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SUDBURY 1883-1946

A SOCIAL HISTORICAL STUDY OF PROPERTY AND CLASS

by

DONALD DENNIE

A thesis submitted to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

September 3, 1989

ISBN 0-315-54408-2

Canada

The undersigned hereby recommend to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
acceptance of the thesis

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OF PROPERTY AND CLASS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the development of Sudbury, Ontario, from its beginnings in 1883 until the end of World War II, by focusing on the structure, formation and actions of as well as the relationship between three social classes: the haute bourgeoisie, the petite bourgeoisie and the working class. With a historical materialist perspective, the thesis investigates two fundamental dimensions of class: property (who owns what and for what purpose?) and work (who works for whom?). The study is divided into three parts, each one corresponding to three distinct periods of time. Throughout these periods, the fundamental structure of class, defined as ownership and non-ownership of the means of production, remains basically the same. However, the formation of and the relationship between social classes change considerably as the forces of production are considerably augmented and the working class organizes itself. The thesis focuses mainly on the Town and City of Sudbury but investigates the mining, lumbering and railway operations in the surrounding district which were instrumental in Sudbury's developmemnt as a service and distribution center.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The making of a thesis involves a number of persons to whom its author owes special gratitude. For his assistance in the conception, planning and writing of this thesis, I owe very special gratitude to Professor Del Muise whose guidance and patience were greatly appreciated. Professor Stan Mealing also provided quiet guidance through his selection of readings in Canadian social history.

I owe very special thanks to the professional staff of the reference section of the Sudbury Public Library who permitted me to occupy its Mary C. Shantz room for weeks on end and who provided assistance in finding documents necessary for the completion of the thesis. Colleen O'Reilley, of the City Clerk's Office, provided valuable assistance for the consultation of Council minutes and tax assessment rolls. At INCO, Sid Forster was very helpful in securing permission to gain access to the company's archives; so was Ron Orassi in suggesting and retrieving data and information on the company and its workers.

Professor Robert Toupin, s.j. of the History Department of Laurentian University, who many years ago first introduced me to social history, was again helpful in permitting access to the Jesuit archives. The staffs of Laurentian University library, the National Archives and Library as well as the Province of Ontario Archives also provided courteous and valuable assistance.

Professor Angus Gilbert of the Department of History of Laurentian University and professor Paddy Prévost of Marymount

College were more than patient in taking time to read and suggest editorial changes in the final manuscript.

I owe very special gratitude to Lucille Dennie who endured the difficult periods associated with the making of a thesis. More so, her calm and confident computer expertise soothed many unnecessary and anxious moments. My gratitude to her can never be sufficiently expressed.

Finally, I feel that I owe gratitude to those thousands of workers - men and women - who truly built Sudbury and whose history I have only partially been able to reconstruct and write. It is my hope that their history will be more fully told in order that their legacy may endure for the years to come.

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INTRODUCTION

The history of Sudbury has oftentimes been told through the perspectives of the mining and railway companies, the local Chamber of Commerce, various politicians and civic leaders, particular institutions such as schools and churches as well as various ethnic groups. Much of these histories is implicitly about social classes, particularly the large and small property owners who constitute the haute and petite bourgeoisie of the community. It has seldom been told through the perspective of its working class.

The object of this thesis is to write the social history of Sudbury, from its beginnings in 1883 to the end of World War II, by explicitly focusing on social classes: their composition, formation and relationships, and more so on the large group of mostly propertyless men and women whose labour power built and developed the community. Since social class is a relationship[1], any history of the Sudbury working class requires as well an analysis of the other major classes involved in this relationship. In the case of Sudbury, these other classes are the haute bourgeoisie of mining, lumber and railway as well as the petite bourgeoisie of merchants, professionals and businessmen so prominent in local and regional politics and institutions.

To write the social history of Sudbury from this perspective has meant asking new questions to previously known and utilized

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[1]See E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1968.

documents, utilizing others which were known but never analyzed, or unearthing documents lain dormant for decades. The task was informed by a particular theoretical orientation, that of historical materialism. It is not my intention, in this brief introduction, to delve into the uneasy relationship between theory and history nor to analyze recent attempts at reconstructing historical materialism.[2] In The German Ideology and Capital. A Critique of Political Economy[3], Karl Marx elaborated a vision of history and society as well as a set of concepts which have proven useful, if not always unambiguous,[4] for the analysis of particular societies or social formations.

This vision of history and society is predicated upon a set of tenets the first of which is that man produces himself, history and society in the process of transforming nature to satisfy certain basic needs. This process of production, which in some modes of production becomes independent of man's consciousness and

---

[2]For examples of these attempts and the numerous debates which they have fostered, see Jorge Larrain, A Reconstruction of Historical Materialism, London, Allen & Unwin, 1986; Perry Anderson, In the Tracks of Historical Materialism, London, Verso, 1983; Jurgen Habermas, "Toward a Reconstruction of Historical Materialism" in Communication and the Evolution of Society, Boston, Beacon Press, 1979, pp. 132-172; G.A. Cohen, Karl Marx's Theory of History, A Defence, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978.

[3]Karl Marx and F. Engels, The German Ideology, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976 and Karl Marx, Capital. A Critique of Political Economy, Volume I, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1977.

[4]I agree with Larrain and others that Marx's vision of history and society and the concepts which he uses to analyze them are frought with tension and ambiguities. See Jorge Larrain, op.cit., p. 11.

will, must be analyzed not in general terms but in its particular historical form. One of these forms is the capitalist mode of production which is the focus of Marx's study in Capital.

> The concept of 'mode of production' provides the clue to the historical analysis of society and involves the combination of a specific system of production relations with a certain level of productive forces.
> The system of relations of production includes both a specific form of control over the means of production and a specific form of extraction of surplus labour. It therefore determines a specific class distinction between the direct producers and those who control the means of production, and a legal and political system which secures both the property of the means of production and the extraction of surplus labour.[5]

That the capitalist mode of production rests on social classes goes without argument. What has been controversial however are the dimensions and boundaries of social classes.[6] While much of recent historiography on the working class has emphasized the culturalist dimension[7], a more materialist reading of classes will be employed in this thesis by emphasizing the dimensions of property (who owns what?) and work or labour (who works for whom?).

> The various stages of development in the division of labour are just so many forms of property.

---

[5]Jorge Larrain, op. cit., p. 122.

[6]The literature on social classes is enormous. Canadian literature especially has proliferated in the last twenty years since Stanley Mealing's article, "The Concept of Social Class and the Interpretation of Canadian History", Canadian Historical Review, 46, September 1965, pp. 201-218.

[7]Following E.P. Thompson, many English language authors have utilized this approach. For a Canadian debate as to the utility of this approach, see Gregory S. Kealey, "Labour and Working-Class History in Canada: Prospects in the 1980s", Labour/Le Travailleur 7, Spring 1981, pp. 67-94; David J. Bercuson, "Through the Looking Glass of Cluture: An Essay on the New Labour History and Working-Class in Recent Canadian Historical Writing", Ibid., pp. 95-112.

> Division of labour and private property are, after all, identical expressions: in the one the same thing is affirmed with reference to activity as is affirmed in the other with reference to the product of the activity.[8]

Marx and Engels identified various types of property which are correlated with various forms of division of labour. In the capitalist mode of production, private property of the means of production gives to its owners - the bourgeoisie - the rights to hire and dispose of others - the working class - who, being deprived of such ownership, have to sell their labour power to survive. According to C.B. Macpherson, property is a right, not a thing.

> As soon as any society, by custom or convention or law, makes a distinction between property and mere physical possession it has in effect defined property as a right. And even primitive societies make this distinction. This holds both for land or flocks or the produce of the hunt which were held in common, and for such individual property as there was. In both cases, to have a property is to have a right in the sense of an enforceable claim to some use or benefit of something, whether it is a right to a share in some common resource or an individual right in some particular things. What distinguishes property from mere momentary possessions is that property is a claim that will be enforced by society or the state, by custom or convention or law.[9]

In the capitalist mode of production, there are three types of property according to Macpherson: private, common and state, each of which entails different sets of rights.

> Common property is created by the guarantee to each individual that he will not be excluded from the use or benefit of something; private property is created by the

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[8]Karl Marx and F. Engels, The German Ideology, op.cit., pp. 38 and 52.

[9]C. B. Macpherson, Property. Mainstream and Critical Positions, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1978, p. 3.

> guarantee that an individual can exclude others from the use or benefit of something.
> State property...is not common property as we have defined it: state property is not an individual right not to be excluded. It is a corporate right to exclude. As a corporate right to exclude others it fits the definition of (corporate) private property.[10]

In capitalist societies, the control over property rights is at the very core of the structure of social classes. According to Wallace Clement,

> Class is...a relational concept derived from property, which itself is fundamentally understood as specifying relationships between people in relation to things.... Control over property rights, it is argued, is central to an understanding of the dynamics of class struggle.[11]

As owners of the means of production, the bourgeoisie attempts to maintain and enhance the rights not only of private property but also of state property because "the rights which comprise the state's property...are akin to to private property rights, for they consist of the right to the use and benefit, and the right to exclude others from the use and benefit, of something."[12] It is by excluding a significant portion of the population from private ownership of the means of production and from the enjoyment of common property that the bourgeoisie produces and reproduces itself and the working class. The struggle over property rights, it is argued, thus creates the fundamental structure of social classes.

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[10]Ibid., p. 5.

[11]Wallace Clement, "Class and Property Relations: An Exploration of the Rights of Property and the Obligations of Labour" in Class, Power and Property. Essays on Canadian Society, Toronto, Methuen, 1983, p. 210.

[12]C.B. Macpherson, op. cit., p. 5.

This structure also rests on the fact that one class, through the exercise of its property rights, can hire the labour power of another class and benefit from the latter's production. The labour process is therefore the other important dimension of class; a significant part of the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the working class concerns the rights to control this labour process. Marx analyzed in detail this dimension of class in Capital.[13] In the last fifteen years, a significant literature[14] has renewed his analysis and some of its concepts will be utilized in order to analyze the changing forms of labour in the Sudbury Basin.

Property and labour thus constitute two dimensions of the structure of social classes. In turn, structure is defined as the objective positions which individuals occupy in society in relation to property and labour. In the capitalist mode of production, those who own the private property of the means of production occupy the position of bourgeoisie; those who sell their labour power because they lack such property are workers.

There is a third class, the petite bourgeoisie, whose members both own their means of production and also employ their own labour

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[13]See especially Parts III and IV, op. cit., pp. 173-475.

[14]See especially Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital. The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century, London, Monthly Review Press, 1974; Paul Thompson, The Nature of Work. An Introduction to Debates on the Labour Process, London, Macmillan, 1983; Craig Heron and Robert Storey, eds., On the Job: Confronting the labour process in Canada, Kingston and Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986.

power.

> At a minimum, class analysis must identify the interplay between classes and the dynamics of class action as they are manifest in the development of capitalism. This includes the relationship between the two primary classes of capitalism: capitalists, who own the means of production and employ the labour power of others; and workers, who are compelled to sell their labour power because they lack control over the means of production. It also includes the declining fortunes of the petite bourgeoisie, who own their own means of production but employ mainly their own labour power and that of their families.[15]

To analyze and understand social classes more fully, it is necessary to focus not only on the structure as discussed above but on subjective dimensions of class such as agency, formation and experience. Agency refers to the actions and practices of individuals and groups as members of classes; formation implies class consciousness and organizational capacities. For example, the structure of the working class is determined by the position of workers in regards to property and work; its formation is determined by its degree of consciousness and especially organization through unions and other types of associations such as political parties. Class structure and class formation[16] are

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[15]Wallace Clement, "Canadian Class Cleavages: An Assessment and Contribution", in Class, op.cit., p. 143. For an interesting summary of Canadian literature on these three classes, see the balance of his article and also his "Canadian Class Cleavages and Canadian Political Economy" in The Challenge of Class Analysis, Ottawa, Carleton University Press, 1988, pp. 165-203.

[16]For a more detailed theoretical analysis of these concepts, see Erik Olin Wright, Class, Crisis & The State, London, Verso, 1978, especially Chapter I: "The Class Structure of Advanced Capitalist Societies", pp. 30-110. See also Wallace Clement, "Does Class Matter? Accounting for the Direction of Canadian Society", in The Challenge of Class, op.cit., pp. 19-32.

therefore two concepts which will be utilized throughout the thesis in order to analyze social classes in Sudbury.

Sources

Numerous sources of documents have been consulted in order to write this social history of Sudbury. To analyze property, two sources were consulted: the tax assessment rolls of the Town and City of Sudbury as well as different abstract books in the Land Registry Office of the District of Sudbury. The assessment rolls of 1893, 1906, 1921 and 1941 were used to determined pattern of ownership by social classes. This was an extremely valuable source given the fact that it contains a great deal of information concerning occupations and types of property. It was used along with Vernon's City of Sudbury Directory to reconstruct the structure of occupations and social classes. The City Clerk's office was helpful in also making available Town and City Council minutes and by-laws from which valuable information was obtained to reconstruct the development of the community.

INCO permitted limited access tc its archives from which a series of labour force reports from World War I to World War II were used to analyze the changing types of occupation and salary structure. Some documents from these archives permitted a glimpse of the politics of hydro-electricity during World War I. Many other documents, mostly secondary literature, were helpful in describing the mining and smelting processes.

The minutes of meetings of the old Sudbury Board of Trade were consulted mostly to obtain a picture of the petite bourgeoisie's

promotional activities and therefore of its class formation. The Jesuit Fathers' archives had valuable documents especially on the early years of Sudbury. The National Archives of Canada and the Public Archives of Ontario had numerous collections on labour organizations and activities. The Company charters books in the Public Archives of Ontario offered valuable insights into business groupings in Sudbury. Attempts to obtain ledgers from local companies active during this period proved to be fruitless.

The reading of the two English-language newspapers, The Sudbury Star and The Sudbury Journal, proved essential to reconstruct the activities, mostly organizational and political, of various agencies, groups and personalities. An index of these two newspapers prepared by the Department of History of Laurentian University was an invaluable source.

All the above primary sources were used to obtain information on the working class and the local bourgeoisie.

Secondary literature on the history of Sudbury and the Basin, very well organized and accessible in a special collections room in the Reference section of the Sudbury Public Library, was consulted in order to obtain information on the petite bourgeoisie and the major mining, railway and lumber companies operating in the region. Most of the information on the haute bourgeoisie was obtained from such secondary literature. Since the focus of the thesis was on social classes in Sudbury, no systematic attempt was made to obtain and consult primary sources concerning various mining, railway and lumber companies.

Method of presentation

The original intention was to write the social history of Sudbury by focusing on the structure and formation of the three main social classes in Sudbury, the haute bourgeoisie, the petite bourgeoisie and the working class from 1883 to 1946. However the actions of and relationships between most of the haute bourgeoisie and a majority of the working class occur mostly in the mining and lumbering camps and villages outside the limits of Sudbury. Therefore the analysis is more properly that of a particular social formation composed of three social classes whose relationships take place in a developing region centered in and around Sudbury. The haute bourgeoisie of mining, lumbering and railway operations (joined in the twentieth century by that of banking and commerce) is mostly absent from the region but employs a growing cadre of executives and managers to supervise the extraction of natural ressources around Sudbury and their transportation to centers outside the region. The large class of skilled and unskilled workers labours and lives mostly in the outlying mining company villages and towns as well as in the lumber camps of the district (at least until the 1930s and 1940s) although its organization in the twentieth century is directed from Sudbury. Finally the petite bourgeoisie of merchants, businessmen and professionals, most of which reside in Sudbury, promotes the development of the community into a distribution and service center for the surrounding mining, lumbering and agricultural villages throughout this period. Although it focuses more directly on Sudbury, the thesis attempts

to analyze the complex web of relationships between these three social classes which compose the social formation of the region.

Finally, the thesis is divided into three periods. While periodisation is always partly arbitrary, there appeared in the case of Sudbury to be three very different phases in the development and relationship of its social classes, each phase being qualitatively different. Each of these periods was inaugurated by a series of matrix events which brought about changes in the forces and relations of production in the Sudbury Basin. Such events, when seen in the context of a structural analysis[17], more specifically of a historical materialist analysis, proved to be determinant in the development of the various Sudbury social classes whose history is presented differently in the following chapters according to their variable strengths and relationships. At the end of World War II, the forces and relations of production in the Sudbury Basin were fundamentally and qualitatively different from those of the late nineteenth century when the railway carved its route through New Ontario.

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[17]Ian McKay analyzed the transformations in coal mining by giving "events a 'structural reading', rather than by allowing events to speak for themselves and carry the analysis through historical narrative." "Industry, Work and Community in the Cumberland Coalfields 1848-1927," Ph. D. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1983, p. 56.

PART I

SUDBURY 1883-1900:

SETTLEMENT AND MINING FRONTIER

INTRODUCTION

Set in the midst of the Canadian Shield in New Ontario[1], Sudbury has long been known as a hard-rock mining town[2]. Technically, however, Sudbury has never been a miningtown: no mines ever operated within its boundaries and it was not until the 1930s that mine, smelter and refinery workers started to reside in the City.

> Sudbury itself was not initially a mining town; rather it acted as a service centre for small communities at the mine and smelter sites.[3]

---

[1]New Ontario identifies Northern Ontario in the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. "The New Ontario is a title which in the common use describes all that part of the Province lying beyond the Mattawan and French rivers, and the Nipissing, Huron and Superior lakes, to the north and west boundaries." Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1895, p. 191. The boundaries of New Ontario, fixed by Imperial Statute and the Ontario Boundary Act passed by the federal Parliament in 1889, were the subject of a dispute between the governments of Ontario, Manitoba and the Dominion which lasted for nearly twenty years. See Christopher Armstrong, The Politics of Federalism: Ontario's Relations with the Federal Government 1867-1942, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1981. For a description of the geology and physical characteristics as well as a brief history of New Ontario, see Ontario Bureau of Mines, op.cit., pp. 191-211.

[2]This reputation as a mining town has been created in numerous ways such as Stompin' Tom Connors' song "Sudbury Saturday Night", thousands of articles in Canadian (read Toronto) and international newspapers and magazines, official and unofficial histories of International Nickel Company and hundreds of academic treatises in geology, geography, history and sociology.

[3]Wallace Clement, Class, Power and Property. Essays on Canadian Society, Toronto,Methuen, 1983, p. 189.

In the first phase of its history, roughly from its beginnings in 1883 until 1900, Sudbury was at first a Canadian Pacific railway junction and then a merchant town surrounded at its outskirts by lumber and mining camps. While the prospects of the mining industry fluctuated according to the markets for nickel and the fierce competition between the mining companies, it was the lumber operations which proved to be the mainstay of the village and the town until 1900 and even until 1928.

> If the early lumber industry served any real purpose, other than the obvious one of supplying an American lumber market, it was its transitory role as the link between the Fur Trade and the Mining Industry. In four decades the lumber industry passed through its peak production years and quietly subsided in the shadow of the phenomenal expansion experienced by the mining industry during the Great War. During its short existence, this lumber industry contributed to the demise of its predecessor, the Fur Trade, only to experience the same fate from the hands of its contemporary challenger, the Mining Industry.[4]

It is evident that the history of Sudbury can be viewed and analyzed in terms of staples and industries such as fur, lumber and mining. But it is more fruitful to analyze this history first in terms of relationships between and transformations within modes of production. As Wallace Clement has observed, "differences

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[4]Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, A History of Sudbury Forest District, Toronto, District History Series, No 21, 1967, pp. 33-34. Many authors have drawn the same conclusion that the lumber industry was more important than mining,in the Sudbury District, in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the firt decade of the twentieth. See Gwenda Hallsworth, "A Good Paying Business", Lumbering on the North Shore of Lake Huron,1850-1910, with Particular Reference to the Sudbury District", Sudbury, M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Laurentian University, 1983.

between dominant modes of production explain changes in the types of staples. Mining, along with the forest products industry, marked a critical break in Canada's staple production. Fish, fur and wheat were commercial commodities geared to consumption and were gathered and produced by independent commodity producers who were dominated in the market through trading relations by merchant capitalists who in turn sold these commodities in Europe. Mining and forest products mark the development of industrial raw materials and penetration by industrial capitalists."[5]

This approach - modes of production - leads in turn to the analysis of social classes and class relations. In these terms, the history of Sudbury's development is that of the relationship between three very distinct social classes: a large, unorganized and anonymous working class; a local petite bourgeoisie of merchants, prospectors and professionals and a haute bourgeoisie (American and British in mining, Canadian in lumber and railway) with easy access to if not synonymous with the influential politicians and bureaucrats of the Canadian State. While the structure of these social classes would not change much over more than a half-century, from its beginnings to the end of World War 11, their relationships would thereafter be radically transformed

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[5]Wallace Clement, op.cit., p. 175. In Chapter 7, "Transformations in Mining: A Critique of H.A. Innis", Clement offers a critique of the staples approach of Harold Innis: "there is a dynamic in Innis' work but the dynamic is primarily external; that is the relationship between Canadian staples and external markets. The missing dynamic, and one which complements the external one, is internal class relations", p. 176.

mainly as a result of the formation of the working class. From a voiceless and unorganized "gang of men" in the nineteenth century, labour would come to compete, by 1945, with the local petite bourgeoisie for the political and economic power of the city and negotiate with the haute bourgeoisie for the right to protect and enhance the reproduction of its labour power.

The first section of this thesis describes and analyzes the beginnings of Sudbury as a settlement and mining frontier mainly in terms of the social classes which were the agents of its development. Chapter I analyzes two different periods in the development of Sudbury; the first as a railway construction camp and junction, the second as a merchant town. Chapter II looks at lumber and mining operations on the outskirts of the town on which the Sudbury merchants depended in the latter years of the nineteenth century in order to promote Sudbury into a service and distribution center.

CHAPTER I

FROM COMPANY CAMP

TO MERCHANT TOWN

In the spring of 1883, a construction crew of the Canadian Pacific Railway had carved a right of way north of a lake later to be called Ramsey[1] and into a small valley traversed by two creeks[2] which was to become the location of the company construction camp and railway junction. This location, named Sudbury by the CPR manager of construction, James Worthington, in honor of his wife's birthplace in England, was meant to be but a temporary stop on the way west as the CPR constructed its railway line through the forbidding terrain of the Canadian Shield. Having bought, in

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[1]At first the CPR line was to run south of the lake. For reasons which have not been recorded (some attribute it to the fog), the survey crew became lost and the line was actually constructed north of the lake. See Florence Howey, Pioneering on the CPR, (Author's copyright), 1938; D.M. LeBourdais, Sudbury Basin.The Story of Nickel, Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1953, p. 23, who writes: "The intention had been to build the railway south of a lake of irregular shape lying in an east-west position, about four miles long by one mile at its greatest width, but the location engineer for some unexplained reason ran the line north of it. It was then called Lost Lake; but James Worthington, superintendent of construction for that part of the line, gave it the name of the engineer who had made the error and as Lake Ramsey it has been known to generations of Sudburians. According to Howey, op.cit., p. 86, the first name of the lake was Indian: Bimitimagamising.

[2]These creeks, tributaries of the Vermilion River which is part of the watershed which flows to Georgian Bay, were named Junction and Nolin, the latter in honor of the first Jesuit missionary to establish a Roman catholic church and parish in Sudbury (named Sainte-Anne-des-Pins), Father Joseph Nolin, s.j. The Vermilion is one of three major rivers which drain the surrounding territory; the other two are the Spanish to the west (of which the Vermilion is itself a tributary) and the Wahnapitei to the east.

1881, the Canada Central Railway which connected Brockville to Pembroke, with a branch line to Ottawa, the CP syndicate had finished contruction to Mattawa and Callander on the shores of Lake Nipissing in 1882. In early 1883, construction proceeded westward from Callander to connect with a line being built from Sault Ste Marie.[3]

> Therefore, construction was comparatively easy so far, but west of Mattawa they had to attack the primeval forest as it had stood since it grew up after the glaciers had slid away and given it a chance to establish itself-big timber,fallen trees,tangled underbrush and the old Laurentian rocks. The engineers, with Mr W.A. Ramsay as their chief, had gone in ahead, locating and running the line for the track. Then a gang of men and horses were sent in to cut out a wagon road, or as it was called a"tote road", in order to take in provisions and equipment for the gangs which would follow more slowly, cutting out the right of way,grading, building trestles (skeleton bridges) and finally laying the tracks in a temporary way. After the tote road was made for five or six miles, it was not convenient for the men to return to headquarters every night, so a camp and stable were built.[4]

"Set as it was among a confusion of rocky hills"[5], this CPR construction camp consisted of a few log buildings to house the

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[3]For a detailed account of the construction of the CPR, see Omer Lavallée, Van Horne's Road, Montréal, Railfare, 1974. For other general histories, see Harold A. Innis, A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Toronto and Buffalo, University of Toronto Press, 1971; W. Kaye Lamb, History of the C.P.R., New York, Macmillan, 1977; J. Lorne Mcdougall, Canadian Pacific. A Brief History, Montréal, McGill University Press, 1968; Robert Chodos, The CPR. A Century of Corporate Welfare, Toronto, J.Lorimer & Co., 1973; Pierre Berton, The National Dream,The Great Railway,1871-1881, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1970 and The Last Spike, The Great Railway,1881-1885,Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1971.

