arrangements had been made for the release of the British-born prisoners, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. The amount of bail was a personal bond of \$2,000 from each man, and two sureties of \$1,000 each, and when this was announced by T. J. Murray, of Murray & Noble, Solicitors for the Trades and Labor Council, there was a great scramble for the honor, and even at that late hour there would have been little difficulty in securing bondsmen for ten times the amount needed.

Mr. Andrews, for the Crown, demurred when informed it was the intention to go after the men at this hour (midnight) on the ground that the warden and the guards would be abed, but was promptly informed that if the "boys" could be taken out of bed to go in, the officials could be called out of bed to let them out. So a hunt was made for a police magistrate, and secured in the person of E. A. Andrews, who, in company with T. J. Murray and about 40 or 50 strikers, started out on the long trip over the prairie. It was a wierd procession and must have caused surprise to anybody seeing it pass.

Owing to the severe electric storm of the previous Saturday, the electric lights in the upper portion of the penitentiary were out of commission, but after waking up the warden, and getting him out of bed to issue the necessary orders for admittance, the guard on duty went around to the cells wherein the prisoners were confined and with some difficulty wakened them, with the information that they had to go to the city.

The first thought was that it was the intention of the authorities to move them in the night, in order to have them on hand for the Immigration Board, as each man had been shaved that morning in order to be presentable, should the Board arrive at the "Pen." Great was their surprise on arrival in the office to see the smiling faces of their friends and to receive their hearty handshakes. Soon the formalities of signing were gone through and the men who three days before had passed through the gates into this "tomb of the living" escorted by armed men, who had suffered all the indignities of convicted criminals, were led out escorted by their friends.

Outside the gate, old friends and comrades crowded round them, men and women, baskets of food and fruit were brought out and under the black and forbidding walls of the prison, in all their repulsive hideousness they ate the first good meal they had tasted for three days. Three days! It seemed to those men like three years—to men who physically and mentally, for the past few weeks had been keyed to the highest pitch, the three days of solitary confinement and inactivity had seemed half a lifetime.

In reluctantly consenting to bail, however, the agent for the Crown had insisted, like Shylock of old, in having his "pound of flesh" and the men were compelled to sign an agreement to the effect that they: "Would take no further

part in the strike, that they would not address any other meetings, nor give any interviews to the press," which agreement, in spite of much provocation, the men kept both in letter and in spirit. For what purposes such an unprecedented condition was put will be told in another page.

As was to be expected, as soon as the "boys" appeared on the streets the following day, they were the recipients of the hearty congratulations of their fellow-workers, and the heartiness and multiplicity of these congratulations gave the "Spies" and "Stool Pigeons" much upon which their imagination could play in making their reports to their superiors.

The one disheartening feature to the British-born prisoners who were released on bail and to the whole body of strikers was the fact that the five foreign-born, arrested on the same charges were refused their liberty.

The following is from the "Strike Bulletin," of June 21st, 1919:

FIVE MEN TO COME OUT

Six of the strike leaders are out on bail. Five men are still in Stony Mountain penitentiary. They must come out.

The eleven men were all arrested on the same information. There were two charges; the one, seditious conspiracy, the other seditious libel. According to the first these eleven men did conspire and agree with one another and with other persons. . . . and were thereby guilty of seditious conspiracy. The second charge is based on an article which appeared in the "Western Labor News" with regard to the special police.—All eleven are held responsible.

As a matter of fact none of the five men had anything to do with the strike, were not on the Committees or did not address any meeting. Some of them were not even known by some of the strike leaders.

M. Charitanoff who was arrested some time ago and released has taken no active part in public matters since his release. He was about to publish a newspaper with the full knowledge of the authorities who raised no objections. He cannot be tried again on the previous charge. Apparently he has a clean sheet.

S. Almazoff is a student at the university. He has been taking a course in philosophy and economics. Three

days before he was arrested he finished writing on his examinations.

M. Berenczat is a returned soldier. He enlisted in the Second C. M. R., at the beginning of the war and returned in April, 1917, after being twice wounded.

Oscar Schappellrei is American-born and is still in uniform.

Sam Blumenberg was put out of the Socialist Party of Canada five months ago for not being sufficiently "Orthodox" and "scientific." When he learned that a warrant was out for him he voluntarily surrendered himself.

The British-born men are now out on bail and are to be given a civil trial. The foreign-born—though they include two men who fought for Canada—are to be proceeded against under the amended Immigration Law. This will mean trial by an ordinary Committee, though it is understood that legal forms will be observed and the men will be represented by counsel. The only appeal is to the Minister in charge of the Department of Immigration.

Surely if these men are guilty they, too, might be tried under the ordinary process of law and not kicked out of the back door as undesirables—two of them returned men!

In any case why cannot they be released on bail as is the ordinary procedure? The Government can have no fear that they would not be forthcoming at the time of trial. Why should they not have a chance to prepare their defense? If the Government saw fit to release six why not release the remaining five arrested on the same charge? Should not men irrespective of birthplace enjoy British justice? What political purpose has the Government in keeping them in confinement?

British justice and constitutional Government are on their trial these days. We believe the soldiers are prepared to back the workers in insisting that all men are given fair play. Organized labor protests against the detention of these men, who, although not connected with the strike, were arrested on a charge of being parties with the strike leaders to seditious conspiracy and responsible with them for alleged seditious libel.

The following article is also taken from the "Strike Bulletin," of June 21st:

IN AGAIN—OUT AGAIN

“Once there was a King of France. He had ten thousand men. He marched them up a great big hill and then he marched them down again!”

Two days ago six desperate characters were seized by our soldier-police force. Their houses were violently broken open; their wives and children seriously frightened; their private papers ransacked—they were handcuffed, placed under heavy guard in automobiles and drove at top speed to the penitentiary at Stony Mountain. They, though British-born, were to be deported “without the formality of a civil trial” and by this time were to be on the deep, blue sea.

But a cog slipped; in fact several cogs slipped, and now these desperate Red leaders of a frightfully red revolution—Canadian-wide in scope and engineered from Moscow and backed up by unlimited Bolshevik funds from the United States—these dangerous characters are peacefully resting in their own homes with their wives and children.

Surely the whole world’s a stage; life is still full of dramatic interest; ambition is not the only creature that o’er leaps itself with disastrous results. (Haven’t time to consult my Shakespeare.)

If the authorities have such overwhelming evidence in their possession, the defenceless citizens of Winnipeg may well claim that the officials responsible are derelict in duty if they allow these men the possibility of escape.

The statement issued by A. J. Andrews, K.C., is a choice bit of reading. Remember that there have been all sorts of negotiations going on; that there have been sharp differences of opinion between the Provincial and Federal authorities; that there has been great pressure from public leaders and influential private citizens; that there have been threats from large bodies of men whom the authorities dare not antagonize.—Remember all this and read Mr. Andrews’ statement.

“As representing the Department of Justice, in order that no citizen should have any cause to complain that the Government was desposed to deny the following persons, namely, R. B. Russell, W. Ivens, John Queen, A. A. Heaps, George Armstrong and R. E. Bray a fair trial by jury if they so desire, the Government is very gracious.—(We extend our heartfelt gratitude for their unparalleled gen-

erosity to British citizens) I have decided to postpone any proceedings for their deportation until the charges against them have been heard."

"I have decided—(and who is Mr. Andrews that he should hold in his hand the right to decide whether a British-born citizen should have a fair trial by jury or whether he should be summarily deported,) What right have any group of men to postpone proceedings or proceed to deport men **"until the charges against them have been heard?"**

This article may be interpreted as tending to discredit authority. It is intended to discredit any individual or group that would deprive us of the fundamental rights of Canadian citizens and British subjects.

But the conditions under which the strike leaders are released are interesting and very significant. The first condition, which does not appear in Mr. Andrews' statement, but which was definitely stipulated in the negotiations with the Committee, was that there should be no "victory parade" on the part of the strikers. Of course the ostensible reason is the danger of the enthusiastic crowd becoming excited and breaking bounds. But at the same time the authorities, doubtless, have no desire to have the victory of the strikers heralded to the world. They know the psychological value of dramatic action. They know more of the psychological effects of certain actions than they did two days ago. They are by no means disposed to admit how complete the back down of the authorities has been.

But after all, they have been able to snatch victory from defeat. The strike leaders are released on bail on the express understanding that they will take no further part in the strike.—That, after all, appears to have been the purpose behind the arrest. Dangerous revolutionaries would not be allowed at large on \$2,000 bail. The farce is evident to all. The employer-capitalist group have used the processes of the Law and created unheard of extra-legal machinery to fight the workers now on strike. By a sudden and unscrupulous coup the leaders have been removed from the field.

"Constituted authority," indeed! The workers will never forget its meaning.

Fortunately other men have stepped into the vacant places and the fight goes on with greater determination.

Whatever the immediate issue the workers have learned the measure of their opponents.

THE "SILENT PARADE" AND "BLOODY SATURDAY"

On Friday evening of June 20th, the returned soldiers' Committee (who had elected another Chairman after the arrest of R. E. Bray, and were prepared to "Carry on") called a meeting in the Market Square at which many strongly worded resolutions were passed at which it was decided to call a "Silent Parade" of returned men for the following day, to march to the Royal Alexandra Hotel, and demand of Senator Robertson an account of his activities during the strike.

It was on account of the speeches they made at this meeting, at which were present some five or six thousand people, that Comrades Martin, Grant, and Farnell were afterwards arrested on charges of "Uttering seditious words."

The Grand Jury later brought in "No Bill" against Martin and Grant, but a "True Bill" against Farnell.

The following account of the Parade and what happened on Saturday, June 21st, one of the blackest chapters in Canadian history, is taken from the "Strike Bulletin," of June 23rd, 1919:

BLOODY SATURDAY

R.N.W.M.P. Make Gory Debut—Peaceful Citizens Shot Without Warning—City Under Military Control—Returned Men Incensed—Strikers More Determined.

One is dead and a number injured, probably thirty or more, as result of the forcible prevention of the "silent parade" which had been planned by returned men to start at 2.30 o'clock last Saturday afternoon. Apparently the bloody business was carefully planned, for Mayor Gray issued a proclamation in the morning stating that "Any women taking part in a parade do so at their own risk." Nevertheless a vast crowd of men, women and children assembled to witness the "silent parade."

The Soldiers' Committee, which had been interviewing Senator Robertson, had not returned to their comrades when the latter commenced to line up on Main Street, near the city hall.

No attempt was made to use the special city police to prevent the parade. On a previous occasion a dozen of the



R. J. Johns

old regular city police had persuaded the returned men to abandon a parade which had commenced to move.

On Saturday, about 2.30 p.m., just the time when the parade was scheduled to start, some 50 mounted men swinging baseball bats rode down Main Street. Half were red-coated R.N.W.M.P., the others wore khaki. They quickened pace as they passed the Union Bank. The crowd opened, let them through and closed in behind them. They turned and charged through the crowd again, greeted by hisses, boos, and some stones. There were two riderless horses with the squad when it emerged and galloped up Main Street. The men in khaki disappeared at this juncture, but the red-coats reined their horses and reformed opposite the old post office.

Shooting to Kill

Then, with revolvers drawn, they galloped down Main Street, turned, and charged right into the crowd on William Avenue, firing as they charged. One man, standing on the sidewalk, thought the mounties were firing blank cartridges until a spectator standing beside him dropped with a bullet through his breast. Another standing nearby was shot through the head. We have no exact information about the total number of casualties, but there were not less than thirty. The crowd dispersed as quickly as possible when the shooting began.

Some Citizens Applaud Man-Killers

When the mounties rode back to the corner of Portage Avenue and Main Street, after the fray, at least two of them were twirling their reeking tubes high in the air in Orthodox Deadwood Dick style. Some individuals, apparently opposed to the strike, applauded the man-killers as they rode by.

Special Police Appear

Lines of special police, swinging their big clubs, were then thrown across Main Street, and the intersecting thoroughfares. Dismounted red-coats lined up across Portage Avenue and Main Street declaring the city under military control. Khaki-clad men with rifles were stationed on the street corners.

Public Meetings Abandoned

There were no open-air meetings on Saturday night, but the Central Strike Committee met as usual and re-

solved to "carry on" with redoubled vigor. If the city remains under military control meetings will likely be held outside the city limits.

Soldier Strikers Incensed

Indignation at the action of the authorities was forcibly expressed by returned men. They feel that the prevention of the parade was an infringement of the human rights they have fought to defend, and they are especially incensed by the murderous assault of the mounties upon an unarmed crowd. One man, recently returned, said: "They treated us worse than we ever treated Fritz."

The returned men assumed full responsibility for the "silent parade" proposition, making a special request that the strikers should not join them. "This is our affair," they declared. Had they intended violence they would hardly have invited their wives to join in the parade.

THE WINNIPEG "YELLOWGRAM" AND CONSTITUTED AUTHORITY

The following article is taken from the Winnipeg "Telegram" of June 20th, and provides somewhat startling confirmation of the strikers' contention, that the Citizens' Committee of 1000 had usurped authority and arrogated to themselves the function of Government:

RED, BLUE AND ALL YELLOW

The Federal Government's badge is blue. The badge of the Bolsheviks is red. The Government is supposed to be a true blue Government. Those revolutionaries who were arrested and sent to Stony Mountain the other morning boast of being "Reds."

Sandpaper both of these worthy bodies, and their true color is revealed—a brilliant yellow!

After making a theatrical display—which is only revealed as theatrical because of the farcial aftermath—after arresting the ringleaders in the attempted rebellion and spiriting them away to the penitentiary, the Government has entered into negotiations with the very men that it accused of some of the most serious crimes of which anyone could be guilty—negotiations by which six of them are given their liberty on paltry bail, and on their personal undertaking not TO INDULGE IN ANY FURTHER UNLAWFUL CONDUCT, and not even to exercise their undoubted right to resume participation, directly or indirectly, in the general strike!

This is such a pitiable farce, such a miserable fiasco, that one is in doubt whether to curse or to laugh at it.

There is no doubt whatever how those citizens that have been working like slaves as private soldiers in barracks in this almost insufferable weather, those that are doing the work of special policemen in a broiling sun, those who spend their days and nights in a fire hall, and those who render other public services that they should not be expected to do in a well-ordered country feel about this betrayal of their interests.

They are indignant beyond the powers of expression—and their indignation is quite justified.

There never has been finer service rendered in any community, that has been so spontaneously and generously given by the citizens of all classes who rallied to the defense of the State, of our institutions and of our very lives when the call was made for their services.

For five **DREARY** weeks they have endured hardship, annoyance, monetary loss and loss of the right to associate with their families, that they might render public service for which they could never adequately be compensated.

They did all this in the firm conviction that it was necessary for them to do so in order to maintain British Government here and to sustain in a great trial constituted authority. They did all this, also, in the conviction that constituted authority was worthy of their sacrifices, would not be ungrateful, but would stand behind them in the front line and do its duty by them to the end.

The citizens of Winnipeg have not failed, and they will not fail. The Federal Government has failed abjectly—and failed because of no lack of understanding of the trickery of political expediency.

There is a tendency today for every man to turn from his self-appointed task in disgust. He feels that he has been betrayed by the politicians, and he asks himself why he should be true to men who are untrue to him.

This is a natural attitude—but it is an attitude that ought to be avoided.

Because others fail, furnishes no adequate reason why you should fail. Because a Government, for selfish reasons, desires to hasten the end of this strike by a deal rather than by a decision, furnishes no adequate reason why private individuals, who have made enormous sacri-

fices, should permit their good work of five long weeks to go for nought in a quite natural passion of disgust.

It is nothing common or ordinary that the organizations of patriotic citizens have accomplished up-to-date. Therefore, to be true to their record, they should continue to stand steadfast and refuse now to adopt a common, ordinary, or expected course.

They, not the authorities, have won this strike. Let them, therefore, resolve that they, and not the authorities, shall dictate the terms of peace.

Let them stick to their posts; let every one of them who have any influence with an employer of labor bring every pressure to bear to compel those unlawfully on strike to return to their work without obtaining any advantage from their unlawful adventure.

This can readily be accomplished if the Citizens' Committee, the volunteer soldiers, the volunteer firemen and other volunteers engaged in public service will take a new resolution from this betrayal, and adopt a course that will convince the authorities that even "good politics" will make it necessary in this case to get back into line with sound public opinion by the shortest route available—even though that short route should involve the turning of another handspring, at which the authorities of today have developed an expertness that is as inimitable as it is undignified.

Let our motto be "Carry On!"

J. S. WOODSWORTH ARRESTED

After the arrest of Rev. Wm. Ivens, editor of the Western Labor News, and the "Strike Bulletin," J. S. Woodsworth stepped into the breach and filled the position to such good effect that he called down upon his head the wrath of the powers that rule, with the result that the following letter was sent to the Winnipeg Printing and Engraving Co.:

"Winnipeg, June 23rd, 1919.

"Winnipeg Printing and Engraving Co., Ltd.

"Gentlemen:

"Certain numbers of the Winnipeg Western Labor News Special Strike edition have contained objectionable matter in that it is seditious, inflammatory and inciting to riot, and this publication must be discontinued.

"No more issues of this publication must be printed or circulated.

"Yours truly,
 "(Signed) ALFRED J. ANDREWS,
 "Agent, Department of Justice."

Government by professional politicians, controlled by "big interests" was bad enough; Government by Order-in-Council was worse, but this was Government by means of dictatorship.

Passing down Main Street in company with F. J. Dixon, M.L.A., for Centre Winnipeg, Mr. Woodsworth was accosted by a man who informed him that he had a warrant for his arrest. Surprised and rightly indignant, he offered no demure, but left Mr. Dixon to continue on his errand and inform the Strike Committee of what had occurred.

He was taken to the police court, and thrown into a cell like an ordinary criminal, and taken from there to the Provincial goal, where he was detained from Monday to Friday and refused bail.

Imagine, reader, if you can, the infamy of such proceeding and the cruel suffering and anxiety imposed upon his wife and children away on the Pacific Coast.

The following portion of the indictment will show two of the articles which are charged against him, the third being one published in the "Strike Bulletin," of June 23rd, entitled: "Is there a way out."

The jurors aforesaid, do further present:

4. That J. S. Woodsworth, on or about the month of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, at the City of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba, unlawfully and seditiously published seditious libels in the words and figures following:

"Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people that widows may be their prey and that they may rob the fatherless.

—'Isaiah."

"And they shall build houses and inhabit them, and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build and another inhabit, they shall not plant and another eat; for as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands.

"Isaiah, II."

The jurors aforesaid do further present:

6. That J. S. Woodsworth, in or about the month of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, at the City of Winnipeg in the Province of Manitoba, unlawfully and seditiously published seditious libels in the words and figures following:

“THE BRITISH WAY”

“Apparently a good many of our local business men have the idea that after the strike things will go on again as usual. The war was to them merely an interruption in the smooth current of events—an opportunity for piling up greater profits. It is true that a few months ago we heard considerable talk about ‘Reconstruction,’ but the matter was not taken very seriously. In fact reconstruction for the Canadian business men was conceived as construction on a larger scale along the old lines.

“The general strike came somewhat as a shock, just as the business man thought things were beginning to get back to ‘normal’—the blankety-blank labor people upset everything, housing schemes and all. To say that the business man was angry is putting it mildly. He didn’t see that the strike was an inevitable outcome of the industrial and financial conditions brought on by the war. Then some one whispered the dread word “Bolshevik” and he became positively hysterical. The strike was sort of a carefully concocted conspiracy to overthrow constitutional Government in Canada. Five dangerous ‘Reds’ were responsible for the whole miserable business—off with their heads and we will have peace and prosperity again.

“Now, instead of thinking so much about the dreadful things that are happening in Russia, suppose we consider the remarkable changes that are likely to take place in Great Britain. Within the last few days several men, prominent in civic affairs and in the Citizens’ Committee, have confessed that they know nothing of the platform of the British Labor Party. Yet this party is now in opposition in the British House of Commons, and it is generally conceded will before long become the Government of Great Britain. Their policy is then a matter of practical politics and may, in the not distant future, be carried into operation. Either this, say the students of social movements, or the deluge.

"The draft report on reconstruction has already appeared in full in the "Western Labor News," so we touch only on the outstanding points.

"The view of the Labor Party is that what has to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that Government Department or this or that piece of machinery, but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself.'

"Revolutionary! Certainly. But the exponents of this view are not persecuted as British and Scotch Anarchists. A goodly number of them have been elected to Parliament....'

"The individual system of capitalism, based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital, with its reckless "profiteering" and wage slavery; with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for the means of life, and its hypocritical pretense of the survival of the fittest, with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces and the degradation and brutalization both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom, may, we hope, indeed have received a death-blow.'

"Sounds like a Socialist soap-box orator, eh? 'And does that really mean the doing away with private ownership of land and capital?' Precisely. 'Why, that is Bolshevism.' Oh, no, it's only the policy of the party in opposition in the British House of Commons.

"We must insure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting but of fraternity—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain—not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach toward a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world, not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex; but, in industry as well as in government on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consequences and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy.

"Anarchist, Internationalist, Pacifist, and Pro-German, off with him to the penitentiary. We would subvert



Ald. John Queen

constituted authority! In England, he is called into the Councils of Government.'

"In the pamphlet which explains the draft programme, a solemn warning is given: 'Whether we like it or fear it, we have to recognize that in the course of the last three and a half years people have become habituated to thought of violence. They have seen force employed on an unprecedented scale as an instrument of policy. We may be warned by a perception of these facts, that if barricades are indeed likely to be erected in our streets, they will be manned by men who have learned how to fight and not by ill-disciplined mobs, unversed in the use of modern weapons, likely to be easily overcome by trained troops.'

"This is not incendiary writing. It comes from the Right Honourable Arthur Henderson, who sees some of the dangers ahead if the legitimate aims of labor are fought.

"But what is this new Social Order, and how is it to be brought in? The Labor Party insists, first, on a minimum standard of living. Each family must have sufficient to supply for a decent living—good food, clothing and shelter, opportunities for education, recreation and culture, insurance against accidents, sickness, unemployment, old age. The State assumes responsibility for finding men work and providing for all their needs.

"This is not continental Socialism, it is not an Utopian dream. Today England is paying millions of pounds in unemployment benefits. In the second place the Labor Party stands for a democratic control of industry; this means the progressive elimination from the control of industry of the private capitalist, individual or private stock; it means a genuinely scientific reorganization of the nation's industry, no longer deflected by individual profiteering on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production (Rank Socialism) it means the immediate nationalization of railways, mines, and electric power. It means that the worker has a voice and a share in the industry in which he is engaged.

"But how is all this to be financed? How provide for the means of all? How buy out railways and factories? The Britisher does not like the word 'confiscation,' so he has worked out a little scheme to accomplish his end in

another way. He is not hot-headed like the Russian, he goes more slowly, but he is just as thorough.

"He proposes that all revenues should be raised from two sources: (a) an income tax, (b) an inheritance tax.

"The capitalist says he will not engage in industry without the incentive of profit. 'Very well,' says the Britisher, 'Go to it. Make all the money you like, but remember the State will take most of it back in taxes.' The Labor Party proposes to exempt from taxation all income above that necessary to maintain a good standard of living. After that there will be a steeply graded tax rising from a penny in the pound on the smallest assessable income up to sixteen or even nineteen shillings in the pound on the highest income of the millionaire....

"With regard to inheritance there will need to be a complete reversal in the point of view. Today we go on the assumption that a man has a right to say who will inherit his property. The State claiming merely certain inheritance taxes. The Labor Party goes on the idea that naked a man came into the world, naked he will go out again. At a man's death, all over what is necessary for the needs of his immediate family will revert to the State. Thus in the course of a generation all the great estates will revert to the common people of England from whom they were filched by the 'enclosing' of the 'common lands.'

"This is the British way, and, remember, it is absolutely constitutional!

"The surplus which will accrue from these national enterprises and large revenues will be used for the common good. Such is the programme of the British Labor Party, regarded by radicals as rather temporising and altogether too slow.

"Do our Canadian business men suppose that with revolution going on all over Europe and with its programme offered in England as a substitute for sudden and perhaps violent revolution that we in Canada are going to be permitted to go with undisturbed step along the accustomed way?

"No! We, too, must face the new situation. Whether the radical changes that are inevitable may be brought about peaceably largely depends on the good sense of the

Canadian business man who now largely controls both the industry and Government of this country.

"We confess the prospects are not over bright."

DIXON FILLS VACANT POST

The strikers' paper is dead—long live the strikers' paper. If the authorities thought they could break the lines of communication by suppressing the "Strike Bulletin," they had a rude awakening.

