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*The Industrial Workers of the World in
Western Canada: 1905-1914**

The development of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in western Canada demonstrated the facility with which men and ideas moved back and forth across the forty-ninth parallel in the years before 1914. The same revolutionary industrial unionism which inspired thousands of wretched unskilled workers in the United States was carried to the western provinces by such Wobbly¹ luminaries as Bill Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Frank Little and Joe Hill. But more important propaganda was conducted by faceless Wobblies who agitated while they worked beside hard-rock miners, loggers, construction workers and harvesters and then moved on to take up the fight elsewhere. The IWW was able to inspire the western Canadian workers whom it organized in the same manner it did American workers because the men's experience on either side of the border was essentially similar. If there was nothing peculiarly Canadian about Wobbly doctrine or appeal, the IWW became, nonetheless, part of a western radical tradition. During the first two decades of the century, workers in the Canadian West demonstrated a significant and persistent commitment to militant industrial unionism, a commitment which resulted in three campaigns against craft union hegemony in the labour movement. By 1905 the experience of workers in British Columbia had already produced a manifestation of militant industrial unionism. Indeed the IWW grew directly out of the first western rebellion against pure and simpledom. And Wobblies played a role in the second campaign, weak and abortive though it was. Part of the continuum which culminated in the One Big Union, the IWW conformed to what might be regarded as the pattern of militant industrial unionism in western Canada. Its doctrine was Marxist; its syndicalism was pragmatic; and it flourished during industrial crisis. The purpose of this essay is to place the IWW in the continuum of militant industrial unionism and assess its significance in the development of that radical tradition.

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I

In 1902 the American Labour Union (ALU), a radical federation committed to the industrial organization of semi-skilled or unskilled workers, inaugurated a campaign in the Kootenays under the auspices of its parent the Western Federation of Miners (WFM). The ALU made its greatest gains in the mountain strongholds of the WFM, but as the industrial crisis of 1903 intensified, the federation moved down into the coast cities. In Vancouver and Victoria, it fired the imagination and inspired the confidence of workers as only an organization of the dispossessed can, and it became the motive force behind a spectacular, if ephemerally, rebellion against craft union domination of the labour movement.²

Like the WFM and the ALU throughout the Rocky Mountain states, BC locals were in a severely weakened condition when, in the summer of 1904, the leaders of the miners' union began a drive to found a new organization better able to fight aggressive western capitalism. In January, 1905 a meeting was held in Chicago which issued a call to re-organize the American labour movement on the basis of industrial unionism.³ John Riordan, a miner from Phoenix, British Columbia who was international secretary of the ALU, was called to Chicago to help direct the propaganda campaign for the new cause; in fact he even loaned his personal savings to finance the movement.⁴ In the Kootenays the WFM's district vice-president, James Baker, assiduously promoted industrial unionism because "it will become the most beneficial factor to the toiling masses the world has ever known." BC members of the WFM and the ALU appear to have responded enthusiastically to the campaign because, like their American leaders, they believed that a stronger and more effective organization was necessary. Certainly Canadian delegates to the Federation's 1905 convention voted overwhelmingly in favour of the union taking part in the upcoming Chicago convention.⁵

The Continental Congress of the Working Class, which convened in Chicago at the end of June, brought together representatives from a number of radical organizations and sects. They founded the Industrial Workers of the World the basic purpose of which was, in Haywood's words, "the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism." This objective was to be achieved through the organization of the wretched of the world into great industrial unions which would fight on the economic field to destroy the existing order.⁶ Apart from reminding the convention of the need to emphasize the international character of the new organization, the BC delegates, Baker and Riordan, played no important role in the proceedings. But Riordan was elected to the Executive Committee and was named Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of the IWW.⁷

Before 1909 the Kootenays were to be the IWW's power centre, and the WFM, as it had earlier been for the ALU, would be the dynamic in the union's growth. Within six months of the Chicago convention a miner from Phoenix reported that "the principles enunciated by the IWW have found a firm, abiding place in our midst."⁸ The most prominent member of the Federation associated with the IWW in the province was Fred Heslewood, a former president of the Greenwood miners' union. Described as "a typical Western miner," his experience seems to provide an explanation in microcosm for the revolutionary industrial unionism of the Kootenays. After being blacklisted in the United States, he migrated to British Columbia, carrying with him a radicalism learned from Eugene Debs. Heslewood's analysis of society was only re-enforced by the nature of industrial relations in the BC mining industry. By 1906, because of his activities in the WFM, he was blacklisted throughout the region, and warrants for his arrest had been issued in "half a dozen" camps.⁹ Heslewood and other leaders of the Federation organized unskilled workers, such as civic employees, teamsters and building labourers. In some camps the WFM men were only reviving moribund ALU locals. By the autumn of 1907, the IWW had five functioning locals in the Kootenays, and even after the WFM left the organization, the Wobblies enjoyed support in the region.¹⁰

On the coast the IWW made only modest gains before 1909. In Victoria and Vancouver the IWW built on the foundations laid by the ALU, organizing workers who had formerly belonged to that union.¹¹ But in the latter city members of the tiny Socialist Labour Party (SLP), who followed Daniel DeLeon into the IWW, were initially more important to the local.¹² Characteristically the DeLeonites subordinated organization to propaganda, and it was not until 1907 when Joe Etter and John H. Walsh began agitating among longshoremen, lumber handlers, teamsters and general labourers that the IWW demonstrated any vitality in Vancouver.¹³

During the first period of IWW development in British Columbia, the organization's ideology might best be described as incipient syndicalism. Industrial unionism was the means whereby the proletariat would be emancipated. All members of the IWW, whether they were veterans of the WFM, the ALU or the SLP, could agree that the new unionism could be created only by destroying Gomerism and all its forms. For example, a BC miner condemned time contracts as "a snare and a delusion . . . [by which] the workman's only weapon is taken away from him and he is left on the dung hill of impotence."¹⁴ IWW propagandists urged workers to subordinate political action to "revolutionary unionism." Heslewood believed that "the ballot is the reflex of the union," and therefore members of the IWW were obliged to "concentrate our efforts to building up a great industrial organization."¹⁵

Neither Heslewood nor any of his fellow workers totally rejected political action, however. This ambivalence was most obvious in the Vancouver local where the DeLeonites were influential, but in the Kootenays as well members of the IWW maintained the old ties with the socialists. For example, they gave active support to candidates of the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) in the provincial election of 1907. Such attitudes and activities were a function of the miners' experience. They had elected members to the provincial legislature and those members, working with other miners' representatives, had achieved legislation beneficial to the workers. One miner argued that, if the IWW were to abandon political action completely, it would degenerate into "a Hobo's Protective Association."¹⁶

In the sectarian conflicts that racked the IWW between 1906 and 1908 BC locals were aligned with the incipient syndicalists. At the 1906 convention Heslewood and Riordan helped drive the "Reactionaries," who were committed to political action, out of the organization because BC members of the IWW perceived themselves as "revolutionists."¹⁷ But the BC miners now found themselves on the wrong side of a power struggle within the WFM. At the union's 1907 convention Heslewood took a leading role in the floor fight to save the WFM for the IWW, and he had the support of the great majority of BC delegates. The vote went against them, however, and the Federation withdrew from the IWW. This decision crippled the revolutionary industrial unionism of the Kootenays. Heslewood admitted that the defection of the WFM "has thrown considerable cold water on the cause of the I.W.W. among the miners out west."¹⁸

Less consequential was the departure of the SLP. Apparently as part of a general pattern, feuding over tactics broke out in Vancouver between DeLeonites and industrial unionists in 1907. When a controversy involving DeLeon developed in the United States, Heslewood, now a member of the General Executive Board, insisted that it be excluded from the pages of the *Industrial Union Bulletin* because "the I.W.W. has no political affiliation." Then at the 1908 convention he led the attack against the SLP. The Vancouver DeLeonites had followed their leader into the IWW in 1905, and they followed him out in 1908.¹⁹