[4]Florence Howey, op.cit., p. 12.

[5]D.M. LeBourdais,op.cit., p. 23.

workers, a stable for the horses, "also a blacksmith shop, harness shop, carpenter shop, a bakery and a general store with an office at one end for the telegraph operator, bookkeeper and mail carrier."[6]

Although rudimentary, this camp symbolized the structure of social classes which would develop in Sudbury. A large working class of mostly "unskilled" and a few skilled workers provided the labour power for the construction of the physical infrastructure and the extraction of natural resources. A small cadre of managers and officials as the eyes and arms of capital would supervise the labouring class for the large property owners, the haute bourgoisie, whose members would reside mostly in the large metropolitan centers of Canada and the United States. The merchants, so important in a later phase, would still be hovering about this CPR camp in the first years of 1883 through 1886 not being able to establish a permanent presence because of the company monopoly. Along with a small group of professionals (the first were doctors employed by the CPR and then the mining companies), they would oversee the functioning of the community as well as become its important property owners.

There is no better illustration of this structure than Florence Howey's description of the housing arrangements established in this camp.

> The company always established a boarding house, where the clerks in the store, telegraph operators, bookkeepers, mail carriers, order taker and timekeepers

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[6]Florence Howey, op.cit., p. 15.

> could get meals, and always a comfortable bedroom for any official who happened along - but a "bunk house" was provided for the others, furnished with bunks around the walls with plenty of grey blankets, a big box stove, benches to sit on and a bench for a water pail and wash basin. The place went by the name of the "bummers roost"; it seemed a very appropriate name. The navvies, of course, had their own camp. The company stores supplied everything to the navvies both east and west, sending out men on horseback every day to take orders, and filling them the following day...You could buy almost anything at these stores...at a good price, and profit to the C.P.R. Co., of course.[7]

In its first years, this railway junction and construction camp were also very much a frontier settlement. Even though there is no evidence of habitation in the immediate area prior to the arrival of the CPR construction crew, Indian bands and employees of the fur trade had established settlements as far back as the 17th century to the west and east of Sudbury.[8]

Indian bands, mostly Ojibway, lived to the west at Whitefish and Manitoulin Island and also to the east on the French River and Lake Nipissing. Both Protestant and Catholic missionaries had been active in these Indian settlements in the nineteenth century.[9] The

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[7]Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[8]"The first people known to have lived in the basin were those called Shield Archaci people...distant ancestors of the present Ojibway people who live near Sudbury." Graeme S. Mount, Sudbury Region, An Illustrated History, Windsor Publications (Canada) Ltd, 1986, p. 12. See also Helen Devereux, "Sudbury;the Last Eight Thousand Years", in Polyphony, Spring/Summer 1983, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 17-20.

[9]Daniel Cayen, "Les missions catholiques du nord-est ontarien au XIXe siècle", and Maurice Cabana-Proulx, "Les églises protestantes au Nouvel-Ontario avant 1900", in Aspects du Nouvel-Ontario au XIXe siècle 1, Sudbury, Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents historiques no 73, pp. 23-40 and 41-49 respectively.

Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company operated fur trading posts at Whitefish, on Manitoulin Island, on Lake Wanapitei, the French River and the Nipissing region in addition to the well known posts of Sault Ste-Marie and Mattawa.[10]

Since the 1840s, provincial surveyors had travelled in the region in order to explore and survey the territory. In 1846, W.E. Logan had explored and discovered nickel at the Wallace mine, 70 km southwest of Sudbury. Then in 1856, Alexander Murray and A.P. Salter reported finding "nickel and copper on Salter's meridian line, a little over six miles north of Whitefish Lake, and less than a mile southwest of the main pit of the present celebrated Creighton mine".[11] In the 1860s, acting on a recommendation of A.P. Salter, the North Shore of Lake Huron was surveyed and laid out in townships of six square miles. Then under the guidance of Salter who had been named superintendent of settlement and road construction, the area was slowly opened up to accommodate mostly the first lumber operations.[12]

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[10]Diane Delorme,"Les Indiens du nord-est ontarien au XIXe siècle", and Joanne Rheault,"Les postes de traite et les routes de canot (1760-1821)", in Aspects du Nouvel-Ontario au XIXe siècle 1, Sudbury, Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents historiques no 73, pp. 1-10 and 11-22 respectively. Florence Howey also recounts her expeditions to Whitefish and Manitoulin where she met many Ojibways.

[11]Alfred E. Barlow, Report on the Origin, Geological Relations and Composition of the Nickel and Copper Districts of the Sudbury Mining District, Ottawa, Geological Survey of Canada, 1907, p. 9.

[12]Gwenda Hallsworth, op.cit., pp. 13-14.

When the CPR built its junction and construction camp in the wilderness of the North Shore, some 40 km north of Georgian Bay, at 46° 29' N parallel and 80° 59' W longitude, it was opening a territory where few had been before. Unbeknownst to its navvies and engineers who carved the first road and constructed the first cabins out of this wilderness, they had chosen a site on the southern ridge of a unique geological formation which would come to be called the Sudbury Basin.

Not unlike the general physionomy of the Canadian Shield, the Sudbury Basin is mostly a series of low, rocky hills interspersed by swamps, rivers, lakes and creeks.

> The general character of the country may, perhaps, be best described as that of an uneven or undulatory rocky plain, with a gentle slope towards the south and southwest. In detail the surface of the plain is far from uniform, consisting of a rapid succession of more or less parallel and disconnected rocky ridges with a prevailing northeast and southwest trend, the intervening valleys being usually occupied by swamps, lakes or river courses. The average general elevation of the district, as a whole, varies from 800 to 1,100 feet above the sea....Sudbury has an elevation of 850 feet.[13]

In the middle of this basin, which "is a "lopolith" shaped like a square-sterned skiff, about thirty-eight miles long by about seventeen miles at its greatest width, striking approximately

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[13]Alfred E. Barlow, op.cit., pp. 46-47.

northeast and northwest"[14] , lies a valley which was to be settled by French-Canadian families and which reminded some of the shores of the St-Lawrence.[15]

The origin and the geological composition of this unique basin have given rise to numerous hypotheses and have been the object of a scientific literature which, already in 1907, was described by Alfred Barlow as "voluminous".[16] The earliest hypothesis states that the basin is the result of a volcanic eruption.[17] A more recent

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[14]D.M. LeBourdais,op.cit., p. 16. There are many similar descriptions of the Sudbury Basin. See for example John Thompson and Alan Beasley,For The Years to Come. A Story of International Nickel Company of Canada, New York, G.P. Putnam's & Sons, 1960, pp. 13-14; Lorenzo Cadieux, s.j.,Frédéric Romanet du Caillaud."Comte" de Sudbury, Montréal, Les Editions Bellarmin, 1971, p. 11.

[15]In the Jesuit Fathers' "diarium", a parish priest notes in the summer of 1910 after a trip to Capreol at the northeast tip of the Basin: "Quelle magnifique campagne nous avons traversé. Une vallée à perdre de vue qui rappelle la Province de Québec avec ses beaux chemins et une riche moisson." JA, Diarium, Vol.1, p. 150.

[16]Alfred E. Barlow,op.cit., p. 9. The 1917 Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission,Toronto, King's Printer, 1917, also notes the extensive literature concerning the geology of Sudbury. It notes: "If the literature relating to the geology of the area be studied it will be found that three workers stand out conspicuously from the others. These men are Robert Bell, A.E. Barlow and A.P. Coleman", p. 210. The Report contains an extensive bibliography on the geology of Sudbury (pp. 529-583). Since then the literature has grown tremendously. For a historical analysis of this bibliography, see P.E. Giblin, "History of Exploration and Development of Geological Studies and Development of Geological Concepts", in E.G. Pye, A.J. Waldrett, P.E. Giblin, The Geology and Ore Deposits of the Sudbury Structure, Toronto, Ontario Geological Survey, Special Volume 1, 1984, pp. 3-23.

[17]Ibid., p. 9.

hypothesis holds it was created by a meteoric impact.[18]

Whatever the origin, the geologists agree that the Sudbury Basin contains a series of rocks and ore deposits which make it quite unique. As early as 1890, the geologist Robert Bell had identified the major rock groups of the Basin.

> Of Robert Bell it may be said that he outlined the foundation on which later geologists based their work.He succeeded in subdividing the rocks into their main groups;i.e.1)Grenville series, 2) Huronian series (Timiskaming), and 3) Upper Huronian series (Animikie). These three principal subdivisions have remained substantially correct to the present day.[19]

Another series, the Keweenawan, younger and more economically important than the other three, has also been recognized. This series contains the granites and the norite-micropegmatite which which the nickel-copper deposits of the Basin are associated.

> The ore deposits occur for the most part along the outer,basic,contact of the norite-micropegmatite, but the commercial ore bodies are rarely found in the norite. On the contrary, they occur largely in the rocks adjacent to the norite.[20]

The commercial ore bodies are on the outer edge of the Basin and for the most part in what is known as the southern range.More

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[18]R.S. Dietz, "Sudbury Astrobleme:Splash Embraced Sub-Layer and Possible Cosmogene Ores", in J.V. Guy-Bray, ed.,New Developments in Sudbury Geology, Geological Association of Canada, Special Paper No 10, 1974, pp. 29-40.

[19]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 210. See Robert Bell, Report n the Sudbury Mining District,1888-1890, Ottawa, Geological Su y Department, 1891.

[20]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 112.

specifically, "the ore deposits are found around the outer, lower edge of the norite and in dike-like bodies that either radiate from the base of the norite or occur in Footwall rocks parallel to the main complex".[21]

Considerable debate still exists among geologists as to the origin of these ore bodies.

> Two main theories have been proposed to account for the origin of the Sudbury deposits. One suggests that the nickel, copper and iron sulphides cooled and segregated from a molten condition like igneous rocks. This is known as the igneous or magmatic segregation theory;it is, indeed, what may be called the fashionable theory of the day, in so far as it concerns the Sudbury ores. The other theory accounts for the origin of the deposits by supposing that the ores have been formed by heated waters circulating through crushed, brecciated, fissured and sheared zones. The waters carried in solution the components of nickel, copper and iron sulphides.[22]

A third theory has recently been proposed to the effect that the sulphides were "introduced as immiscible sulphide liquid suspended in the silicate magma of separation".[23]

Thomas Flanagan, the CPR blacksmith who first noticed these ore deposits as the construction crew blasted its way west of Sudbury, would no doubt be taken aback by the explosion of literature surrounding his primitive observations. It was in August 1883 that he "observed an area on the right of way covered with gossan and dug some holes in it which showed copper

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[21]P.E. Giblin, op.cit., p. 6.

[22]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 126.

[23]P.E. Giblin, op.cit., p. 6.

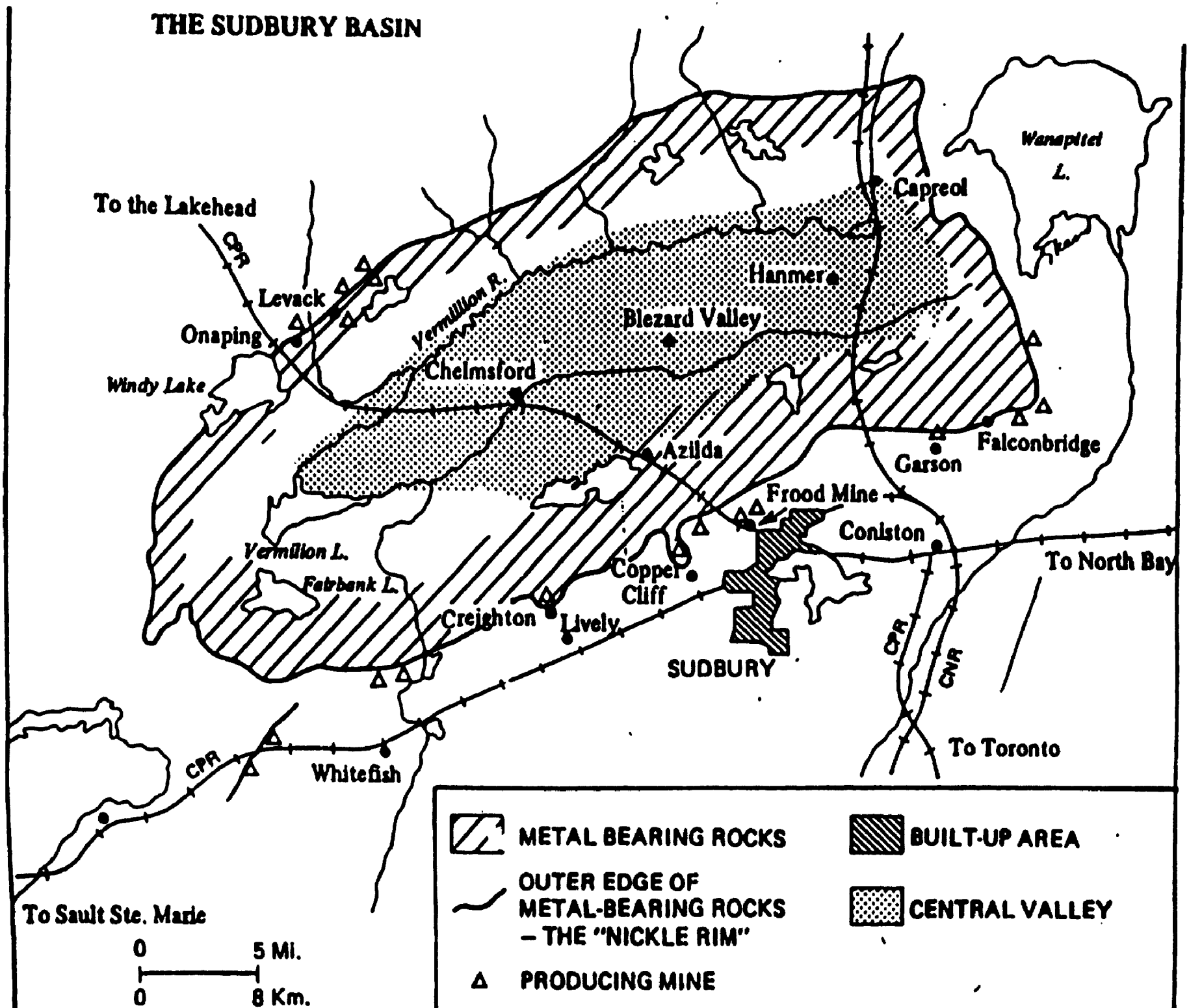

Figure 1: The Sudbury Basin

sulphide. When the "grade" reached the spot, a cutting in the rock was necessary which exposed the deposit".[24]

Railway workers

As a blacksmith, Flanagan was one of the few skilled workers who lived in the CPR construction camp along with carpenters and liverymen, clerks and telegraph operators.[25] Thousands of navvies and labourers preparing the railway line into Sudbury from the east and from the west on the Algoma Branch swelled the number of workers in Sudbury Junction.[26] These did not all live in the boarding houses of the new community but were spread along the line

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[24]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 30. There exists a slight disagreement as to whom was the first to discover these deposits at a spot which was later known as the Murray mine. Some attribute the original findings to Dr Howey, the CPR doctor, and Judge Andrew McNaughton, the stipendiary magistrate. The latter had become lost in the area and when found by Dr Howey, both noticed the mineral which upon analysis by the chief geologist of the Geological Survey of Canada was thought to be valueless. For this account of the discovery, see A.E. Barlow,op.cit., p. 23 and Florence Howey, op.cit.

[25]The names of these workers have not been recorded. Florence Howey's account recalls a few of the names but she focuses mostly on the CPR officials and the professionals and merchants who lived in and around the camp. A few others have left brief accounts of these first years. See Familles pionnières. Leur odyssée. Leur enracinement, Sudbury, Sociéte historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents historiques no 5, 1944; Louis Héroux, Aperçu sur les origines de Sudbury, Sudbury, Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents historiques no 2, 1943; Mrs Christensen, Pioneering Days of the Nickel District of Sudbury,mimeographed document,n.d., JA, C-2-1; CPR, mimeographed document, n.a. n.d. JA, C-2-1.

[26]It is estimated that the number of these workers varied between 10,000 and 15,000 in the summers of 1883 and 1884. See Denis Vigeant, "Le réseau ferroviaire du nord-est avant 1900", in Aspects du Nouvel-Ontario au XIXe siècle II, Sudbury, Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents historiques no 74, 1981, p. 18.

from Callander to Algoma Mills and, from 1884, on the western section from Sudbury to Chapleau and Thunder Bay.[27]

While some of these workers were Irish Catholics, the majority were French-Canadians who had emigrated from western Quebec and Eastern Ontario.[28] Many like Joseph Boulay were leaving their families' unproductive farm land in Quebec in order to find work either in the industrial centers of Cornwall or Montreal or on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

> For several years the fruits of the earth scarcely sufficed to feed their mouths. M. Boulay finally understood that his land was too exhausted to provide for his family.[29]

This was part of a general wave of emigration from Quebec to the industrial cities of Canada and the United States.[30] Some were responding to ads published by the Canadian Pacific or being recruited through agents or even parish priests who often acted as conduits for railway, lumber and mining companies. Many French-Canadians were emigrating from the counties of Prescott and Russell

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[27]One of the first Jesuit missionaries in Sudbury recalls that his parish at that time was 500 miles long and four feet wide. It took two days and two nights to visit the workers on the length of the line. See Louis Héroux, op.cit., p. 7.

[28]See Donald Dennie, La paroisse Sainte-Anne-des-Pins de Sudbury,1883-1943: une étude de démographie historique, Sudbury, Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents historiques no 84, 1986.

[29]Mlle Gilberte Proulx,Pioneer Families. Their Odyssey. Their Settlement, Sudbury, Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents historiques no 5, 1944. Translated by Ryan Taylor, 1980.

[30]See Yolande Lavoie, L'émigration des Canadiens aux Etats-Unis avant 1930.Mesure du phénomène, Montréal, Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1972.

with the lumber industry as it moved west along the Ottawa River.[31]

Others were Italians.

> There were many Italians working on the road,many of them just out from their sunny Italy. I could see gangs of them passing on their way from work, wallowing along in Indian file through the deep snow, every one carrying a big blue umbrella to protect them from the bitter wind, their heads wrapped up and wearing long capes, they formed odd looking processions. They were faithful workers, and never thought of trying to rule their adopted country.[32]

Most workers were men but in 1883 a "Miss Boyd was sent on from North Bay as a telegraph operator and had a little office near the Company's store".[33] Other women operated a small "cottage industry" by making bags for the company store.

> This gave an opportunity to the women who liked to make a little pin money, as you can imagine what would happen to peas, beans, sugar, tea, rice, etc., if sent out in paper bags on the "order wagon", bumping along the "tote road", so the stores supplied factory cotton and paid a cent a piece for bags run up by hand, or machine which few owned.[34]

Supervisors and first merchants

The Canadian Pacific had a small cadre of officials who ran the company store and boarding houses. Bob Burns and then Stephen Fournier (who was to become the first mayor of the Town of Sudbury) administered the store while James McCormick was in charge of the boarding house which became the nucleus of the Balmoral Hotel. ~~Company doctors, the~~ first and most famous being W. Howey, operated

[31]See Chad Gaffield, "Boom and Bust: The Demography and Economy of the Lower Ottawa Valley in the Nineteenth Century", Historical Papers, Canadian Historical Association, 1982, pp. 172-195.

[32]Florence Howey, op.cit., pp. 110-111.

[33]CPR, op.cit., p. 3.

[34]Florence Howey, op.cit., p. 16.

a small hospital. Andrew McNaughton was the stipendiary magistrate to administer justice in this frontier settlement and "Sam May was appointed the first detective to handle liquor cases".[35] The company built a large office structure in 1883 and, a year later, a "real station" at the junction of the Eastern main line and the Algoma Branch.

Until 1884, James Worthington was the manager or superintendent of construction and also Justice of the Peace. He essentially supervised this company camp and others for the owners of the Canadian Pacific. According to Florence Howey, he was very strict and hard on his men.Worthington was replaced by Henry Abbott in the fall of 1884 as the company became displeased with the slow pace of construction on the Eastern main line. Abbott was the manager of construction of the line eastward from the mouth of the Spanish River to the limit of Worhtington's jurisdiction at the Vermillion. The CPR had originally planned to build its main line in three stages:

> First, the former Canada Central would be continued to the north of Lake Nipissing, then past the present site of Sudbury to the Algoma Mills at the mouth of the Spanish River where a temporary lake port would be constructed. Steamers would link Algoma Mills with the Lakehead,via Sault Ste. Marie.[36]

In another stage, the line would be extended from the Mills to the Sault.The CPR had made plans for the construction of a townsite at Algoma Mills and the completed line would give the company a 540 mile rail link from Montreal to the Mills. Abbott

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[35]CPR, op.cit., p. 4.

[36]Omer Lavallée, op.cit., p. 66.

was responsible for construction of the line from Algoma to the Vermilion, which he completed in 1883. Meanwhile Worthington did not manage to have the track laid to Sudbury Junction until November 24, 1883, a month behind schedule. According to Lavallée "since the grade between the Junction and the end of Abbott's track at the Vermilion was far from complete, Worthington finished off his season by advancing the railhead about ten miles west of the Junction along the main line rather than on the Branch".[37]

In January 1884, the CPR acquired control of the Ontario & Quebec Railway Company which gave it a through line between Toronto and Montreal. It also gave CP access to Owen Sound, a much more desirable Lake Huron port than Algoma Mills because it was nearly 100 miles closer by rail to Montreal. This development led to the immediate suspension of construction at Algoma Mills and on the Algoma Branch.(It was revived again in 1888 and completed between Algoma and the Sault. The full line from the Sault to Sudbury was completed in 1900). The CPR had also decided on its all-land route to Thunder Bay and construction had proceeded west of Sudbury Junction in early 1884. Dissatisfaction with Worthington's progress led to his early retirement and his replacement by Abbott on May 1st, 1884. By the end of 1884, the main Eastern line had reached over 150 km west of Sudbury Junction and on May 6,1885 had connected at Girdwood with the line being constructed eastward from Thunder Bay.

During this period as a construction camp and railway junction, Sudbury was a company town. The CPR attempted to control

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[37]Ibid., p. 109.

every aspect of life in the emerging community, from the work of the construction crews to the sale of liquor and other necessities of life.

> The company did not allow private businesses to be established but operated its own boarding houses and a store and post office.[38]

This monopoly did not restrain merchants from attempting to establish commerces in the camp. The pattern of frontier business was "following the railroad to where there were virgin timber limits to be cut or new mineral discoveries to be developed".[39] The first merchants to conduct business in Sudbury Junction were pedlars "with their goods in packs on their backs. John Frawley was the first of these having made a visit here in 1883".[40] A year later Frawley opened business in a tent with a $500 stock of men's furnishings.

> He was joined by Bob Tough who had a tent and $488. Next to them Alex Tough set up a pool table in a tent. Then a barber shop was put up in a rough board shanty by George Tuddenham while a tented boot and shoe store was established in the town by Zotique Mageau while Pat Manion, father of Dr Manion, former Conservative leader, operated a men's furnishing place and Dan Dunn put up a boarding house about where the Mackey Block is now.[41]

Along with these first merchants came the bootleggers who, according to different authors, had a thriving business. The

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[38]Gilbert Stelter, "The origins of a Company Town: Sudbury in the Nineteenth Century", Laurentian University Review, 3, February 1971, p. 18.

[39]Scott Young and Astrid Young, Silent Frank Cochrane. The North's First Great Politician, Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1973, p. 4.

[40]Florence Howey, op.cit., p. 137.

[41]CPR, op.cit., p. 4.

appointment of officials, from James Worthington as a justice of the peace to Andrew McNaughton as a stipendiary magistrate and Sam May as detective was an attempt to control bootleggers and the results of their trade.