After the arrest of Woodsworth a worthy successor was found in F. J. Dixon, and the following morning there appeared the "Western Star," which gave a detailed account of the raid on the "Strike Bulletin" and the arrest of Woodsworth, and bore in large type the motto: "ON TO VICTORY" and an article which is given below:

WITHOUT PREJUDICE

When the soldier-strikers offered to give their services to the city in order to preserve law and order, Mayor Gray told them that if they thought they could act without prejudice they might turn their names in to the organizer of the special police force. They offered their services, but they were not accepted. Now A. J. Andrews, one time spokesman for the Committee of 1000, before the City Council, has been appointed agent for the Department of Justice. Mr. Andrews, of course, can act without prejudice. One instance of his fairness and impartiality is shown by the fact that one sheet, that purports to be a newspaper, can counsel the wiping out of half the population of Winnipeg in order that the will of the class it represents may prevail and it is not suppressed. On the other hand, the "Labor News," which has always counselled the strikers to "Do Nothing," to be lawful and orderly and all that, has been suppressed. A man who can mete out such impartial justice must be without prejudice. Mr. Andrews is to be congratulated upon the way in which Mr. Andrews, representative of the Citizens' Committee, is subjugated by Mr. Andrews, agent for the Department of Justice. Greater is he who conquereth himself than he who conquereth a city.

It also conveyed to his striking comrades, the inspiring message of "Bobby" Russell's aged mother in Glasgow, who, when she heard her boy was arrested sent a cablegram of just two words: "Have courage."

If she had sent a thousand words, they could have said no more. "Have courage."

The "Western Star" had but a short existence, but was followed by the "Enlightner," still under the editorship of Dixon, for whom a warrant had been issued. In the enforced absence of Ivens and Woodsworth, it was imperative that Dixon keep out of the clutches of the law until such time as the "Western Labor News" could resume publication, and Ivens receive permission to proceed with his duties as editor, and for three days, from the seclusion of his hiding place, Dixon kept the iron hot, until Friday evening about 7 o'clock, when Ivens returned to his post, the genial "Fred" walked down to the police station and said to the sergeant in charge: "I believe you have a warrant for my arrest," to which the sergeant replied in the affirmative and "Fred" was put in the cell, where he remained for about two hours, being then removed to the Provincial gaol, where he was detained for a further twenty-one hours before being granted bail.

To most readers Fred. J. Dixon will need no introduction, but there may be some readers of this history in the far away corner of the world who does not know and for their benefit, the following brief account of his activities is given:

In the Provincial election of 1915 he had the largest majority of any candidate in Manitoba, and took his seat in the Legislature as member for Centre Winnipeg. He is one of, if not the best known Single-Taxer in Canada, and few progressive organizations have not heard him. A fluent speaker, he is never dry, even when talking on a dry subject, but can chase away the "blues" with a timely joke.

A man of strong convictions, and better still, with courage to uphold them. He was the champion of "No conscription of man power without the conscription of wealth," and on this account was black-balled by his erstwhile friends and associates in the Legislature, chased by an angry mob of returned soldiers—when he spoke in the Legislature, the other members became engrossed either in animated conversation with each other or with the daily papers, even the Premier on one occasion deliberately turning his back upon him whilst he (Dixon) was advocating the retention of the natural resources of the Province for the benefit of all the people, instead of distributing them to the friends of the Government.

The kept press had bitterly assailed him, but he was true to his convictions and in contrast to the mealy-mouthed

politicians, when the testing time came, he was the ONLY ONE in the Provincial House to stand squarely behind the strikers in their demands, and whereas, in January angry mobs had sought his life, in May and June he was in great demand as a speaker, both with soldiers and civilians, and when his name was mentioned in the Legislature at the time the returned soldiers' delegation was waiting upon the premier, some of the men who had sought his life six months previously, led such cheering as has never been heard in that building before.

DIXON'S INDICTMENT

The jurors for our Lord the King present:

That F. J. Dixon, in or about the month of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, at the City of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba, unlawfully and seditiously published seditious libels in the words and figures following:

"KAISERISM IN CANADA"

"What shall the sacrifice profit Canada if she who has helped to destroy Kaiserism in Germany shall allow Kaiserism to be established at home?

"Whoever ordered the shooting last Saturday is a Kaiser of the deepest dye.

"The responsibility must be placed and the criminal brought before the bar of justice.

"There may be those who think that the blood of innocent men upon our streets is preferable to a 'silent parade.' There may be those who think their dignity must be upheld at any cost. But we fail to see the slightest justification for the murderous assault which was committed. Whoever ordered it acted in the spirit of Kaiser Wilhelm when he said: 'Recruits! Before the altar and the servant of God you have given me the oath of allegiance. You are too young to know the full meaning of what you have said, but your first care must be to obey implicitly all orders and directions. You have sworn fidelity to me, you are the children of my guard, you are my soldiers, you have surrendered yourselves to me, body and soul. Only one enemy can exist for you—my enemy. With the present Socialist machinations, it may happen that I shall order you to shoot your own relations, your brothers, or even your parents—which God forbid—and then you are bound in duty implicitly to obey my orders.'

"The events of last week show to what lengths the opponents of labor will go in their efforts to fasten despotism on this city and this country. The midnight arrest of men whose only crime seems to be that of 'lese majeste' against the profiteers, and the shooting of innocent and defenceless citizens mark the depths of desperation to which the Kaiser-like crowd at the Industrial Bureau are prepared to go in order to turn their defeat into a temporary victory.

"But they must not be allowed even temporary satisfaction. Organized labor must continue the magnificent fight of the last five weeks until its just and moderate demands are granted. It were better that the whole 35,000 strikers languished in jail; better, even, that we all rested beside the men who were slain on Saturday, than that the forces of Kaiserism shall prevail.

"There have always been those who imagined that 'a whiff of grape shot' would stop the cry of the people for justice. There are those in Winnipeg who think the shooting on Saturday taught labor a lesson. The parade was attempted and the blood of innocent men spilled 'without permission of the Strike Committee.' Labor already knew that two dozen men on horseback, shooting to kill, could disperse a crowd of several thousand unarmed men and women.

"The Committee of 1000 has, however, many lessons to learn—among other things the members of that Committee must be taught that ideas are more powerful than bullets. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. We shall 'carry on,' in spite of hell, till the victory is won.

PRITCHARD OUT ON BAIL

On Friday afternoon, after an imprisonment of six days, Pritchard was released on bail from the pen, and the following day Dixon and Woodsworth were each released.

Pritchard at once proceeded to his home in Vancouver until the preliminary hearing should take place.

SYMPATHETIC STRIKE CALLED OFF

"The Enlightner," of June 25th, bore in large type on its front page the words: "Sympathetic Strike Called Off" for Thursday, June 26th, at 11 a.m., to the great surprise of a large body of strikers, who, for the most part were very angry and much opposed to the action of the Strike Com-

mittee in calling off the strike until the different unions had had a chance to vote on the question. The Labor Temple was besieged with inquiries as to the reason for this sudden action of the Strike Committee, and for over a week thousands of strikers refused to give in.

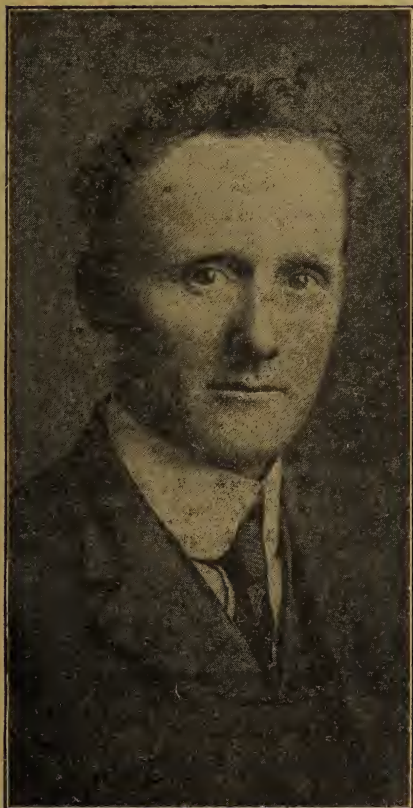
The reasons given for their action by the Strike Committee were to the effect that as the funds had run out, owing to the meetings being banned, thus closing them as a source of revenue for the relief fund, many workers were finding it impossible to stay out any longer, as their families were suffering and near to starvation. Then the publication of what purported to be the acceptance of the Metal Trades Employers of collective bargaining, had had the desired results and provided an excuse for some of the waverers to go back to work, and it was feared that there was a possibility of a stampede unless the strike was officially called off. This and the undertaking of the Provincial Government to appoint a Commission to go into the causes of the strike and effect the reinstatement of all strikers, had much influence in leading the Strike Committee to its final decision. And so ended the Winnipeg general strike of 1919, when all the forces of capital, Church, and State combined to block the path of progress.

The end was acclaimed as a glorious victory for "Law and Order" and "Constituted Authority," and the kept press, the Citizens' Committee of 1000, and every organization of boodlers, shameless profiteers and professional politicians joined in the chorus and chanted the requiem, the while the blood of innocent, law-abiding men, the tears of the widows and the wailing of orphaned children cried out in judgment against them.

Poor, blind fools, they thought to match their puny strength against the forces of progress—they are either ignorant of all the lessons of history, or else, like the ostrich, they were satisfied to hide their heads in the sand and ignore the danger they could not see.

But such a "victory" for reaction, history has proved, is always in reality a victory for progress, and this was no exception.

It demonstrated the nature of the class struggle, the ruthlessness and brutality of imperialist capital, the humbug of "Christianity," the real purpose of military and semi-military bodies. It proved the futility of Craft Unionism and the need for an industrial organization to meet the



Geo. Armstrong

changes brought about by machine production. It started men and women to think and to study, to realize the power they possessed if they could use it unitedly and to what extent it was used is proven by the election of three radicals out of seven candidates to the City Council, whilst the Labor Candidate for Mayor was only defeated by "repeater" votes and vacant lots. The coming Provincial and Federal elections will see a Labor candidate in every constituency where Labor predominates over the farmers, and vice-versa, a farmer candidate, backed by Labor in agricultural constituencies.

There are many who are enjoying better wages and working conditions directly resulting from the strike and there are many who are black-listed not only in Winnipeg, but throughout the Dominion.

This is little to be wondered at, in view of the campaign through the press, of which we submit a sample, taken from the Winnipeg "Telegram," of June 28th, 1919:

LET US REASON TOGETHER

Now that the strike is officially over, let us make all reasonable haste to see that it becomes actually over at the earliest possible moment.

"There ought to be no spirit of exultation manifest or felt on the part of those who were instrumental in defeating the attacks made upon our democracy and our British institutions by some thousands of our citizens who were misled by a handful of revolutionaries and anarchists.

The loyal citizens of Winnipeg have won a hard-fought fight. They naturally feel gratified with their victory—but the manly victor never kicks the body of his fallen foe, nor cheers his own triumph.

The spirit of hate and the harboring of a desire for revenge are foreign to a really manly spirit. Hatred and revenge can only flourish in a withered soul, on which they feed until the soul itself vanishes.

The employers of Winnipeg have suffered great loss. They have endured much undeserved annoyance and inconvenience. They have been unreasonably provoked to the point that would justify extreme exasperation. But they must remember that they are big men, who ought to look at things in a big way, and ought to banish from their hearts any sentiments that might be cherished by meaner spirits.

One thing that should be borne in mind on all occasions is that probably ninety per cent. of those who were on strike went on strike unwillingly, or at least not for the purpose of promoting any revolutionary movement. They were misled, deceived and stampeded by windy oratory. They were also, in thousands of cases, cruelly intimidated into adopting a course of action detrimental to their interests and abhorrent to their sentiments.

Let this idea be firmly established in the mind of every employer, and he will find himself possessing a mental attitude that will not only stimulate his self-respect as a man of generosity and justice, but will also lead him to a course of action that will be profitable to him and highly beneficial to the community.

It has come to the attention of The Telegram that some employers have refused to employ any person who has been on strike without a grievance. This might be a natural position for one to adopt in a moment of extreme irritation. But it is not the position that big men will adopt after calm reflection.

The business of the city must be re-established. It must proceed. We have endured five years of adversity. We must now take steps that promise to ensure us five years of prosperity.

We cannot be prosperous, we cannot carry on, if thousands of our citizens, merely because they have been fantastically deluded by designing tricksters, should be kept permanently out of employment, rendered permanently useless to the community, become permanently unproductive and a charge upon charity.

Every one must work if we are to succeed. Therefore, every one must banish from his mind every idea of punishing the deluded because they were the victims of betrayers of their own class.

Heaven knows these poor people, irritating as their conduct was, have been punished enough to teach them a lesson that will make further punishment unnecessary. The unpardonable sin is a hideous doctrine, impossible to obtain the endorsement of a normal man with a charitable spirit. Let us recognize this fact, and let us treat those misguided strikers as if they were bad boys and girls returning repentant to the discipline of our laws and institutions.

This charity that The Telegram earnestly advocates ought not to be applied to those who deliberately and knowingly precipitated our catastrophe. They deserve deeper punishment than they have brought down upon themselves—a deeper punishment, even, than they are likely to suffer.

They should be permanently black-listed. They should be made to wander abroad.

It should be a standing rule of all employers that no agitator, known as such, should find work in this city. This will be simple justice. It would also be patriotic—for it would protect us against the machinations of conspirators in the future.

But this just punishment ought not to be applied to the dupes of these men and women who have already suffered as victims and who are doomed, even under the most charitable attitude that the public can adopt towards them, to suffer still further consequences of their folly during many months to come.

“BRITISH JUSTICE” AND FAIR PLAY” AND THE “ALIEN”

After several remands, Ivens, Russell, Heaps, Queen, Bray, and Armstrong appeared before Magistrate Sir H. J. McDonald, in the police court, July 3rd. They had given notice to the crown agent, A. J. Andrews, that on that date owing to the campaign carried on in the press, they would cease to recognize the agreement they had been compelled to sign as a condition for being released on bail, owing to the campaign carried on in the press, where they were tried, evidence submitted, convicted and sentenced in the most shameless manner, that could not fail to prejudice their chance of a fair trial. On these grounds Mr. A. J. Andrews asked that the bonds be increased to \$10,000 each, and Magistrate McDonald eventually fixed upon \$8,000, \$4,000 personal bond and two sureties of \$2,000 each.

Despite the fact that he had taken part in discussions before the Railway War Board and has addressed public meetings in Montréal, R. J. Johns had not been arrested, and his appearance in court when his name was called, caused evident surprise to the authorities. He was out on bail before he had gone through the formality of arrest.

Following the reading of the names of the eight British-born accused, counsel for the Crown proceeded to read the names of the foreign-born (who were still held prisoners,

being removed that morning, July 3rd, from the Stony Mountain Penitentiary to the Immigration Hall in the city) and when the name of Verenchuck was read, Mr. A. J. Andrews stepped forward to the magistrate and said: "Your Worship, counsel for the Crown finds it has not sufficient evidence to proceed with the charges against this man under the Criminal Code and being naturalized British subject, we cannot deal with him under the amended Immigration Act, but we have great reason to doubt his sanity and propose to hand him over to the Military authorities to take care of him.

The murmur of dissent increased to a howl of execration as counsel for the Crown made these statements, as the eight who had spent three days in the penitentiary with him knew that he was as sane as Mr. Andrews or any one of them.

Counsel for the defense immediately demanded his release, but this was opposed by Andrews, and it was then demanded that he be examined by a board of alienists and this was done the following day and the man declared quite sane and he was released.

Does the reader get the full significance of the foregoing? Here was a man who volunteered to help fight for liberty, freedom, and justice, which he was told were in danger—twice wounded in that fight, back to Canada, honorably discharged in 1917, and who had been refused bail in any amount or on any condition, had kept in the penitentiary under convict conditions, eating convict food in a convict cell, with only twenty minutes exercise, in solitude each day for seventeen days. Taken there in the first place without any warrant the Dominion of Canada raked over with a fine-tooth comb and no evidence against him, and to save the face of the authorities and the corrupt discredited Government at Ottawa, Mr. Andrews, in the name of Law and order and constituted authority appeared willing to railroad a perfectly sane and innocent man to a lunatic asylum.

After many delays the other four foreign-born were brought before the Immigration Board and one was let go on the understanding that he got out of the country as soon as he had settled up his business, for which purpose he was allowed two weeks.

Almazoff made a strong plea on his own behalf, in which he pointed out that he would have no serious objections to being deported if assured of a safe conduct to "Soviet Rus-

sia," but that if he or any others that are deported with the undesirable tag of the Government of Canada upon them and they came into the hands of Kolchack, it was equal to a death sentence. He was released.

Charitanoff, editor of the Russian Worker, was ordered deported, but this case was appealed to Ottawa and the verdict of the Board reserved and he was set free. Of the five, one only, Oscar Chapelroi, who was in uniform at the time of his arrest, was deported, and only then on the ground of some irregularity in his papers when entering Canada, and not for any activities during the strike.

THE DOMINION WIDE RAIDS

The action of the authorities established a precedent in any British Dominion in that men were arrested and rail-
roaded to the penitentiary and afterwards a search was made from Halifax to Vancouver to secure evidence, much along the same lines that were followed in pioneer days on the frontier, when a suspected horse thief was first hanged and then tried. On the evening of June 30th and during the early morning of July 1st, Labor Temple, offices and headquarters of Socialist speakers were raided from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and letters, documents and literature was seized. Homes were broken into, women were compelled to submit to the search in their night clothes, such a thing as was not done under the Czarist regime in Russia, where a woman was always sent if women, or women's apartments had to be searched. After this travesty of justice and British fair play, Mr. A. J. Andrews, K.C., chief spokesman for the Citizens' Committee of 1000, son of a Methodist Minister, himself a pillar of the Methodist Church, acting Deputy Minister of Justice, told the reported "that in view of the tons of literature seized we felt confident of securing a conviction of the men accused."

Fellow-worker, this was all done in your name by men who claim to be your representatives. Is this possible? If it is, then you have been guilty of criminal negligence in the discharge of your duty as a citizen, and it is up to you to do your duty in future, as the only reparation for the sins and folly of the past.

It is your move.

PRELIMINARY TRIAL

Ordinarily we would be inclined to take the position that the less said about the preliminary hearing the better. This

incident of the dispute between the masters and the workmen of Winnipeg might never have received the distinction of a place in recorded history were it not for the fact that the prosecution presented a vast stack of documents, consisting of pamphlets, books on Social Science, etc., together with evidence of alleged utterances of the accused at various meetings held at different times and different places.

The usual objection against much of this matter on the ground of its irrelevancy, was always over-ruled, on the ground that, "If it be relevant it should go in, and if it be irrelevant it won't hurt the accused anyhow."

On one occasion when the Crown counsel stated that the evidence already in was sufficient to warrant asking for a commitment, that it proved a conspiracy, the defense counsel objected on the grounds that no connection had been shown between it and the accused, whereupon the Trial Judge interpolated with a remarkable statement to the effect that it is now the business of the accused to show that there is no connection, and that these men must prove their innocence.

We have not the space nor the inclination to wade through the monotony of those four weeks taken up by the preliminary hearing, in which the aforesaid documents, speeches, etc., together with the general strike and all its incidents and accidents, were played up so prominently, but it was from all this mountain of matter that the grand jury drew its charges for the "True Bill" on the indictment.

A DIGEST OF THIS INDICTMENT APPEARS BELOW

We here give a digest of the indictment only, as the document is so lengthy that the clerk of the court took 52 minutes to read it out to the accused, when they were arraigned:

Summary of Indictment Against Eight Strike Leaders

COUNT ONE—Charges seditious conspiracy in a general form.

COUNT TWO—Charges seditious conspiracy with the following overt acts:

- 1—Walker Theatre meeting, December 22, 1918;
- 2—Majestic Theatre meeting, January 19, 1919;
- 3—Arrangement to form O.B.U.
- 4—Calgary Convention, March 13, 14, 15, 1919.
- 5—Publication and distribution of seditious literature.

6—General strike, Winnipeg, May and June, 1919. Effects and intentions of strike are given, including statement that a number of various classes of employees broke their contracts of service and some went out contrary to Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. Statement is made of formation of Strike Committee, purporting to usurp the functions of the Government. "Western Labor News Strike Bulletin" was aided and assisted by accused, it is charged.

COUNT THREE—Charges conspiracy to carry into effect a seditious intention, to wit.: unlawful general strike.

COUNT FOUR—Charges seditious conspiracy to organize an unlawful combination or association or associations of workmen and employees to get demands by unlawful general strikes which were intended to be a step in a revolution against the constituted form of Government in Canada.

COUNT FIVE—Another charge in connection with the O. B. U., alleging intention to undermine and destroy the confidence of citizens in the Government and to bring about the formation of an unlawful combination or association for the purpose of controlling all industries and of obtaining property belonging to others, and of compelling compliance with the demands of such association by unlawful general strikes.

COUNT SIX—Charges of conspiracy to unlawfully bring about changes in the constitution and to enforce the "soviet" form of government in Canada through means similar to those used in Russia.

COUNT SEVEN—Charges committing a common nuisance because of the alleged unlawful general sympathetic strike brought about by assistance of the accused in which various employees walked out illegally and which endangered the lives, health, safety, property and comfort of the public and obstructed the exercise and enjoyment of rights common to all of His Majesty's subjects.

The eight men charged with seditious conspiracy are:

1. R. B. RUSSELL, at time of arrest, Secretary District No. 2, Machinists (all machinists on all railroads in Canada). Member of Strike Committee.

2. R. J. JOHNS, during the whole period of Winnipeg strike, down at Montreal as representative for all machinists on all Canadian Railroads on negotiations before Railway War Board.



Ald. A. A. Heaps

3. WM. IVENS, formerly Methodist Pastor at McDougal Church, Winnipeg, which he was compelled to vacate on account of pronounced pacifist proclivities. Founder of Winnipeg Labor Church, and at time of arrest editor of the "Western Labor News."

4. John Queen, labor alderman, and fearless fighter on labor's behalf. Since his arrest re-elected to City Council as representative of Ward 5 by overwhelming majority. Advertising Manager of the "Western Labor News."

5. A. A. HEAPS, also labor alderman for Ward 5, City of Winnipeg, and speaker at some of the mass meetings during strike. Was member of Upholsterer's Union. Member of Strike Committee.

6. GEO. ARMSTRONG, one time organizer for United Brotherhood of Carpenters, of which organization he is still a member; well known in Winnipeg as speaker for the Socialist Party and exponent of Marxian Economics. Member of Strike Committee.

7. R. E. BRAY, chairman of returned soldier strikers, returned from England to Winnipeg on December 31st, 1918. Member of Strike Committee.

8. W. A. PRITCHARD, Socialist writer and speaker, and Executive member of Vancouver (B.C.) Trades and Labor Council. In Winnipeg for four days as representing Vancouver on Strike Committee.

In addition to the above two other men have also been indicted on a charge of "Seditious Libel."

1. F. J. DIXON, labor member of the Provincial Legislature who undertook the publication of the "Western Labor News" after the arrest of J. S. Woodsworth, who had taken over the editorship following the arrest of Mr. Ivens.

2. J. S. WOODSWORTH, who became editor of the "Western Labor News," as already indicated; had been a social worker and lecturer for many years and happened to get into Winnipeg during the strike while on a lecture tour through the Canadian West on behalf of the Labor Church movement. Graduate of Manitoba University, former Methodist Minister, Secretary of the Canadian Forum movement, Secretary of Bureau of Social Research for Governments of three Prairie Provinces. Superintendent of "All People's Mission," and author of several books on "The Alien in Canada."

Three returned soldier strikers were also charged with "seditious utterances." They were J. A. Martin, J. Farnell, and James Grant.

The Grand Jury found "No Bill" against Martin and Grant, but an indictment was returned against Farnell, who is to appear early in January, 1920.

THE CROWN'S CASE

It would indeed be the height of folly to attempt to give a correct and comprehensive view of the case for the prosecution in a nut shell, for its most significant evidence embraces all and sundry who have had anything to do with the accused, or who have been acquainted or associated with any who have been acquainted or associated with them.

Commencing with the attempt of Western labor delegates to the Canadian Trades Congress, of 1918, held in Quebec city to have resolutions passed in favor of the repeal of Orders-in-Council, by which certain scientific and religious publications had been banned, the withdrawal of troops from Russia, etc., down to meetings held in Winnipeg under the auspices of both the Trades and Labor Council and the Socialist Party of Canada, Labor conventions of Miners, and meetings in Calgary and other points where similar resolutions were passed. Of course, it has nothing to do with this case apparently that also similar resolutions have been passed at the Trades Congress in Britain and also conferences of the British Labor Party.