II

In the years between 1908 and the outbreak of the World War, the IWW in western Canada organized the same constituency as that of western American Wobblies, unskilled, itinerant workers — loggers, harvesters, longshoremen, construction workers. They called themselves blanket-stiffs because they packed their blanket beds as they travelled about in search of

work. The unskilled labour market of western Canada was both regional and continental in scope. Within what one BC Wobbly called the "migratory work-shop," a stiff might spike ties above Lake Superior in the summer, harvest the Saskatchewan wheat crop in the autumn and saw trees in British Columbia during the winter.²⁰ Wobblies perceived these unorganized, exploited and wretched men as "the leaven of the revolutionary industrial union movement in the West."²¹ The IWW's commitment to the itinerants was based on a perceptive analysis of their lives. The very nature of the stiff's existence ensured that they would have little commitment to the present order. The native born were alienated from society; the immigrants had never been part of it. Wobbly propaganda flattered these workers. The stiff's were told that they were the basis of the economy and the hope of mankind.

Wobblies agitated among the unskilled across the West. They organized cooks and waiters in the Kootenays, laundrymen in Prince Rupert, "newsies" in Saskatoon, workers on the CPR irrigation projects south of Calgary, teamsters in Victoria and street excavators in half a dozen cities.²² The IWW's campaign to organize the BC lumber industry began in 1907 when loggers informed Wobbly leaders that the province's bush camps and saw mills would be fertile ground for revolutionary industrial unionism. Many loggers were IWW sympathizers or carried the red card of membership, and for a time Vancouver's Lumberworkers' Local had the largest membership in Canada.²³ Wobblies made their most impressive gains among the workers who built the Canadian Northern (CN) and the Grand Trunk Pacific (GTP), and the peak of IWW strength coincided with the railway construction boom.²⁴

Conditions on railway construction in British Columbia, which reflected camp life in general, explain why stiff's responded to the IWW's revolutionary gospel. Life on the grade was primitive and brutal. Men frequently worked twelve long and gruelling hours in a seven day week.²⁵ Because of the need to do extensive blasting, rock work in the mountains was unusually dangerous and accidents and fatalities occurred with appalling frequency.²⁶ Yet stiff's complained that they were working only for "overalls and tobacco," and observers agreed that they received low real incomes. In large part this condition resulted from the fact that itinerants invariably started a job indebted to the company for the costs of transportation to the site. This indebtedness increased as a result of board charges, various fees and extortionate prices in company stores.²⁷ Bunkhouses were often poorly ventilated, dirty and verminous. One stiff complained, "most of the bunkhouses aren't fit, as far as I can see, for animals to live in." Frequently sanitation was primitive and unsafe. Under such conditions water supplies became contaminated, and typhoid fever was endemic in the camps.²⁸

Danger, low pay and wretched living conditions reinforced the stiff's migratory habits and reluctance to accept regular job discipline. The result was "jumping," a practice which disrupted construction operations. Because the power of the contractors was virtually exclusive on the grade, they could resort to the most primitive means to discipline their workers. Foremen who drove their men with fists were not uncommon, and in some cases workers were even watched by armed guards. A journalist charged that the GTP was being built through British Columbia under "a system that is close to peonage."²⁹

An important characteristic of the unskilled labour force was its ethnic heterogeneity. This condition was ensured by the federal government's determination to secure large numbers of European immigrants to meet the manpower needs of railways and other large employers of unskilled labour.³⁰ Unlike craft unions, the IWW did not ignore low-status immigrant workers but rather attempted to overcome the heterogeneity that made them attractive to employers and to organize them into effective unions. A Prince Rupert Wobbly exhorted, "when the factory whistle blows it does not call us to work as Irishmen, Germans, Americans, Russians, Greeks, Poles, Negroes or Mexicans. It calls us to work as wage-workers, regardless of the country in which we were born or color of our skins. Why not get together, then . . . as wage-workers, just as we are compelled to do in the shop." The IWW even advocated the organization of Asiatics in British Columbia. This attitude reflected pragmatism as much as it did the Wobblies' commitment to the proletarian solidarity of the working class. Because "wops" and "bohunks" constituted such an overwhelmingly important component of unskilled occupations, Wobblies considered it impossible to organize this sector of the western economy if the immigrants were excluded from the union.³¹ Consequently the IWW circulated propaganda in at least ten different languages in western Canada, and when agitators with language skills were not available, speakers frequently had their remarks translated for immigrant audiences. There was an Italian local in Vancouver, a Swedish local in Edmonton and a Ukrainian and Polish local in Winnipeg.³² The first IWW local to conduct a strike, unsuccessfully, in western Canada was a remarkable organization; a Vancouver union of longshoremen and lumber-handlers, it was composed of eighteen different nationalities.³³ Although employers perceived the immigrants as docile, (an attitude which was a function of Anglo-Saxon xenophobia), these workers demonstrated a marked capacity for spontaneous rebellion.³⁴ Immigrants from societies which had traditions of peasant violence, Italians for example, were probably attracted to the IWW partly by its doctrine of direct action and the heroic and romantic image cultivated by Wobblies.

The tactics and structure of the IWW were intended to overcome the difficulties inherent in the organization of the itinerants. As Wobblies worked their way back and forth across the West, they preached their revolutionary doctrine, and stiffs were exposed to IWW propaganda on the job. This tactic was formalized in the camp-delegate system by which any Wobbly could act as a full time organizer while he wandered.³⁵ The IWW charged low initiation fees and dues and allowed universal transfer of membership cards. These practices were designed to make it easy to join the union; "all we ask of one in becoming a member of the IWW is to swear allegiance to the working class," declared a member of the Vancouver local.³⁶ The IWW, however, provided services of real importance to its membership. Wobbly halls functioned as mail drops, and dormitories for the itinerants. Most locals provided job information, and Prince Rupert's hall even functioned as an employment agency for unskilled labour. The Vancouver local appears to have furnished some medical services for stiffs passing through the city.³⁷ Camaraderie was an important dimension of the IWW's appeal, and Wobbly halls were one of the few social centres, apart from bars and brothels, that were part of the itinerants' experience. At the Vancouver hall workers could swap tales about life on the road, read Marxist classics or copies of "nearly every Socialist and revolutionary paper of the world" in the library or listen to the regular lectures on revolutionary industrial unionism.³⁸

If the IWW was fighting ultimately for revolution, it never lost sight of the need to secure immediate improvements in the working conditions of its members. The organization's official demands for itinerants in British Columbia focussed on many of the hardships endured by these workers: exploitation by employment agents, long hours, low pay, unsanitary camps, inadequate medical services and so on. By pressing these demands, the IWW made an appeal itinerants could easily appreciate: "the I.W.W. will take the blankets off your back, Mr. Blanket-stiff. It will make the boss furnish the blankets. And, further, not only the blankets, but springs and mattresses; yes and as we grow stronger sheets and pillows. Just imagine yourself in camp snoozing away, tucked up between nice clean sheets, with your head resting on a feather pillow and a good mattress and springs under you."³⁹ Wobblies believed that workers would join a union which promised them immediate benefits; once members, the itinerants could be indoctrinated with revolutionary propaganda. In addition it was valuable to fight for immediate improvements because each strike prepared the workers for the general strike; Bob Gosden, a prominent Prince Rupert Wobbly, called strikes "miniature revolutions."⁴⁰