Some merchants managed to circumvent the CPR's control by establishing their places of business on land patented to the Jesuit fathers.All these businesses were established between the CPR station and the first Roman Catholic church in what has since become the downtown business district of Elm and Durham streets. These streets were laid out by James Morris, P.L.S. in 1887 at the request of the Canadian Pacific to whom the first properties within the boundaries of the village of Sudbury had been patented in 1884. All the streets running north-south within the village were named after governors-general of Canada while the east-west streets took on the name of trees.

It was in 1884 that Sudbury started taking on an air of permanence. Population increased considerably, merchants multiplied, generally coming from Mattawa, Pembroke and Renfrew in the Ottawa Valley. Prospectors and mining men arrived in Sudbury to examine the countryside as word spread quickly of THomas Flanagan's discovery of minerals on lot 11, concession V of McKim Township, three miles northwest of the village. Samples of rocks picked up near the grade had been sent to Ottawa for analysis, and when news of their mineral contents became public, prospectors were soon "scouring the country and filing claims".[42]

> However, it was not a "prospecting rush" in the true sense of the word. Rather , it was a feverish eagerness

[42]John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., p. 33.

> among people living in the district. Florence Howey, wife of Dr Howey, wrote about it saying: "more and more talk about claims and findings, buying and selling, and the price of copper...even the children picking up bits of rock and bringing them to show the yellow in them.[43]

On February 25, 1884, Thomas Murray, his brother William, merchants from Pembroke, Henry Abbot of Brockville and John Loughrin, a Mattawa merchant and later a member of the federal Parliament, applied for a patent for 310 acres of mining lands on lot 5. It was granted to them on October 1st of that year for the price of $310 or $1 an acre.[44] This was the first patent issued by the Crown for mining lands in the Sudbury area. It came to be known as the Murray mine.

The "feverish eagerness" of 1884 meant a lot of "people coming and going, construction works of all kinds going on", recalls Florence Howey.

> Through the influx of speculators there had been a boom in the merchandise business and to the boarding houses, so much so that Mr. McCormick enlarged his log building, and gave it a bar room, so that as soon as the CPR should be released from the Public Works Act, he would be ready to procure a licence for the selling of strong drinks... .Merchants who had been doing business in tents were making up their minds that Sudbury was going to go ahead, and were preparing to remain, erecting frame buildings for their stores and homes for their families.[45]

This was still however a CPR camp. But to the large number of navvies, labourers and officials were added prospectors and capitalists creating in the village a considerable floating population which has been the hallmark of Sudbury and indeed of

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[43] Ibid.

[44] See Registry Act Abstract book, Land Registry Office, Sudbury.

[45] Florence Howey, op.cit., p. 137.

other mining centers of New Ontario.

Of the numerous prospectors who arrived in this frontier settlement in 1884, approximately a dozen were very successful and have since become part of the lore of the community. Rinaldo McConnell, Francis Crean, Joseph Riopelle, Henri Ranger, James Stobie, Thomas Frood, Henry Totten, J.H. Metcalfe,W.B. McAllister, Wm. McVittie, F.J. Eyre, Robert Tough, John T. Cryderman and Aeneas McCharles discovered the major mining properties in the Basin, some of which are named after them. Like the merchants before them, many of the prospectors came from the Ottawa Valley, especiallv Renfrew and Pembroke. Some were merchants who tried their luck at discovering a mining property; some, like Robert Tough, were both merchants and prospectors. Others, like Rinaldo McConnell, left the lumber business to take up prospecting in the Sudbury area.

While most of the prospectors worked alone or in pairs, owners of their tools and their main mode of transportation, the canoe, a few were scouts or employees of other prospectors. McConnell, for instance, employed a number of scouts, Riopelle and Ranger among them. James B. Miller, of Sault Ste.Marie, also employed a number of scouts to explore the southwestern region of the Basin.[46]

Although discovered by these early prospectors, the major ore bodies of the Basin were developed by American and British mining entrepreneurs and promoters. In many cases, the relationship

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[46]For a more detailed description of these prospectors and their findings, see D.M. LeBourdais, op.cit., chapter V, "A Glint of Gossan", pp. 36-48. Most of the histories of the Sudbury region contain some passing word on these early and most famous prospectors.

between the latter and the prospector was not an easy one. Lacking the capital to develop the properties they had discovered, the prospectors quickly sold them to the American and British capitalists. Many claimed later that the mining laws of Ontario, prior to 1891, favored the large mining capitalists to the detriment of the prospector.

The brief era of the railway construction camp "when we were all like one big C.P.R. family"[47] or when "the C.P.R. controlled the community"[48] ended in 1885 as the company decided to move its facilities 130 km west to Biscotasing.[49] As a result the population of Sudbury junction which had hovered around 1500 dropped to 300. Those who stayed, merchants and professionals like Stephen Fournier, the company store manager, James McCormick and the Howeys, recognized or at least hoped that the community would develop as a result of the mining activities.

> By the Fall of 1885, there began to be great talk of minerals in the district...and in the spring of 1886 we knew Sudbury was going to be a mining town.[50]

From a CP construction camp, Sudbury changed to a way station directed by an agent and staffed by railway and telegraph operators. The departure of the Canadian Pacific and the arrival of prospectors and mining entrepreneurs changed the social structure of Sudbury. The working class, made up for three years

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[47]Florence Howey, op.cit., p. 134

[48]D.M. LeBourdais, op.cit., p. 30

[49]See Gaétan Gervais, "Sudbury 1883-1914", To Our City/A Notre Ville, Album-souvenir, Sudbury, 1983, p. 19; Gilbert Stelter, "The Origins of...", op.cit., p. 8; D.M. LeBourdais, op.cit., p. 26.

[50]Florence Howey, op.cit., p. 158.

of railway navvies and labourers residing in the CP boarding houses, changed to lumber and mine labourers housed in the camps established outside the boundaries of the village of Sudbury. Some of the railway and skilled workers, such as carpenters and blacksmiths, remained in the village while others followed the CPR west. The large property owners, which in the case of the CPR had been Canadians, were joined by Americans[51] although the latter owned their properties outside the village. The local petite bourgeoisie of merchants and professionals, augmented by prospectors, was soon to grow in size and influence. In the void created by the departure of the CPR, these would soon step in to develop a service and commercial center, "a convenient outfitting center".[52]

Towards a Merchant Town

In 1886, merchants took the lead in establishing municipal structures to regulate property and commerce within the township. They established the council of the township of McKim as permitted by the Municipal Act (R.S.O. 1877, chapter 184). Its first reeve was James McCormick, by then owner of the new Balmoral Hotel which had replaced the CPR boarding house. Stephen Fournier, who had established a store known as the Golden Ball, would become active in township and later in town politics. Now a village, and no

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[51]Samuel Ritchie, the American mining promoter and entrepreneur who founded the Canadian Copper Company, took over the CPR office in Sudbury in 1886 after the railway company had left for Biscotasing. The first officials of the Canadian Copper would travel to their mines in Copper Cliff over the abandoned Algoma Branch of the CPR. See Eileen Goltz, Genesis and Growth of a Company Town Copper Cliff 1886-1920, Sudbury, M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Laurentian History, 1983, p. 25. See also Florence Howey, op.cit., p. 159.

[52]D.M. LeBourdais, op.cit., p. 26.

longer a construction camp, Sudbury occupied the central portion of the township of McKim. By 1886, most of the property in the village and the township had been patented by the Crown to different owners. Within the village itself and the boundaries of what was to become, in 1893, the town of Sudbury, there were two large property owners: the CPR and the Jesuit fathers.

In 1886, the village of Sudbury consisted roughly of lots five and six in the concessions III and IV of the township of McKim (see map). It was the site of the CPR railway junction where the company had established its first log buildings. Bounded in the east by Junction Creek which ran into Kelley Lake and to the north by Nolin Creek, which joined Junction from the west, these four lots contained a total of 1,210 acres, each lot having 320 acres except for lot 5 in concession III which has 310 acres due to the waters of Lake Ramsey. In these four lots, the CPR owned a third of the property. It obtained by Crown patent, on September 17,1884, the north half of lot 5 in concession III (160 acres); the north half of lot 6, concession III (155 acres) and the south half of lot 6, concession IV (160 acres). The first subdivision plans for all these lots, numbered 3S, were drawn by James Morris for the Canadian Pacific in 1887.[53]

The other major property owners were the Jesuit Fathers who obtained by Crown patent, in the name of Rev H. Caron, 300 acres of lot 5, concession IV on April 28,1886. The Jesuits would subdivide and sell these lands in the twentieth century. They would

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[53]For the details of land ownership in the township of McKim and the subdivision plans in Sudbury, see the Registry Act Abstract books at the Land Registry Office in Sudbury.

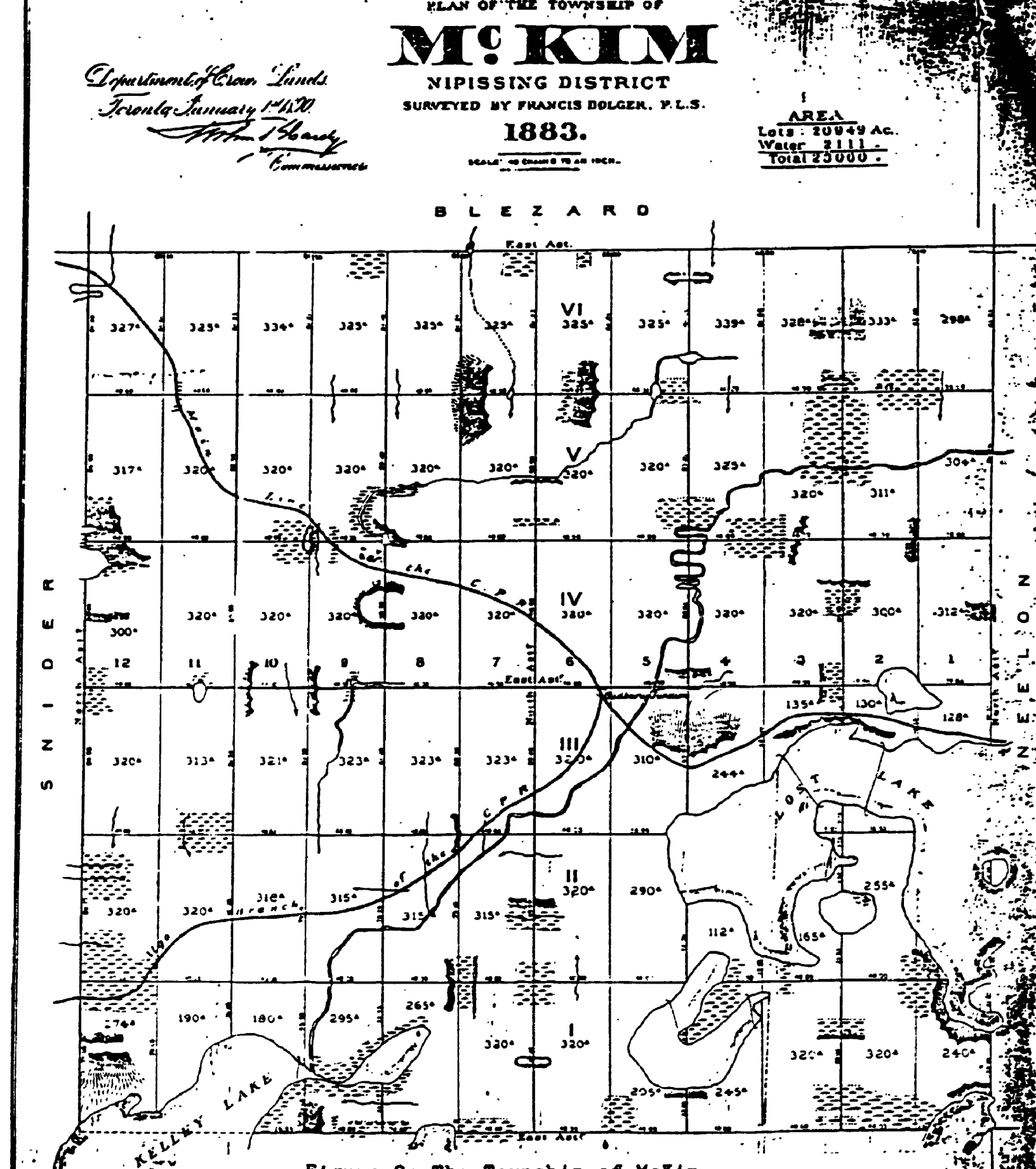

Figure 2: The Township of McKim

In 1886, the village of Sudbury consisted roughly of lots 5 and 6 in concessions III and IV. From 1893, the town of Sudbury consisted of lots 4,5,6 and 7 in concessions III and IV.

also use some of these properties for the establishment of St. Joseph's Hospital in 1898, an orphanage and a classical college in 1913. The Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Peterborough obtained 9.08 acres at the south end of the same lot 5 on which the first church and presbytery, Sainte-Anne-des-Pins, were built.[54] The CPR owned the rest of the property on lot 5. Aurora Dubois obtained by Crown patent dated May 25,1886, the south half of lot 5, concession III, parts of which she sold to Stephen Fournier in 1888 and to Rev. T. Côté, s.j.; she subvidided parts of the lot in 1888 according to plan number 4S. In March 1887, the south half of lot 6 in concession III passed by quit claim from H.J. Smith to R.J. Tough who obtained a patent for the land (156.5 acres) in 1890. The north half of lot 6 in concession IV was granted as follows: 10 acres to the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church on July 20, 1888 and 150 acres in December 1890 to Timothy Donovan.

When Sudbury was incorporated as a town in 1893, it acquired jurisdiction over four other lots in concessions III and IV, lots 4 and 7. Andrew McNaughton, the stipendiary magistrate, obtained 238 acres of lot 4, concession III on October 23, 1886. Lot 7, concession III was obtained by the Eyre family in 1886, the west half (159.5 acres) being patented to Samuel Bull Eyre and the east half to Fred J. Eyre both on November 4, 1886.

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[54]Louis Héroux, Aperçu sur les origines..., op.cit.; Alphonse Raymond, La Paroisse Sainte-Anne de Sudbury,1883-1953, Sudbury, Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents historiques no 26, 1954.

Table I: Land ownership in Sudbury, 1890.

Concession	Lot	Owners and No of Acres	Date of patent
III	4	Andrew McNaughton-238 acres	Oct. 23,1886
	5	South half: Aurora Dubois-155 acres	June 21,1886
		North half: CPR-160 acres	Sept 17,1884
	6	North half: CPR-155 acres	Sept.17,1884
		South half: Quit claim from H.J. Smith to R.J. Tough	March 17,1887
		Patent to Tough-156.5 acres	March 27,1890
	7	West half: S.B. Eyre-159.5	Nov. 4,1886
		East half: F.J. Eyre-n/a	Nov. 4,1886
IV	4	No patent issued	
	5	Rev. H.Caron: 300 acres	Apr. 28,1886
		E.C. of Peterborough-9.08	
		CPR (right of way)-10.08	
	6	South half: CPR-160 acres	Sept. 17,1884
		North half:Presbyterian Church-10 acres	July 20,1888
		Timothy Donovan-150 acres	Dec 12,1890
	7	North half: Hamilton Powder Co.-154 acres	Nov. 25,1889
		South half: Wm Holditch-159	Jan 9,1894

Source: Registry Act Abstract books, Land Registry Office, Sudbury

Most of the remaining land in the township of McKim was granted to prospectors and eventually to mining company owners, principally Samuel Ritchie and the Canadian Copper Company. By the end of the 1880s, S. J. Ritchie and/or the Canadian Copper Company owned a third of the property, over 6,000 acres, in the township of McKim and additional property in surrounding townships, mostly Snider to the west. In McKim, the Canadian Copper owned lots 11 and 12 in concession II; lots 8 to 12 in concessions 111 and 1V; lots 5 to 10 in concession V and lots 5, 6 and the south half of lot 7 in concession VI. Except for those in concessions V and VI, these were all mining properties contiguous to the later mines and plants

in Copper Cliff. The only southwest lots in concession V not obtained by the Canadian Copper were those granted to Thomas Murray in 1884 (lot II which was eventually transferred to the British mining company, H.H. Vivian in 1888), and to Henry Totten and Thos Armstrong, (lot 12), both prospectors.

In concession VI, the Corporation du Collège Sainte-Marie (Jesuit fathers) bought 149 acres in lot I. The rest of lot I and lots 2 and 3 were granted to French-Canadians who also owned lots 1 to 4 in concession V. In the township of McKim, the French-Canadians originally owned most of the land in a funnel-like northeast direction starting from lot 5, concession III. This established the pattern of residency for French-Canadians for the next eighty years. Lots to the west of concession VI were bought by the Vivian Company in 1890. Frank Cochrane, who would move to Sudbury from Mattawa in 1891 to establish a hardware store and later would become mayor of the town and minister in the provincial and federal conservative governments, bought part of lot 7 in this concession in 1900.

By 1890, all the mining properties in McKim had been granted either to the Canadian Copper or the Vivian company of Great Britain; the village of Sudbury had been subdivided and streets laid out. The CPR had subdivided its lots and sold properties in the main section of the village while the Jesuits subdivided part of their lot to the east of Sainte-Anne-des-Pins in 1890.[55] To the

[55]See plan 1S, Land Registry Office, Sudbury.

south, near Lake Ramsey, Aurora Dubois and Andrew McNaughton subdivided their lots in 1888 and 1887 respectively while to the west, Clara Eyre did the same in 1890.[56] The only other properties to be subdivided before 1900 were those of S.B. Eyre in 1895 and the Jesuit fathers in 1896.[57]

From 1886 to 1893, the community continued to grow as new merchants opened stores and as hotels, residences and schools were built.[58] The first newspaper, the weekly Sudbury Journal, started publishing in 1891. Generally the activities within the vilage fluctuated according to the lumber trade but mostly according to the mining operations. These were fairly extensive until 1893 as three companies operated mines and smelters in the immediate vicinity. The population of Sudbury also increased during this period to the point where, in 1892, when it reached 1,000, a group of residents, mostly merchants and skilled workers, successfully petitioned the provincial government for its incorporation as a

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[56]See plans 4S (Dubois), 5S (McNaughton) and 10S (Eyre).

[57]Plans 18S (Jesuits) and 20S (Eyre).

[58]For details of the development of the institutions such as schools, churches, businesses, see Gaétan Gervais, "Sudbury...",op.cit.; Charles Dorian, The First 75 Years. A Headline History of Sudbury,Canada, Ilfracombe (Devon,G.B.), Arthur Stockwell,1958; D.M. LeBourdais, op.cit; Louis Héroux, op.cit; E.G. Higgins, and F.H. Peake, Sudbury Then and Now, A Pictorial History of Sudbury and Area 1883-1893, Sudbury, The Sudbury District Chamber of Commerce, 1977; Marguerite Whissell Tregonning, Regard sur le passé, Sudbury 1883-1983, Hull, Droit d'auteur, 1981; Sudbury Star, Sudbury 1883-1933, Feature Edition, 1933; Graeme S. Mount, op.cit.

town.[59] The limits of the town as established by the Act were the following:

> 2-The said town of Sudbury shall comprise and consist of the lands lying within the limits described as follows,that is to say:-comprising township lots numbers four,five,six and seven in the third Concession,and township lots numbers four, five, six and seven in the fourth concession of the township of McKim in the District of Nipissing...[60]

The new town's territory consisted of 2,477 acres "boxed in" to the north and the west by the Canadian Copper's properties and to the east by Lake Ramsey and a series of rocky hills. The extent of this territorial jurisdiction would become, in later years, a serious handicap to the assessment capacities of the town and city council.

In January of 1893, the first town council was sworn in. It was a ten member council composed of a mayor and three councillors for each of the three wards (Fournier, Ryan and McCormick) dominated exclusively by males and by a majority of merchants and professionals. This was to be the pattern for the next half-century.

In the first election for Town Council, Stephen Fournier was elected mayor. The councillors were T. Kirkwood, merchant, Dan O'Connor, prospector, hotel owner, mine developer; T.J. Ryan, crown lands agent and insurance agent; Robert Martin, merchant; Dr W.

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[59]The Ontario legislature adopted the Act to incorporate the Town of Sudbury, Statutes of Ontario, 55 Victoria 1892, Chapter 88, on April 14, 1892.

[60]Ibid., paragraph 2.

Mulligan, physician and Alex Paul, merchant. Andrew Gallagher, Edmond Migueron and D.A. Rioux were also elected but their occupations are unknown. From 1893 to 1900, the occupations of the mayor and councillors is as follows:

Table II: Occupations of Council members, Sudbury, 1893-1900

Occupation	Position on Council	
	Mayor	Aldermen
Merchant/ businessman	2	19
Lawyer	1	2
Physician	-	3
Insurance Agent	1	2
Contractor	-	2
Barber	-	1
Publisher	-	1
Liveryman	-	1
Dairyman	-	1
Mason	-	1
Unknown	-	4

Sources: CofSA, Town Council Minutes, Volume I
Department of History, Biographies of the Sudbury Region, Preliminary Edition, Sudbury, Laurentian University, 1980.

Nearly 60 percent of elected council members between 1893 and 1900 whose occupations are known were merchants/businessmen. Both Fournier and Frank Cochrane occupied the mayor's chair for two years each. In 1898, Fournier was named clerk and treasurer of the town, a position he held until 1908 when he became the Registrar of the Land Titles Office.

The available evidence indicates that until 1900, these merchants/businessmen were not large scale employers. They were the traditional petite bourgeoisie, both owners of and workers in their own stores. There does not seem to have been much

stratification within this group of merchants until the early twentieth century, although prior to 1900 some had managed to acquire a lifestyle which permitted the employment of live-in maids. For instance, Frank Cochrane's household in the 1890s included "two hired girls who did the housework and were paid $7 a month".[61] In 1900, Cochrane could move his family to a house he had bought in the Rosedale district of Toronto.

Many of these merchants were also involved in lumbering and mining. Louis Laforest was not only a hotel owner, but a wood contractor and prospector. Dan O'Connor was a hotel owner, prospector, timber and mine developer. As a class, they pursued the objective of creating the necessary institutions to establish themselves and Sudbury as suppliers to the workers and owners of the surrounding lumber and mining camps. Two institutions which served this objective was the Town Council and the Board of Trade.

Town Council

The Town Council was preoccupied, in its first years, with construction of the necessary infrastructure: streets, sewers, lights, and a power house which was built on the shores of Lake Ramsey. In its endeavour to build these facilities, the Council had to negotiate with the town's largest property owner, the CPR. At times these negotiations proved to be difficult, the more so probably because CP had successfully appealed in the Court of

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[61]Scott and Astrid Young, op.cit., p. 5.

Revision of 1893 the town's assessment of its properties.[62] The town had to buy properties from the railway company in 1894 to construct part of its water works[63] and streets[64] as well as to obtain easements from CP for land occupied by sewers.[65] In 1896 the CPR obtained an injunction against the Council restraining it from dumping its sewage into Junction Creek. The matter was resolved later in the year as the mayor was empowered to "refer agreement submitted by CPR to J.M. Clark of Toronto (barrister) at the same time pointing out to him the clauses that appear to us most objectionable and unfair."[66] These are but a few examples of the skirmishes which occurred over the years between the Council and the largest landowner in the town.

The merchants of the Town Council were concerned with the construction of roads leading to the different mine sites and also to the agricultural settlements of the Valley, more particularly in this early period, Rayside. From 1895, the Council minutes refer

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[62]CoSA, Council Minutes, 1893, Vol I, pp. 53, 54, 62. The original assessment had been for $25,000. As a result of the appeal, the Council and CP arrived at a settlement in 1895 whereby the assessment for the next four years would be $14,000 annually. On September 25,1895, Council passed by-law no. 45 to "ascertain and fix for the next four years" this amount divided as follows: 1)land occupied, $7,000; 2)other real property in actual use, $4,000; 3)vacant land not in actual use, $3,000. On June 19,1900, Council adopted by-law no. 108 which fixed this assessment for five years at $25,000 annually. See CoSA, By-Laws, Vol. 1.

[63]Ibid., p. 245.

[64]Ibid., Vol. II, p. 16.

[65]Ibid., p. 89.