Russell was a member of the Winnipeg Local of the Socialist Party of Canada. All correspondence, therefore, between any member and any other person who may write for information, etc., is considered part of the Crown's case. Speeches made by the accused, together with speeches made by people whom the accused did not know and had never seen, in places where he had never been, are all considered admissible. Riots staged by returned soldiers and directed in chief against aliens, whom the soldiers considered were holding jobs to which the soldiers were entitled are also thrown in as responsible acts of the accused. Happenings at Labor conventions at which none of the accused were present have also been produced as evidence. Places and people unknown to the defendants crop up in rich profusion as evil spirits refusing to be exorcised, all pointing the accusing finger at the indicted men. According to the evidence of

the Crown most of the damning utterances and actions took place mainly in regions not altogether remote from the Canadian Rocky Mountains, but strange to say, no one from that portion of the earth's surface was arrested, except Pritchard, of Vancouver, who came to Winnipeg for four days during the strike and was on his way home to the Pacific Coast when his arrest took place.

The whole of the position of the Socialist Party of Canada, together with its literature, dealing with Sociology, History, Economics, and Philosophy; the Winnipeg Labor Church, with its speakers and their actions and utterances, and even its hymn sheets, despite the fact that these two organizations have nothing in common, one being a political party, and the other socio-religious body, are all brought in as evidence against Russell, the first of the eight men to be tried.

It were an extremely wearisome process to describe in detail the matter introduced as evidence of a conspiracy. The holding of a convention, to which any member of the public was welcome, the sending for a Government court stenographer to take a verbatim report thereof, the printing in Winnipeg of 20,000 copies of the proceedings of such convention, all form very interesting details in the evidence introduced by the Crown to prove a "seditious conspiracy.

In short, the purpose of the Crown is to show that the Winnipeg Labor Church, the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, together with other Trades and Labor Councils throughout the West, the Socialist Party of Canada, and ordinary and usual conventions of Trades Unionists, and a whole assortment of other things more or less remote, were parts of one grand great conspiracy. Special detectives, secret service men, manufacturers, and merchants have all been called to give their little "bit" of evidence to fit into the picture.

The position of the Crown on many of these points can only be made clear in light of the position taken by the defense, respecting the Winnipeg strike and the position of the accused to the several matters put in as evidence. Of this we propose to give a partial synopsis.

LITERATURE PRESENTED AS EVIDENCE

One remarkable feature of the trial now proceeding against the eight men arrested during the Winnipeg general Strike, and charged with seditious conspiracy; one

which the labor movement would do well to take cognizance of, as being indicative of the nature of the prosecution throughout, is the production, as evidence, of leaflets, pamphlets, standard works, etc., most of which have been freely circulated throughout the labor and socialist movements in Britain for the last thirty years, and are still being circulated there, and have been, to our knowledge, circulated in Canada for the last fifteen years.

Realizing the importance of the case, and in order to give a correct idea as to its character, we beg briefly to enumerate some of the pamphlets herein referred to. For the purpose of convenience we will classify them as follows:

SCIENTIFIC—

Wage Labor, and Capital; Value, Price and Profit; Capitalist Production (Capital) by Karl Marx.

Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by F. Engels.

Marxism and Darwinism, by Anton Pannekoek.

And many similar works.

DESCRIPTIVE OR NARRATIVE—

Pamphlet published first in Glasgow, containing John McLean's speech under trial, entitled "Condemned from the Dock."

"Bolsheviks and Soviets," by Rev. A. Rhys. Williams.

PACIFIST—

Many pamphlets, leaflets, etc., which are purely pacifist in character.

There have also been put in as evidence the following:

Many issues of the Winnipeg "Western Labor News," (official organ of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council); Winnipeg "Socialist Bulletin," and "Red Flag," of Vancouver, B.C.

"The Slave of the Farm," by A. Budden (pamphlet dealing with Canadian Farmer from Socialist standpoint).

"Political Parties in Russia," by Lenine.

"The Liberator," Radical paper published in New York. The New York "Nation," paper somewhat similar to weekly edition of "Manchester Guardian."

The New York "New Republic."

The Buffalo "New Age."

The following pamphlets and books:

"The Church, the War, and Patriotism."

"The Profits of Religion," by Upton Sinclair.

The Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Canada, published first in 1908.

The History of the Seattle General Strike.

The Russian Constitution.

"The Right to be Lazy," by Paul Lafargue.

"The Class Struggle," by Karl Kautsky.

"Anti-Patriotism," speech by Gustave Herve.

"Socialism and Religion," pamphlet published by Socialist Party of Great Britain.

In addition to this papers published in this country, quoting articles from old country papers, which, in Britain, would scarcely cause a ripple on the smooth running waters of master class diplomacy, are taken and put in a evidence to prove a "seditious conspiracy," whose object is the overthrow of the Government. For example, a paper published under the title of "The Red Flag," at Vancouver, B.C., re-published in its columns an article by Bundock in "The Labor Leader," in which the writer refers to the ownership of land and machinery by the whole community as being Socialism and concludes: "This is our proposal. We will work for it. We will vote for it."

This paragraph has been marked as an exhibit by the prosecution and put in as evidence of the "conspiracy." We are mentioning this one item as being typical of hundreds connected with this case.

Any labor paper which refers at all to the Russian situation is diligently scrutinized, marked off, and "put in," as though some exceptionally reprehensible matter had been "discovered."

Were we to have papers, giving all kinds of valuable news and comment, such as the Glasgow "Forward," the London "Daily Herald," the Manchester "Guardian," or "The Labor Leader," it would be pretty certain that a much more serious charge would have been preferred.

THE SITUATION FROM THE ARRESTS UP TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE JURY TRIAL

Following the nocturnal visitations of bodies of armed men into the homes of labor men in the City of Winnipeg, June 17th, 1919, by means of which these men, ruthlessly torn from bed, from the midst of their families, were taken to the Manitoba Penitentiary at Stony Mountain, a storm of protest from people in all walks of life broke out from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific slope. We are pretty



R. E. Bray

well convinced that the volume and character of this protest was, if not entirely, at least in the main, responsible for the fact that some few days afterwards the men were released on bail and permitted to return to their homes. For, at the time of these "Cossack-conducted" arrests, the present leading Crown counsel, who had then been appointed by the Department of Justice at Ottawa as Deputy Minister of Justice for the Dominion Government for Winnipeg, and who, during the strike, was the foremost spokesman for the self-constituted alleged "Citizens' Committee of One Thousand," made a public statement that these men would have neither bail nor jury trial, but would appear, in camera, before a specially created Board of Inquiry, and shipped overseas, with their wives and families to follow, if necessary.

However, as we have stated, the men were released. The few foreigners, who were arrested and indicted together with them, have since that time been disposed of, but, strange to say, not one has been sent out to the land of his nativity. The general public conception is that these latter were arrested along with the English-speaking accused, in order to give the much desired foreign coloring to the case. Labor unions here, for years, have fought the Government of Canada on the matter of wholesale immigration of peoples from Central Europe, brought in by large corporations for the purpose of breaking strikes, and generally to reduce the standard of living of the Canadian worker, but all to no avail. Consequently, they were ultimately forced to the point where they had to turn round and organize the foreign speaking workmen for their own welfare and advancement, and now refuse, and rightly, to turn against these men at the behest of the same powers and interests that were the most active in bringing the so-called alien into the country in the first place.

Following the release of the arrested men from Stony Mountain Penitentiary, the Workers' Defense Committee sprang into existence in the City of Winnipeg and has now grown in scope and character. The arrested men themselves were despatched throughout the country in order to tell some little of the abominable story to the rest of the workers, both East and west. The consequence of all this is that everywhere, wherever workers can be found, there can also be found a Defense Committee acting in conjunction with the head office in Winnipeg. The mind of the working

class has been awakened as a result of the ruthless action of a Government which has perpetuated its existence by manoeuvring the Franchise to suit its purposes, and Orders-in-Council to carry out its wishes. Often Parliament has not been consulted on many things, and Cabinet rule, purely and simply, has been the order of the day in Canada for some few years past.

At the preliminary hearing, staged about the middle of July last, which was the longest preliminary hearing of any case in the history of Canada, all kinds of matters, in no way connected with the accused were, allowed to go in as evidence. Behind it all one purpose appeared clearly to us. By means of as corrupt a press as can be found anywhere in the world, all this mass of "evidence" could be delightfully distorted and colored and spread broadcast throughout the land, in the hope that by the very power of suggestion probable jurors might become afflicted with pre-dispositions. Remarkable as this procedure was, and disgusted as many honest-minded citizens were, at the tactics thus pursued by the Crown, a still more remarkable and disgusting incident was to break, like a bolt from the blue, upon the astonished minds of Canadian workingmen and women.

The order to commit had been given, when it was discovered that the usual application for bail, concerning which no one for a single moment had any apprehension, was refused and the eight men were trotted off, under the escort of Mounted Police, to the Manitoba Provincial Gaol. Here they were allowed to remain for four weeks, denied bail upon a bailable offense. Once again a storm of protest raged. The Miners of Nova Scotia and the Lumberjacks of British Columbia together with many of the varied tradesmen in the intervening territory held mass meetings of protest. In Winnipeg 8,000 labor men and women paraded in the rain on September 2nd, while the accused were yet in jail, many of the returned soldiers taking part (in fact, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Labor Party had a section of the parade to themselves) and wound up with mass protest meetings. As an upshot to all this, the eight men were again released on bail and allowed to proceed to their homes and their families. Again they went forth throughout the country and redoubled their efforts in agitating for strong and effective defense being erected.

(The End)

THE STRIKE, IN RETROSPECT

(By "CLAMSHELL")

Twenty-three small wars were in progress when peace was signed at Versailles at the close of "The Great War," so, at the close of "The Great Strike," are there many issues in many realms still unsettled.

On May 1st, the strike was called by the building trades workers after their wage demands, which had been declared by the employers to be "fair and reasonable," had been refused, and their building trades council denied recognition because they would not accept the wage offer of the builders' exchange. This offer was 50 per cent. of the increase demanded.

They were joined within a day or so by the metal trades workers whose council had been absolutely ignored by the employers. Their strike was delayed after the date set owing to the advice of the executive of the Trades Council that still another effort be made with the employers to get recognition. They also requested the same pay as was then in force for similar work in the railway shops. The wage was to go up or down with those in the railway shops.

Stationary engineers were already on strike in Swift's, Gordon & Ironsides, etc., before the other strikes were called.

Two weeks later, on May 15th, when it was evident that the strike would be lost without assistance, the strikers asked the Trades Council to call a general strike to assist them.

At this time several other unions had disagreements of their own. The ultimatum of the culinary workers expired almost coincidentally with the date of the general strike. The postal workers had grievances of over a year's standing. The government had a year ago promised immediate investigation and rectification, but nothing had been done, and, as a result, these men took a strike vote on their own behalf after the general strike was called. The street car workers were at the time awaiting a report from a royal commission before taking final action.

Where the unions responded to the call to take a sympathetic strike vote the result was enthusiastic and decisive. The majority to strike was overwhelming.

Not all unions took the vote, however, among such were the typographers, the musicians, the stereotypers, the web pressmen, etc. Some of these later took the vote and joined the strikers. Others refused to the end to take the vote and remained at work. No union can compel another union to strike.

About 25,000 workers in all struck work. Among these were several hundred persons who, under the present craft union system, found no place in which they could fit. However they wanted to assist the striking builders, etc., and so walked out individually.

Crime Record Lowered.

During the first six weeks of the strike, from May 1st, the police court record for the city was lower than for months previously. Some have said that this was due to the fact that the police—who had voted to strike, but had remained at work on the request of the

Trades Council—neglected to do their duty and refused to make arrests. The manifest reply to this aspersion is the fact that the police gave the council clearly to understand that if they remained at work they would carry out the instructions of their chief without fear or favor. The real reason for the lower crime record was the constant appeal of the leaders for the keeping of perfect order, and the added fact that the strikers respected the police and acceded to their requests at all times.

During the next and last two weeks of the strike there were two riots. Almost no property was destroyed, though in the last riot one street car was somewhat damaged. In the last riot at least two persons were shot to death supposedly by the mounted police.

There was no disorder until the regular police were dismissed because they would not sign the slave pact—a document wherein they were required to say they would join no sympathetic strike and affiliate with no Trades and Labor Council or other body. When these men were replaced by fifteen hundred special police the trouble began. These were assisted by mounted police and militia called upon by the mayor during the process of a peaceful parade preparation of returned soldiers.

Barons of Finance Organize Opposition.

The night before the general strike was called the financial magnates met and appointed themselves as an organized opposition under the suggestive non de plume of "The Citizens' Committee of One Thousand." It will be noted that while the strike committee was made up of three delegates elected by ballot from the delegates to the Trades and Labor Council, there was no meeting of citizens called to appoint the opposition to the strikers. They appointed themselves and then claimed to represent the "citizens."

These men at once brought pressure to bear on the city council, the provincial government, and the federal government. They also, in their paper, "The Citizens," made the statement that the governments mentioned had adopted their policy.

In addition they inaugurated a press campaign. They have repeatedly stated that this was necessary because the strikers had suppressed the daily press, while the Western Labor News was still running. The Western Labor News is printed on Fridays, and, because the pressmen refused by resolution of their union to do any printing "mentioning the Western Labor News by name as included" it was necessary to publish the paper that week before the strike was called at 11 a.m. Thursday. There was no daily issue of the Western Labor News in existence.

On Friday night a resolution was passed by the Strike Committee that, if possible, a strike bulletin should be published, and the pressmen were asked to assist. They agreed to do this by voluntary labor. The committee then refused to let men set the type who had refused to come out on strike, and it was Sunday morning before a small two-page sheet was finally published.

It is significant that at the morning service, at the churches, "The Citizen," organ of the committee of 1,000, was circulated. This was simultaneous with the appearance of the first issue of the Strike Bulletin.

This should forever dispel the illusion that "The Citizen" was published because the strikers had suppressed the dailies in favor of their own paper. As a matter of fact, the stereotypers and the web-pressmen joined in the sympathetic strike and so automatically

ried up the dailies. All other printing plants were tied up on the Thursday, so there was no discrimination against the newspapers.

When "The Citizen" appeared it revealed clearly its authorship. It was vile. Within a few days the dailies secured help and again appeared and a campaign of misrepresentation, slander, vilification, and libel, was indulged in such as Canada has never before witnessed. This campaign was carried on both in Canada, the U.S.A. and in Britain. Full page advertisements signed by the committee of 1,000 attacked the strike leaders personally, and openly charged them with revolutionary motives.

Strike Leaders Arrested.

When the press campaign did not succeed of itself in crushing the strike; when it was evident that the workers could not be divided from the leaders whom they by vote had elected; and when they were not starved out in two weeks, or in three weeks, as had been predicted, then other and sterner methods had to be adopted. So, as a last desperate resort, some half dozen of the leaders were torn from their beds in the middle of the night by order of the government, through the instigation of A. J. Andrews, chief spokesman of the committee of 1,000, arrested, and rushed into the penitentiary without trial.

It would never do for the committee of 1,000 to have it thought that these arrests were made to crush the strike, so a charge of seditious conspiracy was trumped up against a number of men, to make it look right, a number of "aliens" were included in the charge. It is a fact that some of these men had never seen or heard of each other before the arrest; it is also true that the authorities had no vestige of evidence against the men arrested, and so had to search their homes, and, when no evidence was secured there, were compelled to search the whole Dominion for supposed evidence, but those things mattered not. The leaders had to be got out of the way so that the rest might become terrified and the strike broken.

Just how flimsy was the pretence is proven in one case at least by the fact that Pte. M. Verenchuk, one of the men arrested, has already been released without any charge being laid, after spending three weeks in jail.

Deportation Attempted

The sordid story of the attempted deportation of these men without the formality of a proper trial will live long in the annals of Canadian history. It is without a peer.

The strike had been misrepresented as a revolution. The workers had attempted to establish a Soviet. Ivens had proclaimed a dictatorship and had said the seat of Government had been removed from the City Hall to the Labor Temple. Robinson—alias Rubenstein—had also made revolutionary statements. There was a "Red Five" that were intriguing for the overthrow of the State. Such were some of the accusations. This threatened reign of terror needed drastic handling. Yet it must be done circumspectly or the people might really rebel and there would be a real, instead of an imaginary rebellion, so the 1,000 had to act cautiously.

If these English and Scotch agitators could be deported the whole industrial problem of the Dominion would be solved. But the snag was how to deport persons who were British born.

Clearly it had to be done under the Immigration act. But at present this was impossible, and only two days before, the act had been

amended and was now out of the way. It could be re-amended only by unanimous consent of the House. This would be impossible if the members understood what was aimed at, so, an innocent looking amendment had to be conceived that would be equal to the demand. This was ready to hand, and the thing was almost done, when a member of the House almost "spilled the beans" by asking in his innocent way what bearing these new amendments had on the Winnipeg strike situation. The bland answer was that they had no bearing whatever on the strike situation, and, good man that he was, he was satisfied.

Sufficient to say that under the amendments it is now possible for British born persons to be tried under the act in secret, without the accused being present at the enquiry, the press and the public can be excluded, there is no real court, no trial by jury, and no appeal to any Judge or Court in the land. Only an appeal to the Minister of Justice, and, he, by the way, is the prosecutor. He appoints the committee to try the case. So the appeal is a farce.

The strike leaders were told at Stony Mountain penitentiary by A. J. Andrews, chief spokesman of the committee of 1,000—now made agent for Department of Justice for the purpose of prosecuting the strike leaders—that they would be tried under the Immigration act and would be deported if the Enquiry Committee so decided.

The committee of the strikers was given similar information by Mr. Andrews, Senator Robertson, and Col. Perry.

Furthermore, these men were, in the penitentiary, shaved early on the following morning, or the next morning but one, for the purpose of appearing before this Deportation Committee.

Then a cog must have slipped, for the Immigration Committee dropped out of sight. It is evident that the Government had gotten a bad scare from some source. It had changed its mind. The deportation proceedings were dropped for the present. They are to be again taken up if these men are proven guilty at their trials.

Not the least suspicious feature of this whole deportation matter is the fact that it was introduced into Parliament, read three times, passed by the Senate, and signed by the Governor General, all within the short space of forty minutes. Why the rush? Who was pulling the strings? Who was nudging Robertson's elbow?

Strike Bulletin Suppressed

It seemed to be a surprise to the forces opposing Labor that the Strike Bulletin appeared just the same as ever even after the editor was imprisoned. This would never do. The strong arm must be set to work again. The suspected supply editor was placed under arrest, the paper suppressed and the type confiscated. And still the paper appeared on the streets next day. So still another warrant had to be executed, and another supposed editor hunted down. And even then the Western Labor News re-appeared. Let the facts suffice. The how matters not.

Strike Finally Crushed

When—through exhaustion, the arrest of the strike leaders, and the strong-arm methods of the Federal Government—the strike was finally crushed, there came a breathing spell.

The leaders had been bailed out conditionally. That is, they could neither take part in the strike, attend meetings, write for, or give interviews to the press. But now they were released from the conditions and a higher bail fixed.

When the sympathetic strike was called off the workers had to get back to work as best they could. This was the signal for wholesale discrimination on the part of the employers. The workers are beaten. We, the bosses, will rub it in good and plenty. We will give them all the strike they want. We will establish the "black list" and force a bunch of them out of the city.

The result is a bitterness of spirit that bodes ill for the future.

Another result is a Dominion-wide campaign by the accused men to wake the people to the menace of a Parliament controlled by financiers.

Was the Strike Revolution?

We have said that the committee of 1,000 raised the cry of "revolution," and, "law and order." What was there behind this cry?

To the strikers, the idea that the 1,000 were the friends of law and order was preposterous in view of their steadfast effort to place the city under Martial Law by the ridiculing, maligning, and libelling of the regular police, and their insistence on the crushing by force of "the revolution."

Yet there must have been something behind their fears. They did not enlist in volunteer militia corps, and sleep in churches, just for fun. They had genuine fears of revolution. They were really afraid that the present system might be overthrown by violence. Not that there was the slightest sign of revolution anywhere. The court records ought to have convinced them of that. But it did not. They were apparently obsessed. Why was this?

The old adage says: "A guilty conscience needs no accusing." It is true. These are the persons who, through the war, have profited on blood. Their unholy millions were supposedly in jeopardy. Therefore, as one of their organs said, the plot must be crushed even though half the population was wiped out in the process.

They knew the cost of living had been increased by their profiteering. They knew that the worker could better his position only by organizing for collective bargaining. Hence, just as was his cause, it must be twisted so as to hide the real issue.

Thus their clumsily pretended love of law and order was but a specious plea for undisguised selfishness.

Menace of Bolshevism

A good excuse is better than none. So, a seemingly good excuse, had to be found to attack the strikers under the guise of unselfishness. This was revealed in the wonderful discovery that the real intent of the strike was the establishment of Bolshevism.

Just what Bolshevism is is hard to know since the Government has steadily prohibited any knowledge of the real thing from leaking through, but the censor has assured us that it is a very bad disease, and we must be on our guard.

The Calgary Convention used the word "Bolshevism" one day, and the leaders of the strike were at the Calgary Convention, so, the connection between the strike and Bolshevism was proven. Q. E. D.

Calgary Convention, March, 1919

The Calgary Convention grew out of the fact that last October, at the Trades Congress at Quebec, the desires of the Western delegates were time and time again defeated by an Eastern block. The feeling was that there was a machine at work, and that this machine was controlled by reactionaries. These men decided on their return

trip to call a Western Convention before the next Congress and to outline a progressive policy.

This gathering of representatives of Western Trade Unionists met at Calgary about four months ago.

They decided to evolve a system of Industrial Unionism to take the place of the present Craft Unions. But a vote had to be taken of the unions concerned to see what they thought about the matter, and so a vote was arranged. This was to decide the matter. The name given to the movement was the ONE BIG UNION. Some people think it should have been named the ONE BIG MISTAKE. But others, seeing the determined opposition of the bosses to the movement, are inclined to call it the ONE BIG HOPE.

When dealing with the matter of unemployment it was decided to recommend the six-hour day as an immediate remedy. There was to be a vote on this question also to see whether it was advisable to call a general Dominion-wide strike to establish it. The 1,000 say this was clear evidence of Bolshevism. The delegates to the Western Convention thought that, since the British Miners' Commission had recommended the six-hour day for miners, it was a constitutional proceeding. However there were many lawyers among the 1,000 Committee, so we shall have to stand corrected on our constitutionalism.

If there were anything lacking of proof in the two foregoing it was supplied in brimming measure in another resolution. This was the one that congratulated the Russian Soviets and the German Spartans.

It seems that there used to be a Czarist Party in control in Russia and that this was composed of the wealthy people who terribly oppressed the workers. So much was this supposed to be the case that Russia was referred to as the "most autocratic and the most benighted nation in Europe." The daily papers had said that this was changed and that the workers were in control. Beyond this there was but little news allowed to percolate.

Just how they had done it, or just what was the real condition in Russia was not clear, but the workers were supposed to be in control, so the Canadian workers sent congratulations.

This it seems was a crime. They ought to have sent word that they were sorry that the old regime was overthrown and earnestly request the workers to go back again to the good old times.

All that we know is that the western workers said nothing about methods, or programmes, etc., but passed a general resolution. Still this is full proof that the Winnipeg strike was Bolshevistic.

If you fail to follow the logic of the argument here it is not because the logic is not clear, but because you are not a lawyer. If you had studied law as have the Committee of 1,000 the connection would at once be made plain.

Wolf! Wolf! "The Alien Cry"

Lest there might be some who could not be convinced by the cry of "Bolsheviki," there was another cry invented. This was "alien! alien!" What a magic word. It is a relic of the great war. There were some aliens around the Labor Temple so they were responsible for the strike. The records of the unions themselves would reveal that there are more than 8,000 aliens alone in the unions, and only 8,000 voted in favor of the strike. Could proof be plainer? Impossible! Absolutely impossible.

Yet there was a weakness in the argument. That was the returned soldier. He had been taught to obey. He would do it now. It was true that there were thousands of Trades Unionists in the Canadian armies, and these had in many cases rejoined their Unions, but they would fall for the "alien" call, and the trick would be done.

