

gers" in Saint John in 1840; seamen in Quebec City in 1847; shipwrights and caulkers in Kingston in 1848-50; carpenters, cabinet makers, blacksmiths and foundrymen, painters, masons and stonecutters, shipwrights, riggers and sailmakers, longshoremen, sawmill men, millers, bakers, shoemakers, tailors, and printers in Saint John in 1853; longshoremen in Quebec City in 1857, and sailmakers in 1858; moulders in Brantford in 1859; and bakers in Victoria in 1859. Most of these early unions were probably short-lived but the Montreal Stonecutters, the Quebec Ship Labourers (longshoremen) and the Saint John Shipwrights lasted well into the present century; the present Toronto Typographical Union goes back to 1844, and the Saint John Longshoremen to 1849.

Before 1859, all the unions seem to have been purely local, except for the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE), a British union that established its first Canadian branch in Montreal in 1853, a second in Hamilton in 1857, and two more (Toronto and Brantford) in 1858. But from 1859 on, Canadian unionism became steadily more and more 'international', that is, more and more of its members belonged to unions with their headquarters and the bulk of their membership in another country. The ASE was followed, during the 1860s, by several organizations with headquarters in the United States—the Moulders (1859), the Locomotive Engineers (1864), the Typographical Union (1865), the Knights of St. Crispin (shoemakers) (1868), and the Cigar Makers (1869); the Coopers also may have arrived before 1871. The 1870s brought the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (British) (1871), the Bricklayers and Masons (1872), the Friendly Society of Carpenters (British) (1875), the Locomotive Firemen (1876), and probably the Knights of Labor (1879), and the 1880s brought the Railway Conductors (1881), the American Brotherhood of Carpenters (1882), the Railroad Trainmen (1885), and the Painters and Decorators (1887). British and American immigrants brought some of these with them: others were invited by Canadian local unions that wanted to be part of something bigger and stronger, and whose members wanted to be able to move freely to jobs in the United States when times were hard in Canada.

Nevertheless, during the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, Canadian workers continued to form purely local or provincial unions. There were provincial organizations of shoemakers in Ontario and coal miners in Nova Scotia; there were local unions of occupations as diverse as seamen, sailmakers, shipwrights, caulkers, riggers, longshoremen, wharf porters, truckmen, hackmen, bricklayers, masons, stonecutters, carpenters, plasterers, painters, plumbers, tinsmiths, boilermakers, carriage makers, saddle makers, harness makers, trunk makers, cabinet makers, chair makers, varnishers and polishers, coopers, boltmakers, brushmakers, bricklayers' labourers, labourers, tailors, hatters, bakers, bookbinders, and in places as widely scattered as Halifax, Charlottetown, Saint John, Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, London, St. Catharines and Victoria.

For many years the various unions, even in the same city or town, had very little to do with each other. But in December 1863 several Hamilton unions formed a central Trades Union or Trades Assembly, a body made up of delegates from the constituent unions, which lasted till at least 1875. This was followed by the Toronto Trades Assembly (1871-78), the Ottawa Trades Council (1872-76) and the St. Catharines Trades Assembly (1875). In 1873, moreover, the Toronto Assembly called a national convention. By that time, there must have been upwards of a hundred unions in the country but the convention had delegates from only 31 locals of 14 unions, all in Ontario (although the Typographical Unions in Montreal and Quebec sent letters of approval). This convention set up the first national central organization, the Canadian Labor Union, which met again in 1874, 1875, 1876 and 1877. The depression of the 1870s, however, was fatal to both the local and national central bodies, although many of the local unions, especially the branches of the internationals, survived.

Meanwhile, the infant Canadian labour movement had won a resounding and decisive legislative victory in the Toronto printers' strike of 1872, part of the nine-hours movement. Most of the Toronto master-printers, headed by George Brown of the *Globe*, were fiercely anti-union. They had 13 leading members of the Typographical Union committee arrested on a charge of seditious conspiracy. Labour had assumed unions were lawful but it now