[66]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. II, pp. 445 and 480.

to sums being spent on repairs to the Copper Cliff road leading to the Canadian Copper mines and smelter, to the Murray mine and Blezard roads. For instance, Council passed a resolution in 1899 "to urge upon the Commissioner of Crown Lands the necessity of a government grant to improve the road from Murray mine to Sudbury and also to enquire into the ownership of a water power site called "Sheppard's" at the Wahnapitei River"[67] In the same year Council agreed to spend $50 for the construction of a new road from Sudbury to Rayside. The province had agreed to pay $800, and Council sent a request to Rayside and Balfour Councils that each pay $50.[68] As early as 1899, Council discussed the question of having a street railway between Sudbury and Copper Cliff. But this project only saw fruition in 1914 after years of discussion and false starts.[69]

Along with roads the merchants saw in the building of railways leading into and out of Sudbury the necessary instrument to enlarge its role as an outfitting and distribution center. On July 13th 1899, Council passed a resolution authorizing mayor T.J. Ryan to write to prime minister Wilfrid Laurier "recommending the grant of subsidies asked by the James Bay Railway company for the construction of a railway between Parry Sound and Sudbury". This recommendation was made in the hope that "such railway will open up a valuable portion of the Province of Ontario rich in mineral

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[67]Ibid., Vol II, p. 327.

[68]Ibid., p. 361.

[69]See Eileen Goltz, op.cit., pp. 146-150.

deposits, lumber and also known to contain large areas of good arable land for settlers".[70] The rationale used by the merchants to lobby for such a railway was to be a leitmotiv for further interventions of this nature in later years. The Council also petitioned the provincial and federal governments in 1900 for grants to F.H. Clergue's Manitoulin and North Shore Railway between Manitoulin Island and Sudbury.[71]

Earlier, in 1893, a group of merchants led by Frank Cochrane, Dan O'Connor and Lawrence o'Connor obtained a charter for the construction of the Sudbury and Nipissing Railway Company which was to run from the mouth of the French River to Sudbury and then to Lake Wahnapitei.[72] The project never saw the light of day.

Mining and lumbering inevitably occupied town council members during this period. Throughout the 1890s, they were interested mainly in promoting mining activities. An editorial in the Sudbury

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[70]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol II, p. 398.

[71]Ibid., pp. 467-69. See also the Sudbury Journal, Feb. 22,1900, p. 4; Frédéric Romanet du Caillaud, Les mines de nickel de la région de Sudbury, Sudbury, Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents historiques no 38, 1960, pp. 20-21. Romanet du Caillaud, a French count who owned a considerable amount of property in Sudbury from 1902 to 1921, writes that the Canadian Copper delayed the construction of the Manitoulin and North Shore because it objected to the railway crossing its properties in Snider township. "Malheureusement, la Canadian Copper a fait, là encore, montre de sa jalousie commerciale: les travaux de ce chemin de fer ont été retardés, par suite de son opposition à ce que les entrepreneurs opérassent sur les propriétés qu'elle possède à quelques milles à l'ouest de Sudbury."

[72]An Act to Incoporte the Sudbury and Nipissing Railway Company, Statutes of Ontario, 56 Victoria, chapter 100, assented May 27th, 1893.

Journal, probably written by James Orr, publisher and member of Council, illustrates the "mind set" of the local petite bourgeoisie concerning mining.

> With such magnificent and valuable ore bodies as we have here, and the superior qualities of nickel as an alloy, this district is bound to become one of the great mining and industrial centres of the world and in the very near future too. Our faith in this "inevitable destiny" has never wavered through all the waiting years and is stronger than ever now.[73]

In order to promote mining, the town council gave a grant of $50 to publish the proceedings of a mining convention held in Sudbury in 1894, entertained delegates of the British Association of Science who were visiting the Canadian Copper plants in Copper Cliff in 1896, and proposed amendments to the provincial mining law in order to abolish any type of royalty on mines.[74]

In 1898, during the debate on the federal government's proposed export duty on nickel, the Council organized a public meeting on the subject. There were those at the meeting, such as Frank Cochrane, then mayor of Sudbury, who opposed unconditionally any export duty on nickel ore "as it would hinder Sudbury's major industry."[75] Others like James Orr (who had lost the election for mayor against Cochrane) favored an "export duty on ores and matte when shipped to any country that has an import duty on nickel"[76]

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[73]Sudbury Journal, Oct. 14, 1897, p. 4.

[74]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol I, p. 146; Vol II, pp. 50 and 82.

[75]Scott and Astrid Young, op.cit., p. 20.

[76]Sudbury Journal, March 31, 1898, p. 4.

such as the United States in order to encourage the construction of refineries in Canada. While Council as a whole never adopted an official position on the matter, it did oppose, in April 1897, an export duty of $2 per cord on pulpwood as such "would be injurious to the advancement of this part of Ontario and detrimental to the well-fare of the settlers".[77]

These debates followed the imposition of regulations by the provincial government in 1897 requiring the manufacture in Canada of sawlogs cut on Crown lands, the so-called "manufacturing condition".[78]

In its attempt to promote mining in the area, town council discussed with Rinaldo McConnell in 1897 the latter's proposal to erect a smelter within the town limits. It offered to grant McConnell's company an exemption from taxation for his smelting plant and office for a period of ten years but wanted a guarantee that such a plant would be permanent and not only an experiment.[79]

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[77]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol II, p. 105.

[78]See H.V.Nelles, The Politics of Development. Forests,Mines and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario,1849-1941, Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1974, pp. 48-107. See also Gwenda Hallsworth, op.cit., for local repercussions.

[79]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol II, pp. 151 and 159. There had been an earlier attempt either in the late 1880s or the early 1890s to build a custom smelter in Sudbury. "The project became practically a civic enterprise; the organizing committee was headed by Reeve Fournier (of McKim Township) and most of the principal business men of the village and surrounding district were associated with it." LeBourdais, op.cit., p. 33. This smelter was in opposition to the Canadian Copper's near monopoly on properties and nickel ores in the area. It woud have permitted prospectors to smelt their ores and find a market for them.

The project never saw the light of day.

In general, the merchant-dominated town council was eager to promote mining and lumber, roads and railways just as it opposed any attempt to hinder such development. This general consensus does not mean however that there was unanimity amongst the members of the local petite bourgeoisie. It was divided along political and religious lines. In federal and provincial politics, one group led by Cochrane was strongly Liberal Conservative while another led by Dr Robert Arthur and Orr supported the Reform Liberals of Laurier. In local politics, divisions were based on religion and ethnicity.The French-Canadian voters residing in the Fournier ward usually elected French Catholic representatives while Anglo-Saxon Catholics and Protestants who lived in McCormick and Ryan wards opted for English speaking politicians. Fournier was criticized in 1893 for appealing to the Catholic voters to reject protestant extremists while Orr was often accused of pulling the "Orange" vote during municipal elections.[80]

The merchants and professionals were mostly Anglo-Saxon and French-Canadian in this early period although there was a small but influential group of Jewish merchants such as the Silvermans and the Rothschilds who set up businesses in Sudbury in the early 1890s.

The town council served as a public body which regulated the common affairs of the local bourgeoisie, such as the control,

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[80]Sudbury Journal, Dec. 28, 1893 and Nov. 25, 1897.

through licensing, of transient traders and commercial establishments and the flow of trading activity by the setting of business hours. Moreover, council served as an important buyer of local merchants' wares from "goods to poor" bought at Eugène Grenon's grocery store to hardware supplies from Frank Cochrane. The distinction between private and public did not seem to preoccupy these merchants as council routinely adopted resolutions to pay for merchandise bought at members' stores without any conflict of interest being discussed or declared.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Sudbury had become a merchant town. Its council was dominated by merchants who conducted their private and public affairs in a manner to make of this one-time railway junction a commercial and distribution center for its outlying hinterland.

> Sudbury became the entrepot which served both the companies which exploited the claims and the men who physically worked them.[81]

The promotional activities of town council for mines, roads and railways no doubt paralleled those of the Sudbury Board of Trade. This body was established in the 1895[82] by a group of Sudbury professionals and businessmen. Its relationship to council was sufficiently close that the latter had decided that its chambers

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[81]Eileen Goltz, op.cit., p. 19.

[82]The "Board of Trade of Sudbury and the township of McKim" was formed on March 30,1895. The certificate of foundation was signed by 34 merchants and professionals who constituted the elite of the local petite bourgeoisie. Frank Cochrane was elected its first president and James Purvis, secretary. See Graeme Mount, op.cit., p. 106.

in "Fire Hall be allowed to Board of Trade whenever they desire its use free of charge".[83]

If the existing Board of Trade documents from 1912 to 1942 are any indication, the membership of both council and the Board consisted of roughly the same group of merchants.

Property owners in Sudbury

One of town council's major areas of jurisdiction was the regulation of property use within its boundaries including the approval of subdivision plans and the definition of commercial and residential zones. Although there was a definite lack of planning, council approved two subdivision plans, as already noted, between 1893 and 1900. Most of the property within the town had been laid out prior to 1890. The reduction in the pace of property development from 1893 to 1900 was due to the mine closures in the area and a "general depression of trade throughout the province".[84]

The 1893 Collector's Roll is the only extant documentation on the structure of property ownership in the town of Sudbury prior to 1900.[85] According to this document, there were 260 owners of

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[83]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol II, p. 472. This custom was extended well into the twentieth century.

[84]Ibid., p. 146. In 1894, the Sudbury Journal had noted, on page 4, that "there has unfortunately been very little progress made in the development of our nickel mines."

[85]The existing assesment rolls date from 1905. Unfortunately the collectors' roll of 1893 does not give information as to the occupations of owners and tenants. For ana analysis of property ownership in Sudbury from 1883 to 1913, see Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "J'y suis,j'y reste":French Canadians of Sudbury,1883-1913", Toronto, Ph.D. Thesis, York University, 1976.

properties whose total assessment was $171,645 and 153 tenants of properties assessed at $31,875. There are entries for 72 persons for whom there is no indication whether they are owners or tenants and of whom 61 are listed as "manhood franchise."[86]

There were 192 owners of the 260 assessed freehold properties, as thirty-six individuals, all men, owned two properties or more. Fifteen individuals were both owners and tenants either of residential or commercial properties and eleven rented two properties or more. Twenty-seven owners, including Canadian Pacific and Hudson's Bay, resided outside the town. Some of these absentee owners were from Blezard and Chelmsford. The roll contains the names of thirty women, seventeen of whom owned properties assessed at $9,970 or six per cent of the total and eight were tenants, including the sisters Hefey, milliners, who were the only business women in Sudbury if one excludes Dr Helen Ryan, the town's first woman doctor.

The largest property owners, in order, were the Canadian Pacific, Hudson's Bay Company, Stephen Fournier and Thomas Kirkwood, merchant. The largest tenants were Moise Allard and Frank Cochrane, both merchants.

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[86]According to the Assessment Act , Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1897, chapter 224, section 13(4), an assessor was to inscribe M.F. beside the name of any person qualified to vote under said act, that is any person "entitled to be entered upon the roll as qualified to vote under the Ontario Elections Act in a municipality in which the Manhood Suffrage Act is not in force." These persons were essentially residents in Sudbury hotels or boarding houses who were male, at least 21 years old, subjects of Her Majesty, resident within Ontario for 12 months and of the municipality for three months.

Table III: Assessed value of properties in Sudbury, 1893

Assessed value	No of owners	No of tenants
$0	14	89
$1-999	137	52
$1,000-4,999	37	7
$5,000-9,999	2	-
$10,000-14,999	1	1
$15,000-19,999		
$20,000+	1	1
Total	192	148

Source: CoSA, Collector's Roll, 1893.
These assessed values are prior to revisions made by the municipal Court of Revision and the appeal by the CPR.

Gail Cuthbert-Brandt has analyzed the relationship between property values and occupations of Sudbury residents whose names appear on the collector's roll in 1893. Of the more than 400 names, she was able to reconstruct the occupations of 196 of these residents. Of these, 72, or 37 per cent, were professionals and business men while the rest were clerical, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.[87] It is highly likely that most people with unknown occupations were workers, because information on professionals and businessmen is more readily available. While she concludes that a high percentage of workers were owners compared to industrial cities like Hamilton, nevertheless,

> a clear dichotomy is evident between the Business and Professional occupations on the one hand, and the Unskilled, Semiskilled, Skilled and Clerical occupations on the other. The former were under-represented at the lower end of the (property value percentile) scale and over-represented at the top; the latter had a high ratio of representation at the lower end of the scale and a low

[87]Gail Cuthbert Brandt, op.cit., pp. 132 and 134.

ratio at the top end.[88]

In other words, the value of the petite bourgeoisie's properties was higher on average than that of the working class. Cuthbert-Brandt also concluded correctly that the businessmen, professionals and skilled workers had a tendency to own and rent properties simultaneously; several owned the property on which they lived but rented their business premises. She also concluded that ethnicity was less important than class in determining property value. In general, "these were the people with the most material interest in the community."[89] This material interest rested on property which gave its owners, more specifically those with a certain minimum amount, the right, as defined by the State, to hold and exercise a franchise, to vote for and be elected to Council. That these rights and property values were defined by the haute and petite bourgeoisie who occupied State positions was a product of social class. The fact that these rights also excluded from such franchise a large proportion of workers because they possessed neither property or the required amount of property was again a product of social class.

Sports and lodges

After work and business, sports and lodges occupied a central place in the life of Sudbury's inhabitants. Sports especially played a vital role.

In other ways, the growth of a community spirit was

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[88]Ibid., p. 137.

[89]Ibid., p. 135.

> becoming evident, and in none perhaps more so than in the realm of sport. From the outset curling was a favourite pastime, while in summer lacrosse attracted the younger Sudburians. In each case challenges were issued to clubs in Mattawa, North Bay, Chapleau and the Soo.[90]

The Sudbury Journal always published results of these sporting events on its first page and reported extensively on the different athletic meets between Sudbury and other communities. In 1893 a curling club was established and a skating rink built. Over the years, a custom seems to have developed whereby the mayor would declare a half-holiday in order to permit the citizens and school children to attend sporting events. James Purvis, merchant, complained in a letter published in the Journal. "This is the second time this has occurred in less than two months - once in July for horse races when our French-Canadian friends had an excursion and again for horse races to-day", wrote Purvis. He also complained against "the closing of the stores at an hour's notice for a horse race or a lacrosse match" and the granting of a holiday to school children so soon after summer holidays.[91] Some of these sporting events occurred during the July 12 th celebrations when Orange lodges from other municipalities such as North Bay and Chapleau would congregate in Sudbury.

Sudbury was a town of many lodges. Until the early twentieth century, the Journal usually published ads for seven to eight

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[90]D.M. LeBourdais, op.cit., p. 34.

[91]Sudbury Journal, Sept.21, 1905, p. 4.

different lodges on its front page.[92] Members of these masonic orders and benevolent societies would often parade in the streets of the town before congregating at their respective churches. Membership in these lodges was mainly from among the Anglo-Saxons, although there is evidence that some French-Canadians belonged to them as well. The latter, however, had their own benevolent society, the Société St-Jean Baptiste, established in Sudbury on June 4, 1893.[93]

What was the role of these associations in 19th century Sudbury?

> These voluntary associations can be viewed in different ways. Some have suggested that they were primarily bases of community power, led by men of property and standing. Others have looked in another direction, focusing instead on the involvement of many working-class elements. Both perceptions touch on important truths. On the one hand, merchants, professional, clerks, and propertied men did indeed exert disproportionate amounts of influence in many friendly society circles, although it is important to realize that this hegemony was uneven, varying from society to society as well as within different lodges of the same organization. On the other hand, skilled workingmen certainly, and even some labourers, were common in all of the societies, and in many their role

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[92]These lodges were : Sudbury Lodge of the Ancient Order of United Workmen, Sudbury Lodge No 282, I.O.O.F., Nickel Lodge A.F.& A.M. L.O.L. No 1088, Camp Bonnie Dundee, No 16, S.O.S., Duke of York,L.O.L. No 1088, Shuniah Court, No 228, I.O.F., Sons of England Benevolent Societies, No 168.

[93]A document entitled Société Saint-Jean Baptiste found in the Jesuit Archives indicates the date of establishment and subsequent affairs of this association which was prevalent in French-Canadian society of the time. It lists the membership of the group which was made up of leading merchants and many others whose occupations are not known. There is an entry for 5 November, 1893, which reads:"la société paie $9.00 pour cause de maladie durant trois semaines à raison de $3 par semaine à M. W.Arbour." JA, C-2-1.

was far from subservient.[94]

In the case of Sudbury, the evidence seems to support the first view. While workers and merchants/professionals played organized sports together, in the lodges the major officials were merchants/professionals. The names of S.E.Wright, insurance agent, James Orr, W.J. Cressey, publishers, Alex Paul, merchant, D.L.McKinnon, merchant, John Henry, furniture merchant and undertaker, Dr W.H. Howey, Richard Dorsett, paint contractor, James Purvis, merchant, appear prominently in the lodges' activities. Other names which might have been those of workers also appear in the published accounts of these lodges' activities but the merchants appear most prominently.

However, the great number of fraternal societies in a town as small as Sudbury suggests very strongly that workingmen had to be active members in these societies for them to survive as long as they did. It is quite probable that workers played an important role in the conduct of these societies but their role cannot be reconstructed because of a lack of documentary evidence. It is also possible, as Palmer and Kealey suggest, that these societies

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[94]Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict. Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914. Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979. Palmer has argued in this book that fraternal societies and sporting events were an expression of working class life. So has Greg Kealey in Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892, Toronto,University of Toronto Press, 1980, especially chapter 7, "The Orange Order in Toronto", pp. 98-123. The other view mentioned by Palmer is that of Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1975.

"trained their members in parliamentary procedure and taught them how to conduct and lead meetings. The order also provided leadership for the labour movement. Perhaps of more import, however, was the reinforcement that the order gave to old themes of working-class life."[95]

In general, it would seem that these Sudbury lodges were more ethnic and religious than class-bound associations, especially in a period of time when the working class and the local petite bourgeoisie were still in the process of formation and class antagonisms had not yet appeared.

From 1886 to 1900, the local petite bourgeoisie of merchants, professionals and prospectors had grown considerably in numbers and influence; its process of formation is evident from the growing business activities and the establishment of the town council and the Board of Trade.

The working class.

The making of the working class in Sudbury and district is another story altogether. While local historians have placed great emphasis on the development of Sudbury from the perspective of the petite bourgeoisie, very little has been documented and recorded about the working class. Structurally, the working class was large and anonymous as thousands of wage labourers came to work after 1883 either on the CPR railway or in the mining and lumber camps.

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[95]Gregory Kealey, op.cit., p. 121. See also Bryan D. Palmer, Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour 1800-1980, Toronto, Butterworths, 1983.

These were part of the large floating population which was a permanent feature of Sudbury and which became the mainstay of its hotels and boarding houses. This floating population presented a dilemma for the petite bourgeoisie. To quote Cuthbert-Brandt, "there are however several indications of tremendous movement in and out of Sudbury - hotels and boarding houses thrived; the relief committee was constantly confronted with the problem of indigent travellers and respectable citizens expressed concern about the floating population of tramps."[96] On the one hand the floating population was good business for the merchants and the hotel owners, which explains why Council refused, in 1899, to reduce the number of licences for hotels because "of the great floating population of lumbermen and miners and travelling public at certain times of the year; the present hotel accommodation is barely sufficient to accommodate the same."[97] On the other hand, it no doubt created a problem for its indigent committee which was forced in 1897 to reduce to two dollars weekly the amount paid to the poor. The floating
population also created a certain apprehension amongst the citizens of the town.

The working class residing in Sudbury consisted of a large number of unskilled workers or labourers (35 per cent of the known occupations according to Cuthbert-Brandt). As noted earlier,

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[96]Gail Cuthbert Brandt, op.cit., p. 41.

[97]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol II, p. 347.

hundreds of labourers also resided, after 1886, in the camps at the outskirts of the town. A significant proportion of the working class consisted of clerical (eight per cent according to Cuthbert-Brandt) and skilled workers (10 per cent) such as carpenters and blacksmiths. It is often difficult to distinguish between these skilled workers and members of the petite bourgeoisie as the line of demarcation beween carpenters and contractors for instance is not always very clear.

The local petite bourgeoisie was not an important buyer of labour power prior to 1900. Apart from the skilled craftsmen who worked on construction projects, often hired by small contractors such as J.B. Laberge and W.C. Evans, there were evidently commercial and hotel workers whose number and identity are impossible to determine. Barbers and butchers there were, but whether they operated their own establishments or worked for others is again difficult to determine.

The largest group of workers in this period were no doubt the railway workers. Maids who worked either in the hotels or in the family residences of the local petite bourgeoisie were also an important group of workers. There seem to have been few other female workers apart from a small number of teachers. Clerical workers were mostly male. There is some evidence that many of the boarding houses were operated by widows and married women.

Demand for wage labour, especially by the lumber and mining operations, was heavy at times. There is no evidence to suggest that prior to 1900 this demand was difficult to fulfill. As early

as 1899, an employment agency had been established in Sudbury[98], the first of many such private bureaus which would operate in the town in the following years. This working class was mostly French-Canadian, Irish and British. Some Finnish, German and Italian workers had settled in the area as early as 1885.[99] The Finns would be the most active in the formation of the Sudbury working class during the first years of the twentieth century.

The structure of the working class was well established in Sudbury and area in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Unlike the local petite bourgeoisie however, the process of its formation in terms of organizational and political activities had not yet begun. There is at least no evidence of any type of continuous formation apart from episodic complaints and work stoppages by miners and the visit of a P.J. Loughren, organizer for the A.F.L. in the district, who is quoted in the Journal as wanting an alien law and complaining of having too large a district to organize.[100] The formation of the working class would have to wait until the early 1900s when the lumber and mining operations in the district became extensive.

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[98]Sudbury Journal, Sept. 21, 1899.

[99]The 1901 Census of Canada gives the following breakdown of nationalities in Sudbury: British, 1,134; French, 702; Jews, 78; Germans, 39; Italians, 48; Scandinavians, 14. For the first Finnish settlement in the Sudbury area see Martha Isobel Allen,"A Survey of Finnish Cultural, Economic and Political Development in the Sudbury District of Ontario", London, M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1954.

[100]Sudbury Journal, Feb. 4, 1897, p. 4.

Summary and conclusion

In many ways, Sudbury is the result of the Canadian haute bourgeoisie's project of nation building. Established by the CPR as a construction camp and railway junction in 1883, Sudbury was built by the labour power of hundreds of navvies and railway workers under the surveillance of the company's supervisors, foremen and hired professional men. When CP moved its camp further west in 1885, a growing cadre of merchants, professionals and prospectors, mostly British and French-Canadian, took over leadership of the frontier settlement whose existence now depended on the development of mineral and forest resources. As important property owners, the petite bourgeoisie organized itself as a class by holding most positions on council and promoting, through the Board of Trade, the newly incorporated town as the service and distribution center for the outlying mining and lumber camps.

Members of the working class resident in Sudbury and also mostly British and French-Canadian were railway, commercial and construction workers. A small proportion were women employed in hotels and private homes. Outisde the town's limits, hundreds of workers, British, French, Italian, Finnish and German laboured and lived in the mining villages and lumber camps. The ava*lable evidence suggests that a large proportion of these workers both in and around Sudbury were unskilled labourers. But many, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, drillers and furnacemen, were highly skilled as lumber and mining operations required men who could labour with very little direct supervision. Whether skilled or

unskilled, men or women, British, French or other, these workers were not organized to negotiate collectively with their employers. They participated in sports and lodges and no doubt in many other community associations led mostly by merchants/businessmen.

CHAPTER II

LUMBER, MINING AND THE STATE

Lumbering and mining were the dominant industries around the town of Sudbury in the latter years of the nineteenth century. The former was the more important during this period as "it was the lumbermen who opened up the area to any great extent" [1] prior to the arrival of the CPR. Their interest in the timber stands of the Sudbury District began as early as the 1850s shortly after the first European settlers reached the north shores of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. Lumber operations on a limited scale began in the 1870s, especially after 1872 when the province sold, through public auction, a large number of limits in the area north of Georgian Bay and the North Channel between Parry Sound and Sault Ste Marie[2]. The province held its next auction in 1885 which indicates there was little lumbering activity on the North Shore in the intervening 13 years due to a lack of a strong market. Transportation was also long and expensive as "logs were floated down rivers to Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. The majority of logs were rafted across the latter to sawmills in Michigan."[3]

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[1]Gwenda Hallsworth, op.cit., p. 11.

[2]Department of Lands and Forests, op.cit., p. 23.

[3]Department of Lands and Forests, op.cit., p. 23. "Initially, access to the District was by means of the waterways with the Spanish River and its tributaries providing access routes from Georgian Bay north to the height-of-land and tying in with waters to and from the north,east and west...The main streams and the majority of tributaries were suitable for log driving and provided natural "highways" for the delivery of forest products produced. Also they made it possible to reach within a few miles of any point in the area by canoe."