The propaganda that Wobblies directed at unskilled workers was the peculiar American syndicalism of the IWW, based upon a conviction in the

primacy of economic action in the class struggle and a belief in the industrial organization of the new order.⁴¹ While this doctrine was not classical syndicalism, it did nonetheless display certain similarities with the French system.⁴² Wobblies told workers that they must fight their oppressors on the job which was the basis of capitalism and which was dependent upon their labour power. Joe Biscay an itinerant intellectual who played a leading role in the IWW's drive to organize BC construction workers, declared, "everything is founded upon the job; everything . . . comes from conditions on the job which is the environment and life of the toiling slaves. The job is the source of civilization."⁴³ To control their jobs, the workers had to be organized by industry. To Wobblies, who sought above all to achieve the solidarity of the proletariat, craft unionism was ridiculous and perfidious. The "American Separation of Labour" divided the union movement into scores of exclusive and rival organizations, instead of uniting the workers against their common enemy. IWW agitators persistently argued that craft unionism was "behind the times." Workers were obliged to model their unions on the organization of modern industry. The industrial union, a wobbly from the Kootenays asserted, "is the logical evolution of working class organization and tactics in the same way that the trust is the logical evolution of capitalist class organization and methods." Only unions which organized all the workers in an industry could defeat concentrated capital. "We must all come into the ONE BIG UNION," a BC logger told his fellow workers, "and whenever a fight comes on, all the battalions have got to fight. . . . If we all go into the battle the parasites won't last long."⁴⁴

The final battle would come in the general strike that would destroy capitalism. Wobblies never provided a precise definition of the general strike, but those who agitated in western Canada appear to have anticipated some general refusal to work which would "paralyze" capitalism. A Wobbly on the Canadian Northern grade told a Toronto journalist how the proletariat's final fight would end: "the working men . . . might begin expropriation by taking possession of the warehouses and means of production, without the sanction of the dictators . . . The farm workers might imitate the worker of the city and seize the possessions of the great land owners."⁴⁵ There would then evolve what a cook in a camp near Penticton called "industrial socialism."⁴⁶ Once again the structure of utopia was ill-defined, but generally Wobblies envisioned a society organized on the basis of industrial unions and directed by the workers.

This syndicalist commitment to the union and the general strike necessarily resulted in a denigration of working class political action. Wobbly agitators persistently sneered at the proposition that by stuffing pieces of paper into a box workers could inaugurate the new order. "On the coast the

sentiment [in the IWW] is strongly anti-political," declared Biscay; "to me the 'ballot' . . . is NOT a debatable question. No more so than industrial unionism. If the latter is right, the former is entirely unnecessary." Under Biscay's leadership the Vancouver local burned copies of Haywood's pamphlet *The General Strike* because they considered it to be insufficiently critical of political action.⁴⁷

Such an excess, for which the local was condemned by the General Executive Board, does not, however, indicate any significant departure from the western American norm. Like their fellow workers south of the forty-ninth parallel whose attitudes have been described by Dubofsky and Conlin, the Wobblies in western Canada were essentially non-political rather than anti-political; their syndicalism was empirical. The IWW disdained political action because the great majority of its constituency was, what Wobblies called, constitutionally "dead." Either because they had not been naturalized or because they could not meet residence requirements, most itinerant workers were without the franchise. After addressing three thousand strikers on the Canadian Northern, a member of the SPC inquired how many of the men would vote against capitalism; only a handful could vote.⁴⁸ In addition the workers to whom the IWW directed its propaganda were deeply suspicious of government. Immigrant workers who had feared the state in Europe had their anxieties confirmed when Canadian police broke up strikes or drove them from the streets. In addition, long and bitter experience caused itinerants to reject the efficacy of legislation passed by governments allied with capital. BC loggers and construction workers considered sanitary regulations for camps worthless because of inadequate enforcement.⁴⁹ To unskilled itinerant workers, excluded from the political process and suspicious of government, the IWW's doctrine of direct action made good sense.

III

Notoriety in Canada followed hard upon the IWW's stormy life in the United States. Wobblies conducted great strikes on the Canadian Northern and GTP, led the unskilled in numerous other fights, campaigned for free speech and organized the unemployed. But the IWW's reputation in the US preceded it, and when Wobblies disrupted great national enterprises on the frontier and offended middle class sensibilities by preaching revolution in the streets, they became the subject of repression by all levels of government.

Wobblies discovered that one of the most effective means of organizing itinerant workers was through street meetings. While the IWW did attempt to agitate on the job, organizers always had to contend with the hostility of employers and the mobility of workers. But on urban skid-rows to which the

itinerants periodically returned for rest and recreation, Wobblies could preach the gospel of revolutionary industrial unionism and induct workers into the faith. Henry Frenette, who organized loggers on Vancouver Island, reported, "nearly all the men I have spoken to have heard of the IWW from the speakers on the streets."⁵⁰ In addition to preserving a basic civil liberty — a liberty upon which Wobblies in Canada placed a peculiarly American construction⁵¹ — maintenance of the right to agitate in the streets was essential for the union's growth. Wobblies were obliged to resist any attempts by civic authorities to restrict or prohibit their open-air meetings. As a result the IWW fought to preserve its right to speak on the streets in Victoria, Nelson, Edmonton and Calgary.

The most spectacular free speech fight began in Vancouver early in 1912. Winter unemployment was a normal part of the unskilled workers' experience. Because Vancouver's moderate weather attracted itinerants from across the West, the city ordinarily had a labour surplus in the three or four months after November. But late in 1911 a slowdown in the city's construction industry ensured that the usual surplus would become an unemployment crisis. The conventional relief mechanism of mobility was denied the jobless because all major cities on the Pacific coast were "teeming" with unemployed workers.⁵² In December Wobblies began organizing the unemployed, holding marches and street meetings to dramatize and protest against the workers' plight.⁵³ Alarmed by the union's recent fights in the states to the south, the city's administration determined that the IWW would not humiliate and intimidate Vancouver. In January the mayor banned street meetings and prepared for trouble.⁵⁴ It came on January 28 when an unemployed demonstration refused to obey a police order to disperse. With the grounds surrounded by troops in mufti, almost one hundred police, mounted and afoot, charged the crowd, injuring a number of people. As demonstrators fled, they were pursued by police and beaten. Twenty-five demonstrators were arrested.⁵⁵

Other radical organizations took up the fight for free speech in the city, but none like the IWW. A Wobbly declared, "if they want to down free speech in Vancouver, they will have to bury us with it." Vincent St. John condemned the civic administration and called upon Wobblies all over the continent to go to Vancouver and fight for free speech.⁵⁶ In the same way that they went to Spokane, Missoula, San Diego, Aberdeen and other cities, Wobblies now marched on Vancouver. Alarmed at the prospects of this "horde of ruffians" causing disturbances, immigration officials closed the border to members of the IWW and at least one hundred and fifty Wobblies were turned back from BC ports of entry. Others, using mountain trails, avoided border guards and made their way to Vancouver.⁵⁷ There, in the face

of police harassment, the IWW fought for free speech with courage and audacity. On one occasion agitators always introduced as "John Brown," addressed crowds from boats moored off Stanley Park beaches; on another occasion they used a megaphone ten feet long and eight feet in diameter to harangue the unemployed.⁵⁸ A number of Wobblies were arrested and jailed on vagrancy charges; deportation proceedings were immediately instituted against them. The mayor, who refused to negotiate with the IWW, announced his "cast iron determination" to rid the city of "alien undesirables" who were "preaching sedition" and attempting to "ruin" Vancouver.⁵⁹ Despite this attitude, labour's campaign forced the administration to rescind the law, and by early spring the Wobblies were able to hold their street meetings without harassment.⁶⁰

A few weeks after the Vancouver free speech campaign ended, the IWW led the construction workers on the Canadian Northern out on strike. From the time work began along the Fraser River, camp delegates, led by Joe Biscay, had tramped along the grade organizing the stiffs. To the railway and contractors building its lines the Wobblies were "the biggest curse to railroad construction in this western country." From the beginning of the organization drive, the contractors disrupted IWW meetings, encouraged provincial police officers to harass organizers, and placed Pinkerton agents in the union.⁶¹ The contractors' opposition reached a violent climax when Biscay was beaten by police in a Savona bunk house and jailed for carrying a concealed weapon. Despite efforts by the companies to have him sentenced to a long prison term, Biscay was exonerated at the assizes.⁶² Instead of driving the IWW from the grade, the contractors campaign of intimidation only encouraged more Wobblies to migrate to the Canadian Northern camps during the winter.