It was a great surprise, therefore, when the resolutions—covertly condemning the strikers, and promising all necessary aid to the authorities in case of trouble, even though the authorities themselves were responsible for that trouble—carefully drafted, and given out under the name of the Executive of the three Soldier Organizations in unison, were completely reversed by a mass meeting called to endorse them. It was confusion worse confounded when at a still later meeting a resolution was carried completely endorsing the strikers.

Then, when the returned soldiers paraded in support of the strike the worst had come. No wonder the order went forth that parades were anathema.

Campaign of Camouflage

It is easy to understand the vitriolic opposition of the profiteers and financial men generally to the strikers. But the attitude of the Federal Government was wholly uncalled for. So was that of the Provincial Government. Both refused to do anything until the sympathetic strike was called off.

The fact that the sympathetic strike was not inaugurated until the Building and Metal Workers were virtually beaten, and that they had to have support or go down to defeat, was ignored. It was a **virtue to strike in your own behalf, but a crime to strike in support of others.** Thus a new standard of ethics was evolved by the Governments.

The Committee of 1,000 said it opposed the sympathetic strike because the "innocent public" were made to suffer with the guilty employers. Yet it is overlooked that the very men who were responsible for the strike were on the Committee of 1,000. The ironmasters, and the building exchange employers were there in full force. So, too, were the profiteers who were responsible for the high cost of living and the consequent demand for a living wage. Yet, in spite of this, these men, who for five years of war and for long years of peace have robbed the people as a whole and have their ill-gotten millions as the proof of their profiteering, are they who during the strike prated of caring for the people, and opposed the strikers because of their **disinterested public spirit.**

The Conduct of the Strike

Opposed to this duplicity, insincerity, and misrepresentation was the attitude of the strikers. They worked absolutely in the open. They spoke in the parks and from the platform. They stated their case before the whole world. They published a daily Strike Bulletin that carried the imprimature of its authors. The Committee of 1,000 have never dared to publish such. They have never dared to appear on the platform. That would expose their personnel.

When the strike was called the Strike Committee made many concessions in the interests of the people.

The waterworkers were organized 100 per cent. They voted to come out, and could have been called out 100 per cent. strong at 11

a.m. on the Thursday. This would have cut off the water supply in its entirety. Knowing this, the Strike Committee requested sufficient men to stay on the job to prevent undue suffering from this source. Most people lived in houses, and most business was transacted in blocks, so, sufficient pressure was kept on to supply the homes of the people and not the business blocks. It is true that some business is done on the main floor and some people live above the second floor, but the average was otherwise.

In the matter of the police the same principle was involved. A general strike had grave possibilities, and the strikers did not want lawlessness, therefore the police were asked to remain. But it must never be forgotten that the police agreed to do this only on the condition that they mete out impartial justice. Moreover, just as soon as this decision was arrived at by the police and the Strike Committee, the Police Commission was immediately notified. This was the night before the strike was called. Why was this fact always concealed from the citizens by the Committee of 1,000?

In the matter of hospitals the employees who were union men were asked to stay on the job so that sick persons should not suffer. And the street railway men offered to operate cars to take soldiers to and from Tuxedo Military Hospital.

Because crowds on the streets held possibilities of danger, the moving picture and theatre operators were asked to stay at work.

Then, on the second day of the strike, when it had been demonstrated that the workers could tie things up solidly, there came the menace of starvation.

City Council Co-operates

It was at this stage that the Strike Committee offered to let sufficient men return to work to supply the people with bread and milk and ice.

A committee from the City Council was appointed to work in conjunction with the strikers with this end in view. And this Joint Committee made the arrangements under which these men returned to work for this purpose. These men were not strike breakers, but returned in compliance with the wishes of the Strike Committee, and, in co-operation with the City Council. Cards were issued to distinguish them from strike breakers, and this, in the opinion of the Citizens' Committee, was the full proof that the Strike Committee had usurped control and had established a Soviet regime.

It was only when the Committee of 1,000 openly boasted that they were getting men back to work, and that things were almost normal, and when they displayed big advertisements announcing "business as usual," that the strikers considered it time to call their bluff by again ceasing to work.

Special Police Appear

It was when the Committee of 1,000 were forced to make good their pretense that they considered they needed police protection. They asked for, and received, the appointment of some hundreds of special police to guard the bakeries and creameries and to deliver the product. It was one of the greatest farces ever staged. But it had the effect that the committee desired, it opened the way for rioting and the introduction of Martial Law.

Government Controlled by Finance

That the Government was wholly controlled by the dictates of the Committee of 1,000 was manifest from the first hour. The strike

had to be smashed by the calling off of the sympathetic strike before either Government COULD do anything.

Then, to accomplish the breaking of the sympathetic strike, the City Council, the Provincial Government, and the Federal Government issued ultimatums to all their employees to return to work at once on pain of absolute dismissal. This was followed by similar ultimatums from the Railway Corporations and other firms. But the strike did not end.

Then came the further action of the Federal Government. The Mounted Police were placed at the disposal of the City Council and the Council was controlled by the Committee of 1,000. Rifles and ammunition by the thousands of rounds were supplied and trucks were loaded with machine guns. An armored car was rushed to the city. And the Militia were ordered to stand to.

While this was proceeding the Immigration Act was being manipulated and amended to trap the strike leaders.

If further proof were needed it was supplied by the abject surrender of Senator Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labor. He was met at the head of the lakes by representatives of the 1,000 Committee, and was filled full of the stories of revolution. Time and time again he gave out interviews and statements that made it clear that he believed that a revolution was afoot. Yet he could do nothing save "ultimate."

Of course he could not. He represents no CONSTITUENCY. He was taken from the closest of fossils and was made Minister of Labor because he was known to be subservient and amenable to orders. When he got the Government into a hole, or, when he refused to obey orders, he would be summarily dismissed and made the goat. He is but an employee. He is not an elected member of parliament. He is responsible only to the financial magnates who control the Parliament, and not to the people.

His final coup was to order the arrest of the strike leaders under the pretence that they were conspirators who were secretly planning to overthrow the state.

They were seized in the midnight hours, their homes, labor temples, and newspaper offices of the workers ransacked for evidence to convict them. They were rushed to a penitentiary and then threatened with deportation proceedings.

Government Worst Discriminator

Not only was the Government subservient to the barons of finance in general, but in dealing with its own employees it was more arbitrary than any other employer.

Not a single postal employee was reinstated, and orders were issued that none were to be re-employed even as new hands.

The telephone workers and electricians had a raw deal at the hands of the Provincial Government. And the City Council was as arbitrary as it could be.

In the case of the railways, while shopmen were largely taken back, there were many discriminations, the Running Trades were among the goats, and only one sleeping car porter out of all who struck was reinstated by the C.P.R.

The Mathers' Commission Report

Not the least significant feature of the Mathers' Commission report was its insistence on the principle of co-operation between

employer and employee. The Whitley scheme was endorsed because of this feature. But, with the lack of co-operation between the Government and its own employees such advice must fall on dead ears.

Judge Mathers reported to the Parliament hurriedly. He was instructed so to do in order that the Government might legislate in harmony with the report DURING THE PRESENT SESSION.

The report endorsed the demands of the Winnipeg strikers in their entirety. The issues were the right to collective bargaining, and a living wage. Both of these were urged, and defined in the report so that juggling over the meaning of the expressions should be eliminated. But, instead of legislating in harmony with the report, the parliament prorogued without acting. It merely said that further "FRIENDLY CONFERENCES" would be held in the near future.

It is a fair question to ask whether the Government would not have been able to find another forty minutes to pass legislation had some innocent measure that would have further oppressed the workers been suggested by the commission.

Real Cause of Opposition

It will occur to many that there must have been an adequate reason for the opposition of the Committee of 1,000 to the demands of the workers. There certainly was, and the workers believe they have the reason before them.

It will not be forgotten that a little over a year ago there was formed in this city the "Greater Winnipeg Board of Trade." Since then the "Canadian Reconstruction Association" has been formed. Then there is the Manufacturers' Association, and the Real Estate Men's Association. If the personnel of these organizations and the Thousand Committee were compared there would be found to be VERY FEW persons not included in the 1,000 Committee.

It was freely predicted that the Winnipeg Board of Trade would be the real opposition of labor to representation on the City Council, and the Parliaments. Such has transpired to be the fact.

If Labor has as great success at the Civic elections this year as it had last year, it will control the council. This must be stopped.

Add to this the fact that a year ago in the smaller general strike the workers won their fight for recognition of the Civic Unions and their affiliation with the Trades Council, and the whole casus belli stands revealed. Labor must be smashed before the 1919 Civic elections.

Break the Weak Link

It is remarkable that the schedules in all occupations where work was plentiful and necessary were granted without a hitch. But there was little building that had to be done, and the adjustment from a war basis in the Metal Trades made but little work in that direction, so these two bodies of workers **could be defied with impunity**. For this reason they were refused recognition by the bosses and the banks refused to sanction any adequate increase of pay. They believed they could do this, so they did it.

Labor realized the weakness of its position. But it had to stand by these two industries when the principles of a living wage and the right to collective bargaining were at stake. It was hoped that the combined force of Labor might win the day.

It did not win because the financial interests were able to use the machinery of the State to crush the workers.

The Blood of the Martyrs

The strong-arm methods of the Government have crushed the strike, but the spirit of Labor is not crushed. Rather, it has been greatly stimulated.

Russell and Pritchard were arrested, but the One Big Union movement cannot be imprisoned. Only the righting of economic wrongs can defeat this movement. Industrial organization will sweep the whole world within the next two years, and no force on earth can stop it. Moreover, it is the only movement that can avoid revolution.

Ivens was imprisoned, and while he was in the penitentiary, he was expelled from the ministry of the Methodist church. But the Labor Church movement is not smashed thereby.

Instead of this the ONE Labor Church in existence at the time of his arrest had within four weeks from that time increased to EIGHT.

The Western Labor News was suppressed, but it was not killed. Instead, its circulation is jumping up, and there is an insistent demand that will not long be denied for it to become a daily.

When Dixon was imprisoned it did not end the determination of the workers to take parliamentary action. No, for within two weeks, the membership of the Labor Party trebled, and in all parts of the city there developed spontaneously Women's Labor Leagues.

Heaps and Queen were sent to the penitentiary. But the determination of the workers to have representation in the City Council was not crushed. Instead, they immediately sought out men sufficient to control the Council after the next election. And, in addition, selected a candidate for Mayor, who would refuse to bend to the storm.

Bray is seized in a midnight raid. He who enlisted to fight for liberty and justice over there was given a taste of what he calls Germanism over here. The result was the formation of a Soldiers' and Sailors' Labor Party that will be heard from in the days to come.

Armstrong is seized. But the ideals for which Armstrong stands cannot be imprisoned. The truth goes marching on.

Woodsworth, too, is imprisoned. What differences? The whole populace is shocked. He stands for the square deal, for righteousness, for the stranger that is within our gates. Shall righteousness perish because Woodsworth has to pay the price?

Nay, but verily, the petty politicians who persecute such men will pass into oblivion while the memory of Woodsworth lives to inspire our children's children.

So will it be with the "Aliens" who have fought alongside of Canadians for freedom for Canada, and for justice, and who, today, find themselves facing deportation without the formality of an open jury trial. Banish them, we may, but British justice is thereby put to the acid test.

A New Day Dawns

Thinking men discern clearly the difference between criminally minded men and men who stand for causes. Men who have a vision cannot be repressed by threats or fears. They will dare even to the death.

These men have been called visionaries and dreamers. So, too, was Christ. He was called a pestilent fellow, one who turned the whole world upside down. He was an agitator, and a leader, and a heretic, and a seditious person. He earned the opposition of the money

lenders and the State. They crucified Him. Still he was right and the persecutors were wrong.

His cause was not crucified. It could not be. Nor is it at this hour. The issue Christ faced is here today. Men cannot stop the movement for reform. All they can do is to assist it or oppose it. Each decides this for himself. These men have made the choice.

For five years men have given limb and life for the cause of emancipation. While they did this, other millions of men and women worked and starved and sacrificed that liberty and justice and freedom might be saved. Finally, this desire for righteousness and justice and freedom has become a world passion. It will never be stopped until injustice has been overthrown the world over.

While these have sacrificed others have profiteered. They have battered in blood. Their vulgar opulence and arrogance stink in the nostrils of the men who have sacrificed all. They have heaped up riches, and added interest to principal. They have declared fabulous dividends, until the whole public mind rebels.

Then they arrogantly prate of "women and children" and "law and order," and call upon the Government to imprison the protestors, while they, the profiteers, make still more millions.

They are "ichabod." They have played Judas. The bag and the swag have enslaved them. In the hour of crisis they forget right and justice and truth, and depend upon wrong and injustice and deception.

The morning dawns. Righteousness will be enthroned. Truth will prevail. Justice will be established. In the dawning light men have not seen the issue clearly, but as the mists dissolve these issues stand revealed, and men and women are taking sides.

The workers have chosen the path of brotherhood though it means sacrifice. They have chosen the side of final victory, the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth.



JUDGE METCALFE'S CHARGE TO THE JURY

IN

THE CROWN *vs.* R. B. RUSSELL

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

Gentlemen of the Jury: After twenty-three days actual sitting, day and night, after the filing of 703 exhibits and the taking of voluminous evidence, I hope you will believe me when I say that I am almost physically unfit to complete my part of this trial. I know that your duties have been arduous, and I know that, realizing the nature and importance of the case that you have risen to an appreciation of your own high judicial duties, and have attended with great interest and appreciation to all the matters that have been laid before you.

Now, we always start first in a criminal case with a presumption—that is one of the blessings of the British Constitution—a presumption not against Russell but in his favor. It is always the duty of the Judge to tell the Jury that the accused is innocent until he is proven guilty, that is to say, he is presumed to be innocent until the evidence of the Crown satisfies you, in a manner to which I will hereafter refer, as to his guilt.

It has been almost impossible for you to come here without some recollection of what you read in the newspapers during the months of May and June last. Gentlemen, I must ask you in all fairness to Russell to put out of your mind what you heard second-hand, or what you read in the newspapers, and to bring your mind down to what you have seen and heard in this Court Room. Every Judge must tell you that. It is his duty to do so, and Gentlemen of the Jury, I am going to tell you that I not only know my duty, but I am not going to charge you in any other way than according to my duty.

It is my duty to deal with the reception and the rejection of evidence; and regard any matters that you may have heard discussed, where it has been urged on the part of others, that I did not know my duty, I must tell you that in so far as God has given me the capacity I have known and done my duty. It is my duty also to instruct you as to matters of law, and in such matters you ought to follow my directions. I may also speak as to the facts; that is a privilege and sometimes a duty, but if I do it will be only for the

purpose of assisting you as to the application of law which you might not otherwise understand, and not for the purpose at all of prejudicing you either in favor or against the accused. In all matters of fact you are the sole judges. Where you differ from a Judge on a question of fact in your own minds it is your duty to follow the dictates of your own conscience and not that of the Judge.

I could have made my charge much shorter than I unfortunately will have to make it if Counsel had not seen fit to charge you upon matters of law. But that having been done, I must deal with the questions of law more fully, a great deal more fully than I otherwise would have done, because matters of law have been stated here with which I do not agree, and upon which I will instruct you. And, as I said before, you ought to follow my instructions, because that is what I am here for. Above all what I am here for is to see that only proper evidence is admitted; to tell you the law, independent of my interest either for the Crown or for the accused, and you should take the law from me.

In dealing with the law, Mr. Cassidy has dealt with the case of John Burns, 16 Cox 355. Now, Mr. Cassidy did not need to deal with that case unless perhaps it was assumed that I might not do my duty in charging you as to the law. Because in so far as the facts of that case are concerned, I have no quarrel with the judgment of Mr. Justice Cave, not at all; but you will remember that the law laid down by Mr. Justice Cave, or by Mr. Justice anybody else, is laid down upon the facts of that particular case. The only thing in which that case differs from the other cases upon this very point is this, that it goes a little further in the favor of John Burns as to the matter of intent than do many other cases along the same line of sedition. But, Gentlemen, of the Jury, for Heaven's sake, if it has come down to the matter of intent or innocence of intent, and if the parties accused here do not intend any real mischief, and did not desire to bring about the things that were brought about, even in this case I would advise you, with Mr. Justice Cave, to bring in a verdict of not guilty.

Generally speaking, however, with regard to sedition, I do not wish to be recorded as having entirely adopted the judgment of Mr. Justice Cave, because in many cases of sedition, or at least in some, the parties may have conducted themselves so recklessly that the intent is so evident that it can hardly ever be excused. In the John Burns case the Crown did not suggest, and it is so upon record, that the parties desired to have brought about the actual things that were brought about. It is in the report, but your attention was not called to that. The Crown would not urge, when called upon in the case, that John Burns and his friends desired to bring about the acts that subsequently happened.

It is my duty to tell you shortly with what the accused is charged. There are two main charges running through the indictment. There are several counts, but the earlier counts relate to the crime of sedition, and as I am told by Counsel, the same crime of sedition, although each count alleges it in a different way and upon different facts, excepting the first count which is general and charges seditious conspiracy to bring into hatred and contempt, to excite

disaffection against the government, the laws and the constitution, and generally to promote ill-will and hostility amongst the people and between classes. The other separate and distinct charges is that by carrying on a strike, in the manner alleged, they committed a common nuisance, and are therefore indictable upon that ground.

COUNT II. Charges seditious conspiracy to bring into hatred and contempt, to excite disaffection against the government, the laws and the constitution, and the administration of justice, also to promote hostility, etc., between classes, proceeds to particularize the Walker Theatre meeting, the Majestic Theatre meeting, and inciting unlawful assemblies resulting in riots of January; a combination or association of workmen for the purpose of compelling compliance with the demands of said workmen and employees by means of unlawful general strikes; wilful breach of contracts, and so on, the probable consequences of which were to endanger human life and cause serious bodily injury to individuals and expose valuable property to destruction and serious injury, in violation of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907. Threats of unlawful general strikes and display of industrial force and intimidation and terror thereby created, for the purpose by said means of bringing about changes in the laws and constitution of the Dominion of Canada and of the Provinces. Obtaining control of all industries and property in Canada. Meeting or Convention at Calgary. Speeches and resolutions passed thereat. Then further propaganda to publish, aid, abet, counsel and procure the publication and distribution in the City of Winnipeg and elsewhere of the various pamphlets, newspapers and other printed literature of a character calculated and intended to facilitate the carrying out of the seditious intention. Also to aid, counsel, procure and assist an unlawful general strike, to discommode and inconvenience the inhabitants of the City of Winnipeg and of paralyzing all industries and business in the City of Winnipeg, and of endangering the lives, health, safety, and property of the said inhabitants, obstructing the said inhabitants in the exercise and enjoyment of all rights common to all; causing serious bodily injury, and exposing valuable property to destruction and serious injury. Challenging and usurping a constituted authority; setting class against class, stirring up strife and ill-will, intimidating and terrorizing, compelling by fear and intimidation large numbers of employees and workmen against their will to go out.

Also in Count 2, aided, abetted, counselled and procured the bringing about and the continuance. Then is alleged all who went out, breaking contracts against the Industrial Disputes Act. Then for the purpose of carrying out that seditious intention committees were organized by and with the aid, counsel and assistance of Robert B. Russell and the others who exercised and usurped the function and powers of the government of Winnipeg and dictated to the inhabitants terms upon which they could carry on business; that they issued permits to such persons only as they chose; made demands upon the city, provincial and Dominion Governments that certain laws and measures should be passed; threats made otherwise that the strikes would be continued in other parts of the Dominion. That they organized parades and did intimidate and terrorize peaceful inhabitants; that such actions finally resulted in the

riotous assemblies, causing terror to the peaceful inhabitants, destruction of property and personal injury and death to some.

COUNT III. charges seditious conspiracy to bring about, to aid and procure others to bring about an unlawful sympathetic strike of the workers under contract, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the consequence of their so doing, either alone or in combination with others would be to endanger human life and to cause serious bodily injury to individuals and to expose valuable property to destruction and serious injury. Subject to the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act 1907, and at that time could not go out on strike without violating the provisions of the said Act. The continuance of such strikes discommoded and inconvenienced the inhabitants, paralyzed all industries, and endangered the lives, health, safety and property; stirred up strife and ill-will; demonstrated the power and solidarity of such workmen, and intimidated and terrorized peaceful inhabitants. Compelled compliance with their demands. To bring about changes in the law; to bring about and did aid, abet, assist, counsel and procure the bringing about of said unlawful general sympathetic strike of a large number of workmen; did aid, abet, counsel and assist its continuance—constituted authority was challenged and usurped—and then proceeds very much as in the second count charged.

COUNT IV. Charges seditious conspiracy to organize an unlawful association of all workmen of Canada, particularly of Western Canada, to compel the compliance with the demands of such combination or association whatever such demands might be, by means of unlawful general strikes; regardless of contract; and knowing and having reasonable cause to believe that the consequences would be to endanger human life and to cause serious bodily injury to individuals and to expose valuable property to destruction and serious injury. Also regardless of the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act 1907. Intending to be a step in revolution against the constituted form of government in Canada, and against the laws governing the people of the City of Winnipeg, and other portions of the Dominion of Canada.

COUNT V. Charges seditious conspiracy to undermine and destroy the confidence of the inhabitants of the City of Winnipeg and other portions of Canada in the government, laws and constitution. To persuade all workmen to form an unlawful combination or association, of all workmen and employees for the purpose of obtaining control of all industries and of obtaining the property rightfully belonging to other persons, and of compelling compliance with the demands of such combinations or associations whatever such demands might be by means of unlawful general strikes regardless of contract and of the Statutes, including the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act.

COUNT VI. Charges seditious conspiracy to unlawfully attempt to bring about changes in the constitution and the laws, and to encourage and incite, etc., to introduce in Canada by other than lawful means what is known as a "Soviet" form of government, by unlawful means similar to those employed in bringing about the same in those portions of Russia where such "Soviet" form of govern-

ment is now in force, namely, by means of unlawful general strikes, regardless of contract, and of the laws and statutes, including the Industrial Disputes Act. It goes on—by means of threats of such unlawful general strikes and by a display of industrial and physical force, thereby becoming parties to a seditious conspiracy.

COUNT VII. We will leave the charges of conspiracy. The indictment now charges the accused with committing a common nuisance by being parties to or aiding, abetting, and assisting in a general sympathetic strike, knowing and having reasonable cause to believe that the consequences would be to endanger human life and cause serious bodily injury to individuals and expose valuable property to destruction and serious injury regardless of the laws and the Statutes including the Industrial Disputes Act. And by the said general sympathetic strike to deprive all of the inhabitants of the City of Winnipeg of the right to conduct themselves and their businesses in such manner as they were lawfully entitled to do, and to endanger the lives, safety, health, property, and comfort of the public, etc.—it goes on to show who were called out, and states that as a result, industries and businesses of said City of Winnipeg were paralyzed and disorganized. Many suspended; unlawful assemblies and riots occurred by reason of all the foregoing unlawful acts. Lives, safety, health, property and comfort of the public in said city were endangered and the said public was obstructed in the exercise and enjoyment of all their rights common to all his Majesty's subjects and the persons of many and divers individuals were injured thereby.

I have given you only a synopsis of the Indictment, but sufficient, I think. You will realize that all matters that are alleged and charged in the first six counts relate to seditious conspiracy, and in the last count to common nuisance.

To assist you in understanding the terms "Seditious Conspiracy." I will first define generally the indictable offence of sedition and seditious conspiracy.

Sedition is a comprehensive term, embracing all those practices, whether by word, deed or writing which are likely to disturb the tranquility of the State, and lead ignorant persons to endeavor to subvert the government and the laws of the Empire. The objects generally are to excite discontent and insurrection, stir up opposition to the government, and to bring the administration of justice into contempt. This definition is somewhat vague, but in that respect it only resembles the offence itself. It is hard to lay down any decisive line, on which side of which acts are seditious, and on the other innocent. The term seditious is commonly used in connection with words written or spoken. It includes however many other acts and deeds.

What is sufficient to constitute seditious libels or words? It may be answered generally, such political writings or words as do not amount to treason, but which are not innocent. The test approved by an eminent authority is the following: "Has the act complained of a plain tendency to produce public mischief, by perverting the mind of the subject, and creating a general dissatisfaction to-

wards the Government. In times gone by, the freest public discussion, comment, criticism, and censure whether at meetings or in the press, in relation to all political or party questions, all public acts of the Servants of the Crown, all acts of the government, all proceedings of the Courts of Justice after trial were permissible, and no narrow construction was put upon the expressions used in such a discussion, etc., but it was firmly established that the criticisms and censures must be without malignity, and must not impute corrupt or malicious motives. Every man has a right to give every public matter candid, full and free discussion; something must be allowed for feeling in men's minds and for some warmth of expression, but an intention to incite the people to take the power into their own hands and to provoke them to tumult and disorder is a seditious intention. The character of the words or acts may form an irresistible evidence of the nature of the intention.