Construction of the CPR and the exhaustion of timber stands in Central Ontario combined to increase the scale of lumber operations in New Ontario in the 1880s. The extensive forest operations which began in the Sudbury District (see map) in the 1880s increased in the 1890s when operators strove to supply the Canadian and American markets with red and white pine square and waney timbers and sawlogs.

By the 1890s, lumber operations and sales of limits were extensive in the district not only as a result of the railway opening up the territory but also because of mining operations "so that the province could obtain revenue from pine before mining began."[4] The province held auctions in 1892, 1897 and 1899 at which lumbermen bought numerous limits, both for lumbering and speculative purposes, in townships north and east of Sudbury and McKim. "Almost the entire sale in 1897 consisted of limits in the Sudbury District."[5]

Owners and workers

Buyers and owners of limits gained the right to cut, mill and sell lumber. According to the president of the Victoria Harbour Lumber Company, John Waldie, there were four types of owners in the 1890s.

1)The Canadian mill owner with a mill on Georgian Bay.
2)The American mill owner with a Canadian mill or who contracted cutting to Ontario mills.

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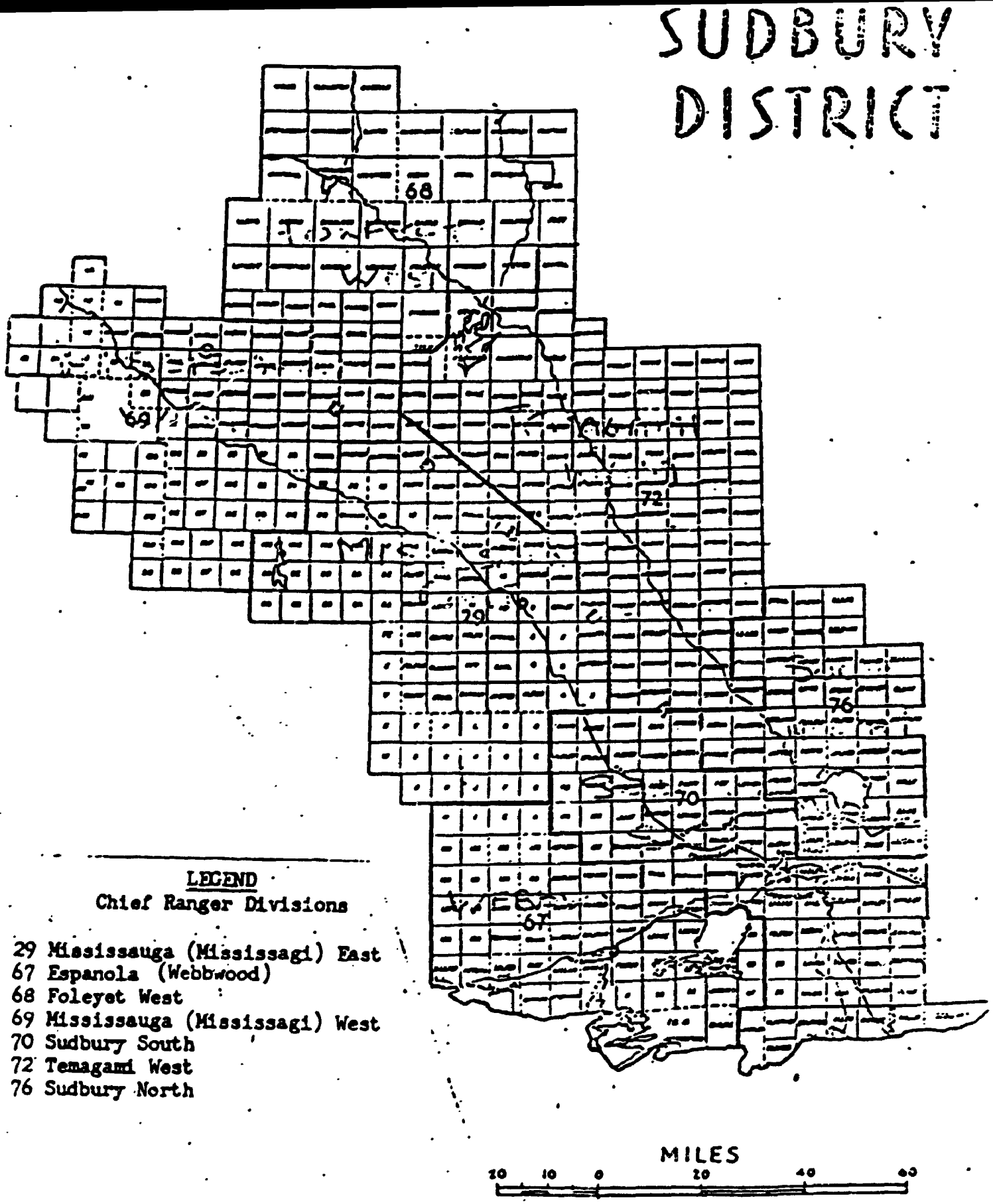
[4]Gwenda Hallsworth, op.cit., p. 36.

[5]Ibid., p. 37.



Sudbury District boundaries as they existed officially prior to 1946.

Figure 3: Sudbury Forest District

3)The Canadian limit holder who sold logs to American mills or who held limits for speculation; this group was small in number but controlled a large territory.
4)The American mill owner who manufactured Canadian logs in the United States.[6]

These owners originated from Michigan, Georgian Bay and the Ottawa Valley. American owners/operators were the largest and most numerous in the 1890s. For example, the Holland and Emery Lumber Company which operated mills in both Michigan and Midland was the largest operator in the Sudbury District prior to 1900. Amongst the Canadians, Georgian Bay owners such as the Chew Brothers and Playfair & White were the largest followed by Ottawa Valley operators such as J.R. Booth, J.W. Munro, A. Barnet and J. B. Klock. This pattern changed after 1897 following introduction of the Dingley Tariff in the United States and the "manufacturing condition" in Ontario.

> After 1898 there was a significant difference in lumber operations because logs cut on Crown lands had to be manufactured in Canada. The result was that there was an increase in sawmilling on Georgian Bay and the North Shore of Lake Huron.[7]

The manufacturing condition forced American limit owners either to contract cutting to Canadian mill owners or to build sawmills on the Ontario shores of Lake Huron. The logging operations around Sudbury provided timber for these large sawmills.

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[6]Ibid., p. 32.

[7]Ibid., p. 52.

According to Hallsworth, applications for local mills in the Sudbury District were made mainly during the 1890s. These mills were modest compared to the ones built on the North Shore.[8] None of these were built in the immediate vicinity of the town of Sudbury although there were small sawmills catering to the local markets such as the Dominion Planing Mill. The first sawmill was apparently built on the shores of Black Lake, today's Minnow Lake, to the east of the town.[9] Another was built on the shores of Lake Ramsey, near the power house. A third operated on Junction Creek.[10] The CPR also had a mill a few miles outside the town limits. None of these mills operated for very long.

Owners and/or directors of the large lumber firms were usually involved in many lumber operations and in other business interests such as banks, resource industries, retail and wholesale concerns. Many quickly became involved in the political arena, mostly after the turn of the century, and "were among the first elected representatives in the Sudbury District at the local, provincial and federal levels."[11]

The prospector, Aeneas McCharles had a very poor opinion of these lumbermen.

> The lumbermen are the vandals of North America, and in the past ten years the greater part of the timber has been stripped off the whole district between Georgian

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[8]Ibid., p. 90.

[9]Florence Howey, op.cit., p. 41.

[10]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol II, p. 164.

[11]Gwenda Hallsworth, op.cit., p. 63.

> Bay and the height of land forty miles north of Sudbury... .More fortunes have been made in the lumber business in Ontario, and in a shorter time, than in any other industry.[12]

Most of these owners were Anglo-Saxons but the majority of the lumber workers in the Sudbury District in the nineteenth century were French-Canadians.

> Most woods operators believed French Canadians made the best woodsworkers on account of their skills and docility. One woods supervisor explained: 'with his long experience in the shanties and his aptitude for doing all kinds of work for which he has to use an axe, saw and horse, such as clearing land, making firewood, building roads his winters spent in the shanties with his parents, has given the French Canadian woodsman a training which places him among the best in Eastern Canada.'[13]

McCharles confirms this assessment: "The most of the shantymen in the lumber camps of Northern Ontario are Frenchmen and even boys from the province of Quebec. They have no superiors at all kinds of work in the woods".[14] In late nineteenth century, other immigrants were beginning to obtain employment in the lumber camps. Among these, the Finns proved to be as good and as sought after as French Canadians. Thousands of lumber workers, recruited in large part by private employment agencies, were hired by the various companies operating in the Sudbury District in the 1890s. As early as 1891, "the Canada Lumberman said that 1,400 men passed through

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[12]Aeneas McCharles, Bemocked of Destiny, Toronto, Williams Briggs, 1908, p. 175.

[13]Ian Radforth, Bush Workers and Bosses. Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 33.

[14]Aneas McCharles, op.cit., p. 177.

North Bay enroute to work in Wahnapitei".[15]

According to Radforth, the timber harvest was the work of seasonally employed wage earners. Although his analysis starts at the turn of the century, there is no reason to doubt that this was also the case in the late nineteenth century. Every fall, lumber company bosses would recruit workers for work in the camps scattered across the District where, until the last days of winter, they would fell trees, saw logs and haul them out of the woods. In the spring, these logs would be driven on the swollen streams to the sawmills which would operate during the summer months.

This labour force consisted of seasonally unemployed general labourers, farmers who left for the camps in the fall after the end of harvest, and finally of "full-time" bushworkers who went from the camps to the sawmills and who "depended on logging wages as their chief or only source of income".[16]

The workers were spread out in a number of camps on the companies' timber limits. Each of these camps, which had been chosen and prepared the previous summer, contained from 50 to 125 workers under the supervision of a foreman. Each camp also had the obligatory cook and some had clerical personnel. Every company had "walking bosses" who would visit the different camps and report to the owner or general manager. These supervisory structures, staffed mostly by Anglo-Saxons, would evidently vary according to the

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[15]Gwenda Hallsworth, op.cit., p. 142.

[16]Ian Radforth, op.cit., p. 29.

companies. They were relatively simple in the nineteenth century but they would grow more complex in the twentieth century.

> All lumber camps are pretty much alike in every way. About a dozen log cabins of various sizes, including stables for the horses, are rushed up in an acre or two of roughly cleared land by a creek or lake. From fifty to one hundred men work in each camp...The foreman is usually an energetic, indomitable man, and has one of the hardest jobs in the world. He must be out on the rounds looking after the men and the work from early morning till late at night, and also keep a close watch on everything about the camp.[17]

The camp operations of the late nineteenth century were very labour-intensive. They required felling crews composed of an axeman, who was the head chopper, and two sawyers. Once the trees were felled, they were hauled by horses, guided by teamsters, from the stump to the roadside. As these skidding operations required many teams of horses, blascksmiths were also required in camps.[18]

Apart from improved rail transportation and rafting techniques, lumber operators introduced only a few technological innovations in the late nineteenth century in an attempt to cut costs and increase productivity. These innovations, which consisted mostly of steam powered machinery, were introduced more in the sawmills than in the logging operations.

These operations had reached a peak in the vicinity of the town of Sudbury at the end of the nineteenth century. "Lumbering activity immediately around Sudbury was soon over but by the turn

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[17]Aeneas McCharles, op.cit., p. 177.

[18]For a summary of the labour process in the camps, see Ian Radforth, op.cit., pp. 46-69.

of the century 17 lumber companies employing some 11,000 men were found in the district."[19] The scale of these operations had started to decline in the southern part of the district but were growing more extensive to the north where lumber companies now reached forty miles of the town. To the west, construction of the Soo branch of the CPR and the Manitoulin and North Shore Railway at the turn of the century opened new areas for lumbering and resulted in the building of numerous sawmills. As well, pulpwood operations were also beginning in earnest.

Mining on the frontier

Like lumbering, mining in the District began on the North Shore in the 1850s. "The first discovery of nickel in Ontario was at the Wallace mine, a short distance west of the point where the Whitefish river enters Lake Huron."[20] The heyday of the Upper Canada Mining company's operations on this site occurred in the 1860s but lasted only a few years; in 1875 all mining in the area had ceased.[21] These first discoveries and operations on the North Shore were but a shadow of the prospecting and mining activities

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[19]Antonio Presenza, Sudbury Pattern of Urban Growth 1883-1941, mimeographed document, n.d., Sudbury Public Library, Reference Section, p. 9. See also Gaétan Gervais, "Sudbury 1883-1914", op.cit., p. 23.

[20] Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, Toronto, King's Printer,1917, pp. 24-25.

[21]See the report by William Gibbard, P.L.S. made to the Ontario Government and published in the Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, 1860, Appendix 22. See also Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 24 and Report of the Commission on Mineral Ressources of Ontario, Toronto, King's Printer, 1890, p. 91.

unleashed in the Sudbury Basin foollowing Flanagan's find in 1883. Prospectors flooded into the area in the spring of 1884 and by 1887 had discovered its major mining sites.

> Prospecting in the early stages of the Sudbury field was entirely a matter of searching for outcrops, and the prospectors, many of whom had had little or no previous experience in the work, soon mastered such rudiments of geology as they found essential. Their favourite rock was "diorite"- now known in the Sudbury literature as norite - and the unfailing surface indication was a "burn" or gossan covered area. Prospectors quickly established the rule that ore bodies were to be found at or near a "diorite" contact, and by their untiring labours during the first three or four years located most of the important deposits that have yet been found.[22]

Mining operations began in 1886 with the arrival of Canadian Copper and Sam Ritchie in the region. The first mining boom, in which three major companies were involved, lasted from 1886 to 1894. Between 1894 and 1898, only Canadian Copper, acting from a near monopoly situation, raised and smelted nickel-copper ores in the Basin until a new group of companies, among which was the Mond, arrived on the scene as a response to the demand for nickel created by the Spanish-American war.

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[22] Ibid., p. 32.

Table IV: Chronology and geography of principal mining sites in the Sudbury Basin

Mines	Township	Year, name of discoverer	Year, name of patentee	Dates, names operating companies
Murray	**McKim**	**1883 T. Flanagan**	**1884 T. Murray**	**1889-1894 H.H. Vivian**
Nos 4 & 6	**Snider**	**1884 R. McConnell**	**1884 McConnell & J. Riopelle**	**1899-1900 Can. Copper**
Elsie	**McKim**	**1884 F. Crean**	**1884 H. Totten**	**1900-1903 Lake Superior Power Co.**
Frood	**McKim**	**1884 T. Frood**	**J. Cockburn**	**1899- Can. Copper**
Worth-ington	Drury	1884 F. Crean	1884 F. Crean	1890-1894 Dominion Mineral
McAllister or Lady MacDonald	McKim & Snider	1884 T. Frood & W. McAllister	1885 J.Metcalfe	1885,1898-1903 Can. Copper
Creighton	Snider	1885 F. Ranger	1885 Metcalfe & McAllister	1900- Can. Copper
Copper Cliff	McKim	1885 T. Frood	1885 Metcalfe & McAllister	1886-1905 Can. Copper
Mount Nickel	Blezard	1885 J. Stobie	1886 Martin & Alex Russell	1899-1901 Great Lakes Copper
Stobie	Blezard	1885 J. Stobie	1886 Stobie & McConnell	1886-1901 Can. Copper
Crean Hill	Denison	1885 F. Crean	1885 Ellen Crean	1905- Can. Copper
Evans	Snider	1885 F.J. Eyre	1885 S.B. Eyre	1889-1899 Can. Copper

Mines	Township	Year, name of discoverer	Year, name of patentee	Dates, names operating companies
Blezard	Blezard	1885 G. Morgan & J. Craig	1888 C. Ducharme & E. Hillman	1889-1893 Dominion Mineral
Little Stobie	Blezard	1886 J. Stobie	1886 G. McKain	1902 Mond
McConnell or Victoria	Denison	1886 H. Ranger	1887 McConnell & A. McIntyre	1899- Mond
Vermillion	Denison	1887 H. Ranger	1887 R. Tough	Can. Copper
Falcon-bridge	Falcon-bridge	1887 R.S. Donally	1891 Donally	1928- Falconbridge
Chicago	Drury	1889 B. Boyer	1889 S.E. Miller	1891-1893 Drury Nickel
Garson	Garson	1891 J. Cryderman	1897 W. Mayhew	1908- Mond
Levack	Levack	1888,1889 J. Stobie R. McConnell	1889 Stobie McConnell	1913- Mond

Sources: Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, Toronto, King's Printer, 1917, pp. 30-42; Historique de la région miniere de Sudbury, (mimeographed document, no author, no date), JA, C-2-1; Robert Stephenson et al., A Guide to the Golden Age: Mining in Sudbury, 1886-1977, Sudbury, Department of History, Laurentian University, 1979.

Prospectors, speculators and entrepreneurs were the first owners of mining sites in the Sudbury Basin. But the relationship between these three was uneven. Many of the prospectors, who made all the discoveries either for themselves or on behalf of

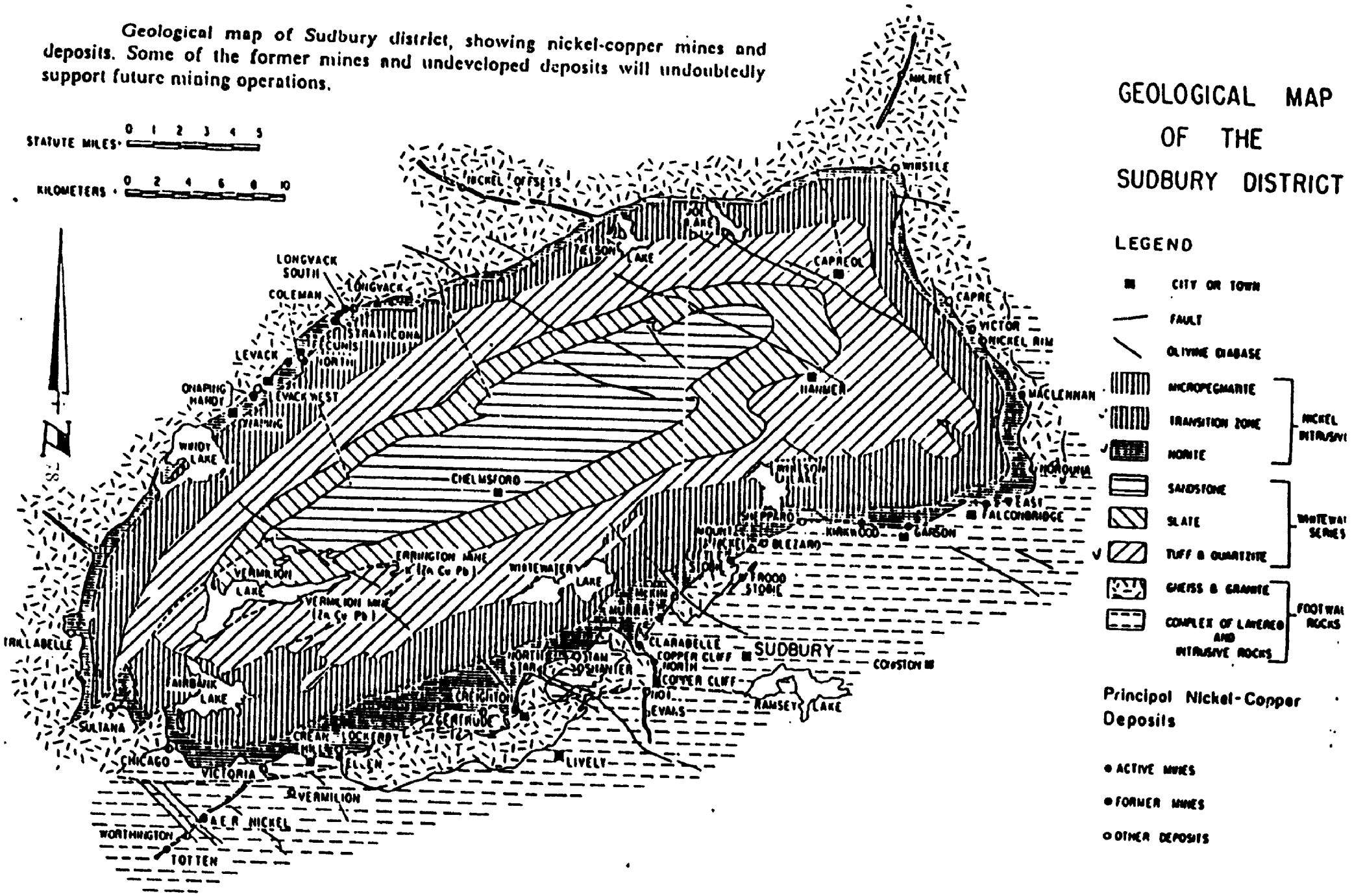

Figure 4: Mine locations in the Sudbury Basin

speculators, eventually had to sell their lands to speculators or entrepreneurs. The former were privileged by the Ontario Mining Act regulations and the latter possessed the necessary capital.

> The provisions of the Mining Act, which allowed individuals to apply for a patent and purchase mineral lands at the nominal price of one dollar per acre, dampened the enthusiasm of the prospector. Because the district was remote from the place of registration, the prospector had no way of knowing what lands had been patented and what lands were free for exploration. Even if he were able to make a discovery on unpatented land, it was easy for the speculator to "jump" his claims by applying for the land as soon as he had any knowledge that there had been a discovery.[23]

The 1890 Royal Commission on the Mineral Resources of Ontario reported "in some districts large areas have been taken up in this way, on the strength of a reported local discovery, without personal examination of the land, without seeing it, and generally without the expenditure of a dollar for an explorer's report upon it."[24]

Other provisions of the Act such as the required minimum purchase of eighty acres at one dollar an acre made it difficult for the prospector to develop his properties. In his testimony at the Mineral Resources Commission, Thomas Frood told the commissioners that he had to sell 95 per cent of his lands in order to keep the other 5 per cent.

Thus the prospector steadily gave way to the speculator,

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[23] O.W. Main, The Canadian Nickel Industry: A Study in Market Control and Public Policy, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1955, p. 11.

[24] Report of the Royal Commission, op.cit., p. 303. See the evidence in this report of Thomas Frood, Henry Ranger and A. McCharles, pp. 307-310.

> although some of the richer prospectors were able to become speculators as well... .From the beginning, then, the mineral lands of the Sudbury district were concentrated in the hands of a few groups of speculators. For the most part, they were merchants or small capitalists from Pembroke, Ottawa, Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie.[25]

Such was the case of Robert Tough, a Sudbury merchant, about whom McCharles wrote that "the most remarkable thing in his case was the fact that he never went out prospecting for a single day, and often bought and sold properties without even going to see what they were like."[26]

Since most speculators did not have the necessary capital to develop the mines, they held on to them until they could sell them at a good profit. According to some, this practice was responsible in some part for the slow development of the mining properties in the Sudbury Basin.[27] The Sudbury Journal consistently editorialized in the 1890s in favour of liberalizing the mining regulations in order to permit prospectors to develop more mining properties.[28]

Mining entrepreneurs arrived in the Basin in 1885 and quickly bought as much property as possible either from prospectors or speculators. Nickel and copper mining required extensive capital and only the large capitalists, mostly from the United States and

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[25] O.W. Main, op. cit., p. 12.

[26] A. McCharles, op.cit., p. 102.

[27] See O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 13

[28] See especially "Hard on the Prospector", Sudbury Journal, December 31, 1896, p. 4. The fact that A. McCharles was a frequent contributor to the Journal no doubt explains the position of the weekly on this matter.

Britain, were able to develop the properties of the Basin.

> The Sudbury district is not a poor man's camp. A few big companies are going to make all the money there is in mining there. It takes large capital to work nickel mines, and if a prospector happens to find a good body of ore, the only thing he can do with it is to try and sell it.[29]

When the Ontario Mineral Resources Commission published its report in 1890, in which it stated that the most promising mineral works in the province were the mining and smelting of copper and nickel ores in the vicinity of Sudbury, "there were three substantial companies then in operation: the Canadian Copper Company at Copper Cliff, the Dominion Mineral Company at the Blezard and Worthington mines, and the long established firm of H.H. Vivian and Co. of Swansea, at the Murray."[30]

British and American capitalists were the major entrepreneurs in the Basin. There were a few Canadians in the field in such enterprises as the Dominion Mineral Company. Incorporated in 1889, the company had as its directors John Ferguson of North Bay, James Worthington, the ex-manager of construction for the CPR in Sudbury, and Louis S. Forget of Montreal. According to Main, these Montreal capitalists were headed by J.H. McIntyre who was one of the backers of the Canadian Pacific.[31] The Dominion Mineral operated the Blezard

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[29]A. McCharles, op. cit., p. 102. O.W. Main writes: "it was apparent then that the deposits could not be developed without considerable risk and some capital", op. cit., p. 13.