The strike that began late in March effectively stopped work on the Canadian Northern grade from Kamloops to Hope, a distance of 300 miles. The men struck primarily to protest conditions in the camps; "they treated us like swine," charged a Swede. The strikers, approximately 7000 strong, were "nearly all foreigners," representing sixteen nationalities. Floyd Hyde, one of the strike leaders, claimed the men realized that "there are only two nationalities, and . . . these nations are divided by class and not by geographical lines."⁶³ To keep the men in the strike zone and thus maintain solidarity, the IWW established camps at several towns along the line. One of the more important strike camps was located at Yale. Here the IWW committee, led by Charles Nelson, a young Swede, provided food and crude accommodation for more than five hundred stiffs. When the men were not on picket duty, they spent their time listening to lectures, debating industrial unionism, and singing revolutionary songs. The songs, such as "Where the Fraser River Flows," were composed by Wobbly bard Joe Hill who arrived in

Yale shortly after the strike began. The organization of the Yale camp prompted a reporter to describe it as "a miniature republic run on Socialist lines."⁶⁴

Wobblies were clearly delighted by the initial solidarity of the Canadian Northern construction workers. Tom Whitehead, an IWW veteran who was secretary of the Lytton committee, declared that the strike represented "the first time in the history of the world" that such a large number of unskilled workers laid down their tools together. Leading members of the IWW, such as Vincent St. John, recognized that the example of the Canadian Northern strike would be important in the campaign to organize the itinerants of the continental West. The union was determined to win. Tom Halcro, a member of the IWW's General Executive Board, who was dispatched to the strike zone announced that capitalists would be taught that "when they engage in a conflict with the I.W.W. it is not child's play nor healthy for well-filled pocket books and big dividends."⁶⁵

To win the IWW recognized it must ensure that the strike was non-violent. Despite alarmist and xenophobic newspaper accounts, there can be no doubt that the strike, as far as the men were concerned, was non-violent. BC Provincial Police reports demonstrate this condition. Strike leaders had received explicit instructions from the IWW's Chicago headquarters to take no provocative action; they assured the senior provincial constable in the strike zone that "all the I.W.W. have been instructed . . . not to give the police any trouble."⁶⁶ The strike committees maintained strict discipline; for example, they requested that all saloons on the grade be closed and named their own police to control the men.⁶⁷ It was difficult, however, for the IWW to prevent provocative acts. The federal government relaxed its immigration regulations to allow contractors to procure strike-breakers, and the provincial government encouraged the companies to employ large numbers of private detectives to guard them.⁶⁸ Most of the strike-breakers were Italian, and a circular in a crude southern dialect warned "we are coming with a large force to . . . drive any scab off the work." Strikers adopted the tactic of using massed pickets to intimidate the strike-breakers.⁶⁹

From the beginning of the strike the Canadian Northern and its contractors sought the aid of the BC government in their fight against the IWW. At a meeting early in April contractors told Sir Richard McBride, the Premier, and William Bowser, the Attorney General, that Wobblies had duped the simple immigrant workers into striking as part of the IWW's "stupendous scheme for tying up the leading industries of the Pacific Coast."⁷⁰ In addition to the companies' campaign, the government came under popular pressure to break the strike. The citizens of Yale demanded the

IWW camp be removed from the town because they feared for their property and because the strikers were “foreigners who do not practise the laws of sanitation or even common decency.”⁷¹ In Vancouver *The Sun* carried out a violent editorial campaign against the IWW. On April 8 the paper declared “the whole movement represents an invasion of the most despicable scum of humanity . . . The government must show its strength and drive these people out of the country even if the use of force is required to do so.” In the circumstance it was not difficult for the BC government to go to the aid of its political railway.

On April 16 the Attorney General informed the Superintendent of Police who was in the strike zone that “the time has now arrived to prosecute and imprison [the IWW] on every possible occasion [sic].”⁷² Bowser told the officer to use the *Public Health Act* in the campaign. Health inspectors now began attempting to close IWW strike camps which, in fact, conformed better to sanitary regulations than did the contractors’ establishments.⁷³ Then in the third week of April police raids began; these followed a general pattern all along the grade. The strikers were ordered to return to work; when they refused, the police tore down the camps, closed the IWW halls and forcibly ejected the men as vagrants. Police detachments then drove the strikers along the line to ensure that they left the strike zone.⁷⁴ A number of men were arrested, and local magistrates joined in the campaign against the IWW. A New Westminster judge warned Wobblies against preaching their doctrines because Canadians “are a free and law-abiding people, and above all will not tolerate the red flag of anarchy.” Strikers were sentenced to terms ranging from three to twelve months on such charges as vagrancy, unlawful assembly, intimidation and conspiracy. Tom Whitehead was given six months for keeping a boarding house which did not meet the requirements of the *Public Health Act*. By June there were 250 Wobblies in BC jails.⁷⁵ Immediately large numbers of arrests began, the provincial government sought the deportation of Wobblies because Bowser was “anxious” to rid British Columbia of “these undesirables.”⁷⁶ The police campaign broke the strike and destroyed the IWW organization on the Canadian Northern grade.

The Canadian Northern strike was followed by another defeat on the GTP grade, and in the following months employers and government intensified the campaign against the IWW. Under this attack Wobblies began to promote and employ a tactic of the defensive and defeated — sabotage. What they advocated was that form of resistance which their fellow workers south of the border urged, essentially harassment on the job which forced employers to make concessions.⁷⁷ BC Wobblies had explicitly advocated sabotage for some time.⁷⁸ The tactic likely had great appeal for eastern and southern European immigrants, premodern workers, who had traditions of

machine-breaking and direct action against oppressive employers.⁷⁹ Indeed during the Canadian Northern strike Wobblies warned that they were prepared to resort to sabotage, and in one case Russians and Ukrainians who were forced back to work destroyed their tools.⁸⁰ It was not until after the defeats of 1912, however, that sabotage became a significant dimension of IWW propaganda. In an article published by the *Industrial Workers* in 1913, Bob Gosden argued that, given the capitalists' offensive, Wobblies could no longer employ conventional tactics: "the only way is for every member of the I.W.W. to sabotage at every conceivable opportunity."⁸¹ As the construction season on the GTP and the Canadian Northern opened, Wobblies told the workers that the "walk-out strike . . . [was] old fashioned;" they must strike on the job. IWW agitators believed the men "understand" the concept of sabotage and enthusiastically reported incidents in which workers wearing "wooden shoes" disrupted construction operations. Jim Rowan, an organizer on the GTP, announced that sabotage had passed the acid test; scowmen on the Fraser, who had wrecked their boats, won increased wages.⁸²

The Wobblies' last major fight for the itinerant workers of western Canada occurred in the unemployment crisis of 1913 and 1914. The pre-war depression and the completion of railway construction threw thousands of the unskilled out of work.⁸³ The resentment of men who trudged the streets in search of a job or stood self-consciously in bread-lines burned hot, and they naturally responded to a familiar revolutionary gospel. In every major western city the IWW organized the unemployed.