If the words, whether written or spoken, or if the acts have a direct tendency to cause unlawful meetings and disturbances and to lead to a violation of the law, they are seditious, as the accused will be taken to have intended the natural consequence of what he has done. A document containing an alleged seditious matter must be considered as a whole. If it is contained in a newspaper the defendant is entitled to have read in evidence other passages in the same newspaper tending to show his intention in publishing the specific paragraph complained of.

Now, speaking generally, in as general terms as I can give it to a Jury, that covers sedition. But it becomes necessary for me under the circumstances to go more fully into the law of sedition. I think the best book we have on Criminal practice is by Archbold. It has been recognized for many, many years as being a high authority. Archbold states the law of sedition as follows: Sedition whether by words written or spoken or by conduct was a misdemeanor indictable at common law, punishable by fine or imprisonment. It embraced all those practices, whether by word, deed or writing, which fall short of high treason, but directly tend or have for their object to excite discontent or dissatisfaction; to excite ill-will between different classes of the King's subjects; to create public disturbances, or lead to civil war; to bring into hatred or contempt the Sovereign or the government, the laws or constitution of the realm, and generally all endeavor to promote public disorder; to incite people to unlawful associations, assemblies, insurrections, breaches of the peace, or forcible obstruction of the execution of the law, or to use any form of physical force in any public matter connected with the State.

The definition does not prevent candid, full, and free discussion of any public matter, unless the discussion takes place under circumstances likely to incite tumult—**UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES LIKELY TO INCITE TUMULT.**

While the law does not seek to put any narrow construction on the expressions used or acts done and only interferes when plainly and deliberately the limits are passed of frank and candid and honest discussion. Exciting ill-will between different classes of His Majesty's subjects may amount to sedition. Whether it does so or not

in any particular case is a question for the jury after taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case, which means time, and place, and the other circumstances.

Political writings and words may be classed under three heads, those which are overt acts of treason; those which are seditious; and those which are allowable and justifiable.

A man may lawfully discuss and criticize the measures adopted by the King and his ministers for the government of the country, provided he does it fairly, temperately, with decency and respect, and without imputing to them any improper motives. All political writings and words between treason and those which are lawful, may be deemed seditious. As for instance, if a man curses the King, wishes him ill, gives out scandalous stories concerning him, or does anything that may lessen him in the esteem of his subjects, or may weaken his government or may raise jealousies between him and his people. It is also a seditious libel if done with an intention or likely to inflame the minds of the laborers and working people, and to incite them to acts of violence, riot and disorder.

Seditious intent may be inferred from the libel itself, without any extrinsic evidence of it. And so, in order to prove it, evidence is admissible of the defendant's having published other copies of the same libel. But the defendant may prove that he did not write or publish the libel at all; or he may contend that the publication is not seditious. He may prove that the words alleged to be seditious, whether spoken or written, are not seditious, and for that purpose a defendant has been allowed to give in evidence other passages of the same speech, newspaper or publication plainly referring to the subject of the libel in question or fairly connected with it, though disjoined from it by other matter and in a different type, in order to prove that his intention was not such as was imputed to him by the prosecution, or that the passages in question would not fairly bear the construction attempted to be given to it.

And those rules throughout this trial I have endeavored to give effect to.

Conspiracy consists in the agreement of two or more persons to do an unlawful act or to do a lawful act by unlawful means. So long as such a design rests in the intention of one person only it is not indictable, but when two persons agree to carry it into effect the very plot is an act in itself which is punishable by this law.

The offence of conspiracy may be classed under three heads. First, where the end to be attained is in itself a crime; where the object is lawful, though the means to be resorted to are unlawful. Where the object is to do any injury to a third party, or a class, though if the wrong were inflicted by a single individual it might be a civil wrong and not a crime. The gist of the offence is the combination. A single person cannot be convicted unless he be indicted with others. A mere intention will not suffice to constitute the crime. But if the agreement, the conspiracy itself, can be proved there is no need to prove that anything has been done in pursuance of it. Of course the existence of the unlawful agreement is generally

evidenced by some overt acts. but these are evidence merely and not essential if the agreement can be proved otherwise.

Coming to our Code. We find that we have to rely upon the English law of sedition for the simple reason that sedition is not defined therein. Section 132 of the Code says, "Seditious words are words expressive of a seditious intention"—which does not help us much. For "seditious intention" we have to go to the English law. "A seditious libel is a libel expressive of a seditious intention." A seditious conspiracy is an agreement between two or more persons to carry into execution a seditious intention.

In the Code we find theft defined, murder defined, assault defined, etc., but not so seditious intention or sedition itself, or seditious conspiracy other than we find them in Section 132 of the Code, and another section to which I will hereafter refer.

Everyone is guilty of an indictable offence who speaks any seditious words or publishes any seditious libel or is a party to any seditious conspiracy. That is Section 134. That is the reason I have to go to the English law, and deal with the cases and deal with the text books in order to give you a definition of sedition and seditious intention.

These English cases upon which is based the law of Canada show how wide the legal notion of seditious conspiracy is. It seems to include every sort of attempt to effect any public object of an evil character by violent language either spoken or written, or show of force likely to produce fear, hatred or disturbance, but it goes so far as to include an attempt to effect a public object, lawful in itself, if the attempt is carried out in an unlawful manner, likely to cause fear, hatred or disturbance.

Of late years when the right of forming political organizations, of holding political meetings, and of giving through the press or on the public platform, free expression to our thoughts upon and criticisms of men and affairs was so well recognized, a written or printed publication, a public speech or an assembly, meeting, convention or combination would have had to be of extremely vicious inflammatory and dangerous character to form the basis of a successful prosecution for seditious libel, a seditious speech or a seditious conspiracy. But the war has altered conditions. Public sentiment is more inflammatory. Words which previously were altogether unlikely to produce an evil effect upon the public mind may now very well be regarded as seditious.

The idea having been laid down that intention being of the essence of the offence of sedition, and even the devil himself knowing not the intention of men except as indicated by his overt acts, sedition is difficult to prove. However such overt acts as I have said before, may form an irresistible evidence of the nature of the intention. Words either written or spoken, which have a plain tendency to cause unlawful meetings and disturbances, and to lead to a violation of the laws, are seditious, as the accused will be taken to have intended the natural consequences of his acts. Where the conduct is reckless and is plainly shown upon its face seditious, lia-

bility depends not alone on motive or intention, but upon the question whether the conduct, having regard to the time, place, audience, etc., were likely to cause public disorder, physical force or violence in a matter of state.

If, however, you believe that the acts complained of in the first six counts were not done with a seditious intention, then you should not find the accused guilty on those counts. On a charge of sedition or seditious conspiracy you should be satisfied of the seditious intention, taking always into consideration the time, place and circumstances. It is right that you should not impute to the accused conduct more improper than will appear upon a fair and candid examination of the circumstances.

Words differ widely from writings in point of real meaning and proper evidence. They are often the effect of mere heat of blood which in some natures, otherwise well disposed, carry a man beyond the bounds of decency or prudence. They are sometimes liable to misconstruction from the ignorance and inattention and defective recollection of the hearers. Since the time beyond memory of man sedition has been an offence against the common law of England. It is an offence against the government, which by our constitution is lawfully established by the people. It is a serious offence. It is an offence against the constitution which we have been in the habit of considering the best birthright which our ancestors left us, and which, with such constitutional improvements as may from time to time occur, is the most valuable inheritance which we can transmit to posterity. Now that every man and woman will have the vote it may well be contended that all changes in the interest of the people, whether in the constitution or the laws, may be readily brought about in a constitutional manner; and that any other method may place upon the people a new yoke and a greater oppression than we have yet endured. When we consider the benefits daily conferred upon our people by the British Constitution, the crowning effort of centuries of bloodshed and sacrifice, it should fill the hearts of all British subjects with gratitude that God has seen fit to place them within the jurisdiction of that constitution; and they should righteously guard and prevent its destruction by unlawful means.

You will remember that sedition or seditious conspiracy, as in other offences, a man is presumed to intend the consequences which would naturally follow from his conduct, at that time and under those circumstances. It is quite proper that you should consider the time, when, place where, and the circumstances under which the seditious acts were to take place.

A torch applied to a green field may not be likely to cause a fire, yet when the grass is ripe and dry a spark may cause a conflagration. Just so, words spoken in privacy or during a quarrel, or in the heat of the moment, or in normal times, may be unlikely to have a seditious effect, and may be overlooked; yet when spoken in times of stress and in more public places, may be likely to cause such discontent, hostility and disturbance as to be seditious. If the words spoken or published are seditious, it is no defence that they are true, and evidence to prove their truth is inadmissible.

If it is the honest intention not to act unlawfully but to simply point out errors or defects in the Government or in the constitution; or even to honestly excite the public to attempt by lawful and constitutional means to bring about a reformation of the matter complained of—Section 133—which was the other section which I said I would come to later in regard to sedition—did say that a bona fide intention is not seditious under these circumstances. "No one shall be deemed to have a seditious intention only because he intends in good faith, to show that His Majesty has been misled or mistaken in his measures; or to point out errors or defects in the government or constitution of the United Kingdom, or any part of it, or of Canada or of any province thereof, or in either House of Parliament, of the United Kingdom or of Canada, or in any legislature, or in the administration of justice, or to excite His Majesty's subjects to attempt to procure, by lawful means the alteration of any matter in the State; or to point out, in order to the removal, matters which are producing or have a tendency to produce feelings of hatred and ill-will between different classes of His Majesty's subjects."

That section preserved to those accused of sedition the defence that they honestly and bona fide and with no malicious motive, and no guilty intention, were simply pointing these matters out in a constitutional way. If they did not come within the point of view of that section, they were responsible for the natural consequences of their writings, of their acts, and of their deeds.

Although this section has been lately repealed, it practically embraced only that general law which had been decided in the English cases, and under these circumstances although this section has been lately repealed, I think it fairly states the law, and that the accused should have the benefit of it in so far as this prosecution is concerned. Do you find that his intention was bona fide and that he had no seditious motive, and no guilty mind, because after all, Gentlemen, we do not send a man to the Penitentiary until the Jury is satisfied that there was guilt in his mind. We do not do that in any case. When a man is charged with a crime, the essence of the crime is the guilty mind; that is not peculiar to sedition.

If the means to be resorted to are unlawful, there may be a conspiracy even though the ultimate purpose be lawful. The gist of the offence is the combination. As I said before, when you find the agreement, the offence is complete although nothing may have been done. You must remember that in dealing with this case.

Now, with regard to the evidence of conspiracy. Where there is no direct evidence to the fact of conspiracy the acts of each and every one of the alleged conspirators may be given in evidence for the purpose of proving that there was a conspiracy if such acts were done apparently in furtherance of a common design. There must be a common design, otherwise it is not a conspiracy. The usual evidence in a conspiracy case is that the parties are shown to have pursued a line of conduct arising in the estimation of the jury from a common intention, and you can tell whether a number of persons are pursuing one common intention if you find their conduct on different occasions and in different places all consistent with that

special object, all tending to bring about that which is said to be the common purpose.

An act of a conspirator prior to the time he and the accused came together is evidence against the accused if part of the same transaction. If you find the accused and another or others of those charged combined together for the same illegal purpose, then, any act done by one of the party, in pursuance of the original concerted plan, and with reference to the common object, is in the contemplation of the law, the act of the whole party, and therefore the proof of such act would be evidence against any of the others who were engaged in the same conspiracy; and declarations made by one of the party at the time of doing such illegal act, seem not only to be evidence against himself, as tending to determine the quality of the act, but against the rest of the party, who are as much responsible as if they had themselves done the act. It is the principle of agency, which, when once established binds the conspirators together and makes them mutually responsible for the acts and declarations of each.

A principal may be the actual perpetrator of the act, that is, one who, with his own hands or through an innocent agent, does the act himself; he may be one who, before the act is done, does or omits something for the purpose of aiding someone to commit it; he may be one who is present aiding and abetting another in the doing of it, or he may be one who counsels or procures the doing of it, or who does it through the medium of a guilty agent.

If two persons pursue by their acts the same object, often by the same means, one performing one part of the act and the other another part so as to complete it with a view of the attainment of the common object they were pursuing, the jury are free to infer that they had been engaged in a conspiracy to effect that object.

Any persons concerned in any of the criminal parts of the transaction alleged as conspiracy may be found guilty, though there is no evidence that such persons joined in concerting a plan or that they ever met the others, and though it is probable they never did, and though some of them only joined in the latter parts of the transaction and probably did not enter the matter until some of the prior parts of the transaction were complete. When two or more persons conspire together to commit any offence or actionable wrong, everything said, done or written by any one of them in execution or furtherance of their common purpose is deemed to be so said, done or written by every one, and is deemed to be relevant facts against each of them. The evidence is admitted on the ground that the act or declaration of one is the act or declaration of all when united in one common object.

Letters between co-conspirators are admissible. Sir Henry Hawkins, probably the ablest judge on such matters that we have had in recent times in England, says, "I have pointed out to you what each of the defendants has done, for the purpose of forming your own judgment as to whether or not they were connected in one common design, and with a view to complying with what I held to be the law, that, if they were connected in a common design, then each

member of the confederacy is responsible for such acts of the others as are connected with the carrying out of their common design.

First, you must find the common design. Did these parties do such acts at different times in different places, or were they doing some of them together; and were these acts consistent with the common design? If so, the action of one whom you subsequently connect up is evidence against the others.

You may look at the acts of the accused showing his connection as a conspirator with others charged in the indictment. Here it is necessary for me to state some facts to illustrate the law of conspiracy. In so far as possible I am going to keep away from any facts that are disputed, and give you only such facts as appear either from the letters of Russell or to Russell, or from publications such as the "Strike Bulletin," "Western Labor News," "Soviet Journal," or whatever it is called, these papers published in the City of Winnipeg.

As to Russell there is evidence that he assisted the "Reds" to get control of the Labor Council. You know it is hard to forget the letters of Russell—or at least it is for me. They are written in such nice, short, crispy, well-expressed sentences, such as "knocked hell out of the labor party," and so on—I don't say that with any disrespect to Russell, but there are those things that make milestones in my mind. You remember his own letter—"getting control"—"Reds getting control"—Now, Russell was a member of the executive of the Trades and Labor Council. He knew what he was talking about. The Trades and Labor Council was responsible for the publication and issue of the Western Labor News.

Russell was connected with the Socialist Party, responsible for the issue of those Socialist papers published here; perhaps responsible—that is for you to find—for the issuing of the socialist literature. The Society, it is admitted, carries on its aims by propaganda. There is no doubt about that. Now, you have seen some of the propaganda, in fact, you have seen a lot of it. I have seen too much of it. The "Bulletin" was distributed at certain meetings. Russell was at the Calgary Convention. His letters show that it was desired that this meeting should also be packed with Reds. At that convention he was appointed Chairman of the Manitoba Executive. The objects of the Committee were to get out propaganda, and to see to the taking of a strike ballot. Well, there is evidence that they got out propaganda, and we have seen that propaganda from day to day and from night to night, and you will exercise your commonsense upon that propaganda.

Russell was the agent, the business agent of the Metal Trades Council, and it was because of the trouble that existed there that Russell spoke about the general strike, when the ballot was to be taken. And you heard what he said about it. He was there when the vote was taken, or decided upon rather—I won't say taken—he was there when the vote was decided upon. He became a member of the general strike committee, the central strike committee, food committee, and you have heard about his activities in connection with the strike.

You have also heard about his activities in connection with the Socialist Party of Canada, the objects of which was to distribute propaganda.

You will remember, if you cast your mind over the evidence that there were others that were interested in the propaganda. Armstrong, Johns, and Pritchard were members of the Socialist Party of Canada, and in that sense at least you may reasonably infer that they were interested in the propaganda that was issued by Russell, and also interested in the propaganda, perhaps not instituted by Russell personally, but by others who had the interests of that Society at heart, others who had the same—will I call them “ideals?” Perhaps I had better do what Russell does himself, call them “ideas.”

As to the Trades and Labor Council. Russell's activities were connected with the following, who were jointly accused with him in the indictment,—Ivens, Armstrong, Bray, Heaps, Queen, and latterly Pritchard, who, after the strike had run some time became a member of the strike committee, representing Vancouver.

I do not know that I can very well leave Ivens, the preacher, out of this propaganda. I do not think it would be fair to him. He was the Editor of the Western Labor News. Perhaps you might find that was sufficient propaganda, or that there were certain articles that from time to time appeared in that Western Labor News that seemed to be brought about by the operation of scissors and paste from a lot of Socialist propaganda. Much of this has been put in evidence. And, Gentlemen, speaking to you as the Judge, if I were on a jury, there is much in that matter that I would find no difficulty in concluding was sedition. Ivens was editor of the “Strike Bulletin” during the strike, and participated with Russell and others in carrying on the Winnipeg Strike. He was one of the speakers appointed by the Strike Committee. The “Strike Bulletin” shows him throughout to be one of the most active in propaganda.

Just before I leave Ivens. I really have been unable to understand two things from the same viewpoint as the Socialist Party—I don't think I should say the Socialist Party, I think I should say from the viewpoint of these members of the Socialist Party—this particular class of socialism. Russell seemed to think that capital meant only that money which was invested in industrial concerns, when he was asked the question in the box. It is for you to consider and ascertain in your minds if you can, whether even if that is what this class of Socialists believe, whether that lower order which they say they have to educate, the “Plugs,” will not be more likely to grasp a lower order of socialism and accept “Capital” in the sense of meaning the possessions of those who are richer than they, rather than to simply limit it to that money which is solely invested in industrial concerns. And therefore one ought under these circumstances to be most careful in using the word “capital” as distinguished from “labor,” if his intention be honest to limit “capital” to such concerns as were mentioned by Mr. Russell. Let us see the effect it had upon the mind of the preacher Ivens. If you believe, and Ivens has not seen fit to deny it, but on the other hand, as Ivens is to be tried perhaps you should not hold that up against him—but none

of his many friends who no doubt were present at that meeting have seen fit to come and deny it—I say if you believe the report of that speech on one Sunday night, Ivens had got clean away from the idea of limiting “capital” to such moneys as were invested in industrial pursuits. He says, “The capitalist owns the land upon which the wheat is grown.” Capitalist? Is he referring to the land that my father and your fathers homesteaded? I don’t know. That is the class of land upon which the wheat is largely grown in this country. Or was the man so carried away by the speeches of these impassioned Socialists in this mass of stuff from which he clips his speech that he cares not what he says. And is Russell himself so carried away by reading books that are prepared on conditions that existed in Russia that he must begin to believe it and comes here and says, “Most of the land in Canada is owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.” It is beyond me.

In so far as Armstrong is concerned, he is of the “soap-box” variety of Socialist. Nobody seemed to be worried about that. But you have that. He was a member of the Trades and Labor Council, and one of the “Reds” who, with Russell—I was going to say had control—I will put it this way—he was one of the “Reds.” Russell was one of the “Reds.” The “Reds” had control. All sides seem to admit that, even the labor party that they have “knocked hell out of.” The “Reds” themselves admit they had control. He spoke at the Walker Theatre meeting; at the Majestic Theatre meeting, and later at other meetings. There is evidence therefore that he along with Russell, was responsible for the propaganda that was distributed at the Majestic Theatre, and the rest of the propaganda distributed from time to time under the auspices of the Socialist Party of Canada.

Queen was a Socialist too. He was Chairman of the Walker Theatre meeting. You may find that he acted in concert with Russell and others in calling this meeting, and that he was responsible with others for the distribution of Socialist literature. He was advertising manager of the Western Labor News. He was also active in connection with the strike, and was in and out of the Labor Temple during the strike. He addressed many of the meetings during the strike, and his action on the City Council aided and abetted the strike.

Pritchard comes lately amongst us. A letter from Stephenson, Dominion Secretary of the Socialist Party of Canada, states that Pritchard was one of the most active propagandist speakers at the Coast. Why was he brought here? He was one of the speakers whom Russell asked to be sent to Winnipeg to speak, and was most active in speeches and propaganda. He was at the B.C. Federation of Labor, which met in Calgary just before the Calgary convention, that is to say, he was around about. The exhibits show that Russell was in correspondence with Pritchard. Now, who was Pritchard? He was the man who received the highest number of votes for the central committee at the Calgary Convention. Subsequently he was active with others in issuing propaganda for the O.B.U. Now, I have nothing to say against the O.B.U. I don’t know it, not yet. But if the O.B.U. puts out literature which you may find seditious, at

a time of tension like there was here, and if the propaganda of the O.B.U. was likely to give aid, comfort and assistance in a state of affairs here which you may find unlawful; and if that was one of the methods in which Pritchard assisted in carrying out the unlawful state of affairs: and if you so find the acts of Russell and the other accused—you may consider that.

Johns was a member of the Socialist Party of Canada, and spoke at the Walker Theatre meeting and Majestic Theatre meeting, where socialistic propaganda was distributed. He was one of the "Reds" with Russell. What I mean is, he was a "Red" like Russell, and the "Reds" had control of the Trades and Labor Council. He and Russell were the official delegates from the Trades and Labor Council to the Calgary Convention. He received the second highest number of votes, that is to say, the second highest next to Pritchard on the Central Committee that was appointed at the Calgary Convention. Johns, while not in Winnipeg at the opening of the Winnipeg strike, was in the East organizing, and wrote letters to Russell, two of which were found in Russell's possession at the time of his arrest, showing his activities along the same line—that is, propaganda of unrest—propaganda of unrest, of discontent.

Heaps was a member of the Trades and Labor Council. The Trades and Labor Council assisted at least, aided at least, abetted at least—and did they also counsel and procure the taking of that strike vote? Why hedge about it? The strike, it is said, is not efficient unless it is brought on suddenly, unless it ties up the wheels of industry. But are you going to make the strike effective without a central body that will assist in the taking of the whole of the general vote, placing the date and the time on which that strike will be called? How, as I will afterwards tell you, these who aided and abetted committed the crime, if there is one. Heaps was a member of the Relief Committee. He was a member of the Strike Committee. He spoke and voted at the City Council in favor of keeping the water pressure low, and generally in favor of the attitude of the strike leaders. You know it does not come home as realistically about Heaps. He has not been in the box. But Robinson was in the box. Like rancid butter, does not it leave a dark taste in your mouth, the evidence of Robinson, the alderman? He was secretary of the Strike Committee, which tries to disclaim responsibility for every thing. Disclaim it. "We were not responsible." Well, Gentlemen, that is for you altogether. That is for you.

Robinson swore that he did his duty to the citizens at large. He was there to represent the citizens at large. Somehow it does not sound very well to me, because I believe that he did his duty to the Strike Committee. I believe that. Because he said he did. Can a man serve two masters, and can he do it well? Or will a man serve one of those two masters, and do it well? And if so, which did Robinson serve? And if so, which did Heaps serve? These are questions that will be material to you in the consideration of this matter.

Bray, Well, Bray was not serving two masters. There is no doubt about that. He was a member of the Strike Committee and he became very active. He led the soldiers in their parades, and

he demanded from the Premier that the strike should be settled according to the demands of the strikers. You heard the evidence of Bray's activity. The "Strike Bulletin" had several articles concerning Mr. Bray, and what Mr. Bray did. But to be fair to Bray, he would seem to have no connection with the matters charged, except such connection as you may infer from the Winnipeg Strike itself.

There were others whose actions you may look at because of the correspondence and the telegrams and the relations that existed between Russell and them, that is to say, Stevenson of Vancouver, Joe Knight of Edmonton, McGuire of Edmonton, Kavanagh of Vancouver. And also for the purpose of showing the extent of propaganda, and the class of propaganda, T. S. Cassidy, of North Bay.

The Crown contends that Stevenson, Knight, Pritchard and Kavanagh were co-conspirators with Russell, although not named in the indictment. Also that these parties were connected through the Socialist Party of Canada, and through the arrangement made for the issuing of propaganda through the Calgary convention and the arrangement and propaganda agreed upon, and that they became co-conspirators for a seditious purpose. It is for you to say whether the evidence satisfies you that these persons, or any of them, were such co-conspirators with Russell. If any one of them was a co-conspirator his acts and statements in furtherance of the conspiracy would be evidence against Russell.