[30]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p.57.

[31]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 139.

and Worthington mines as well as a smelter at the Blezard site, north of Sudbury, from 1889 to 1893.

A second group of three Canadian companies under the sponsorship of Hamilton capitalists - the Hoepfner Refining Company, the Nickel Copper Company of Canada and the Canadian Nickel Company - formed a syndicate in 1899 in order to build a nickel refinery in Hamilton and to mine the newly discovered Whistle properties "in the eastern tip of the North Nickel Range".[32] The syndicate lasted until 1900.

H.H. Vivian, owner of the Murray and Lady Violet mines was the first major British capitalist to operate mines and smelters in the Basin from 1889 to 1894. Ludwig Mond, another British capitalist, was more successful with his purchase of several mining properties in 1898. American capitalists were more numerous. The Drury Nickel Company, under American ownership, operated the Inez or Chiacgo mine to the southwest of Sudbury for a two year period from 1891 to 1893. The Consolidated Lake Superior Corporation, headed by F.H. Clergue and backed by Boston capital, bought properties to the west of Sudbury near the Soo branch of the CPR in 1899.

> In order to secure sulphur for a chemical pulp mill the company had erected, Clergue attempted to arrange to buy the waste sulphur from the Canadian Copper Company operations. The company refused to consider the offer and Clergue bought the Gertrude and Elsie deposits as a

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[32] Ibid., p. 42. See also F. Romanet du Caillaud, op. cit., pp. 14-16.

source of sulphur supply.[33]

Another American company from Boston, the Great Lakes Mining Company, established the Mount Nickel mine and smelter operations in Blezard, also in 1899.[34]

Overall, since the 1880s, American capitalists had been the most active in buying and working the mining properties in the Basin. The 1890 Ontario Mineral Resources Commission had concluded that over half of the capital invested in mining operations in Ontario was American. Clearly biased in favor of American capital, it found "that the American investments are managed as rule by experienced and trained men, who are capable of giving intelligent direction to the operations under their charge."[35] It concluded that Canadian miners were intelligent and energetic but lacking in technical education. As for the British companies, they tended to have incompetent management.

The most important of these American companies was without a doubt the Canadian Copper Company which achieved its dominance in the Sudbury nickel range by quickly acquiring a monopoly of the mining properties.

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[33] Ibid., p. 44. See also Romanet du Caillaud, op.cit., pp. 11-12; Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit, p. 93. This company operated until 1903 then eventually sold to the British America Nickel Corporation.

[34] See Romanet du Caillaud, op.cit., pp. 13-14.

[35] Report of the Royal Commission on Mineral Resources of Ontario, op.cit., p. 208.

The Canadian Copper Company

The history of the Canadian Copper Company, the precursor to the International Nickel Company, is closely tied to that of the Orford Copper Company of New Jersey, "the other half of the roots of Inco".[36] Canadian Copper extracted and smelted the nickel-copper ores in the Sudbury Basin and then shipped the matte to the refineries of Orford Copper in New Jersey.

The Canadian Copper Company was incorporated in Cleveland, Ohio in January 1886 by Samuel J. Ritchie and other Ohio capitalists.[37] The year before its organization, the Canadian Copper, and more specifically Sam Ritchie, had moved into the Sudbury Basin and started acquiring properties.

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[36] Wallace Clement, op.cit., p.43. Some histories of Inco trace the beginnings of the company not to the Canadian Copper Company but to Orford. See for instance John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit. But in the November 10, 1930 issue of the Engineering and Mining Journal, E.A. Collins, assistant to the vice-president of the International Nickel Co. traces the roots of Inco to the Canadian Copper in an article entitled, "How the Industry Started Fifty Years Ago", pp. 426-428.

[37] There are numerous accounts and histories of the Canadian Copper Company. There are the more or less official histories written by John Thompson and Allan Beasley, op.cit; D.M. LeBourdais, op.cit, and Metals and Men,The Story of Canadian Mining,Toronto McClelland and Stewart, 1957, especially chapter VI; Charles Dorian, op.cit; International Nickel Company of Canada Ltd, The Romance of Nickel,Toronto,The International Nickel Company of Canada Ltd, 1955; Joseph R. Boldt Jr.,The Winning of Nickel, Toronto,Longmans, 1967. There are many brief accounts in government documents and reports such as the Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission,pp. 60-79. There are the more academic and critical histories such as O.W. Main, op.cit; Wallace Clement, Hardrock Mining. Industrial Relations and Technological Changes at INCO, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1981; Eileen Goltz, op.cit; Jamie Swift and the Development Education Centre, The Big Nickel, Inco at Home and Abroad, Kitchener, Between the Lines, 1977.

1890s. According to the Ontario Bureau of Mines' annual reports, from 1890 to 1900 twenty-seven miners were killed in the various mines of the Sudbury Basin. Fourteen of these, more than 50 per cent, were killed in the last three years, 1898-1900, as production was increased. Numerous injuries were also reported, the most common being broken limbs from falling pieces of rock, torn limbs from exposure to running machinery or premature blasts in the roast heaps. This is not surprising given the mining and smelting practices in the Basin.

Mining Methods

Methods of extracting the ore from the surrounding rocks have changed considerably over the years.

> The simple means used by the prospectors and discoverers gave way to techniques capable of producing larger tonnages as the demands for ore increased, and as mines went to deeper levels mining methods were changed to meet the new conditions. Adavances in the metallurgical treatment of the Sudbury ores have also had an influence on the development of mining methods in the area.[74]

The first mining methods were very labour-intensive and remained so well into the twentieth century as technological developments were more pronounced in the smelting and refining operations. It was not until the 1960s that wholesale mechanization of mining methods was introduced.[75]

The methods of mining nickel and copper also depended on the nature of the ore bodies in the Sudbury Basin. In general, these

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[74]"Mining", Canadian Mining Journal, May, 1946, p. 334.

[75]See Wallace Clement, Hardrock Mining, op.cit.

From 1886 to 1891, Ritchie and the Canadian Copper had managed to patent the majority of all their lands and thus obtain a quasi-monopoly position in the Sudbury Basin.

> By a fortunate combination of opportune purchases and financial strength, the Canadian Copper Company was thus able to boast complete domination of the Sudbury district during the first three years of its existence.[42]

Canadian Copper started mining operations at its Copper Cliff, Evans and Stobie mines in 1886 and in October of that year shipped its first ores, which were thought to be copper, to the Orford Copper Company for refining. When the ore refused to produce the right kind of metal as a result of the ordinary copper smelting procedure, it was discovered that it contained 4.5 per cent copper and 2.5 per nickel. The price of nickel being about sixty cents a pound, Ritchie and Robert Thompson of Orford Copper soon realised the enormous profits to be had from these nickel-copper holdings.[43]

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in the whole Sudbury district, outside of what is now known as the North Nickel Range." John Thompson and Norman Beasley ,op.cit., p. 29.

[42] Ibid., p. 17. This assessment of the Canadian Copper's position is shared by other authors. See for example D.M. LeBourdais, Sudbury Basin, p. 56: "While Ritchie and the Canadian Copper Company had a monopoly, it was not because of any special privileges accorded them. What they had others could also have." Romanet du Caillaud, op.cit., p. 8:" Mais peu à peu toutes ces exploitations furent à la merci de la puissante Canadian Copper Company. Il semblait qu'elle voulut avoir le monopole." The author also mentions that the company owns more than 13,000 acres of nickel-copper properties. Thompson also concurs that the extensive properties gave the Canadian Copper a monopoly position; see Thompson and Beasley, op.cit., p. 110.

[43] There is a slight diasgreement between the authors as to the exact date of the discovery of nickel in the ore and the price of nickel. See for example Main, op.cit., p. 16 who quotes 1887 and 60 cents while Thompson, op.cit., mentions 1886 and $1 a lb. The Commision on Mineral Resources states that the price of nickel in

Ritchie soon had a number of politicians, including John A. Macdonald, and a bevy of capitalists visiting the Sudbury area.

The Canadian Copper-Orford Copper combination set about in single-minded, even ruthless, fashion to control the nickel fields and markets. While Canadian Copper dominated the Sudbury Basin by controlling the major mining properties, Orford Copper cornered the American nickel market. They were successful in doing so after experiments[44] proved nickel to be an essential alloy in the manufacture of high grade steel and after signing a contract with the United States Navy whereby Orford would refine nickel ores produced by Canadian Copper. This arrangement paved the way for Canadian Copper and Orford's gaining a monopoly of the American nickel market in the 1890s.[45]

The successful completion of the contract with the U.S. Navy hinged, however, on Orford Copper being able to discover a process to refine the nickel matte. This it was able to do in 1890.

> Recognizing that it could not maintain control over the Sudbury district if other firms took advantage of this process by allying themselves with Orford, Canadian Copper entered into a contract with Orford whereby Canadian Copper would sell only to Orford, and Orford would buy only from Canadian Copper, unless the company was unable to supply the matte required.[46]

The Canadian Copper-Orford combination had no sooner

1887 was 65 cents a pound.

[44]See O.W. Main, op. cit., p. 10.

[45]For an account of these arrangements, see O.W. Main, op.cit., pp. 26-27 and John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., pp. 60-72.

[46]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 27

gained control of the American market for nickel in the early 1890s than Ritchie was forced out of the presidency of his company by his Ohio associates. Ritchie had nurtured a grandiose scheme of uniting the Canadian Copper operations with those of the Anglo-American Iron Company (the successor to the Hastings Iron company) and the Central Ontario Railway in a huge nickel-steel complex. He had applied to the federal government in 1890 for a subsidy to help build the iron-steel plant in Trenton and to extend his railway to Sudbury Junction in order to transport the nickel-copper matte to a refinery in Trenton. His Ohio associates did not agree with these plans, wanting instead to focus solely on the operations of the Canadian Copper. In January 1891, the company directors met to elect a new board and dropped Ritchie. He was replaced by Stevenson Burke who held the position of president until the formation of the International Nickel Company in 1902. There ensued a series of lawsuits between Ritchie and his former company which lasted for fifteen years during which time Ritchie became active in the campaign to force the refining of nickel in Canada.[47]

Colonel Thompson of Orford Copper soon became the leading figure for the Canadian Copper-Orford complex. From 1891 to 1895, he manoeuvered to secure a position in the European nickel market then controlled by the Société Anonyme Le Nickel- generally known as Le Nickel- which had the financial backing of the Rothschilds. Le Nickel operated mines in New Caledonia, a French penal colony,

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[47] For a brief account of this period, see especially O.W. Main, op.cit., pp. 29-32.

where the mineral had been discovered in 1876. For many years, Le Nickel had controlled the European nickel market through its close connections with the great European armament houses.[48] He managed to do so in 1895 after engaging in price-cutting and forcing the Rothschilds to enter into an agreement whereby Canadian Copper-Orford would supply approximately a third of the European market.[49] In 1900, Le Nickel still produced 65 per cent of the nickel and Ontario 35 per cent. But the Spanish-American war had created a demand for nickel which Canadian Copper was better able to provide and, starting in 1898, Sudbury's production increased considerably to a point where it supassed New Caledonia in the first years of the twentieth century.

By 1895 the Canadian Copper-Orford combination had managed to control the production of and the markets for nickel in North America and part of Europe. This forced its competitors in the Sudbury Basin gradually to cease operations allowing Canadian Copper to buy their properties and stock. It had done just that with the Vermillion Mining Company, organized by the Stobie-Tough group in the late 1880s to mine gold as well as nickel and copper. "Fearful of the threat to its domination, the Canadian Copper Company bought out a controlling interest in the Vermillion Mining

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[48]See Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., pp. 58-59.

[49]See O.W. Main, op.cit., pp. 33-39; Thompson and Beasley, op.cit., pp. 92-93. Thompson writes: "Singularly, in the rough-and-tumble struggle, Thompson and Baron Adolphe de Rothschild became friends".

Company by purchasing the stock of the Stobie-Tough group. It then proceeded to close down operations of the mine and to "freeze out" the remaining stcoholders".[50]

By the end of the nineteenth century, Canadian Copper had increased its production facilities in Copper Cliff by adding a new furnace in 1896, two more in 1898 and a new smelter containing four furnaces in 1899. In 1900 it added four more furnaces. The company also opened new mines, such as the Frood and the Creighton.

Mine and smelter workers

Actual production of nickel-copper ores, from their extraction in the mines to the production of matte in the smelters, was the work of thousands of mine and smelter workers hired by the different companies on the range. The owners resided and made decisions on the operations of the mines and smelters in the metropolitan centers of Canada, the United States and Europe; when they travelled to Sudbury, some like Ludwig Mond did so in private railway cars furnished by the Canadian Pacific.[51] The workers produced the ores and resided in the various camps on the outskirts of Sudbury supervised by a small cadre of managers and technical experts.

The number of mine and smelter workers fluctuated from year to year as different companies either opened then ceased, or increased then curtailed their operations. These fluctuations

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[50]O.W. Main, op cit., p. 17.

[51]See John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., p. 134.

corresponded to the production of nickel-copper ores as the following graphs illustrate.

The majority of mine workers were 17 years of age or over although there was always a small number of boys aged 15 to 17. The Mines Act of 1892 had prohibited boys of 15 years and under from working underground. It also prohibited girls and women from working in mines.

These wage labourers were hired as the result of recruiting by company agents or by private employment agencies. Many were railroad workers who stayed in the region after the departure of the CPR; others emigrated to the mining camps from various areas in search of employment. According to Goltz, in 1886 "this work force included Anglo-Saxons, some French-Canadians and some Finns. H.F. McIntosh, Canadian Copper secretary-treasurer stated that most of the miners were Cornish and Welsh".[52]

> A list of Canadian Copper Company employees engaged at the Evans and Copper Cliff Mines, and at the East smelter in late 1889 indicated a preponderance of Anglo-Saxon names. Most of the Finnish, Eastern European and French-Canadian names listed belonged to people working at construction projects for the Company...There were few Italian names on the list. People of non-Anglo Saxon background tended to work not for the Canadian Copper Company but rather for the contractors who operated the roast yards. It is unlikely the practice would have changed by 1901.[53]

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[52]Eileen Goltz, op.cit., pp. 31-32. According to Thompson, "for the most part those who came were Cornish and Welsh," op.cit., p. 75.

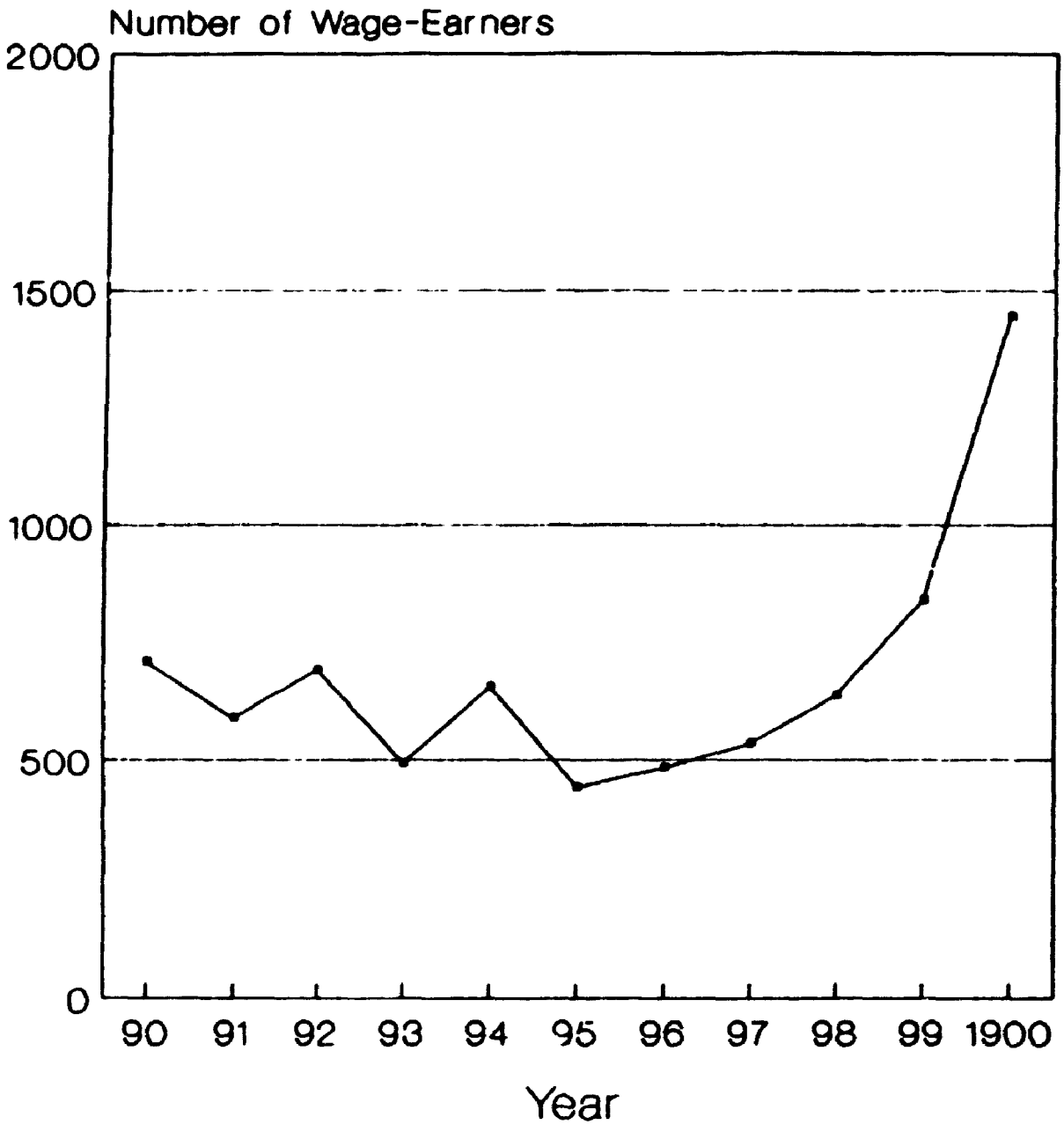
[53]Ibid., p. 71.

Figure 5: Nickel-Copper Production in Sudbury Basin, 1887-1900

Total: 1,290,049

Sources: Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit.
Report of the Royal Commission on the Mineral Resources of Ontario and Measures for their Development, 1890
Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Reports 1890-1900.

Figure 6: Number of Wage-Earners in Sudbury Basin Mines & Smelters, 1890-1900



Source: Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Reports, 1890-1900

These workers resided in different types of accommodations on or not far from the mine and smelter sites. The lack of suitable roads and means of transportation prevented many from residing in Sudbury itself. Since the companies owned the mining properties, workmen's residences were almost always company owned. Marx analyzed mine owners' housing practices. "As a rule, the exploiter of a mine, whether its owner or his tenant, builds a number of cottages for his hands. They receive cottages and coal for firing "for nothing" - i.e., these form part of their wages, paid in kind... .The master tries, therefore, to run up, with the smallest space possible at the mouth of the pit, just so many cottages as are necessary to pack together his hands and their families... .In the construction of the cottages, only one point of view is of moment, the 'abstinence' of the capitalist from all expenditure that is not absolutely unavoidable."[54]

At the Murray mine site, the Vivians had erected workmen's cottages in 1891. At the Blezard mine, "about fifty dwellings have been erected for the accommodation of the workmen".[55]

At Copper Cliff, the Canadian Copper Company "owned all land in the village, and, acting as landlord and patron, established the regulations by which the village existed.... .Land was leased only to those individuals who were acceptable to the Company and their leases ceased being valid when they ceased being acceptable

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[54]Karl Marx, op.cit., p. 623.

[55]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1891, p.13.

lessees... .The Company, using land ownership as a weapon, was able to exert considerable control over the lives of the village inhabitants."[56] The company built boarding houses, dwellings and semi-detached houses in Copper Cliff and at different mine sites. It did not, however, operate the boarding houses, preferring instead to lease them to individuals who then rented to employees.

> The Company-constructed dwellings were all intended for key Company employees, not for the industrial work force. This labouring group was expected to provide its own accommodation.[57]

In 1888, the Company built a boarding house in Copper Cliff for its supervisory personnel which eventually became known as the "club house". In general, "the Company provided housing, in planned areas for supervisory and technical employees, including miners. Labourers and roast yard employees provided their own accommodation in unplanned areas."[58]

The mining companies' housing policies led to complaints of coercion as early as 1896. In a letter published in the Sudbury Journal, an anonymous miner working at Stobie, wrote:

> One young man not pleased with his boarding house quit and found another, but got fired from the work the same day. Another young man who boarded in a house owned by a person who was not an employee of the company got notice that if he did not leave it, he also would get

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[56]Eileen Goltz, op.cit., p. 49.

[57]Ibid., p. 44.

[58]Ibid., p. 53.

discharged from the company's service.[59]

Housing accommodations in all the mining camps were a product of the class structure whereby the workers lived in boarding houses, cottages and other dwellings while "a large comfortable private residence is occupied by the manager" at Dominion Mineral and " a good dwelling has been built for the manager" at the Murray.[60] At Copper Cliff, the workers resided in shantytown and unplanned areas while the supervisory personnel lived in the "club house" or other dwellings built in the village by the company.

In most of these camps, the supervisory personnel, like the owners, were Anglo-Saxon. "As few non-Anglo-Saxons were employed in supervisory or technical positions, few non-Anglo-Saxons lived in the planned areas of either the Mining Camp or the Industrial Village."[61] The supervisory personnel were not very numerous in the 1890s. Most mining companies had a manager to oversee the whole operations, a captain, assistant captain and foremen supervising the work of the small crews at the mine sites, and a staff of technical personnel such as the master mechanic and the chemists. This structure suggests that from its very beginnings, the mining

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[59]Sudbury Journal, February 27, 1896, p.4. Marx wrote of such practices: "If the colliers express discontent, or in any way annoy the 'viewer', a mark of memorandum is made against their names, and, at the annual 'binding', such men are turned off." Op. cit., p. 623.

[60]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report, 1891.

[61]Eileen Goltz, op.cit., p. 53.

industry in the Sudbury Basin was that of industrial capitalism. The era of the independent commodity producers which characterized the early nickel-copper industry on the North Shore a scant thirty years before was over.

A report made to the provincial government in 1860 by William Gibbard, public land surveyor,gives an interesting picture of the mining methods employed at the Bruce mines in the late 1850s.

> For several years all work had been carried on by individual miners on their own account, either on tribute or on royalty. The company kept the machinery in repair, and the miners got the ore into merchantable shape. For 13 per cent dressed ore the miners were paid by the company $112 to $118 per ton, and more for ore of a higher percentage. The royalty miners paid all expenses and 5 per cent to the company for the use of the ground.[62]

The 1890 Ontario Commission on Mineral Resources published a report of the manager of the Bruce Mines who stated that in 1852 when he was appointed to the position, "hitherto the miners had worked under what is known in Cornwall as the 'tut-work' system. Under this system they are paid according to the quantity of ground cut, but have no interest whatever in the ore. The other system is that under which the miners are paid so much a ton for dressed ore. In Cornwall it is called working on tribute, and the system under other names and with modifications is adopted in many mines elsewhere. The "tributer" is concerned in the richness of the veins; it is not his interest unnecessarily to excavate or stope away the wall rock or barren and unproductive portions of the

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[62]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 23.

vein."[63]

Under these systems the miner was more of an independent commodity producer in control of his labour process if not necessarily of the product of his labour. There was therefore already at the Bruce mines the beginnings of a formal appropriation of the miners' labour.

Thirty years later, in the nickel-copper mines of the Sudbury Basin, the mine worker was a wage labourer exchanging his labour power, which was supervised by a fairly simple layer of personnel acting as the arms and eyes of capital, for a wage. The tools he used for excavation and hauling of the minerals were those of the companies or of independent contractors hired for specific tasks. This transition confirms Wallace Clement's conclusion that "in Canada the historical moment of petty commodity production in mining was quite short."[64]

This transition applies not only to the miners but to the prospectors although the latter managed to retain a greater measure of independence for a longer period of time. At the start of mining operations in the Sudbury Basin, the prospector was very much an independent. While speculators and entrepreneurs had started to appropriate a significant part of the product of his labour - mainly mining properties - he retained nevertheless the ownership of his tools and the control of his labour process. Towards the end

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[63] Report of the Royal Commission, op.cit., pp. 94-95.