The IWW played its most important role among the jobless in Edmonton. A large proportion of the unemployed in the city were workers from the railway construction camps where they had heard IWW propaganda. Now Wobblies told the stiffs that they were unemployed because "you have produced too much and have allowed it to fall into the hands of a bunch of parasites who do no work." Led by Jim Rowan the IWW organized an Unemployed League late in December. The League demanded work for wages, "regardless of race, color or nationality," and backed up its demands with marches and street demonstrations.⁸⁴ "To avoid outbreaks of lawlessness," the civic administration expanded its relief program, instituted public works and established a camp for the unemployed. But when the Wobblies attempted to organize the camp, the city fathers became alarmed and closed the facility.⁸⁵ The IWW now urged the unemployed to use "a little direct action." Members of the Unemployed League occupied one of Edmonton's most fashionable Methodist churches until they were given food and accomodation. Others ate large meals in restaurants and then refused to pay the bill.⁸⁶

Edmonton's elite was outraged by the IWW campaign as it intensified during the late winter and spring of 1914. The city's newspapers denounced the "inflammatory" nature of the Wobblies' speeches and emphasized that the unemployed were mainly "foreigners." Citizens discussed forming vigilante groups to rid the city of the IWW. And a divided civic administration came under pressure to call out the militia.⁸⁷ In February city police and health officers raided the IWW hall and evicted two hundred jobless who had been living there. During the spring a number of League members were jailed for vagrancy; then at the beginning of July Rowan was arrested for murder. Although he was eventually released, he remained in prison six months. Wobblies charged that he was kept in jail "for being true to [his] class."⁸⁸ There appears to be a good deal of substance to the contention.⁸⁹

IV

By the very nature of its tactics and doctrine, the IWW was isolated from workers organized by the American Federation of Labour (AFL) and the Trades and Labour Congress (TLC). This condition was substantially reinforced by the nature of the Wobblies' constituency; unskilled, unorganized and un-British, the itinerants never constituted a part of the labour movement. The Winnipeg Trades Council, for example, was simply unaware of a north-end IWW local composed of approximately four hundred Ukrainians and Poles.⁹⁰ In some cases ignorance gave way to animosity. AFL and TLC organizers took the leading role in the fight against what they perceived as the "dual union" heresy. C.O. Young, the AFL's organizer in British Columbia, considered the Wobblies "lawless brigands," and he did whatever he could to restrict their propaganda efforts.⁹¹ At times the crafts' fight against industrial unionism was spontaneous and local. For example, "A.F. of L. slaves" conducted a strenuous campaign to prevent the IWW from organizing loggers at Port Alberni.⁹²

In the campaign to promote industrial unionism, the IWW compounded the isolation and antagonism by levelling strident and hostile criticism at the AFL and the TLC. Wobblies never tired of asserting that because craft unions divided the workers, the AFL and the TLC were allies of the bosses. The "bushwah" leadership had betrayed the workers. Wobblies asserted that Samuel Gompers could not lead the working class because he was not of that class; a member of the Prince Rupert local charged that the AFL president lived in luxury and had a personal fortune of five million dollars. When Gompers visited Vancouver in 1911 Wobblies disrupted his meeting and denounced him in what Gompers called "the vilest language I have ever heard."⁹³ In some cases Wobblies took their fight against craft unionism directly to the rank and file. For example Paddy Daly believed that it was

“our duty” to prevent the formation of a local of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters in Prince Rupert, and in the northern city relations between the IWW and the craft unions were stormy.⁹⁴ However, because of their commitment to the solidarity of the proletariat, Wobblies found it difficult to make general war on the rank and file of AFL and TLC affiliates. Consequently, in normal times, the relationship between craft unionists and Wobblies in western cities was one of peaceful but distant co-existence.

The IWW’s relationship with the socialists was more significant. In the United States the Wobblies’ precarious position in the labour movement was, to an important extent, dependent upon its unstable alliance with the left wing of the Socialist Party of America. In Canada no such alliance existed. Because the IWW’s syndicalism rejected political action for industrial action, the SPC made all-out war on the heresy. To a party dominated by the conviction that the revolution could only be achieved through political action, the IWW’s advocacy of the general strike seemed to demonstrate an ignorance of the class struggle.⁹⁵ Although they admired the courage of the Wobblies in the crusade to organize the wretched, the socialists were convinced that the IWW’s activities were essentially futile because its doctrines were unsound. After travelling with Haywood and coming to know him during the IWW leader’s western Canadian tour of 1909, Charlie O’Brien, a socialist MLA in Alberta, observed, “he confuses the struggle between the buyers and sellers of commodities with the class struggle.” Much worse, because the Wobblies were attempting to lead the working class down the wrong road, they were enemies of the proletariat who “should be classed with the thugs, detectives, specials and other pimps of capitalism.”⁹⁶

The IWW repaid the SPC in kind. Members of the IWW derided the party for its insistence that only class conscious political action could free the workers. Bill Craig of Nelson denounced the socialists’ refusal to consider other tactics as “fatalism” which would ensure the continuation of wage slavery.⁹⁷ Even more offensive was the SPC’s persistent denial of the essential utility of economic action through unions. One of the socialists’ more extravagant attacks on unions caused a Vancouver Wobbly to exclaim, “if poor old Karl Marx could return he would braid his whiskers into a cat-o-nine tails and scourge these super-scientific spittoon philosophers until every drop of milk and water ran out of their veins.”⁹⁸ Despite this sort of rhetoric, and the doctrinal antagonism which produced it, there was a recognition by some Wobblies, particularly those in Kootenays, that “internecine warfare is absorbing the best of our energies.” And there appears to have been some co-operation between the rank and file of the SPC and the IWW in several western cities.⁹⁹

V

Given the IWW's isolation it would be easy to conclude that the organization was only tangentially significant in the development of militant industrial unionism in the Canadian West. In fact this is the conclusion that historians have reached.¹⁰⁰ However, in the two years before 1914, the IWW's courageous leadership of the construction workers and the unemployed substantially raised its stock with the labour movement, especially in British Columbia. Socialists and craft unionists joined the fight against government repression of the Wobblies.¹⁰¹ Because of this altered relationship, the IWW became an influence, though not the most significant one, in the second western campaign against pure and simple craft unionism.

The most explicit, though least important, dimension of the general campaign was agitation for syndicalism on the French model. This agitation was inspired by William Z. Foster who urged Wobblies to begin "boring from within" the AFL to convert the federation into a revolutionary organization.¹⁰² Syndicalist propaganda of this sort circulated in Winnipeg's north-end during these years. The interest that it held for workers in the immigrant ghetto related in part to the IWW presence and to the fact that eastern European itinerants wintered there, but the anarchist tradition among Jews and Russians undoubtedly was important as well.¹⁰³ Foster's agitation within the IWW caused Nelson Wobblies to desert the organization in 1912 and found the first local of the Syndicalist League of North America. The Vancouver IWW local split on the issue, and dissidents established a local of the League in that city as well.¹⁰⁴ The Syndicalists urged radicals to reject political action, "get inside the labor movement," and employ the unions to achieve the revolution.¹⁰⁵