If, on the other hand, the jury is convinced that any one of these persons was not a co-conspirator, then his acts and statements should not be considered by the jury as evidence against Russell or seditious intention or of conspiracy, and should be disregarded entirely.

As to such letters as those of Beatty, and as to the statements made by others whom I have not named—there are so many that I will just put it that way and you will understand—as to their acts and statements, I would advise you to disregard them, except as to the class of propaganda which is thereby indicated, the extent of such, and the intent thereby disclosed, and those responsible for such propaganda in so far as you may find them connected with the accused Russell.

It was lately stated in the Criminal Court of Appeal in England: "It is true that conspiracy is very seldom proved by a witness who says that he saw and heard the people conspiring. If certain things have been done by two or more people, and if it has been proved that they have been acting together, in that case there might be a conspiracy, and you will so find according to the facts and circumstances of the case, either conspiracy or no conspiracy. A conspiracy might thereby be proved.

Going on concerning conspiracy affecting trades unions, Archbold says, speaking of the English and not the Canadian law, a combination of two or more without justification or excuse to injure a man in his trade, by inducing his customers or servants to break their contracts with him, or not to deal with him, nor continue in his employment, is actionable if it results in damage to him. As to

criminal remedies, this statement of the law must be read subject to the provisions of the Trade Union Act of 1871 and some other English Acts. I am reading according to the English law. Later I will show you where it is distinguishable from the Canadian law. Archbold goes on, after reciting this says, "But it is submitted that such a combination as above stated will still in England be indictable."

Archbold further tersely refers to the evidence necessary in this way: The Crown should prove the conspiracy as described in the indictment, and that the defendants were engaged in it; or prove circumstances from which the jury may presume it. Proof of the existence of a conspiracy is generally a matter of inference deduced from certain criminal acts of the parties accused, done in pursuance of an apparent criminal purpose in common between them. In order to convict of conspiracy, it is not necessary that the defendants should have concocted the charge, the subject of the charge, nor that they should have originated it. If a conspiracy is formed and a person joins it afterwards, he is equally guilty with the original conspirators. The prosecutor may go into general evidence of the nature of the conspiracy, before he gives evidence to connect the defendant with it. But conspiracy involves concert, and it is a misdirection to discuss the case of each defendant separately without reference to the alleged concert. The acts and declarations, also, of any of the conspirators in furtherance of the common design, may be given in evidence against all. Every agreement between two or more persons to commit an offence is conspiracy, and indictable whether the offence is punishable on indictment or on summary conviction.

I am still reading the English law—Conspiracy is an indictable misdemeanor, consisting in the agreement of two or more persons to do an unlawful act, or to do a lawful act by unlawful means. Unless two persons are found to have combined there can be no conviction.—I find it necessary to repeat some of these things, because counsel has taken upon himself to tell you what the law is. Some of the things I am giving you from time to time are so interwoven that every once in a while something will be repeated.—So long as such a design rests in intention only it is not indictable. When two agree to carry it into effect the very plot is an act itself, and the act of each of the parties, promise against promise, capable of being enforced if lawful, is punishable if for a criminal object or the use of criminal means.

The overt acts need not now be set out. The conspiracy is the offence, and it is immaterial whether anything has been done in pursuance of it. Overt acts which are proved against some of the defendants, may be looked at as against all of them, to show the nature and objects of the conspiracy.

You have heard a great deal about the common law and its limitations in the matter of strikes. I am going to tell you, gentlemen, that we have very little common law criminal law in Canada. In 1892 our legislators brought into force a statute called the Criminal Code. The English legislators could not bring themselves to adopt a criminal code. But others stepped in where angels

feared to tread, and every common law offence that they could think of was made a statutory offence insofar as Canada was concerned. And there is little distinction between the common law and the statutory offence. You will notice in the section to which Mr. Cassidy referred, and to which I will hereafter refer, the pertinence of the remarks I am making now, because of the limitation of the exemption that would otherwise be given to strikers. Under Section 573 of the Code, practically all the common law offences, except as exempted by our own code, are indictable. Section 573 of the code by a sort of saving clause, after providing for seditious conspiracy, after providing for conspiracy in restraint of trade, after providing for those things which were unlawfully done by trade combinations, and all kinds of other indictable matter, says, "It is an indictable offence, in any case in the code not specially provided for, to conspire to commit an indictable offence." The object of the Code being to codify such common law offences as they could think it, and then they put in this section to provide for all other offences that had theretofore existed but were not thought of.

Shortly I will come to the distinction of strikes in Canada and strikes in England. But before doing that, I wish to remind you of what it is said a sympathetic strike is. Mr. Russell gave us his idea of a sympathetic strike. He said: "When a dispute originates between an employer and his employees, and when the labor organizations see that organization being beat, they come to their assistance by calling a strike to force their employers to bring force to bear upon the original disputants to make settlement." That is Russell's definition given in the box. I have got it from the reporter. (Repeats definition.) Force, force, force. One thing I like about Russell, he is candid. He tells you what it is. It is force. Dixon was pretty candid. Winning, after he got away from—shall I say a natural hesitance, finally came right out with it. He would bring a general strike on at a time when it would create the most, the very most inconvenience. Robinson took a long time, but I think you can gather from his remarks—they all pretty well agree as to what is the right thing to do from a striker's standpoint of calling out a general strike.

The criminal offences arising out of and incidental to strike conditions are defined by our statutes. He who runs may read. Yet often it is we see these offences committed and after we marvel at the audacity of the offenders and the inactivity of the Governments, municipal, provincial and dominion. It is the duty of every individual, or combination of individuals, to observe the law; and to give information of its infraction by others. It is the duty of the Governments, as soon as an infraction of the Criminal law comes to its knowledge, to enforce the law and put the offender upon his trial. As a rule this duty devolves upon the government of the province, which under our constitution is entrusted with the administration of justice.

You have been asked, "What do you think of this prosecution?" You have been told, "Observe the manner in which these accused were arrested." It has been suggested that the Dominion Government has been mixed up in this prosecution; it has been suggested

that the Dominion Government is paying a part of the expense of this prosecution.

If the infractions of the law become glaring by reason of the number of the offenders and their friends and sympathizers and if force is necessary to apprehend lawbreakers—in that event there is ample provision for the province to establish a police force in such numbers as may be required. If an unlawful agitation occurs which is too great for the province to deal with, or which is nation-wide, and in reality becomes sedition or treason, calculated to cause discontent or to overthrow our constitution, and manner of government, the Dominion Government may supply at once, such military force as may be necessary to quell the disturbance and apprehend those guilty of crime, and otherwise aid the province in bringing the offenders to trial.

Otherwise, how could we exist? I have told you the duties of the government. It is the duty of the judge to instruct you on the law as he finds it. It is your duty to apply that law to the facts of this case, and surely everybody will perform his duty. To say it should be thus, it should be so; there are standard books which establish this, and there is Adam Smith which establishes that. Gentlemen, we cannot consider that, and we ought not to consider that. We must consider the law as we find it, as it is. And as we find the criminal laws of Canada upon our Statute books they should be enforced or they should be removed from those Statute books, one or the other.

I will now proceed to review the law on the subject of the strikes. I am sorry I am so long, but I feel it is necessary to instruct you thoroughly and clearly upon the law of strikes. God knows I would not do it if I did not think it was my duty. I am so nearly exhausted it is really difficult for me to go on. But as it is my duty to tell you the law, and as my first duty is to my country, I must proceed much further than I anticipated. It is impossible to fully understand the present English law respecting strikes without a knowledge of its history.

The Great Plague of the time of Edward III gave origin to the first Statute of Labourers. This public calamity having thinned the laboring class, servants and labourers took occasion to demand what was then considered excessive wages; and such being not forthcoming many became idlers, and some vagabonds and beggars. By this Act it was ordered that every man and woman of whatever condition being of able body and within the age of three-score years, not being engaged in merchandise and not exercising any craft; neither having of his own whereof he might live, nor land of his own whereby he might employ himself in tillage, nor being in the service of anyone—if required to serve in a station that suited his condition—was bound to serve for such wages as had prior to that time been usual in the locality. Now, that statute was found necessary because of those conditions. And latterly as the law concerning labour and trade unions grew up, changes were brought about by reason of the conditions.

To say that the labouring class all through these years up to about the middle of the last century were in a deplorable condition—the labouring classes of England and of Scotland—is putting it mildly. It was deplorable, it was regrettable. It brought tears in some cases to the eyes of the Crown Prosecutor and the Judges, and of the juries who convicted for an infraction of the law, who realized their judicial position well enough to know, although the conditions were deplorable, the accused had committed infractions of the law.

But to lead up to that. I may say that this statute of Edward III, with various amendments, remained the law of England until the time of Elizabeth, when conditions became such that the old law of the laborers did not at all fairly deal with the matters concerned with or pertaining to labour. There was a relaxation of the severity of such laws, and a new set of laws was placed upon the Statute book. Time went on. Humanity, year by year, recognized that the condition of laborers was deplorable in these countries, and towards the latter part of the 18th century probably winking at the infractions of the laws and allowing labor great latitude without proceeding to prosecute for breaches, felt that this condition had gone long enough, and in 1799, an Act was passed which dealt with these matters, but which was found to be in no way sufficient to give the desired relief, and was rather too drastic in its provisions. Then humanity, philanthropists, and labour all said, "Clear away these restrictions upon labour; slavery has been abolished, in England anyway—not so long ago—but clear away these restrictive conditions of labour and let us combine for lawful purposes. And let these lawful purposes be such as are reasonably necessary for us in these matters. We are poor; we are weak; we are not a power; we cannot exert force; for heaven's sake give us some relief."

An Act was passed in 1824 which put the law upon a new basis entirely. It provided that workmen might combine for lawful purposes. It expressly provided that workmen might combine for lawful purposes, not unlawful purposes, not for the purpose of doing a wrong to the community, but for such purpose as might be reasonably necessary for them to make any beneficial use of their confederation.

The law was only in force for one year when it was found that such a condition of affairs occurred, so many corn stacks were burned, so many factories were put to destruction, that it was necessary to put some restraint upon the people. The 1824 Act was repealed. But still, public attention having been drawn to the deplorable condition of affairs the matter was not left exactly in the previous state. This Act of 1825, while it did not make it lawful to combine in the words of the 1824 Act, provided that people who combined for such purposes, and who remained within such purposes, and did not commit unlawful acts, would not be punished.

Under that Act it was unlawful to use violence, to use threats, or to intimidate, or to molest or to obstruct either the employer or the employee, or to use violence on the person or property of another.

Now, without going minutely into the cases upon that 1825 Act, the general result was somewhat as follows: A threat meant the expression of an intention to do something illegal in order to force an employer by fear of its execution to do or not to do something which he had a right to do. But an agreement between workmen to do any act in restraint of trade was an illegal conspiracy. Therefore, intimation of such an agreement made in order to force the master, such as to dismiss particular men or not to take more than so many apprentices, was a threat within the meaning of the Act.

The effect of the cases was somewhat modified by Statute, which in 1859 provided that workmen were not to be considered guilty of "molestation and abstraction by reason only of entering into agreements for the purpose of fixing the rates of wages or the hours of labour—and do not forget this—nor of endeavouring peaceably to persuade others to cease or abstain from work in order to produce the same effect.

That runs down through the English Statutes to this day, and is the basis of the contention of what is called "peaceable picketing," which was introduced into Canada, has been repealed, and is not now here. It was provided by the Trades Union Act of 1871 that no one shall be liable to any punishment for doing or conspiring to do any act on the ground that such act or acts tends to restrain the free course of trade unless it was one of the acts enumerated in Section 1, as I will show you later. A similar section which we adopted in Canada did not limit this matter to the special acts in the section. Under this state of the law it was commonly supposed that the ordinary procedure in a strike was legalized, but this was held not to be the case.

In 1872 certain gas stokers struck, the result of which was that a great part of London was for a time involved at night in complete darkness. They were indicted for a conspiracy to coerce or molest their employers in carrying on their business, and it was held that this was on two grounds an indictable conspiracy, though no offence was committed under the Act last mentioned.

The Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875 of England provides first that an agreement or combination by two or more persons to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employer and workman shall not be indictable as a conspiracy if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime, but that Act excepts riot, unlawful assembly, breach of the peace, sedition and offences against the state.

Such for the present is the final result of the long history which I have summarized. I leave it here, because I must, following the history of the matter, turn to Canadian law. When we became a nation, which we are—then we became a confederation, and insofar as this province is concerned, when Manitoba in 1870 became part of the Dominion, the English law of 1870 except as dealt with by our Canadian parliament thereafter applied, while I doubt, although that is academic, as to whether the existing law of England at that time was applicable to this country—let us assume it was, then we

start with the law of England as of 1780. To deal, however, a little further with the English law, so that you will understand where it stops and where we go on, I will summarize the general effect, as in England, going back to Edward III.

First there is no law at all, either written or unwritten. Then a long series of statutes aim at regulating the wages of labour, and end in a general provision preventing and punishing, as far as possible, all combinations to raise wages. During the latter part of the period an opinion grows up that to combine for the purpose of raising wages is an indictable conspiracy at common law. In 1825 the statute law is put upon an entirely new basis, and all the old statutes are repealed, but in such a way as to countenance the doctrine about conspiracies in restraint of trade or common law. From 1825 to 1871 a series of cases are decided which give form to the doctrine of conspiracy in restraint of trade at common law, and carry it so far as to say that any agreement between two people to compel anyone to do anything he does not like is an indictable conspiracy independently of statute. In 1871 the workmen were exempted from punishment as to agreements in restraint of trade unless one of the acts specially mentioned or otherwise unlawful as in statute expressed. But the common law expands as the statute law is narrowed, and the doctrine of a conspiracy to coerce or injure so interpreted as to diminish greatly the protection supposed to be afforded by the Act of 1871, thereupon the Act of 1875 specifically protects all lawful combinations in lawful contemplation or in lawful furtherance of trade disputes. These words "lawful" are mine. I want to tell you, gentlemen, it is absurd to suppose that the legislature in framing the statutes in relation to the subject when referring to acts and deeds meant anything other than lawful acts and lawful deeds.

While the Canadian statutes up to 1875 have been in the main copied from the English statutes, they are not identical therewith. In fact, some of the English provisions we do not have at all. Of this I will refer later in detail. I have already referred to the absence of any Statute permitting picketing.

This phase of the case is dealt with in a clear and forceful manner by Lord Bramwell, *Regina v. Bruitt*. It has been said that that case does not apply. It has been said that not only the statement of Bramwell in that case, but that of Lord Esher in a case shortly following, do not now apply. And in support of that the learned counsel for the defence has cited the *Gibson v. Lawson* case.

There is a little history about that case. Coleridge, who gave the judgment of the Court Appeal in the *Lawson* case, and I should judge from the reading of the judgment in the one, that he never forgot the brief that he prepared in the other. He was unsuccessful in the *Druitt* case. However, Coleridge was a judge of high authority. The judgment that he delivered was the judgment of the Court of Appeal of England and it was thought insofar as England was concerned that there had been a codification of the law of strikes. But there are other judges in England. There was Lord Halsbury, there was Sir Henry Hawkins, Lord Brampton, and Lord Lindley. And these gentlemen sitting in the House of Lords have

made such statements—that it will not be necessary for me to go into here considering the lateness of the night—which indicate that although they were sitting in a civil case, Coleridge was mistaken, and that Bramwell and Esher were right. That, in this discussion, is more or less academic to my mind, because of the different interpretation of our law by our statesmen. When I say “our law” I mean our Canadian laws. And the principle enunciated seems to be fully recognized as applying specially to Canada, by Chief Justice Mathers, and by the Court of Appeal in Manitoba in the *Cotter v. Osborn*, and in the *Vulcan Iron Works* case, in which although these were cases of injunction the criminal law was referred to by Chief Justice Mathers. Although there was no discussion of the criminal cases, the Court was evidently of the opinion that the principles I have referred to still applied. And Archbold again deals with this matter in another part of his book, and says, after considering the statements of Lord Halsbury, Lord Brampton and Lord Lindley, it is submitted that these matters are still indictable.

I will now refer to two of the Acts referred to by Mr. Cassidy, as being English Acts. This act of 1871, does not apply here. It applies here only insofar as it has been adopted by the Canadian parliament after 1871. This English Act, to which Mr. Cassidy referred, from Cohen, of 1871, Chapter 32, Section 1, after providing penalties generally for violence, threats, intimidation, molestation when used to coerce masters or workmen, defines all these offences which Coleridge stated and the Statute of 1875 codified. But Cohen does not say anything about the proviso, that nothing in this section shall prevent any person from being liable under any other act. But the Act says it, I have the Statutes. It has given me a lot of trouble. The Act says it, and the English statutes say it. And it is for that reason of course that our Canadian legislature uses the word “Statutes” “Providing that no person shall be liable to any punishment for doing or conspiring to do any act on the ground that such act restrains or tends to restrain the free course of trade, unless such act is one of the acts hereinbefore specified in this section and is done with the object of coercing as hereinbefore mentioned.”

And it was upon this statute which in one paragraph says it is not limited to the statute, and in the other paragraph says it is, that you are asked to believe that in England the codification was such that there could be no conspiracy for any of these acts. Lords Bramwell and Esher said there could, and Lord Coleridge said there could not. And after Lords Halsbury, Brampton and Lindley got through with it in the House of Lords, it is submitted by Archbold that Lords Bramwell and Esher were right.

Then we come to the Law of 1785, on which we are asked to find that acts done by a trade combination cannot be prosecuted for conspiracy. The very Act itself—I have got the statute here—says “Nothing in this section shall exempt from punishment any persons guilty of a conspiracy for which a punishment is awarded by any Act of Parliament. And nothing in this section shall affect the law relating to riot, unlawful assembly, breach of the peace, or sedition or any offence against the State or sovereign.”

It is too bad I have to spend so much time on that, but I have to spend more, because I have got to show you the difference between the Canadian statutes and the English statutes.

The English statutes were framed to apply to conditions that existed there, deplorable conditions, I can recall some of the things that were mentioned by Mr. Bird; and I could recall worse. Children were born, while the father worked in the factory and had no money and had no hope. They had to be cared for the best way they could be cared for, which was pretty bad. As soon, or perhaps sooner than they could work, they had to work, and they had to continue to work. When they got sick and the pay envelope was empty—if they had a pay envelope in those days; I don't think they had—but to put it that way, then God help the family. Where was the necessary food to come from? Food, necessaries, bread? Not meat. The conditions were awful. And even until the middle of the last century, and some time later the conditions were such as would horrify you if you knew of them to-day. From very birth, penury. From the time they commenced to work, penury. And another generation grew up, and so it went on. No hope. No lands upon which they could go. No occupation for the unlettered man; no chance to rise; no chance for anything but stay there, working with his hands day by day, all his life, and his children likewise. Those were the conditions in England. It pretty nearly brought about a serious revolution. It did bring about a serious revolution of the time of 1842-3, the matter of the Chartists.

Gentlemen of the jury, we never had those conditions in Canada. We may have had conditions that were bad for labor; we may have had conditions that put restrictions upon labor, but we never had those conditions. A journeyman carpenter may go into the country, and he may himself become reasonably well off. His children may have a schooling, even in the common school, that will be sufficient for the purpose of their after life to take any position in the community. The people own this country. The land could be had for the asking at the time that our labor legislation was brought into force.

However, as time went by portion after portion of a law framed upon some of the principles of the English law found its way upon the Statute books of Canada. In 1871, a law somewhat similar to the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of England was passed in Canada. and we did legislate, with other things, concerning "attending at or near or approaching to such house or other place as aforesaid in order merely to obtain or communicate information shall not be deemed a watching or besetting within the meaning of the section."

That is not in the Statute Book now. When parliament framed the Criminal Code of 1892, they left that out. It does not appear now. Therefore a striker has no more justification for picketing than he obtains by the right of every British citizen to go about his own business in a peaceful way. And he may come along the street and he may speak to those going in or out, just the same as you and I may do. But he has no other rights picketing.

Conditions are different here, and you will find that the Canadian law is different from the English law. In Canada it was never intended to permit anyone, or any body of men, under the guise of labor, to combine to do wrong to the community. And in the United States, while you may not be affected by that as a matter of law, I may tell you that the same condition exists. No Statute in the United States that has been passed, of which I am aware, permits any body of strikers to commit an unlawful act upon the community which amounts to sedition, without being guilty of seditious conspiracy.

Let me here, before I refer to the law riots and unlawful assembly, refer to Socialism as an ideal. If a man's ideal is Socialism, that is not illegal. But perhaps you may think it not to be nice. It is not illegal, but, gentlemen after hearing the evidence of what Socialism is, may we not remember the words of that illustrious countryman of Mr. Russell, and ask ourselves, "Breathes there a man with soul so dead, who never to himself has said, this is my own, my native land." What did our forefathers fight for at Queenstown Heights? For what did they fling back the Americans from the ramparts of the city of Quebec and roll them down the snow clad cliffs? What do you think of patriotism? What do you think of allegiance to your country? What do you think of allegiance to the brotherhood of the world, limiting the brotherhood of the world to the working class as indicated here. Well, I like my country. Do you? Are those sentiments, if kept to themselves, the base for the introduction of persuasive propaganda by the ballot. Perhaps. Even then, as Mr. Cassidy has suggested, they might lead to incidents that occurred quite frequently in Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square. If a man won't fight for his country, as our forefathers fought at Quebec and Queenstown Heights, will he fight for his fireside? If such sentiments are to be brought about by illegal strikes, by force exercised thereby, by terror, by combinations of soldiers and workmen, by speeches at soldiers and workmens' councils, or by unlawful means, it is a crime and it is seditious.

I have already told you that here we must look to our own Statutes for our own law, and I have compiled a little digest here of our own statutes. Before I go, into that I will tell you that this very question which is under discussion was under consideration in the case of Regina v. Gibson in a Crown case reserved. There it was said, "The authorities leave me no room to doubt that the defendants in conspiring as they did to injure Buscombe by depriving him of his employment were guilty of an indictable misdemeanour and I am clear that what they thus conspired to do was not for the purposes of their trade combination within the meaning of the statute." There is a case upon the Canadian statutes, a case which is binding upon me, a case which I entirely agree with. and which I tell you is the law.

In Canada while a conspiracy in restraint of trade has always been unlawful, the purposes of a trade union are not by reason of any restraint of trade unlawful, within the meaning of the law against conspiracy in restraint of trade. That, as I have said before, applied to the lawful object, in the lawful prosecution of the lawful pur-

poses of their trade union, and not what they unlawfully do for some purpose for which trade unions were not established at all. No prosecution shall be maintainable against any person for conspiring to do any act or cause any act to be done for the purpose of any combination between masters and workmen for regulating or altering the relations between any persons being masters or workmen or the conduct of any master or workman, in or in respect of his business or employment or contract of employment or service, unless such act is an offence punishable by statute.

Gentlemen, any offence you have to consider here tonight is an offence punishable by statute. Seditious conspiracy in an offence punishable by statute. Now, unless under our laws it be for their own reasonable protection as a lawful combination of workmen, of which, the jury shall be the judge, it is a serious offence to conspire, combine or agree unlawfully to unduly limit facilities for transporting, supplying and storing commodities or to restrain trade. I am reading to you now from certain statutes of our own, which deal with unlawful conspiracy by workmen in restraint of trade.

It is also an offence for a workman to break any contract made by him knowing, or having reasonable cause to believe that the probable consequences of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to endanger human life or to cause serious bodily injury, or to expose valuable property, whether real or personal, to destruction or serious injury.

Do you understand that? That is to say, if a workman under contract leaves his contract, and the probable consequences are any of these things as I have mentioned, that is an offence. If anyone aids, abets, counsels and procures him to do it, he is guilty of the offence. If several conspire to aid and abet, they are guilty of the offence. If the offence becomes large, of wide import, of national import and it is likely to excite breaches of the peace and discontent, it is sedition and seditious conspiracy.

It is also an offence for a striker or strike sympathizer with a view to preventing anyone from working or to drive any workman from his employment, or to use violence to such person or to his wife or to injure his property; or to intimidate such persons, or his wife, or children, by threats of using violence, to him, to them, or to his property, to wrongfully and without lawful authority with one or more other persons persistently follow and to wrongfully and without lawful authority watch and beset.