[64] Wallace Clement, op.cit., p. 178.

of the century however, many of these prospectors had become the employees of mining companies such as Clergue's Lake Superior Corporation.[65] By the 1920s prospectors were no longer prevalent in the Sudbury area. "Called engineers and geologists, the modern prospectors soon were patrolling the remote places, using such accessories of science as airplanes, helicopters, magnetometers, gravity meters and scintillometers."[66]

> Central to the transition from petty commodity to capitalist production is the relationship between capital and technology, since the transformation typically involves increased use of technology (or 'stored-up' labour) to replace 'living' labour.[67]

The technology employed and owned by the mining companies on the Sudbury Basin was rudimentary but expensive. The work of excavating, hauling, roasting and smelting the ores was very labour-intensive. "The workmen were engaged in a labour-intensive operation where they used picks, bars and hammers to pry the ore from the ground, and then with shovels and wheelbarrows, transferred it to a dump site Powder, fuse and dualin (an explosive composed of nitro-glycerine, fine

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[65]F. Romanet du Caillaud, op.cit., p. 12: "A Sudbury, la Compagnie Clergue a établi une agence; cette agence est chargée de diriger le travail des nombreux prospecteurs qu'elle envoie explorer la région."

[66]John Thompson and Norman Bealsey, op.cit., p. 259. They go on to mention that the traditional prospector "whose tools were his legs, his eyes, a prospector's hammer, a canoe and a thirsty curiosity" still existed and was doing the initial work.

[67]Ibid.

sawdust and nitre) were the blasting materials used to loosen the ore. The men worked ten-hour shifts and were, during the first years of operations, paid weekly."[68]

According to Thompson however, the workday for people in the mines was twelve hours - from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.; for office workers, who were all male, ten and one-half hours, from 7.45 a.m. to 6.15 p.m. The workers had Sundays off and two holidays a year: Christmas and Dominion Day.[69]

Although the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission stated in 1917 that neither mining nor smelting "call for an unusual degree of skill"[70], the workers did possess a gradation and level of skills which was recognized by the salary scales. According to Thompson, the scale of daily wages at the Canadian Copper operations in 1892 was as follows: drill runners, $2.10; miners, $1.75; laborers, $1.60; foremen, $2; watchmen, $1.75; engineers, $2; machinists, $2.25; pumpmen, $2; fitters, $2; firemen, $1.50; blacksmiths, $2.50; assistant blacksmiths, $1.75. The mining captain earned $145 a month, the assistant captain, $90, the master mechanic, $100 and the teamsters, $45.[71]

The method of calculating wages was obviously the sole prerogative of the mine companies based no doubt on market

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[68]Eileen Goltz, op.cit., p. 33.

[69]John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., p. 76.

[70]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 521.

[71]John Thompson and Norman, op cit., pp. 75-76.

conditions for both the ores and the availability of labour power. There was no miners' organization to negotiate wages and working conditions and such would not have been permitted.

In 1899, as production was being stepped up considerably at the Canadian Copper plants in order to meet the increase in nickel demand, the miners declared a strike. In its July 20 edition, the Sudbury Journal reported that "the miners in the employ of the Canadian Copper Company at Copper Cliff, Evans, McArthur No 1 and McArthur No 2 mines went on strike this morning for an increase of 15 per cent wages. The men claim that a short time ago they were promised an increase of 10 per cent but were informed yesterday it would not be granted. A majority of the men in the Company's employ will go on strike in sympathy with the men."[72]

The following week, the Sudbury weekly newspaper reported that "the strike of miners at Copper Cliff last week fizzled out almost as quickly as it began. There was no organization among the men and the only result was that a few of the ring leaders have been discharged and most of the others have gone back to work."[73]

This pattern - lack of organization by the workers and repression by the companies - was to endure for the next forty years.

Part of the miners' work experience was living with the constant danger of accidents, of which there were many in the

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[72]Sudbury Journal, July 20, 1899, p. 1.

[73]Ibid., July 27, 1899, p. 4.

1890s. According to the Ontario Bureau of Mines' annual reports, from 1890 to 1900 twenty-seven miners were killed in the various mines of the Sudbury Basin. Fourteen of these, more than 50 per cent, were killed in the last three years, 1898-1900, as production was increased. Numerous injuries were also reported, the most common being broken limbs from falling pieces of rock, torn limbs from exposure to running machinery or premature blasts in the roast heaps. This is not surprising given the mining and smelting practices in the Basin.

Mining Methods

Methods of extracting the ore from the surrounding rocks have changed considerably over the years.

> The simple means used by the prospectors and discoverers gave way to techniques capable of producing larger tonnages as the demands for ore increased, and as mines went to deeper levels mining methods were changed to meet the new conditions. Adavances in the metallurgical treatment of the Sudbury ores have also had an influence on the development of mining methods in the area.[74]

The first mining methods were very labour-intensive and remained so well into the twentieth century as technological developments were more pronounced in the smelting and refining operations. It was not until the 1960s that wholesale mechanization of mining methods was introduced.[75]

The methods of mining nickel and copper also depended on the nature of the ore bodies in the Sudbury Basin. In general, these

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[74]"Mining", Canadian Mining Journal, May, 1946, p. 334.

[75]See Wallace Clement, Hardrock Mining, op.cit.

were found between two bodies of rocks and had different lengths, widths, depth, and inclination. (See illustrations on following pages). These rocks were mostly norite, granite, greenstone, quartzites and greywackes. Generally,the norite formed the hanging-wall, i.e. the body of rock above the ore body, while the granite or greenstone formed the foot-wall, i.e. the body of rock underneath the ore.

> The ores are essentially pyrrhotite, chalcopyrite and pentlandite. The enclosing rocks are hard, like the ore bodies, and but little timbering is required. The ore bodies dip at angles of from 36 degrees to 90 degrees...The problem of extracting the ore after the size and configuration of the ore body is known is a simple one owing to the nature of the ores and the enclosing rocks.[76]

Ore was first mined by the open pit method. "This was a natural development since the first ore bodies discovered outcropped, generally on ridges where it was only necessary to strip the light covering of overburden and gossan before starting actual production."[77]

The workers would next sink shallow pits by hand shovelling to a depth of 10 to 15 feet, then bench around the sides of the opening, shovel the broken ore from the bottom of the pit into stone boats or buckets and hoist it with a derrick. "By alternately sinking and benching, the pits were mined to a depth of 20 to 40

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[76]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 212.

[77]"Mining", op.cit., p. 334.

feet."[78]

As the pits deepened beyond the reach of the derricks, shafts were sunk adjacent to the pits, generally in the footwall rocks and inclined at the dip of the ore body. Crosscuts were then driven from the shaft to the pit at the level of the pit bottom. Most of the mines in the Sudbury district were started in this manner, the pits having a depth of 60 to 80 feet although the Creighton went to 200 feet in the early twentieth century.

Gradually shafts were deepened and cross-cuts were driven to the ore body under the pit bottom, and raising from the cross-cut to the pit floor. "The ore was then blasted into the raise by benching. The broken ore was hand shovelled into end dump cars on the cross-cut level, trammed to the shafts and dumped directly into skips"[79] which were brought to the surface. This raise-a "glory-hole"- would eventually be widened by a series of benching operations.

In the early 1890s, all the operating mines had sunk shafts and opened levels. In December 1891, the operations at the Copper Cliff mine "had reached a depth of 700 feet on an incline of 40 degrees with levels at a distance of 100 feet apart."[80] At the Evans mine, the shaft had reached 200 feet with the first level being 72 feet from the surface. At the Murray mine, the shaft had reached

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[78]Ibid.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1891, p. 11.

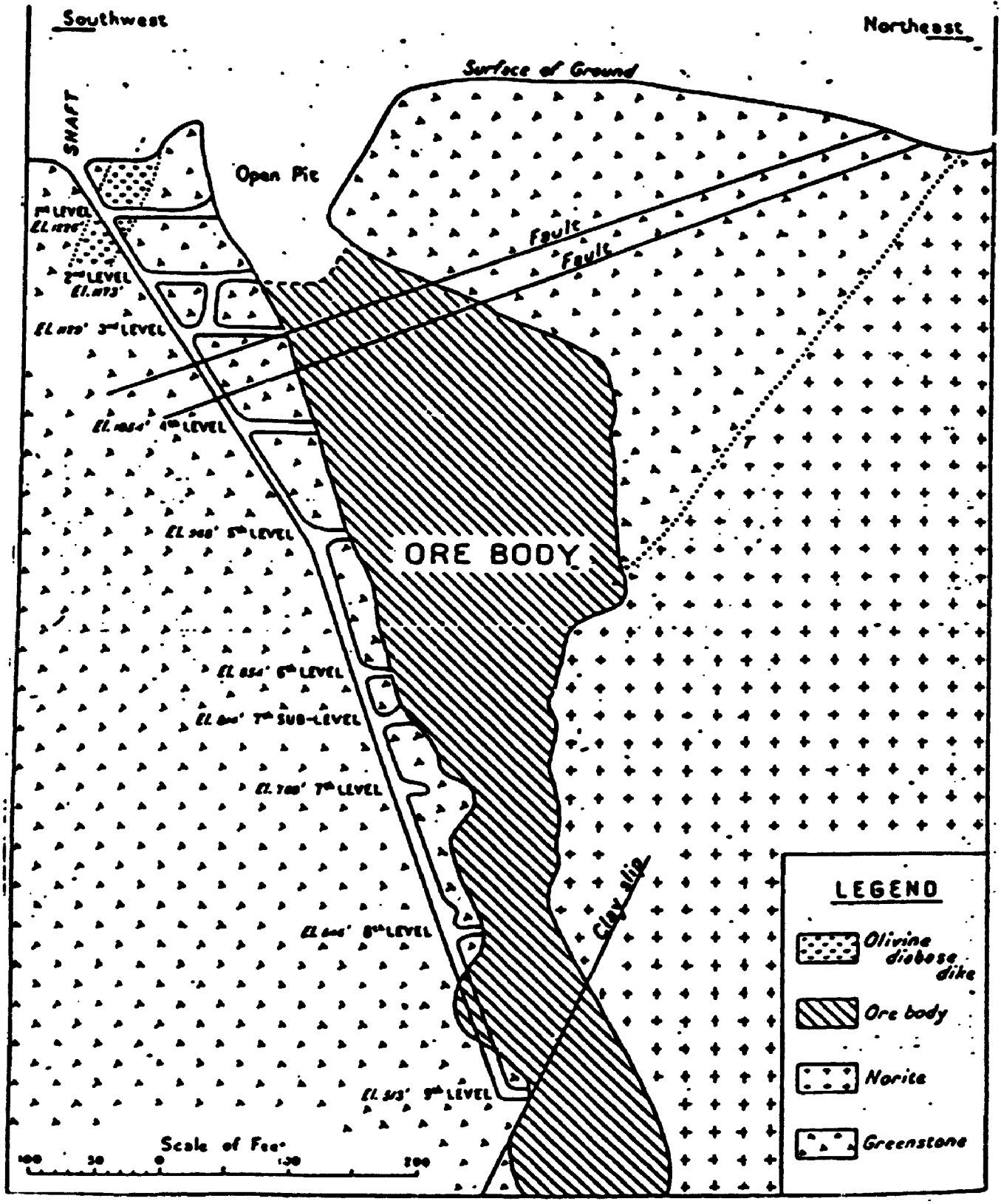


Figure 7: The Crean Hill Ore Body

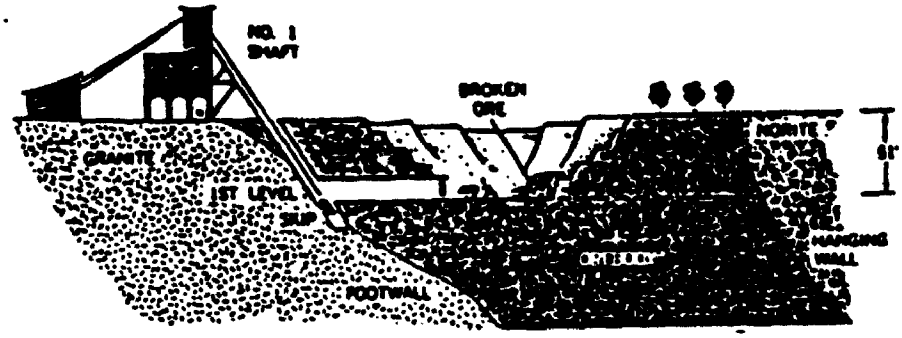


Illustration of the open pit.

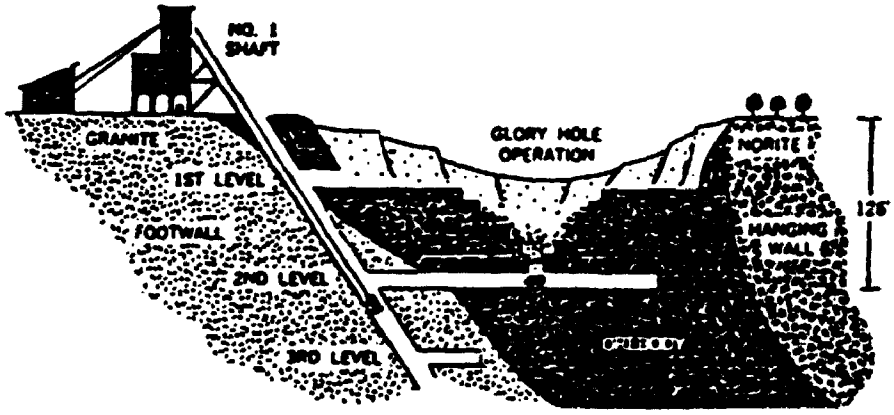
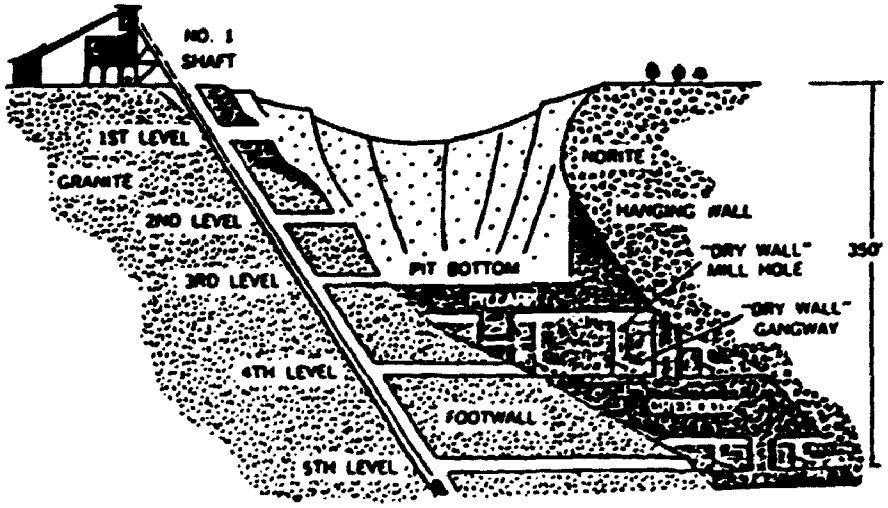
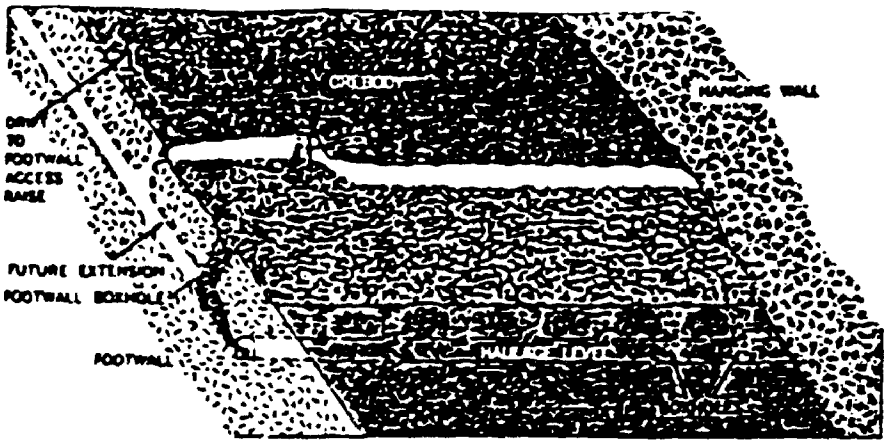


Illustration of the glory-hole method.



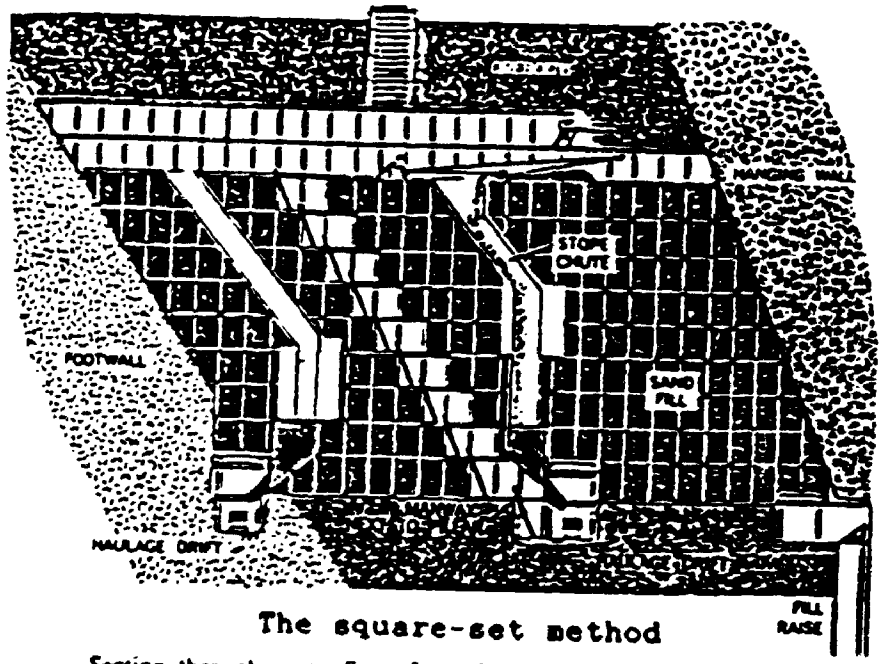
Underground mining with shafts, levels, crosscuts.

Figure 8: From open-pit to underground mining



The shrinkage method

Cross-section through length of shrinkage stope, across the orebody, showing how stoping proceeded. Standing on broken ore, the miners drilled into the face of the stope, blasting out rounds 8 to 12 feet high and 50 feet wide, thus advancing the face 6 to 8 feet toward the hanging wall. Note footwall boxholes for carrying off ore which gravity would not carry down footwall to regular boxholes.



The square-set method

Section through center-line of standard square-set stope. For simplicity, license has been taken to show manway and fill raise, which actually are located adjacent to one of the pillars. The stope is mined overhand in a series of 7-foot high horizontal slices. New slices are started at the stope, or fill, raise. A slot one or two sets wide is opened across the full stope width, pillar to pillar. From the slot the floor is advanced toward the hanging wall and footwall, sometimes simultaneously, in a series of blasts, each making room for a complete row of sets

Figure 9: Methods of stoping

100 feet with the first level being at 60 feet under the surface "and it is intended to extend it 120 feet below this point, and thence to extend levels north-east and south-west on the course or strike of the deposit."[81] The Dominion Mineral had sunk three shafts at its Blezard Mine to a depth of 70 feet to the second level. Therefore all mines had underground operations in 1891 although the majority of the workers still worked on the surface.

The underground workings necessitated the introduction of steam-powered machinery such as air compressor rock drills and dynamo engines to hoist the ore and drive the crushers and screens. Apart from housing, blacksmith and mechanical shops, the mine sites contained the shaft structure, the rock house and an engine house, "situated fifty feet east of the rock house, in which are placed two boilers, each of 80 h.p. capacity and a powerful engine to drive the large Ingersoll air compressor, capable of running seven three-inch drills. There are also two drums for hoisting ore, with engines attached of 40 h.p. each, capable of lifting with skip not less than four tons at each hoist. There is a large heater for heating the water before going into the boilers, and also an air receiver of large capacity."[82]

Only the Blezard mine had electric lights during this period. According to the Bureau of Mines, it was the first in Ontario to

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[81] Ibid., p. 13

[82] Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1983, p. 184.

have such lights.[83]

As underground operations were deepened, mining methods grew more complex and also dangerous. Once the shaft had been sunk and a cross-cut to the ore-body carved out of the rocks, drifts were opened parallel to the ore body both at the foot and hanging walls and other cross-cuts opened from these drifts into the ore body. Drifts and cross-cuts were generally long tunnels used for the movement and haulage of men, equipment, ore and waste rocks. These drifts and cross-cuts were opened at different levels which were on the average 150 to 200 feet apart. From these heavily timbered horizontal tunnels, raises or vertical openings would be carved out of the rock or ore between levels; these raises were necessary to provide ventilation and equipment to the workers.

The actual mining of the ore was done in stopes which are underground excavations as distinguished from drifts, cross-cuts and raises. "The verb to stope is used loosely, but usually to denote the general plan and work of breaking ground in stopes."[84]

There are two general categories of stoping: 1) the open stope where all the ore is mined between levels leaving only large ore pillars as means of support and 2) the filled stopes whereby the cavities created by the excavation of the ores are filled by waste rock. The open stoping method, of which shrinkage and caving are two examples, is used where "the ore requires little or no support

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[83]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1891, p. 13.

[84]Robert Peele, ed., Mining Engineers' Handbook, Vol. 1, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1941, p. 10-04.

while mining and the walls are strong enough to stand without sloughing until the broken ore has been removed."[85] Once the ore has been removed, the pillars are usually blasted, removed and the cavity is then filled with waste. the filled stope method, either square set or cut and fill, "is applied to higher grade ore deposits where complete extraction is desirable, where the ore and walls require support during stoping operations, and where it is necessary to prevent caving and subsidence of the overlying and surrounding ground."[86]

Stoping could be done by undercutting methods similar to those used in the open pit whereby the workers descended from one level to the next in steps or benches. Overcutting or overhanding is the inverse whereby miners remove the ore as they ascend from one level to the next. This method is often accompanied by square-setting whereby timer frames are erected as soon as an excavation has been completed.

In all these methods, the ore is broken by drilling and blasting, shovelled to chutes which carry it to the level floors where it is trammed to skips and hoisted to the surface for the sorting and crushing operations. The shrinkage and caving methods are less costly as the ore is allowed to fall into chutes or on the level floors without extensive shovelling and the cavities do

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[85]"Mining", op. cit., p. 358.

[86]Ibid., p. 343.

not require elaborate timber support.[87]

Once the ore had been crushed and screened, it was transported to the roast yard adjoining the mine sites in order to reduce its sulphur content, the first step in the smelting process. This yard consisted of a series of heaps or beds made with layers of clay and gravel with drains at the bottom for the purpose of drawing off water in the event of a heavy rainfall during the roasting operation.

Canadian Copper built its first yard in Copper Cliff three hundred yards from the smelting furnace and the first heap was ignited in August 1888.

> About thirty beds have been prepared in this way, and each heap when finished contains from 400 to 600 tons of ore. In building a heap a layer of fine ore is spread upon the bed to the depth of six inches, and over this a layer of wood to the depth of eighteen inches. The fuel used is dry pine-the remains of an extensive forest fire which swept over this country some fifteen years ago....The wood is covered with coarse ore to the depth of two or three feet, and this in turn by fines to prevent a too rapid combustion, the whole then completed making a pile of about six feet high.[88]

This heap burned from seven to nine weeks depending on the size and quality of the ore. As it burned, it spread a "heavy, yellowish cloud of acrid smoke"[89] which spread to Sudbury and

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[87]For a detailed description of these methods, see Robert Peele, op.cit., Section 10; Report of the Royyal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., pp. 212-222; Canadian Mining Journal, November 1937, pp. 608-628; Canadian Mining Journal, May 1946, pp. 332-364.

[88]Report of the Royal Commission on Mineral Resources, op.cit., p. 379.

[89]Ibid.

environs, effectively inhibiting vegetation in the area. "At its best, a roasting yard is as unsavory as a gehenna."[90] However it was a cheap operation run by contractors who were paid a flat rate per ton of ore roasted.[91] These contractors hired a large force of workmen who reduced the clinker-like masses of burning ore to manageable sizes by "wielding picks and shovels, although on occasion blasting material was used. The chunks were loaded into wheelbarrows and transported to railway cars for shipment to the smelter."[92] All the other mining companies in the area had similar roast yards.