More important was the advocacy of a general strike in support of miners in their long and violent fight against the Vancouver Island coal barons. In August, 1913 after riots occurred at Nanaimo, Ladysmith and Extension, the provincial government despatched troops to the strike zone, and a tremor of bitter indignation passed through the BC labour movement. In Victoria, where the IWW enjoyed comparatively good relations with the trades council, a mass meeting passed a resolution calling for a general strike unless the militia were immediately withdrawn from the Island. The British Columbia Federation of Labour took up the call; its president Christian Sivertz declared, "it is well known that [the capitalists] stand in greater dread of the general strike than any other method that the organized workers have within their means of using." There was significant support for a general strike, but the all-important Vancouver trades council, because of growing unemployment and a strong SPC influence, refused to act.¹⁰⁶ The advocacy of a general strike

continued under the auspices of the Miners Liberation League which directed labour's campaign to free imprisoned strikers. Wobbly influence was unusually strong in the League. It employed tactics developed by the IWW in the United States, for example parading miners' children through the streets of Vancouver. Bob Gosden and other Wobblies believed that "a good dose of direction action" promised to be the best means of securing the release of the strikers. And IWW influence contributed substantially to the League's call for a general strike.¹⁰⁷ Again because the Vancouver trades council refused to act, a province-wide walkout did not occur. The only workers to strike were stiffs on the Pacific Great Eastern grade who were organized by the IWW.¹⁰⁸

Developing at the same time as the advocacy of the general strike was a renewed enthusiasm for amalgamation. Led by socialists who were convinced that the organization of modern industry demanded amalgamation, the British Columbia Federation of Labour declared for industrial unionism in 1910. Then the TLC's 1911 convention which, because it was held in Calgary, was dominated by western delegates, passed a Vancouver resolution calling upon workers to organize by industry because craft unions had demonstrated their inability "to successfully combat the present day aggregations of capital." TLC bureaucrats were unable to block the western resolution at Calgary, but the following year, when the convention was safely back in Ontario, an eastern majority returned the Congress to Gompersian orthodoxy.¹⁰⁹ While socialist promotion had been basic to the cause before 1912, now Wobbly influence became evident. In August, 1912 the Vancouver trades council unanimously passed a resolution endorsing industrial unionism and issued a circular calling upon the labour movement to adopt this form of organization. The Vancouver council contained several influential IWW sympathizers, including Jack Kavanagh, the president. Wobbly doctrines, such as universal union membership, were clearly on the minds of delegates as they voted. In response to the Vancouver circular, trades councils in Victoria, Nelson and Calgary, all centres where the IWW was influential, endorsed the principle of industrial unionism.¹¹⁰

Direct IWW influence appeared prominently in the campaign for revolutionary industrial unionism within the United Mine Workers' (UMW) District 18. The miners of the Crow's Nest Pass had always lacked confidence in business unionsim; they elected socialist leaders and were contemptuous of the TLC. But because of a long and essentially unsuccessful strike in 1911 some miners became convinced that the UMW was "obsolete."¹¹¹ Led by Harry Elmer of Michel, Wobbly miners launched a campaign in which they advocated sabotage, denounced the political orientation of the union's socialist leadership and derided the "craft" organization of the UMW. "To break the chains that hold us," declared Elmer, "the workers of the world

must organize into one union.’’¹¹² The campaign reached its climax at the 1912 District convention, and although the UMW’s socialist leadership beat back the drive, they were forced to make concessions to the syndicalists.¹¹³

The IWW was not alone in promoting the growth of militant industrial unionism. Despite attacks on the IWW, the Socialist Party of Canada played a role in the phenomenon. From the time of the SPC’s inception, the party had tolerated within it a small but sustained anarcho-syndicalist tendency, most pronounced in the Kootenays.¹¹⁴ In the years before 1914 members of the SPC like other radicals, became increasingly interested in the efficacy of the general strike. Even the doctrinaire Vancouver leadership began to see some revolutionary value in action which mobilized masses of workers. The party’s willingness to reconsider tactics clearly resulted from the decline of the SPC after 1910. When its political prospects were diminished by defections and defeats, the party was prepared to look to a new means whereby the proletariat could be emancipated. In addition the issue of industrial unionism had been under discussion since 1910. By 1912 dynamic young party members such as Bill Pritchard and Jack Kavanagh in Vancouver, Joe Knight in Edmonton and Bob Russell in Winnipeg were actively promoting industrial unionism. During 1913 SPC propaganda began to advocate the creation of a grand international union and use of the general strike.¹¹⁵ But at this time members of the SPC, even Russell for example, continued to believe that, in a state with a liberal franchise, the ballot was the better means to destroy capitalism.¹¹⁶

Perhaps most important in the resurgence of militant industrial unionism in the West during these years were developments in the United Kingdom. After 1910 syndicalists, prominent among whom was Tom Mann, had an important influence in the British labour movement.¹¹⁷ Many of the workers who continued to emigrate to Canada from the United Kingdom up to 1914 had been exposed to this new propaganda. As a result, western workers took a great interest in the mass strikes of dockers, transport workers and miners in Britain, and many radicals came to regard direct action as, potentially, a powerful weapon. When late in 1913 Mann toured the West preaching syndicalism, he was given an enthusiastic hearing. A Winnipeg worker observed that Mann demonstrated “great intelligence” in his advocacy of the new tactics and asked “what better weapon can be found than the strike which comes down to the A.B.C. of showing class lines in society?”¹¹⁸ The impact of the movement led by Mann was most pronounced in Winnipeg where the British influence was all-important. Arthur Puttee, labourite editor of *The Voice*, paid the new British militancy the supreme compliment when he observed, “it will produce as good results as has the success of the Labor party.”¹¹⁹

VI

By the beginning of the War the IWW was on the decline in western Canada, its membership falling and its locals disintegrating. This collapse resulted from employer opposition, government repression and economic depression. Most important the end of the railway building boom produced the dispersion of the construction workers. Coinciding with the decline of the IWW was a decline in the campaign for militant industrial unionism. Even at its height this ferment, produced by the pre-war industrial crisis, did not represent any wide-spread or important subscription to the pragmatic syndicalism of the Wobblies, much less to the classic European system. To most workers, the general strike was never more than an enlargement of the strike they knew. Mass action was a means to enforce conventional union demands against unusually strong, or ruthless, opposition, not a means to restructure society. The general strike was an economic weapon, a hefty one certainly, but it was not revolutionary. In addition because the labour movement was weakened by depression and defeats, industrial unionists were unable to challenge directly craft hegemony in the West. Nonetheless the propaganda persisted, and the seeds sown by Wobblies, socialists and British syndicalists before the war would bear fruit at the end of the war.

NOTES

¹ It is interesting to note that the most widely accepted explanation of the term Wobbly ascribes it to a Chinese *restaurateur* in Calgary who mispronounced IWW as Eye Wobbly Wobbly." See Stewart H. Holbrook, "Wobbly Talk," *American Mercury*, (Jan. 1926), p. 62.

² A. Ross McCormack, "The Origin and Extent of Western Labour Radicalism: 1896-1919," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1973), Chap. III.

³ Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago, 1969), pp. 76-80.

⁴ *Miners' Magazine*, April 27, 1905 and Dec. 6, 1906; *Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World*, 1906, p. 132 and *Official Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners*, 1907, p. 645.

⁵ *Official Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners*, 1905, pp. 233-4 and 245; *Miners' Magazine*, March 9, 1905; and *Voice of Labor*, May, 1905.

⁶ Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, pp. 81-7.

⁷ *Proceedings of the First Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World*, 1905, pp. 287, 510 and 546.

⁸ *Miners' Magazine*, Feb. 15, 1906.

⁹ *Industrial Union Bulletin*, Aug. 3, 1907 and *Official Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners*, 1907, pp. 610-2.

¹⁰ *Miners' Magazine*, Feb. 15, 1906 and *Industrial Union Bulletin*, March 16, 1907; Aug. 24, 1907 and Sept. 14, 1907.

¹¹ *Industrial Union Bulletin*, Nov. 16, 1907.

¹² *Weekly People*, Oct. 7, 1905 and Oct. 14, 1905. For the development of the SLP in Vancouver see A. Ross McCormack, "The Emergence of the Socialist Movement in British Columbia," *BC Studies*, No. 21, (Spring, 1974), pp. 7-9.

