

whose American members were affiliated to the Federation, never faltered in its allegiance to international unionism. It knew that in most industries international unions alone had the staff, experience and money to do the job that had to be done.

Meanwhile, however, the whole Canadian labour movement had been "by schisms rent asunder, by heresies distressed" Nationalism, industrial as against craft unionism, revolutionary ideas, and a mixture of nationalism and denominationalism all played their part. The unions expelled by the TLC in 1902 promptly formed the National Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, which, in 1908, became the Canadian Federation of Labour and in 1910 took in the Provincial Workmen's Association of Nova Scotia (which had never affiliated with the TLC). In 1919, just after the Winnipeg general strike and partly as a result of its failure, many western unionists, attracted by revolutionary industrial unionism, broke away from the Congress and the established international unions and formed the One Big Union, which for a time threatened to take away a large proportion of the TLC's membership on the Prairies and in British Columbia but within a few years had ceased to be of any importance. Between 1901 and 1921, small Roman Catholic unions (some of them perhaps former Knights of Labor Assemblies) sprang up in Quebec under the fostering care of the hierarchy and clergy and in 1921 formed the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour (CCCL). In 1927, the Canadian Federation of Labour and other national unions (notably the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, which had been founded in 1908, had entered the TLC in 1917 and had been expelled from it in 1921) formed the All-Canadian Congress of Labour (ACCL), dedicated to industrial and national unionism. By 1935, purely Canadian unions of one kind or another, including the Communist Workers' Unity League, made up nearly half the total union membership in Canada. Within a few years, however, international unionism reasserted its predominance and for many years now about 70 p.c. of all Canadian unionists have belonged to international unions.

The great debate in the United States in the 1930s over the relative merits of industrial and craft unionism found only faint echoes in Canada. The TLC had both kinds and was most reluctant to expel the Canadian branches of CIO unions but, faced with a virtual ultimatum from the AFL that it must either expel the CIO unions or lose the AFL unions (whose Canadian membership was then far larger), it had really no choice and in 1939 the CIO unions were accordingly cast forth. They at once formed a Canadian CIO Committee, which became the fourth Canadian central organization.

Through all these changes and chances, the four railway running trades (Conductors, Engineers, Firemen and Trainmen) remained unaffiliated with any central body, although locals of every one of them had occasionally sent delegates to Trades and Labor Councils and to TLC conventions, and in 1896 their joint Legislative Board had sent two delegates to the TLC, of whom one was elected to the Congress Executive. The "big four", however, co-operated with each other and two Congress railway unions in a Dominion Joint Legislative Committee.

Late in 1939 came the first step toward unity, although, paradoxically, it created the first effective opposition to the TLC. The ACCL and the Canadian CIO Committee agreed to unite in the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL), which was set up in 1940, with complete autonomy not only for itself but for the Canadian branches of CIO unions. Contrary to most expectations, this new Congress not only survived but grew and became strong, organizing mass production industries and pioneering in labour research, workers' education and labour public relations. For the next 15 years both Congresses passed resolutions almost every year in favour of unity and, from 1948 on, joint action on various matters became increasingly common. But as long as the two American central bodies were at loggerheads their Canadian counterparts could make little progress towards reunion because of the provisions of the TLC Constitution which, in effect, forbade it to affiliate any union 'dual' to an AFL union. Once the Americans agreed to discuss unity, this blockage disappeared. By the end of 1953 the two Canadian Congresses had appointed a joint Unity Committee, which first (1954) drew up a "No-raiding Agreement"