How can a general sympathetic strike, the object of which is to tie up all industry, to make it so inconvenient for others that they will cause force to be brought about, to stop the delivery of food, to call off the bread, to call off the milk, to tie up the wheels of industry, and the wheels of transportation from Coast to Coast, to lower the water pressure in a city like Winnipeg, which since the establishment of modern improvements has no other way in which to carry on its life; how can such a strike be carried on successfully without a breach of all these matters? Without violence, intimidation, without watching and besetting? How can you say if you exercise your commonsense that those in charge of a strike like that

did not intend those things should follow. And gentlemen, all those things followed. You heard about the Canada Bread. No striker may trespass upon my property now to do what they did at the Canada Bread. Is it likely to commit a breach of the peace? Gentlemen, if you and I were the Canada Bread, it would have caused a breach of the peace I think.

Are those things likely to cause breaches of the peace? Are they likely to cause widespread breaches of the peace? Are they likely to put class against class? When the lead is taken out of the club of the policemen.

The Industrial Disputes Act, insofar as it affects the laborers to which it applies, and that is pretty wide, provides for penalties for a breach of its provisions; a breach of its provisions is punishable by Statute. It was passed for the purpose of making a strike a last resort. It is a law. Those affected by that statute who go out before the matter is dealt with by that statute are guilty of a breach of the statute and are parties to an unlawful strike. And those who aid, abet, assist, counsel and procure are likewise guilty of an offence against that Statute, and guilty of taking part in an unlawful strike. And be it unlawful that way or be it unlawful any other way so long as it is unlawful, those who take part in an unlawful general sympathetic strike of that class, can hardly hope to take the benefit of the clauses in the code which exempt an honest striker, honestly striking, in an honest strike, from punishment.

Generally the striker is for his individual acts subject to the criminal law of the land. Except by peaceable means he must not interfere with those who want to work. He must not with others congregate in large numbers for the purpose of inspiring terror in those who want to work. He must not use violence. He must not threaten. He must not use seditious words. He must not conspire seditiously or be a member of an unlawful assembly. He must not riot. Although it is said in almost every jurisdiction that men have now a right to strike it must be remembered that this arises only because they are exempted from punishment when they are pursuing an honest endeavor to improve their own conditions. If this endeavor tends towards the destruction of the fabric of our constitution the strike becomes at once unlawful and seditious.

It must be remembered that the word "strike" in the exempting clauses is limited to those cases where a combination of workmen quit in a peaceable manner for the purpose of bettering their condition; and where they remain peaceable and reasonable during the strike and do not unduly annoy and coerce or interfere with the rights of others, in such a manner as to restrain others in carrying on their work and occupation according to their lawful rights; and so long as the strikers remain within the express statutory limits of their exemption, they will be innocent. Otherwise they will find themselves subject to the criminal laws.

There is no right in this country under our laws so sacred as the right of personal liberty. No right of labor or capital, about which there has been so much declamation, is so sacred or so carefully guarded by the law of the land as is that of personal liberty.

But personal liberty is not liberty of the body only. It is also liberty of the mind and will; and the liberty of a man's mind and will to say how he will bestow himself and his means, his talents and his industry. This is as much a subject of the law's protection as is that of his body.

Generally speaking, the way in which people endeavor to control the operation of the minds of others is by putting restraints on their bodies and therefore we have not so many instances in which the liberty of the mind is vindicated as we have of the liberty of the body being vindicated.

To come in large numbers in certain manners and in certain ways; to say nothing, to pass on, and to come in large numbers again and say nothing and pass on; that may reasonably affect the mind of even an ordinary man; just the stopping and looking and passing on. It may cause a breach of the peace. These large numbers would not be there for the purpose of peaceful persuasion, not large numbers, not at all. It is not necessary to have large numbers to peacefully persuade.

To walk around, for instance, to a place where people are employed in large numbers and to "boo"—gentlemen of the jury, as much terror may be inspired through that as by two or three fighting chaps coming along with bludgeons. Take it from me, in strikes you can incite terror without hitting a man over the head. You can incite terror of starvation; you can incite terror of thirst. Is that not quite as effective as inciting by bodily violence. Your stomach will bring you quicker than a crack on the head sometimes. If it is possible that picketing can be done in this country, then the lawful method of picketing is so ineffective that it is a reasonable inference that in a strike of this class unlawful means would be intended to be applied.

Sometimes it has a deterring effect upon people's minds by exposing them to have their motions watched, and to encounter black looks. Annoyance of this kind of picketing will not be permitted.

You heard what Mr. Bird said about Adam Smith. Quite true. I am going to tell you the same thing. But I am going to give you a correlative duty with it. Every person has a right under the law as between himself and his fellow men and his fellow subjects to full freedom of disposing of his own labor or his own capital according to his will. It follows that every other person is subject to the correlative duty arising therefrom, and is prohibited from any obstruction to the fullest exercise of this right which can be made compatible with the exercise of similar rights of others. Calling workmen out involves serious consequences to such of them as do not obey. Going into the Canada Bread and ordering those men out, who were not members of a union might have caused a most serious consequence in that shop.

A combination to prevent others from working is a very different thing, and is prima facie unlawful. Not to work in itself is lawful, so long as one keeps out of the poorhouse but to frighten men not to work, when they are willing to work, is another thing. "They

did not break any of your windows. They did not break any of your doors." "They did not break any of your machinery." "They did not hit you on the head." No. Is it for a moment suggested that it is necessary to stop at that to make picketing unlawful. If it were I have told you how far afield that is. Remember McNab. Peaceful picketing! Peaceful picketing. Why the strike without the picket that is not peaceful would be of no more use to the unlawful labor man than the warrior without his gun.

I must tell you of the law of unlawful assemblies, because that also is charged. A breach of the peace has always been an offence against British law, and a conspiracy to bring about a breach of the peace by strikes is indictable.

There may be an apprehension of injuries to be caused by a breach of the peace, and yet which does not proceed directly and intentionally from the individuals. They proceed rather from a multitude of persons who profess to be engaged in some common purpose pointing perhaps in another direction. Such are unlawful and tumultuous assemblies and riots which are not directly aimed at anyone of the bystanders, and yet that tends more or less inevitably to bring the same kind of intimidation and terror to bear upon him as if they were so aimed. The injury to one or more individuals is the same, but those engaged in the proceeding being intent upon another object, bring about their evil effects in a somewhat more circuitous way. The peaceably disposed citizen is, however, equally wounded and made uneasy in the enjoyment of his security. These being questions of fact must be submitted in all cases to the judgment of the jury.

It is not possible for a judge to lay down as a matter of law the precise boundary between lawful and unlawful assembly. If it should appear that a meeting was called or got up and that persons were encouraged to meet for the purpose of hearing seditious language, language exciting such persons to violence and to resistance of the law, there will be no doubt that meeting is an illegal meeting, and that all who took part in the proceedings will be guilty of attending an illegal public meeting.

Meeting for the purpose of discussing and entertaining propositions relating to the public government of the country will be unlawful if it tends directly to supersede the form of government already constituted. Where a meeting entertains designs of coercing the executive government, and has the effect of causing others in the neighborhood to reasonably apprehend a breach of the peace, such meeting becomes unlawful.

If workmen unsatisfied with the exercise of their own right to withhold their own labor, assume the power of interfering with that right of exercising their discretion upon the same point which others possess, interfering with personal violence or by threats and intimidation to compel others who are perfectly willing to continue to labor to desist from their work and against their will to add themselves to the number of the discontented party, it brings about a condition so utterly unreasonable in itself, so injurious to society, so detrimental to the community, and so oppressive against those who wish

to work, that it is a gross and flagrant violation of the law, and the offence of riot is complete in point of law.

It is difficult to lay down the precise legal definitions of what constitutes an unlawful and riotous meeting, but it may be safely said that an assembly of a great number of persons which from its general appearance and accompanying circumstances is likely to excite terror and alarm and consternation or a reasonable apprehension of a public breach of the peace is generally criminal and unlawful. All persons who form an assembly of this kind disregarding its probable effect, and all who give countenance and support to it are criminal parties.

Having thus stated the general law, you will find it codified as follows, insofar, as, I may say, it is possible for man to codify it. An unlawful assembly, as nearly as it may be defined, is "an assembly of three or more persons who with intent to carry out any common purpose assemble in such manner or so conduct themselves when assembled as to cause persons in the neighborhood of such assemblies to fear on reasonable grounds that the persons so assembled will disturb the peace tumultuously or will by such assembly needlessly and without reasonable occasion provoke other persons to disturb the peace tumultuously." Persons lawfully assembled may become an unlawful assembly if they conduct themselves with a common purpose in such a manner as would have made their assembling unlawful had they assembled in that manner for that purpose. That means having assembled lawfully, if they get into a riot, such as I have mentioned above, it may become unlawful.

A riot, as nearly as may be defined by the Code, is an unlawful assembly which has begun to disturb the peace tumultuously.

When cognizant of the design and aiding or assisting in its execution anyone in the crowd is criminally responsible for all that is done which would likely result of the design. They cannot shelter themselves under the excuse that the matter was carried further than they intended. The reason for this is not only because of the impossibility of distinguishing the degree of guilty intention, but also because of their neglect to perform the undoubted duty incumbent upon the citizen—to put a stop to the disturbance.

It is a rule of law that all who are members of a riotous crowd are principals. Prima facie what each does, although perhaps on the spur of the moment, is admitted to be impliedly authorized by all the rest. It becomes an ambulatory partnership for the time being that binds all together in one common liability and makes each answerable for the wrongful acts and mischief done by the others.

The unlawfulness of riot may be emphasized in many ways. The object may be unlawful in the first instance, such as to damage property, to commit a breach of the peace, or it may be lawful and it may become unlawful by the use of threats and intimidation by which force may be provoked, or by the active use of force.

Where persons are assembled to display their numbers and power the offence if anything is rather that of unlawful assembly than of riot.

Now, gentlemen of the jury, coming back to some of these meetings, as I said before, some of these resolutions are in no sense unlawful in themselves. With regard to the Soviet, and with regard to Russia, we should have no objections to what a man thinks about that, so long as he does not intend to convey to others the desirability of the institution of such a government and such a constitution in this country. Let him think what he likes about it in Russia, I don't care. Let him think here what he likes about it in Russia, we don't care. But when he commences to constantly attack his own system, and to constantly put before the "plugs" the desirability of the Russian system, then exercising your commonsense, if you so desire you might infer that he is trying to introduce into this country that system. Do you like it? Would you resist it? Would it be liable to cause a breach of the peace? Well, if it would in that public sense, if it would be liable to cause a breach of His Majesty's peace amongst the public citizens, it would be seditious. That is for the jury.

Political action. I have not got any further with that than I was at the beginning. But judging from that literature gentlemen of the jury, do you believe that that means action by ballot. That is entirely for you to say. But you may remember also that there are other classes of political action than action by the ballot. The material and literature filed may itself suggest to you what is meant when speaking of political action.

Collective bargaining. We were not assisted much with that. If collective bargaining means that thereby the workers of Canada may inforce upon the employer a recognition in the sense in which it is used, of agencies, for the purpose of making contracts for their men with the employers; and if such a condition of affairs will make it more easy for those who control or who desire to control labor for unlawful purposes, to tie up industry from Coast to Coast, to give as much inconvenience to the general public as possible, to make a strike efficient, as has been defined here. And if that was the intention, gentlemen, of urging and demanding this collective bargaining from the governments, so that a revolution by a strike might be brought about more easily, it was seditious to make these demands in that way. But you will remember in connection with that, gentlemen, that that might have not been the design. It is for you to say whether or not that was the design.

In all these matters—each individual matter that comes up to you that is material to the case, you will in common justice to the accused, give the prisoner the benefit of the doubt on any of these points.

Free speech. "No prosecutions in England for seditious conspiracy." "Speeches in Hyde Park." "Speeches" in other parks. Time and condition—you must always think of these things. Ten years ago we would have laughed at seditious words. They wouldnt have been likely to have occasioned a disturbance of the peace. I do not mean that we would have laughed at all classes of seditious works, far be it, but we would have laughed at many words that we would not consider seditious, and many acts—pass it off—no likelihood of it having illegal effect. But when your nerves are in ten-

sion, when the country has been through the throes of trouble and of war, and when you are coming home from Europe without a leg or without an arm, and you find men that are described as being seventy-five per cent. foreigners being addressed by Britishers, whom we might say at least ought to know better, foreigners who are making wages greater than that man without his arm has made for the last four years, and who perhaps are saying "Your constitution under which you fight is no good; your whole system is wrong; you do not know how to run your country. We are the ones that can. Look at Russia.

Well, I do not know how you feel about it.

Besides, sedition, there is the crime of nuisance. Everyone who commits an unlawful act which endangers the lives, safety, or the health of the public, or which occasions injury to the person of any individual, is guilty of an offence called "common nuisance," and is liable to one year's imprisonment or a fine. This you will observe is not conspiracy. When you reach this charge you may eliminate any consideration of the law of conspiracy, and consider whether he is guilty of some offence which endangered the lives, safety and health of the public.

I am not aware of any evidence of actual injury to the person of an individual, but there is evidence upon which you may find some of such acts or omissions of the strikers caused injury.

Referring to omissions. Those who had contracts to do any of these things, and who broke their contracts you might find guilty of omissions, because after all these public duties may only be delegated, not performed by the municipalities or corporations that are supplying stuff that is material to the health and safety of the community. It was the duty of those men from the electric light works to replace those wires. That is one instance. And if not performing their duties those wires caused danger to life in the community, they were omitting a duty that it was their legal duty to perform.

If this strike was brought about in such a way as to cause danger to the public safety and the public health, it becomes a nuisance, and those responsible for it are guilty of a common nuisance.

You will remember the limitation of the Code which permits certain acts to be done by combination in pursuit of what might reasonably be to further the cause of labor. You must not mix that up with what I am telling you now.

It never was the intention to limit strikes so that they could not carry on such things as were reasonably necessary. But gentlemen, is it reasonably necessary to inconvenience the whole community? Is it necessary to call off the bread, to call off the milk, to shut off the water, threaten to shut off the water, and all those things. The "Strike Bulletin" says notices were coming in of numerous cases of starvation of babies. Surely it cannot be contended for a moment that such conditions are within the limits of exemptions

from punishment prescribed by the Code. That strike on these lines may become a common nuisance. Scavenging, water flushing, all those things.

In this respect remember that it is now the law in Canada and embodied in our Code, that there are no accessories, but on the principle of aiding and abetting, procuring and counselling, all are now guilty as principals.

Now, gentlemen of the jury, I must tell you that you will consider every count separately, in the same manner as though you were considering seven different indictments. Some of these counts may hereafter be found bad in law. That sometimes happens. I am going to allow a reserve case on matters of law for the consideration of the Court of Appeal. I have been asked to do that. The extent of it has not yet been disclosed, I had hoped that the matter of the sufficiency of the counts would have been settled in this way before trial. But counsel for the defence, quite within his rights, decided otherwise. In any event, it is the law that you must find on each count separately. You will please do so carefully, and give your verdict on each count, guilty or not guilty, as though you were considering one indictment at a time. On each count you may find the prisoner guilty or not guilty or you may disagree. If, when you retire, you all have an abiding conviction of guilt on any count, there should be a verdict upon such count as guilty. If you think him not guilty as you come to each count, you put opposite your verdict "not guilty." But if some of you think him not guilty and the remainder have a reasonable doubt, of course, the verdict will still be "not guilty," because as long as one has a reasonable doubt, he votes for "not guilty." If all of you have reasonable doubt, there should be a verdict of not guilty. But if you cannot agree, then unless your minds are brought to an agreement by argument based upon the evidence and which appeals to your reason, it is the duty of each man to abide by his own conclusions. Because the accused is entitled to a "disagreement" if you really cannot agree, as much as he is to any other verdict.

If you have reasonable doubt, you should give the prisoner the benefit of that doubt. But, now remember this—many a jury goes wrong on the question of reasonable doubt. Merely conjecture, "maybe," "perhaps" that kind of thing is not a reasonable doubt. For illustration, if there is a lack of proof of some point which you may think is material, or if you are doubtful of the truth or reliability of some material for the Crown, or if there is a link required and it has not been completed up, or if there is some reason upon which you can, so to speak, put your finger and justify to your conscience and to each other, then you may justify a reasonable doubt. But if you have no reasonable doubt in that sense, if from the evidence you are satisfied and have an abiding conviction of guilt, then unless you find the prisoner guilty you commit a breach of your office and your duty, and set yourself up against the constitution. If, on the other hand, you do not arrive at a conviction of guilt, and find him guilty, you again commit a crime against the constitution. The constitution of this country is excellent. It has handed down to us

great blessings, and the enjoyment of those blessings finally and ultimately depends upon the conduct of juries. It is with them by their verdicts to establish their fellowmen, if innocent, in the enjoyment of their rights. Any offence against the constitution of this country, is an offence against the people. It is for you to say if those rights have been invaded. That same constitution which has left it to you to say in what cases there has been an invasion of those rights, also binds all honorable men to accept your verdict as an honest verdict, and as part of the administration of British justice. You occupy a high judicial office, you are put upon your honor, so to speak. You must deal fairly between the country and the individual, and when you give your verdict, be it guilty or not guilty, or if you disagree, no one may abuse you or charge you with having acted unjustly or corruptly. You will hew to the line and let the chips fall where they may. If you find upon due consideration of the case that the accused meant no real mischief to the country you should find him not guilty. And in that short crisp sentence you go quite as far as in the John Burns case. But you must not allow sentiment or friendly feeling to influence your verdict. You should at all times remember the solemn judicial function it is your privilege to perform. If you find the accused guilty and feel that he is entitled to leniency, you may recommend him to mercy. And if you feel that you are justified in making such recommendations it will have the due consideration of the Court. Now, gentlemen, you may retire and consider your verdict. (Jury retires).

MR. CASSIDY: May your lordship please, there are some objections which I am about to take in regard to your charge. I think perhaps the jury ought to be here while the objections are being taken.

THE COURT: No, I think not. I will hear your objections. Some of them I might not agree with.

MR. CASSIDY: The first objection is generally to your lordship's charge, that whereas the charge here is one of conspiracy, that is to say that the accused combined together to carry into execution a seditious intention, to wit, these different things which are charged in the indictment, relatively to the government, administration of justice, the setting of class against class, your lordship put the case to the jury upon the matters set out as overt acts, as if those matters were substantially charges against the accused, for which they might each of them be found guilty.

THE COURT: If I have done that I will tell them not. I thought of that when I was delivering it, and it did not seem to be so. I thought I made that plain. I will use every endeavor to make that plain.

MR. CASSIDY: I would like that made plain to the jury.

THE COURT: I certainly told them about that.

MR. CASSIDY: Your lordship charged the jury in one or two places that relatively to their words, words spoken, that they must be taken to have intended the natural consequences of their words.

THE COURT: In so far as this case is concerned I do not agree with Cave, J.

MR. CASSIDY: In the Gesinger case the whole of the authorities upon that point were gone into by the learned judges in appeal, and it was held that—

THE COURT: I do not agree with that. In this case, and I will reiterate it, I asked the question: "If, however, you find upon due consideration of the case that the accused meant no real mischief to the country, you should find him not guilty." That is a good deal clearer than the Burns case, and a good deal clearer than any case I have found.

MR. CASSIDY: I quite follow that if it had stood alone, with the other observations.

THE COURT: I think I had to use the other observations so that they will have the right to say, this is upon the evidence, and upon the overt acts, what they did. I take this to be the proper way to state it to the jury. not the Gesinger way or the John Burns way. If you ask me to reiterate this I will do it. After all if a man puts a match into a bag of powder he can hardly say he did not expect it to go off.

MR. CASSIDY: I think the effect of what your lordship told the jury in one place was that if the accused Russell, although not guilty of conspiracy with the other named defendants in the manner set out in the indictment, yet if he was in conspiracy with anybody else that that would be sufficient.

THE COURT: I certainly did not tell them that. If you have doubt about that, any real substantial doubt, I will talk to them about it. But I had no intention of telling them that. I cannot recall my having told them that. What I did tell them though was his actions with those might be evidence of his conspiracy with them, but I have tried to make it clear; I think I did make it clear that they must find two of those charged had a conspiracy brought home to them.

MR. CASSIDY: My lord, I do not really know of any authority on it, yet at the same time for the purpose of this case I contend that the conspiracy between the named accused here must be made out; it must be made out against them all.

THE COURT: I would not care to charge them on that question. There has been note of that taken.

MR. CASSIDY: Your lordship charged that the accused, whom I think your lordship named for the purpose of what you said the "Reds," had control of the Trades and Labor Council, meaning to convey as I understand it, to the jury, that the accused in point of fact were in control of the labor unions through the Trades and Labor Council. Whereas the meaning of what the accused said in the witness box, and the meaning of all the evidence relatively to the "Reds" in relation to the Trades and Labor Council was that the "Reds" or the radicals had beaten the political labor party,

known as the Winnipeg labor party, many of whom were in the Trades and Labor Council. I think that was the meaning of that, and not that the Reds as revolutionists or anything of that kind had obtained control of the Trades and Labor Council.

THE COURT: Well, I did intend to tell them; I tried to tell them that the red element had knocked hell out of the labor party.

MR. CASSIDY: The meaning of that word "labor party" was very ambiguous, and it was explained that it did not mean that the reds had obtained control of the trades and labor council as an organization; it meant that in the internecine wars between the political parties that the Reds had become supreme.

THE COURT: It appealed to me that what was meant was that the Reds had got control of the Trades and Labor Council. That is what I intended to tell the jury.

MR. CASSIDY: The simple meaning, your lordship, in regard to the different political parties is that the radicals had beaten the political party known as the Winnipeg Labor Party, and that they were to no longer utilize the funds and the opportunities of the Trades and Labor Council for the purpose of forwarding their political interests; that is what I understand the effect of the evidence to be.

THE COURT: I will let that go.

MR. CASSIDY: And there is no evidence that we had insinuated ourselves into the Trades and Labor Council in order to utilize it for any of these seditious purposes.

THE COURT: That is the trouble of dealing with any evidence at all.

MR. CASSIDY: I think there is no evidence—

THE COURT: No evidence of the Reds being in control?

MR. CASSIDY: Not in the sense, my lord, of the radicals or reds, as they called themselves, being in control of the labor unions in any way. The labor unions were in control of themselves. Of these particular men some of them held office and some of them did not. Within the labor unions there was always going on a political fight between the different political parties, until the radicals came along.

THE COURT: I will tell them what you say.

MR. ANDREWS: Mr. Cassidy had an opportunity of saying to the jury what he wanted. Now the facts are quite clear.

THE COURT: He has a right to ask me to give an explanation. I am going to give it.

MR. ANDREWS: My lord, if you are making an explanation you might bear in mind that not only did they—

THE COURT: If you have any objections to my charge, Mr. Andrews, you might also ask me to tell the jury.

MR. ANDREWS: Very good, my lord.

MR. CASSIDY: A great deal of your lordship's charge was taken up by passing strictures upon socialism, and upon the accused and the other defendants who happened to be socialists, because of the doctrines of the Socialist party, which in my view must have greatly prejudiced the jury. Whereas in point of fact the Socialist party are not on trial here at all. The only way in which anything can be used against the accused, whether written in connection with the socialist party or in any other way or any writing of his own, is that it shall show a conspiracy of the kind charged; letters written to one of the other conspirators which clearly show no other purpose can be attributed to it than a part of the design set out in the indictment, namely, to set class against class.

THE COURT: I was very careful about that Mr. Cassidy, I told them such socialists as Mr. Russell and those who agreed with his ideas.

MR. CASSIDY: And then there were a good many matters which your lordship put to the jury based upon the propaganda of socialism, namely. that one of their suggestions or tenets, as I understand it, is that they do not recognize nationalism and patriotism, but desire to have substituted no geographical or national lines. And then your lordship quoted the lines, "Breathes there a man"—The jury would be very much affected by an observation of that kind, and yet at the same time the accused are not charged with anything of that sort.

That is a generality. A man may have an idea that there might be an economic reconstruction along their own national lines or whatever you like, and yet at the same time he might commit no act or do anything at all of the nature charged in the indictment, that is to say, about these things with regard to the government or public ownership. I think myself it is most prejudicial to the case of the accused to have that matter introduced to them in that form.

I also must take objection to your lordship for introducing to the attention of the jury the clauses of the code about aiding and abetting and so on, because these clauses have only to do with substantive offences, that is to say you can charge a man as a principal to a substantive offence if he has aided and abetted and carried it out, he is accessory before the fact, but the notion of aiding and abetting has got nothing whatever to do with the crime of conspiracy.