- ¹³ *Industrial Union Bulletin*, Dec. 7, 1907.
- ¹⁴ *Weekly People*, Aug. 4, 1906.
- ¹⁵ *Industrial Union Bulletin*, Sept. 14, 1907 and Nov. 9, 1907.
- ¹⁶ *Official Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners*, 1907, pp. 612 and 690; *Miners' Magazine*, Aug. 9, 1906 and Aug. 23, 1906 and *Industrial Union Bulletin*, July 20, 1907.
- ¹⁷ *Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World*, 1906, pp. 132-8 and 256-7. Dubofsky and Joseph R. Conlin have demonstrated that such a simplistic view does not reflect the realities of the controversy. *We Shall Be All*, pp. 110-5; and *Bread and Roses Too: Studies of the Wobblies*, (Westport, 1969), p. 53.
- ¹⁸ *Official Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners*, 1907, pp. 492-5; 610-38; 641-7; 656-61; 690-1 and 700-1; and *Proceedings of Third Annual Convention: Industrial Workers of the World: Official Report No. 8*, (1907), p. 5.
- ¹⁹ *Industrial Union Bulletin*, April 20, 1907; June 1, 1907; May 23, 1908 and Oct. 10, 1908 and *Weekly People*, March 21, 1908 and Nov. 7, 1908.
- ²⁰ Wayne State University, Labour History Archives, E.W. Latchem Collection, "Some Vitally Important Background Information," n.d., pp. 1-2. For a discussion of the life and work of the itinerants see A. Ross McCormack, "The Blanketstiffs: Itinerant Railway Construction Workers in Canada, 1896-1914," NFB/National Museum Visual History Set, 1975.
- ²¹ *Industrial Union Bulletin*, Feb. 27, 1909.
- ²² *Industrial Worker*, June 11, 1910; Sept. 14, 1911; Nov. 23, 1911 and July 4, 1912; *Solidarity*, Sept. 19, 1914; and *I.W.W. Strike Bulletin*, Oct. 12, 1912.
- ²³ Wayne State, IWW Records, GEB Minute Book, Sept. 25, 1907; *Industrial Worker*, May 7, 1910 and May 14, 1910; and Myrtle Bergen, *Tough Timber: The Loggers of B.C. — Their Story* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 21-7.
- ²⁴ *Labour Organization in Canada*, 1911, p. 42 and 1914, p. 53.
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- ²⁶ Canada, Department of Labour, *Annual Report*, 1912, p. 56.
- ²⁷ Edmund Bradwin, *The Bunkhouse Man* (2nd ed.; Toronto, 1972), pp. 63-75; Frontier College Papers, Vol. 14, Perry to Fitzpatrick, 1912 and *The Evening Empire*, Aug. 24, 1912.
- ²⁸ BC Provincial Library, Royal Commission on Labour, 1914, Type-script Proceedings, Vol. VII, p. 53; and BC, Provincial Board of Health, *Fourteenth Annual Report*, (1912), pp. 12-13; *Sixteenth Annual Report*, (1914), p. 6 and *Eighteenth Annual Report*, (1915), pp. 9-12.
- ²⁹ Public Archives of British Columbia (PABC), BC Provincial Police Records, Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, Tete Juane Cache, File 21, Beys to Campbell, July 31, 1912; and W. Lacey Amy, "Snaring the Bohunk," *The Railroad and Current Mechanics*, XVII, (May, 1913), pp. 279 and 284.
- ³⁰ Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the 'Foreign' Navy," *Historical Papers*, 1972, pp. 135-56.
- ³¹ *I.W.W. Strike Bulletin*, Oct. 12, 1912 and *Industrial Worker*, June 24, 1909 and Oct. 31, 1912.
- ³² *Industrial Union Bulletin*, Aug. 17, 1907; and *Industrial Worker*, Oct. 24, 1912 and Nov. 28, 1912; and *The Voice of the People*, May 7, 1914.
- ³³ *Industrial Union Bulletin*, Nov. 2, 1907.
- ³⁴ PAC, RCMP Records, RG 18, A-1, Vol. 343-602, Primrose to Perry, Sept. 28, 1907 and Vol. 465-326, Callow "Crime Report," May 3, 1914.
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³⁸*Industrial Union Bulletin*, Dec. 7, 1907; and UBC, IWW Records, Library Catalogue.

³⁹*British Columbia Federationist*, Nov. 28, 1913; and *Industrial Worker*, May 14, 1910.

⁴⁰*Industrial Worker*, June 19, 1913.

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⁴²Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States: The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917* (New York, 1965), p. 159. For French Syndicalism see F.F. Ridley, *Revolutionary Syndicalism in France: The Direct Action of its Time* (Cambridge, 1970) and Peter N. Stearns, *Revolutionary Syndicalism and French Labor: A Cause without Rebels*, (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971).

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⁴⁴*Industrial Union Bulletin*, March 14, 1908; *Industrial Worker*, Sept. 23, 1909; July 6, 1911 and Dec. 7, 1911; and *Solidarity*, July 1, 1911; July 22, 1911 and Aug. 12, 1911.

⁴⁵*Industrial Worker*, June 8, 1911 and Nov. 2, 1911 and Agnes C. Laut, *Am I My Brother's Keeper: A Study of British Columbia's Labor and Oriental Problems*, (Toronto, 1913), p. 7.

⁴⁶BC Royal Commission on Labour, Proceedings, Vol. 5, p. 108.

⁴⁷*Solidarity*, July 15, 1911; and *Industrial Worker*, June 29, 1911.

⁴⁸Wayne State, IWW Records, Vol. 145, File 28, Latchem, "Yellow Socialists and Red Communists," n.d., p. 1.

⁴⁹Laut, *Brother's Keeper*, p. 16; *Industrial Worker*, May 20, 1909; and *Solidarity*, March 22, 1913.

⁵⁰Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, pp. 173-4; Conlin, *Bread and Roses Too*, p. 74; *Solidarity*, Sept. 17, 1910; and *Industrial Worker*, Sept. 28, 1911.

⁵¹*Industrial Worker*, May 13, 1909.

⁵²Carleton H. Parker, "The Casual Laborer," in *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays*, (New York, 1920), p. 80; PAC, Immigration Records, RG76, Vol. 486-752149-1, MacGill to Scott, Feb. 12, 1912; *Labour Gazette*, XII, p. 538; and *British Columbia Federationist*, Jan. 6, 1912.

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⁵⁴*The Province*, Nov. 25, 1911; RG76, Vol. 486-752149-1, MacGill to Scott, Feb. 12, 1912; *British Columbia Federationist*, Feb. 5, 1912 and PAC, Department of National Defence Records, RG 24, Vol. 6517, HQ 363-24-1, Wadmore to Adjutant General, Feb. 3, 1912.

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⁶¹RG 18, A-1, Vol. 426-286, McKenzie to Borden, April 29, 1912; *Solidarity*, Sept. 16, 1911; and BC Provincial Police Records, Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, Yale District, File 6-2, MacNair to Campbell, May 13, 1912. (The latter collection will be hereafter cited BCPP-IWW.)

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⁶³*Industrial Worker*, April 11, 1912 and May 30, 1912; *The Sun*, April 2, 1912 and *Kamloops Standard*, April 9, 1912.

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⁶⁴ *Industrial Worker*, April 4, 1912 and April 18, 1912; *Solidarity*, April 13, 1912; Wayne State, IWW Records, Vol. 24-17, Moreau to Thompson, Feb. 20, 1967 and March 8, 1967; *The Sun*, April 4, 1912; and *Kamloops Standard*, April 9, 1912.

⁶⁵ *Solidarity*, April 13, 1912 and May 4, 1912; and *British Columbia Federationist*, June 22, 1912.

⁶⁶ *The Province*, April 8, 1912; and BCPP-IWW, File 5-1, Smith to Campbell, April 1, 1912.

⁶⁷ BCPP-IWW, File 5-1, Burr to Campbell, March 30, 1912; *Industrial Worker*, April 4, 1912; and Agnis C. Laut, "Revolution Yawns," *Illustrated Technical World*, Vol. 18, (May, 1913), pp. 135-6.

⁶⁸ Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy,"; and BCPP-IWW, File 5-1, Smith to Campbell, April 2, 1912.

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⁷⁰ PABC, Attorney General's Records, Vol. 2570-16-12, White to Bowser, April 1, 1912; *The Province*, April 2, 1912; and *The Kamloops Standard*, April 30, 1912.

⁷¹ BCPP-IWW, File 6-2, Goucher to Bowser, April 13, 1912; and *Edmonton Journal*, April 13, 1912.

⁷² BCPP-IWW, File 6-2, Bowser to Campbell, April 16, 1912.

⁷³ *British Columbia Federationist*, June 22, 1912.

⁷⁴ *Industrial Worker*, May 23, 1912 and May 30, 1912; and BCPP-IWW, File 5-1, Campbell to Cox, April 21, 1912 and File 6-2, Hannay to Campbell, May 8, 1912 and Dunwoody to Campbell, May 10, 1912.

⁷⁵ *The Kamloops Standard*, May 3, 1912; *Solidarity*, June 15, 1912; and *British Columbia Federationist*, Aug. 2, 1912.

⁷⁶ BC Provincial Police Records, Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, AG Files, Campbell to Bowser, April 27, 1912 and Bowser to Campbell, May 30, 1912.

⁷⁷ Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, pp. 162-3; and Conlin, *Bread and Roses Too*, pp. 103-5.

⁷⁸ *Industrial Worker*, June 15, 1911; Nov. 30, 1911 and Feb. 8, 1912; and *Solidarity*, July 15, 1911.

⁷⁹ Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 78, (June, 1973), pp. 573-4.

⁸⁰ *Industrial Worker*, April 18, 1912 and July 4, 1912.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1913.

⁸² *Ibid.*, March 13, 1913; March 27, 1913; April 17, 1913; April 24, 1913; May 1, 1913; May 15, 1913 and July 3, 1913. The term sabotage was coined from *sabot*, a clumsy wooden shoe.

⁸³ McCormack, "Western Labour Radicalism," pp. 322-7.

⁸⁴ *Solidarity*, Oct. 10, 1914; and *The Voice of the People*, Feb. 5, 1914.

⁸⁵ PAC, Laurier Papers, MG 266G, Vol. 695, Turnbull, "Re Un-employed in Edmonton, 1913-14"; *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, Jan. 17, 1914; and *Edmonton Capital*, Jan. 16, 1914.

⁸⁶ *The Voice of the People*, Feb. 12, 1914; *Western Clarion*, Feb. 28, 1914; *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, Feb. 2, 1914; and *Edmonton Capital*, May 20, 1914.

⁸⁷ *Edmonton Capital*, May 15, 1914 and May 16, 1914.

⁸⁸ *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, Feb. 5, 1914; and *The Voice of the People*, Oct. 22, 1914.

⁸⁹ RG 18, A-1, Vol. 487-348.

⁹⁰ *Industrial Worker*, Oct. 24, 1912; and *The Voice*, Sept. 26, 1913.

⁹¹ *Industrial Union Bulletin*, Aug. 17, 1907; Foner, *Industrial Workers of the World*, p. 231; and *Industrial Worker*, June 11, 1910.

⁹² *Solidarity*, Aug. 27, 1910; and *Industrial Worker*, Nov. 2, 1911.

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⁹³ *The Prince Rupert Optimist*, Nov. 25, 1910; and Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (New York, 1925), Vol. 1, pp. 424-5.

⁹⁴ *Industrial Worker*, Aug. 12, 1909; April 27, 1911 and Oct. 12, 1911.

⁹⁵ For the SPC see McCormack, "Western Labour Radicalism," Chap. IV.

⁹⁶ *British Columbia Federationist*, May 20, 1912; and *Western Clarion*, Oct. 23, 1909 and July 18, 1914.

⁹⁷ *Industrial Worker*, July 1, 1909 and July 8, 1909; and *Solidarity*, Dec. 16, 1911.

⁹⁸ *Industrial Worker*, Dec. 19, 1912.

⁹⁹ *Solidarity*, March 11, 1911; George Hardy, *Those Stormy Years* (London, 1956), p. 28; Wayne State, IWW Records, Vol. 145-28, Latchem, "Yellow Socialists and Red Communists," p. 82; and McGuckin, "Recollections of a Wobbly," p. 41.

¹⁰⁰ William Bennett, *Builders of British Columbia*, (Vancouver, n.d.), p. 41; H.A. Logan, *Trade Unions in Canada*, (Toronto, 1948), p. 300; and Paul Phillips, *No Power Greater: A Century of Labour in British Columbia*, (Vancouver, 1967), p. 46.

¹⁰¹ PABC, Attorney General's Records, Vol. 6046-16-12, McVety to Bowser, July 17, 1912; and RG 18, A-1, Vol. 487-348, Gavell to Rowan, Aug. 4, 1914.

¹⁰² Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, pp. 223-5.

¹⁰³ *The Agitator*, April 1, 1911. For north Winnipeg anarchism see Immigration Records, Vol. 513-800111, Ashdown to Oliver, April 9, 1908; and Rudolph Rocker, *The London Years*, trans. by J. Leftwich, (London, 1956), pp. 233-5.

¹⁰⁴ *Solidarity*, Dec. 2, 1911 and May 23, 1914; *The Agitator*, May 15, 1912; and *The Syndicalist*, Jan. 15, 1913.

¹⁰⁵ *The Syndicalist*, Feb. 15, 1913 and June 1, 1913.

¹⁰⁶ *British Columbia Federationist*, Aug. 22, 1913 and Sept. 12, 1913 and UBC, Special Collections Division, Vancouver Trades and Labour Council Minutes, Sept. 4, 1913.

¹⁰⁷ *British Columbia Federationist*, Dec. 12, 1913; Jan. 2, 1914; Jan. 16, 1914 and Feb. 13, 1914; and Hardy, *Those Stormy Years*, pp. 51-2.

¹⁰⁸ Vancouver Trades Council Minutes, Jan. 15, 1914; and *The Voice of the People*, Nov. 13, 1913.

¹⁰⁹ Phillips, *Now Power Greater*, p. 50; and Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, *Convention Proceedings*, 1911, pp. 73-4 and 1912, p. 82.

¹¹⁰ Vancouver Trades Council Minutes, Aug. 15, 1912 and Oct. 17, 1912; *Industrial Worker*, Aug. 29, 1912; and *British Columbia Federationist*, Nov. 15, 1912 and Nov. 22, 1912.

¹¹¹ *District Ledger*, Jan. 13, 1912.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1912 and Feb. 24, 1912.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1912; March 3, 1912 and April 30, 1912; and *Industrial Worker*, March 14, 1912.

¹¹⁴ Dan Sproul, "The Situation in British Columbia," *International Socialist Review*, X, (Feb., 1910), p. 743.

¹¹⁵ *Western Clarion*, March 29, 1913 and Sept. 27, 1913.

¹¹⁶ *Bulletin*, (IAM, Winnipeg), June, 1914.

¹¹⁷ Henry Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (London, 1965), pp. 135-43.

¹¹⁸ *Western Clarion*, Dec. 20, 1913

¹¹⁹ *The Voice*, March 8, 1912.