It is perfectly true you may use the words aid and abet, that is to say, if they have an agreement or common design then they utilize the things they have found to have been done and the rest for the purpose of indicating that such a design exists. What your lordship says is outside of the conspiracy which is charged here. Your lordship formed in your mind a notion of a conspiracy on the part of the

accused to do all the different kind of things which are set out in the indictment. such as these things about food, such as about breaking contracts.

THE COURT: Did not I then go on and say, that those who aided and abetted or conspired to aid were guilty of conspiracy and if that extended far enough to become an unlawful general strike, creating inconvenience and danger to the public, affecting public health, and danger to life, it will become a seditious conspiracy.

MR. CASSIDY: I think your lordship did say something to that effect, and that is just what I am objecting to because a conspiracy, for instance, or a combination to induce people to break their contracts by which they are bound under laws of the statutes of Manitoba, or to break the Trades Disputes Act, and the rest—these are not things which are charged against us. It is perfectly true those could be charged against any persons who are guilty of them.

THE COURT: Those are charged.

MR. CASSIDY: None of these defendants ever broke any contracts. They did not come out contrary to the Trades Disputes Act it is not so charged. What is charged is overt acts showing that we were—indicating the conspiracy set out; overt acts showing all sorts of activities in connection with the strike. Some of the activities being that people who are under contracts should not have gone out on strike, did go on strike, and according to the evidence of this case voted to go on strike and did go on strike, notwithstanding they were acting contrary to the Trades Disputes Act. These cannot be put as substantive charges against us. nor can it be imagined that the particular people who did that are the people charged in this indictment, or that we are principals with those people aiding and abetting them, nothing of the kind; it is not a charge before the jury in any sense of the word.

THE COURT: You are making it so involved.

MR. CASSIDY: It is not easy, but the pith and substance of the thing is, are the overt acts which took place as a result of the strike attributable to us. Now then, on top of that the strike is attributed to us, whereas the evidence is that the strike was not attributable to us. It is perfectly plain that the only thing that these accused did, and the accused in the box did, was as a person interested in trade unionism. He assisted in getting up a scheme of greater combination so as to enable the different unions to act at the same time, to act simultaneously, but the nature of the organization was, even in the O.B.U.—which did not come into existence until after the strike started—but even in regard to the O.B.U. the accused, and none of these people, had any control at all. They were simply sent up as delegates from the different locals in order to make suggestions, and they did make suggestions—when I say they made suggestions, it was suggested really to them, that they should be the instruments of taking a vote in a certain way, and that they did take that vote, and these people voted themselves out on strike. Now it is suggested that it is the result of a conspiracy on our part to get

out an unlawful general strike, to bring about disorder and the rest, and then it goes on, whereas I submit your lordship ought to tell the jury there is no evidence of that.

I would like your lordship to put to the jury in this way, that the whole of the acts and conduct of the accused in this matter was accounted for by their relationships to trade unionism, and since they can be accounted for in that way, it is not to be attributed to them that they had an ulterior criminal design. It is not reasonable in a criminal case to attribute to a man a criminal design when the whole of his acts are merely a course of conduct in connection with a labor organization.

THE COURT: Call the jury back. (Jury returned to court room.)

Gentlemen of the jury: There are two or three matters that Mr. Cassidy is afraid you might have been misled in my charge. Now, I do not think that you were misled because I think you understood what I said, and I was pretty careful in my statements, but I do not want any injustice to arise insofar as the accused is concerned, because of any misunderstanding at all of the words that I used.

In the first place Mr. Cassidy was afraid—I might say in making his objections Mr. Cassidy is doing only what is right—he was afraid that because I talked so much about the overt acts that you had got it into your minds that it was those overt acts that the accused was to be tried for instead of the conspiracy, of which the overt acts are simply the particulars, so to speak. I don't think you were misled on that. I think you understood it. And to find the accused guilty on those first six counts you must find him guilty of conspiracy, and you must find it with some one or more of those who are mentioned in the indictment.

MR. CASSIDY: Your lordship used the word "particulars."

THE COURT: Now, you understand he is not being tried for those overt acts.

Now, that dealt with those of the points mentioned by Mr. Cassidy. Then there was the matter of the Reds being in control. Well, gentlemen, you have heard the evidence, and I do not wish to go into that at all any further than this, I made my charge, and Mr. Cassidy thought it would not be right that I should not mention to you the contention of the accused that it was not the Trades and Labor Council or party that he knocked hell out of, but some political labor party that was there at that Trades and Labor hall.

MR. CASSIDY: It was not a labor union.

THE COURT: You heard the evidence, you heard Winning, Russell and you heard Robinson. It is for you to say what the evidence really is.

There is another matter, a very essential matter in the crime of sedition, and that is the matter of intent. I thought I said enough about that both one way and the other so you would fairly understand.

MR. CASSIDY: About the socialism. I said nothing about the intent.

THE COURT: Well, you did in the earlier part. I wish the jury to be sure of it. I must tell you you must take the law from me in regard to that, that a man's acts and a man's deeds, under certain circumstances will disclose his intent, and they may be such according to the circumstances from which you would find it almost impossible to find other than guilty intent. That is the law of sedition, and it is also the law of sedition and you are entitled to give it full force that you must consider the deeds and the acts according to the circumstances and according to the environment, and then comes the latter part which I have inserted into my charge, and to which I called your special attention, that if after considering all those things you find upon due consideration of the case that the accused meant no real mischief to his country—if you find that, why then you should acquit him. Because, as I said,—it is coming back to me now, I think it was well covered—we don't put men with innocent minds behind the bars if we know it.

With regard to socialism. Mr. Cassidy was afraid I had misled you there, and really gentlemen, I am not making any play upon words. I am not in very fit physical condition at the present moment and it may be that I did not make it quite as clear as I should have made it, and it may be that I misled you in regard to that. I don't think I did, but I don't want to leave any wrong impression in your mind.

Socialism is not on trial here at all. but such, socialism as was expressed by Russell and by those with whom he associated himself, and with them you may for the purpose of this case arrive at such connection as is necessary to render their evidence material to the case—I say such socialistic principles as that, are the socialistic principles to which I referred in my charge. Not such socialistic principles as an idealist may have in his own mind or may under certain circumstances try to persuade others peacefully to accept.

I think I told you that that class of socialistic utterances—you had a great deal of material and a great deal of evidence in the shape of pamphlets and literature—and it was that class of socialism, and those having ideas such as that to whom I referred, when I used the words of Scott.

As to the matter of patriotism, you have heard the evidence you have heard that the first allegiance, and so on, and so on. You have heard the evidence and I do not wish to discuss the evidence. It is the class of literature that you will find in the exhibits before you, as to the general expressions of the Socialist party.

You may now retire. It would be useless for us to wait, so we will all go home. I do not think I will come here before 11 o'clock, unless you think you will be ready before that time. What time would you like me to come?

FOREMAN OF THE JURY: We were nearly satisfied we might be ready by 10 o'clock.

THE COURT. Then we will adjourn to 10.30 a.m. tomorrow.
(Jury retired, and court adjourned accordingly).

As in comparison with foregoing Address the following is printed.

CAVE J., IN REX vs. BURNS, 1886
Central Criminal Court, London, England

Cave, J., in charging the jury, said; "It is now my duty to explain to you the rules of law which ought to govern you in considering this case, and also to summarize shortly for your benefit the evidence which has been given, so that you may have the less difficulty in applying the principles of the law to that evidence. There is undoubtedly no question at law of the right of meeting in public, and the right of free discussion is also perfectly unlimited, with the exception, of course, that it must not be used for the purpose of inciting to a breach of the peace or to a violation of the law. The law upon the question of what is seditious and what is not is to be found stated very clearly in a book by Stephen, J., who has undoubtedly a greater knowledge of criminal law than any other judge who sits upon the bench, and what he has said upon the subject of sedition was submitted to the other judges who some time back were engaged with him in drafting a criminal code, and upon their report the commissioners say that his statement of law appears to them to be stated accurately as it exists at present. So that the statement has not only the authority of Stephen, J., but also the authority of the judges who were associated with him in preparing the criminal code. This is what he says on seditious words and libels; "Every one commits a misdemeanor who publishes verbally or otherwise words or any documents with a seditious intention. If the matter so published consists of words spoken, the offence is called the speaking of seditious words." This is what we have to deal with today. "If the matter so published is contained in anything capable of being a libel the offence is called the publication of seditious libel." (p). The next question that one asks is this; There are two offences, one of the offence of speaking seditious words, and the other offence is the publication of a seditious libel. It is obviously important to know what is meant by the word "sedition," and Stephen, J., proceeds in a subsequent article to give a definition of it. He says "A seditious intention is an intention to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against the person of His Majesty, His Heirs, or successors, or the government of and constitution of the United Kingdom, as by law established, or either House of Parliament, or the administration of justice, or to excite His Majesty's subject's to attempt otherwise than by lawful means the alteration of any matter in Church or State as by law established, or to raise discontent or disaffection amongst his Majesty's subjects or to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes of such subjects." Stephen, J., goes on to point out what sort of intention is not seditious. "An intention to shew that Her Majesty has been misled or mistaken in her measures, or to point out errors or defects in the government or constitution as by law established, with a view to their reformation, or to excite Her Majesty's subjects to attempt by law means the alteration of any matter in Church or State as by law established, or to point out, in order to their removal, matters which are producing, or have a tendency to produce feelings of hatred and ill-will between classes of Her Majesty's subjects, is not a seditious intention." So there he gives in those two classes what

is and what is not sedition. Now, the seditious intentions which it is alleged existed in the minds of the prisoners in this case are; First, an intention to excite Her Majesty's subjects to attempt otherwise than by lawful means the alteration of some matter in Church or State as by law established; and secondly, to promote feelings of hostility between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects. This is necessarily somewhat vague and general, particularly the second portion, which says it is seditious intention to intend to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects. I should rather prefer to say, that the intention to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects may be a seditious intention according to circumstances, and of those circumstances, the Jury are the judges; and I put this question to the Attorney General in the course of the case: "Suppose a man were to write a letter to the papers attacking bakers and butchers generally with references to the high prices of bread and meat and imputing to them that they were in a conspiracy to keep up high prices, would that be a seditious libel being written and not spoken?" To which the Attorney General gave me the only answer which it was clearly possible to give under the circumstances: "That must depend upon the circumstances." I, sitting here as a Judge, cannot go nearer than that. Any intention to excite ill-will and hostility between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects may be a seditious intention: whether in a particular case this is a seditious intention or not, the jury must judge and decide in their own minds, taking into consideration the whole of the circumstances of the case. You may not unnaturally say that this is a somewhat vague statement of the law and ask by what principle shall we be governed in deciding when an intention to excite ill-will and hostility is seditious and when it is not. For your guidance I will read to you what was said by Fitzgerald, J., in the case of R. v. Sullivan (r) which was a prosecution for a seditious libel, the only difference between the two cases being of course that while seditious speeches are spoken a seditious libel is written, but in each of them the adjective seditious occurs, and what is a seditious intention in one case will equally be a seditious intention in the other. He said, "As such prosecutions are unusual I think it necessary in the first instance to define sedition and point out what is a seditious libel. Sedition is a crime against society, nearly allied to that of treason and infrequently precedes treason by a short interval." It has been very truly said that there is no such offence as sedition itself but it takes the form of a seditious language either written or spoken and it is in that sense of course that the learned Judge's words are intended to be understood. "Sedition itself is a comprehensive term, and it embraces all those practices whether by word, deed, or writing, which are calculated to disturb the tranquillity of the State, and lead ignorant persons to endeavour to subvert the government and the laws of the Empire. The objects of sedition generally are to induce discontent and insurrection, and to stir up opposition to the government, and bring the administration of justice into contempt; and the very tendency of sedition is to incite the people to insurrection and rebellion. Sedition has been described as disloyalty in action, and the law considers as seditious all those practices which have for their object to discontent or disaffection, to create public disturbances, or to lead to civil war;

to bring into hatred or contempt the sovereign or the government, the laws or constitution of the realm, and generally all endeavors to promote public disorder." Then a little further on he says: "Words may be of a seditious character. but they might arise from sudden heat, be heard only by a few, create no lasting impression, and differ in malignity and permanent effects from writing." Sir Michael Foster said of the latter (s): "Seditious writings are permanent things, and if published they scatter the poison far and wide. They are acts of deliberation, and capable of satisfactory proof, and not ordinarily liable to misconstruction; at least they are submitted to the judgment of the court naked and undisguised, as they came out of the author's hands." That points to the nature of the distinction between seditious writings and words, and also points to the difference in the effect which they have, and the extent to which that effect goes, though, of course, in regard to seditious words, there may be a very great distinction between words uttered to two or three companions in social intercourse, and words uttered to a large multitude."

That language the learned judge spoke when he was charging the grand jury upon the subject. When he came to sum up the case to the jury, who were actually trying it, after a true bill had been found, he said—and perhaps this is more apposite in shewing the spirit in which you ought to deal with the present case so far as you can: "I invite you to deal with the case, which is a grave and important one, in a fair, free and liberal spirit. In dealing with the articles you should not pause upon an objectionable sentence here, or a strong word there. It is not mere strong language, such as "desecrated a court of justice" or tall language, or turgid language that should influence you. You should, I repeat, deal with the articles in a free, fair and liberal manner. You should recollect that to public political articles great latitude is given (t). Dealing as they do with the affairs of the day, such articles if written in a fair spirit and bona fide, often result in the production of great public good. There I advise you and recommend you to deal with these publications in a spirit of freedom, and not to view them with an eye of narrow criticism. Again I say you should not look merely to a strong word, or a strong phrase, but to the whole article, and so regarding each article, you should recollect that you are the guardians of liberty of the press, and that whilst you check its abuse, you will preserve its freedom. You will recollect how valuable a blessing the liberty of the press is to all of us, and sure I am that liberty will meet no injury, suffer no diminution at your hands. Viewing the case in a free, bold, manly and generous spirit toward the defendant. If you come to the conclusion that the publication indicted are not seditious libels or were not published in the sense imputed to them, you are bound, and I ask you in the name of free discussion to find a verdict for the defendant. I need not remind you of the worn out topic to extend to the defendant the benefit of the doubt. If, on the other hand, on the whole spirit and import of these articles you are obliged to come to the conclusion that they are seditious libels, and that their necessary consequences are to excite contempt of Her Majesty's Government, or to bring the administration of the law into contempt and impair its functions—if you come to that conclusion either as to the articles or points, or any of them then it becomes your duty honestly and fearlessly to

find a verdict of conviction upon such counts as you believe are proved." Now, that language was used as I have said, in reference to a seditious libel, but changing the language so as to apply it to a speech, the principles thus laid down are clearly applicable to the case which you have now got before you. And, although as a judge I can tell you no more than that the intention to incite ill-will amongst the different classes of Her Majesty's subjects may be seditious, and that it is for you to decide—I confess I should, if I were sitting amongst you as a jurymen, go on to say something of this kind which you would or would not listen to, according as you found it to be quite in reason. It is not a matter of law which you would say to each other; if you think that these defendants, from the whole matter laid before you, had a seditious intention to incite the people to violence, to create public disturbances, and disorder, then undoubtedly you ought to find them guilty. If from any sinister motive, as for instance, notoriety, or for the purpose of personal gain, they desired to bring the people into conflict with the authorities, or to incite them tumultuously and disorderly to damage the property of any unoffending citizen, you ought undoubtedly to find them guilty. On the other hand, if you come to the conclusion that they were actuated by an honest desire to alleviate the misery of the unemployed—if they had a real bona fide desire to bring that misery before the public by constitutional and legal means, you should not be too swift to mark any hasty or ill-considered expression which they might utter in the excitement of the moment. Some persons are more led on, more open to excitement than others and one of the defendants, Burns, even when he was defending himself before you, so prone was he to feeling strongly what he does feel, could not restrain from saying that he was unable to see misery and degradation without being moved to strong language and strong action. I mention that to you to shew you the kind of man he is, and for the purpose of seeing (if you come to the conclusion that he was honestly endeavoring to call the attention of the authorities to this misery, and honestly endeavoring to keep within the limits of the law and the constitution) that you should not be too strong to mark if he made use of ill-considered, or too strong an expression. Now, I come to the particular charge which is made against these men. It divides itself roughly into two heads. There is, first, the charge that they uttered certain words upon the occasion of this demonstration, and that is separated into nine counts, and then there came a general charge which involves the whole of them, namely, that they agreed together before they went to this meeting that they would make speeches with the intention of exciting the people to disorder. I am unable to agree entirely with the attorney-general when he says that the real charge is that, though these men did not incite or contemplate disorder, yet as it was the natural consequences of the words they used, they are responsible for it. In order to make out the offence of speaking seditious words, there must be a criminal intent upon the part of the accused, they must be words spoken with a seditious intent, and although it is a good working rule to say that a man must be taken to intend the natural consequence of his acts, and it is very proper to ask a jury to infer, if there is nothing to shew the contrary, that he did intend the natural consequences of his acts, yet, if it is shewn from other circumstances, that he did not actually intend

them, I do not see how you can ask a jury to act upon what has then become a legal fiction. I am glad to say that with regard to this matter, I have the authority again of Stephen, J., who, in his "History of Criminal Law," has dealt with this very point; he deals with it in reference to the question of seditious libel. He says (u): "To make the criminality of an act dependent upon the intention with which it is done, is advisable in those cases only in which the intent essential to the crime is capable of being clearly defined and readily inferred from the facts. Wounding, with intent to do grievous bodily harm. breaking into a house with intent to commit a felony, abduction with intent to marry or defile, are instances of such offences. Even in these cases, however, the introduction of the term "intent" occasionally led either to failure of justice or to the employment of something approaching to a legal fiction in order to avoid it. The maxim that a man intends the natural consequences of his acts is usually true, but it may be used as a way of saying that, because reckless indifference to probable consequences is morally as bad as an intention to produce those consequences, the two things ought to be called by the same name, and this is at least an approach to a legal fiction. It is one thing to write with a distinct intention to produce disturbances "and another to write violently and recklessly matter likely to produce disturbances" (uu). Now, if you apply that last sentence to the speaking of words, of course it is precisely applicable to the case now before you. It is one thing to speak with the distinct intention to produce disturbances, and another thing to speak recklessly and violently of what is likely to produce disturbances. I must, however, notwithstanding what I have said upon the subject, go on to tell you that it is not at all necessary to the offence of uttering seditious words that an actual riot should follow, that there should be an actual disturbance of the public peace: it is the uttering with the intent that is the offence, not the consequences which follow, and which have really nothing to do with the offence. A man cannot escape from the consequences of uttering words with the intent to excite people to violence solely because the persons to whom they are addressed may be too wise or too temperate to be seduced into that violence. That has, however, no important bearing in this case. If you come to the conclusion that language was used by the defendants or any of them upon the occasion of that meeting in Trafalgar Square and that it was their intention to excite the people to violence, to a breach of the law, why then that would undoubtedly be the uttering of seditious words. And I apprehend that the attorney-general was anxious to fortify himself with this that the actual disturbances were the natural consequence of what was said, and for perhaps more than one reason. In the first place the Government undoubtedly declined to prosecute on the assumption that the defendants had actually incited to the particular disturbances, and although that I have said is not at all necessary or essential to the procuring of a conviction, yet undoubtedly that is the moral justification, so to say, the grounds upon which the Government do place the action which they take, and therefore, if they can shew, or if you are satisfied that these disturbances, although not contemplated by the defendants, were the natural consequence of their acts, although that has nothing at all to do with the charge which we are investigating, yet it does effect in some way the position which the Government desires to take up. There

is another point, however, which does affect the question which you have to try, and it is this, as to the language used by the defendants, was it used to produce violence? As something, no doubt, may be gathered from the effect which was actually produced there does come a point when one must say, "This was so violent and reckless that it is impossible to conceive that the man who uttered this did not intend the consequence which must ensue from it." Again, there is another passage from Stephen, J.'s book, where he says (v): "If a meeting is held for the purpose of speaking seditious words to those who may attend it, those who may take part in that design are guilty of a seditious conspiracy." Now, in order to have a conspiracy you must have an agreement formed beforehand between the parties in that conspiracy, that they will hold or have a meeting and that the words there spoken will be words of sedition. As I have said, I do not see any evidence that at all points to any such conspiracy and I certainly should recommend you strongly not to pay any further attention to that part of the case. But the attorney-general says, and very properly, although there may have been no previous conspiracy, yet when people do go to a meeting there are circumstances under which a man may be responsible not only for what he says, but also for what someone else says. Now, what are those circumstances? Stephen, J., says: "If at a meeting lawfully convened seditious words are spoken, of such a nature as are likely to produce a breach of the peace, that meeting may become unlawful, and all those who speak the words undoubtedly are guilty of uttering seditious words, and those who do anything to help those who speak to produce upon the hearers the natural effect of the words spoken." You must do something more than stand by and say nothing; if you express approval of the statements of speakers who utter seditious language that will equally do; if you make a speech calculated to help that part of the speech made by someone else, and which excited disorder; if you do anything to help that part of the effect upon hearers, then undoubtedly you will be guilty of uttering seditious words just as if you spoke them yourself. But there must be something of that kind. If one man uses seditious words at a meeting, those who stand by and do nothing, although they do not reprobate them, are not guilty of uttering seditious words. Those even who make a speech themselves are not guilty of uttering seditious words unless you can gather from the language they use that they are endeavoring to assist the other man in carrying out that portion of his speech, and by that course endeavoring to assist him in causing his words, which excite to disorder, to produce their natural effect upon the people." (The learned judge then reviewed the evidence given on the part of the prosecution and the defence, and pointed out that there was considerable difficulty in separating and apportioning the different elements which contributed to the riots, that public meetings and public discussions always attracted together numbers of rough persons, members of criminal classes, and other persons not honest, but noisy and disorderly, and who would take advantage of the absence of the police to break windows and street lamps, and do other mischief of that kind, and that it was impossible to say that any disorder that arose was necessarily due to speeches made by persons who were themselves orderly, because of the presence of the disorderly elements of the crowd, who had

collected together, and, in conclusion, said: "I must now leave you to apply the principles of law I have laid down to the facts which have been laid before you." I have to remind you of what you are asked to say. What you are asked to decide on is whether the prisoners—all of them, or some of them, and if some of them, which of them—did upon this occasion in Trafalgar Square, incite the people whom they were addressing to redress their grievance by violence. Did they intentionally incite ill-will between different classes in such a way as to be likely to lead to a disturbance of the public peace? I have already told you that you must take a broad and even generous view of the whole of the case presented to you. You must not attach too much importance to isolated phrases, but you must look at the general gist of the matter. You must consider the object which took them there, the way they set about attaining it, and you must also consider to some extent, as throwing some light upon your decision, whether the riots which actually took place were the natural consequences of speeches delivered on that occasion. I cannot conclude without expressing my sense of the extreme folly of those who seek to incite the people to violence. And for this reason: There has been no period of history where violence was so practically useless. The Government being in the hands of the people, none can hope to carry out by force views which he might be able to effect by prudence and consistency, and by legal and legitimate means. And, therefore, to incite people to use force is to expose foolish men, and men who do not see the danger they run, to a conflict with the authorities, with the certainty that they will have to pay with grievous loss of life (w).

Note on the foregoing—

- (p) Stephen, Dig. of Crim. Law (6th Ed.) Arts. 96-98.
- (q) Stephen, Dig. of Crim. Law (6th Ed.) Arts. 98.
- (s) The editors have been unable to trace this quotation.
- (t) See *R. v. Burdett*: 1 St. Tr. (N.S.) 1, where the jury were told to consider whether a written address to the electors of Warwickshire relating to the Peterloo meeting at Manchester contained a sober address to the reason of mankind as to the conduct of the military in suppressing a riot, or was an appeal to their passions inciting them to violence and outrage. In *R. v. Collins* (9 C 3/4 & P. 456) 3 St. Tr. (N.S. 1149. Littledale, J., in dealing with a placard containing resolutions of a body known as the General Convention, told the jury that the question was whether the resolutions were a calm discussion of the conduct of the police in repressing a riot in the Bull Ring at Birmingham, or were meant to incite to the use of physical force.
- (u) Vol. II. p. 359.
- (uu) See *R. v. Corbett* (1831), a St. Tr. (N.S.) 789, where Tenterden, C.J., ruled that the question for the jury was whether the natural tendency of an article in the "Weekly Register" was to manifest the design alleged in the indictment, viz., to create discontent and incite violence with reference to firing stacks and breaking threshing machines.
- (v) Hist. Crim. Law ii 386.
- (w) The jury returned a verdict of not guilty.