Mining in the Sudbury Basin in the nineteenth century, usually conducted night and day, did not go much beyond the open pit method although some levels a few hundred feet underground were developed.At the Murray mine, for instance, in 1893, the system of mining was a modification of the cross-cut method with solid pillars."Cross-cut stopes are advanced from the foot wall to the hanging, leaving solid blocks or pillars between levels, and from wall to wall. These are cut through at intervals, forming arched excavations and sufficient material remains in situ to support the roof and overhanging wall."[93]

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[90]Ibid.

[91]Eileen Goltz, op.cit., p. 42.

[92]Ibid., p. 43.

[93]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1893, p. 187.

Overall the engineers and managers of the mining companies controlled most of the labour process. Although the technology was still rudimentary, from the perspective of twentieth-century standards, it was such that individual miners could not own or control it. The process of transforming individual miners into "collective workers" and subjecting them to a detailed divison of labour had begun in the Sudbury mines. However some miners obviously planned some of their daily work as supervision was minimal. They worked in small crews doing the separate tasks of drilling, blasting, mucking, tramming and sorting, which had started to be dominated by the imperatives of mechanization. Compared to smelting and refining however, this mining technology was to remain fairly underdeveloped.

Smelting and refining

Burning of the ores in the roast heap was the first step in the smelting process which consists of a "thermal treatment to melt them and bring about physical and chemical changes that enable recovery of the nickel and other valuable metals in crude form, separate from the bulk of unwanted constituents. The aim is to segregate the wanted constituents in a matte and reject the unwanted in a slag."[94] There are various processes for smelting

[94]Joseph R. Boldt, Jr, The Winning of Nickel.Its Geology,Mining and Extractive Metallurgy, Toronto, Longmans, 1967, p. 237.

copper and nickel[95], but in the 1890s the mining companies operating in the Sudbury Basin had adopted the roast heap and blast furnaces method which was the least costly and produced the cleanest slag.[96] The blast furnace produced a matte containing 25 per cent nickel and copper. To enrich the matte further before handing it to the refiner, the Canadian Copper built a bessemer plant in 1891 and 1892 to bring the matte up to 75 per cent nickel and copper.[97]The Vivians built a similar bessemer plant at their Murray mine in 1893. These bessemerizing or converting processes removed "practically the whole of the iron, and as much of the sulphur as can be eliminated without excessive loss of nickel, so that a material as rich as possible in nickel, or nickel and copper when both are present, is produced for refining."[98]

The whole process resulted in two products, matte and slag. While the matte went to the refineries, all situated outside of Canada, the slag would be hauled near the mines and eventually produce large black heaps.

The first blast furnace was "blown in"(i.e. large amounts of air are blown into the furnace through pipes called tuyeres for

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[95]For a brief summary of these processes, see Report of the Royal Commission on Mineral Resources, op.cit., pp. 374-379; Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., pp. 424-457; Joseph R. Boldt, op.cit., pp. 227-335.

[96]Report of Royal Commission on Mineral Resources, op.cit., p. 375.

[97]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 64.

[98]Ibid., p. 424.

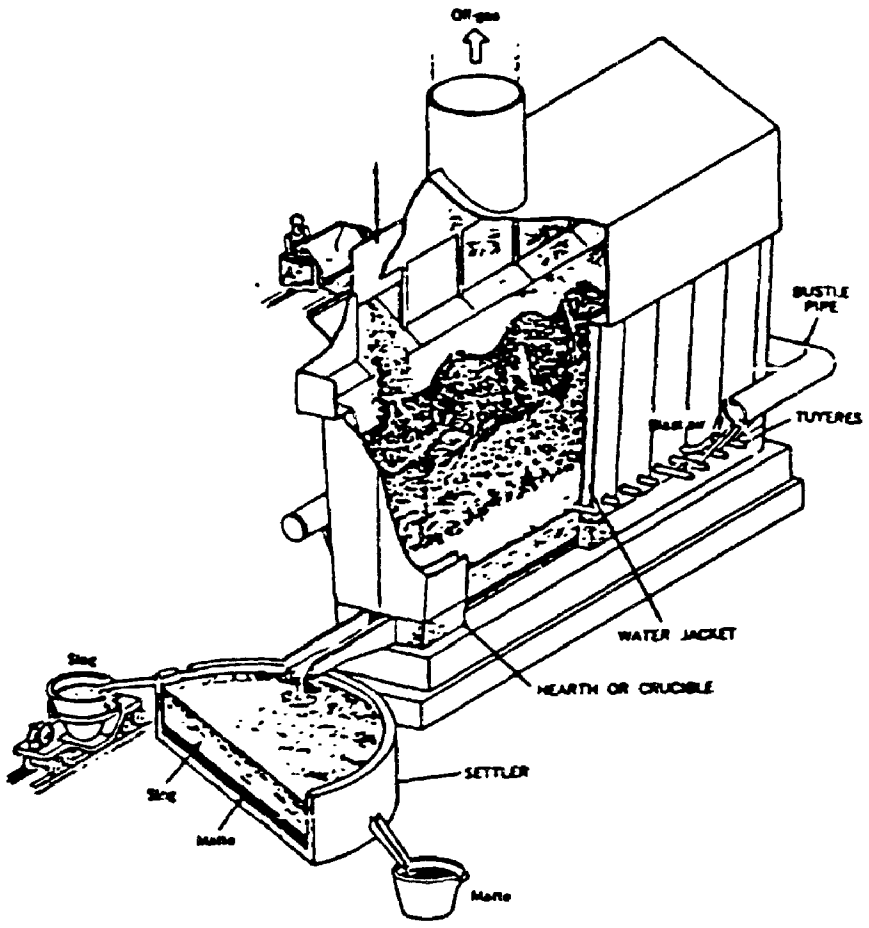

Figure 10: Cutaway view of blast furnace

combustion of its ore contents fuelled by coke) by the Canadian Copper in 1888 in its East smelter[99] and its second in September 1889. In 1899, to meet increased demands for nickel, Canadian Copper built its West smelter and Orford Copper erected a plant called the Ontario Smelting Works in Copper Cliff in 1900.The other operating companies, Dominion Mineral and Vivian, also erected their smelters in the early 1890s. These plants had a capacity of up to 150 tons daily but their production was irregular as the companies competed for markets. The mine inspectors' reports published by the Ontario Bureau of Mines indicate that the different smelters frequently ceased or curtailed operations.

Like the roast yard operations, smelting was very labour intensive."Each furnace employs per shift 1 fireman, 1 weigher, 2 founders, 3 men to take away the slag, and 3 shovellers."[100] The operation required experienced workers in the roast yards as well as in the smelter. "An experienced workman knows the difference in the quality of roasted ores at sight, and is able to mix them roughly as they are loaded into the cars at the heaps to be taken to the smelter and dumped into separate bins. Here they are again mixed by the furnace men in making up the charge so as to produce the quality of matte required."[101]

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[99]See Eileen Goltz, op.cit., p. 43. See also Report of Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 64.

[100]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1892, p. 154.

[101]Report of the Royal Commission on Mineral Resources, op.cit., p. 379.

Once in the furnace, the molten mass gathers at the base "and flows into the discharge hole into the well, where the heavier or metallic portion sinks and the lighter slag rises to the surface, to flow out in a constant stream of liquid fire at the slag-spout and be rolled in the pots in which it is caught to the waste heap."[102] The matte is drawn at frequent intervals through a tap hole which is opened with a pointed rod of iron. Tapping the furnace at the right time in order to draw the matte also required experience and skill. Prior to the twentieth century, furnace men relied on their knowledge of the smelting process in order to tap the furnace and draw the matte when they felt it was ready.

The bessemerized matte ended the smelting process. In the nineteenth century, all production of ores in the Sudbury Basin ceased at the end of the smelting operations. The matte was then shipped by Canadian Pacific boxcars out of the district. The Canadian Copper eventually sent it to the United States and the Vivian to England for refining.

For the owners of mining properties in the Sudbury Basin, the refining of nickel-copper ores constituted one of their major problems in the nineteenth century. It was in the first place a metallurgical problem due to the difficulty of separating nickel and copper.

> The smelting of roasted ore to make standard matte and the treatment of this matte in bessemer converters, so as to raise its contents of nickel and copper to 70 or 80 per cent, is relatively simple. The real difficulty comes in the refining of the bessemer matte and up to

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[102] Ibid., p. 380.

the present only two processes seem to be successful on the large scale.[103]

The first was the Orford process, invented in 1890 by the Orford Copper company as a result of "a second Navy contract to Colonel Thompson's Orford Copper Company to solve the refining problems of the Sudbury ore."[104]The process consisted of a series of furnace operations which yielded a product known as "tops" and "bottoms" because the nickel would settle at the bottom and the copper on top of the refined matte.[105]

The second, the Mond process developed in 1889, consisted of a series of five mostly chemical engineering operations that dissolved "nickel oxide in carbon monoxide to form a nickel carbonyl gas. When the gas was heated, the nickel was deposited out and carbon monoxide gas reformed."[106]This process resulted in a copper sulphate and a nickel ready for market.

In order to free themselves from reliance on the refiners, the Sudbury Basin mine owners had attempted either to devise their own refining process or buy one which had already been proven to be efficient and reasonably inexpensive. "Both Dominion Mineral and Canadian Copper attempted to purchase [his] process, but Mond

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[103]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 60. A third process called electrolytic was developed but not employed on a large scale in the nineteenth century.

[104]H.V. Nelles, op.cit., p. 88.

[105]For a description of this process, see Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., pp. 464-469.

[106]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 28. See also Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., pp.469-475

demanded a price which would give him a substantial, if not controlling interest in the companies."[107] The Vivians already had their own refinery in England from which Orford hired a metallurgist to help it develop its own process. Dominion Mineral contracted with the Wharton refinery in Pensylvania which employed the electrolytic process.

> The history of the Sudbury companies supports the conclusions of previous writers that the control by a producing company of a process which can refine the ores at a reasonable cost is of vital importance.[108]

Canadian Copper gained a monopolistic position in the Sudbury Basin through its ownership and control of mining properties. It further enhanced its control by gaining access to the intellectual property of a refining process owned by Orford. The agreement with the Canadian Copper in turn gave Orford a control of the nickel market. "Its technical success gave the Orford company a monopolistic position within the American nickel market, and this power, working backward through the exclusive supply contract, ensured the overwhelming supremacy of Canadian Copper at Sudbury."[109]

The metallurgical aspects had no sooner been partially solved than refining became a political issue touched off by the imposition of the highly protective Dingley tariff. The tariff bill

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[107]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 28

[108]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 60.

[109]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 29.

imposed an import duty on sawn lumber to which the Ontario government replied by adopting a bill requiring that pine timber cut on Crown lands be sawn into lumber in Canada. The Dominion government replied by an export duty on logs and pulpwood.

> Under pressure to give similar treatment to base metals, the government added to the bill the provision that the Governor-in-Council could impose export duties "on nickel contained in matte,or in ore, or in any crude or partially manufactured state, and upon copper contained in any matte or ore which also contains nickel, when exported from Canada.Upon such nickel an export duty not exceeding 10 cents a pound and upon such copper an export duty not exceeding 2 cents a pound".[110]

Reaction to the export duty on nickel and copper was swift both in Sudbury and across Ontario. Public meetings were held in Sudbury to discuss and oppose the duty. The Sudbury Journal demanded that such a duty not apply to shipments of nickel ores and matte to England "or any other country that has no import duty on refined nickel, nor to the United States if the import duty there is taken off. That sufficient time, say one year, should be given for the erection of refineries in Canada before the export duty comes into effect."[111]

Adversaries of the Canadian Copper saw in the federal policy an avenue to attack the company's monopolistic situation in Sudbury. S.J. Ritchie, recently deposed as president, and the Hamilton syndicate of companies interested in building a nickel steel complex in Canada launched a campaign in favor of the duty

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[110]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 54.

[111]Sudbury Journal, March 31, 1898, p. 4.

and against Canadian Copper.

> The Hamilton group, interested in the development of nickel steel to bolster its activities in the Canadian steel industry, was anxious to have the duties enforced immediately. Ritchie's purpose in entering the struggle was to destroy the power of his former associates as they had destroyed his control over Canadian Copper.[112]

A pamphlet war between the Ritchie group and Canadian Copper ensued in which the latter reminded the federal government that Canada did not have a monopoly on the nickel market and that an export duty would only result in New Caledonian ore entering the American market, thus weakening the position of the Sudbury mines and workers."The duty was never proclaimed and the law was allowed to remain a dead letter in the statute books."[113]

Ritchie and the Hamilton group then turned to the Ontario government which had recently adopted the manufacturing condition regulations. In 1900 "by an amendment to the Mines Act the government imposed conditions that virtually precluded the economic export of nickel ore and matte. Rather than a total ban or an export duty, which it had no authority to impose, the government settled upon a licence fee graded to punish exports. In the case of nickel matte the licence fee would amount to $60 a ton. If, however, the ore was eventually refined in Canada (and this was the clause designed to penalize the Canadian Copper-Orford combination and protect the Nickel Steel interests), the entire licence fee

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[112]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 54.

[113]Ibid.

would be refunded."[114]

The amendment brought predictable negative reactions from Canadian Copper and groups in Sudbury. Notwithstanding these, it was adopted by the provincial government at which point the scene of battle shifted from Toronto to Ottawa. A Toronto barrister, W.R.P. Parker, "engaged nominally by twenty-eight citizens of Nipissing but actually by the Canadian Copper Company filed an appeal for disallowance, principally on the grounds that the design of the amendment was the regulation of trade and commerce which was plainly beyond the authority of the Legislature."[115]

At this point, Ludwig Mond, who had recently bought mining properties from Rinaldo McConnell in the Sudbury Basin, entered the scene to protest the Ontario regulations. Canadian Copper pressed its case with the provincial authorities stating that the Orford company had just bought properties in New Caledonia and that if the government "took strong repressive measures against Canadian Copper, it would merely succeed in plunging fifteen hundred men into misery, hand a monopoly of the North American nickel market to New Caledonia, and force a flight of both American and British capital from Ontario and Canada."[116]

As a result of these pressures, the Dominion government eventually decided not to disallow the Ontario Mines Act amendment

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[114]H.V.Nelles, op.cit., p. 93.

[115]Ibid., p. 96.

[116]Ibid., p. 101.

and the Ontario government withheld proclamation by the Lieutenant-Governor. With the help of the Mond, the Canadian Copper-Orford combination had demonstrated the political and economic power it had gained in the last ten years of the nineteenth century.[117]

The whole episode also illustrates the contradictory role of the State in the development of the Sudbury Basin and indeed of New Ontario.

The State

In late nineteenth century, the State, at both the federal and provincial levels, played a prominent role in the development of Sudbury and New Ontario, a role born of contradictions. On the one hand, as trustee of the public domain the State was the largest property owner in New Ontario through its agent, the Department and Commissioner of Crown Lands. On the other it consistently sought to promote part of this public domain by transforming Crown Lands into private property, the ownership of which permitted the haute and petite bourgeoisie to accumulate capital. The State would then attempt to appropriate some of this capital through a system of export duties, royalties, taxes, license and patent fees which would provide it with revenues to finance its functioning.It is in these terms that "in reality the development of New Ontario was a joint public and private venture."[118]

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[117]Both Nelles and Main suggest that the actions of these three companies in this episode indicate a collusion on their part. See H.V. Nelles, op.cit., pp 87-101 and Main, op.cit., pp. 54-59 for a detailed analysis of these events.

[118]H.V. Nelles, op.cit., p. 109.

In this broad and indirect way, the elected officials of the state, both Liberals and Conservatives throughout this period, promoted the establishment of a class structure in Sudbury and also partly regulated the relationships within and between classes.

Both the federal and provincial levels of the State were instrumental in transforming public lands into private property. The Dominion government first granted lands to the Canadian Pacific Railway for the construction of its road to the West through the vast expanses of New Ontario. It was as a result of this contractual arrangement that the CPR obtained its lands in the village of Sudbury the selling of which added to its capital base.

The provincial government was more directly involved in this transformation because of its powers regarding Crown lands and natural resources. Its involvement took different forms. In the case of lumber, the provincial government acted as a landlord in leasing timber limits to lumbermen by a system of licensing. "The lumbermen obtained timber licenses from the Ontario government; this gave them the right to cut timber but title to the land was retained by the Crown."[119]The licensee could however sell his rights. As landlord, the province derived three kinds of revenue from its licensing system: 1)ground rents which were paid annually and based on a sum per square mile; 2)timber dues which were paid on the actual amount cut; 3)the bonus whereby auctions were held periodically by the government and the lumbermen bid for the right

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[119]Gwenda Hallsworth, op.cit., p. 9.

to cut on a certain limit. From these sources, the provincial government was able to derive a quarter of its total revenue until 1904.[120]

The State controlled the lumber industry through its departmental personnel and also various laws and regulations such as the manufacturing condition of 1898. Its success in the imposition of this condition was partly due to the fact that it remained the legal owner of timber properties.

In the case of mining, while the provincial government adopted policies of both licensing and selling properties, in general it did not opt to remain landlord. It preferred instead to transfer the legal ownership of mining properties to individuals and companies who applied for them. As early as 1847, when the Ontario government established its first permanent set of regulations concerning mining, "the land was sold in fee simple."[121]

Prior to Confederation the province changed its regulations and laws a number of times (1853,1861,1864) as it attempted to define ways in which it would transfer lands to miners, the conditions for keeping the ownership of these lands, the number of acres permitted to any one individual or company and the price per acre. Until 1862, miners could obtain titles to the lands or

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[120] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[121] Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1892, p. 221. For a summary of mining laws and regulations in Ontario in the nineteenth century, see Report of the Royal Commission on Mineral Resources in Ontario, op.cit., pp. 255-269; Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., pp. 221-229; O.W. Main, op.cit., pp. 47-60.

licenses to explore and mine on proof of discovery and actual working of the properties. But in April of 1862, "working conditions were abandoned as to future sales, and it was agreed that patents should issue on the payment of the purchase money, but subject to a royalty of 2 1/2 per cent on ores raised or mined, payable on their value as prepared for market at the mine. In March of 1864 the royalty was changed to a tax or duty of $1 per ton on all ores except gold and silver, payable on removal from the mine."[122]

Apart from the Gold and Silver Mining Act of 1868, the provisions remained in force until the adoption of the General Mining Act of 1869 which for the first time dealt with ores and minerals of all classes. The Act distinguished between mining claims in mining divisions (although no tract of land was declared or set aside as mining divisions) and mining locations consisting of 80,160 or 320 acres, the price of which was fixed at $1 per acre. All royalties, taxes and duties were repealed and abandoned; no working of the properties was required to keep title. "This act swept away all the provisions which it had not been possible to enforce and with them swept away any control which the Ontario government had over the mining industry except for the regulation of disputes between rival claimants."[123]

Most of the mining properties in the Sudbury Basin, including

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[122]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 222.

[123]O.W. Main, op.cit., pp. 48-49.

all those patented to the Canadian Copper, were sold in accordance with the provisions of the 1869 Act.

In 1888, the Ontario government established the Royal Commission on Mineral Resources whose report published in 1890 favored free trade in mining, investment of American capital to develop the mining properties and the establishment of an infrastructure such as railroads and a Bureau of Mines. In 1892, the province adopted a new general mining law which established an overall general administration for mining, provided for royalties, working of the properties, transfer of land by fee simple or lease and, for the first time, health and safety regulations for the workers. No doubt due to the discovery of the nickel properties in Sudbury Basin and the promise of its great potential as a steel alloy, the provincial government took a more active role in promoting the mining industries of New Ontario.

The general administrative structure served essentially to promote the development of private ownership of the mining properties by providing essential services through the Bureau of Mines.

> In practice the Bureau has charge of the mineral lands in surveyed territory (unsurveyed territory is in charge of the Department), and through it all correspondence and business relating to the selling, leasing and working of such lands is carried on. It also published an annual report to furnish information on the mineral resources of the province, the progress of mining and metallurgical operations, the conditions of mines as regards the health and safety of miners, and the observance of regulations for the employment of labor.[124]

[124]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1892, p. 225.

Although it provided for royalties, "no revenue ever accrued under any of these royalty provisions and the mining industry contributed nothing whatever to Provincial revenue by way of taxation until 1907."[125]

For the first time, it attempted to regulate health and safety measures for the workers on the mine sites although the number of inspectors was very small.

The Act was still criticized by prospectors for favoring the large mining companies.Aeneas McCharles wrote that "it fell to my lot to have been at the head of a never-ending agitation against the restrictive policy of the Ontario government in regard to mineral lands, and in favor of a proper mining law."[126]

This active role of the provincial government in promoting the nickel mining properties is well illustrated by an unusual attempt,in 1891,"to interest the government of Great Britain in a joint undertaking which would have for its object the establishment of nickel refineries and nickel steel works in Ontario, with the view of ensuring an ample supply of nickel for British military and naval use, and at the same time of developing the manufacture of nickel and iron in this province."[127] Great Britain declined the offer. The Royal Ontario Nickel Commission concluded that had it

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[125]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 510.

[126]A. McCharles, op.cit., p. 93.

[127]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 8.

accepted, the provincial government would have been placed in a quandary since all the major nickel deposits had already been discovered and sold to individuals and companies.

The federal Export Duty Act of 1897 and the Ontario Act to Amend the Mines Act in 1900 both tried to force refining in Canada. Had these succeeded as did the manufacturing condition for lumber, they would only have changed the names and numbers of owners and workers without modifying the structure of social relationships between classes.

In general, then, "provincial policy in regard to mining consisted of a series of expedients designed to attract capital to mining areas and to divert some of the benefits of development to the public treasury."[128]

That the State should attempt to promote the public domain through private property is not surprising since it regulated, through its laws such as the Municipal Act or the Elections Act, access to the public domain by its property and gender restrictions. Only men of property were eligible, in the nineteenth century, to direct the affairs of the State. In general, therefore, the State acted to promote the public domain but it did so mostly through the channels of private property as the case of Sudbury and New Ontario well illustrates.

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[128]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 48.

Summary and conclusion

Both lumber and mining operations began on the North Shore in the vicinity of Sudbury in the 1850s. These were not very extensive until contruction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880s which resulted in increased exploitation of forest and mineral resources. When CP moved its camp west of Sudbury, the town became a service and distribution center for lumber and mining sites. Lumber operations expanded considerably and consistently in the 1890s; mining fluctuated greatly.

American and Canadian capitalists, originating from Michigan, Georgian Bay and the Ottawa Valley, owned most of the timber limits, logging operations and sawmills in the Sudbury District. Americans were in the majority until the manufacturing condition changed tha pattern of ownership in favor of the Canadians after 1898. In mining, American, British and Canadian entrepreneurs developed mining properties bought from speculators and prospectors. Competition between them was fierce in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The American-owned Canadian Copper Company managed to gain a monopoly of the nickel range by acquiring, within a short span of time, most of the major properties. With Orford Copper, it manoeuvered to control the American nickel markets by signing a contract with the United States Navy and by obtaining rights to a successful refining process. The Canadian Copper-Orford Copper combination thus eliminated most competitors in the Sudbury Basin at least until the 1898 Spanish-American war when the British-owned Mond company

bought properties on the western range and opened mines and smelters.

Most of these capitalists were Anglo-Saxon. They resided and ran their operations mostly from Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, the United States and Britain. Some travelled to Sudbury and the surrounding environs to oversee their operations which were supervised by a small cadre of managers. There is no evidence of these men establishing residences in Sudbury or getting involved in community affairs before 1900.

In general, these capitalists were a heterogeneous group united only by a common strategy of extracting the natural resources of the Basin and the district by employing a seemingly abundant supply of labour power. To accomplish this, they resisted the State's attempts to impose export duties or any type of restrictions to export these resources for refining or transformation outside the region and the country. For mine company owners, this resistance was successful throughout this period. Lumbermen were less successful as the Ontario government managed to impose the manufacturing condition in 1898.

Evidence suggests that most of these capitalists had close ties to the Canadian state. Lumbermen and railway company owners, many of whom were Canadians, were either involved in party politics or state affairs. The most important mine company owners, mostly Americans such as S.J. Ritchie, had close ties to the upper echelons of the state.

This haute bourgeoisie in lumber and mining hired labour power

from various sources and regions. Bush workers were mostly French Canadians and Finns. British, Finns, Italians and French Canadians worked in the mines and smelters. They lived in company-owned camps and villages and were supervised by a relatively small cadre of managers, foremen and technical personnel. Work in the bush and sawmills, the mines and smelters was very labour intensive and dangerous especially in the latter as workers had to endure gas, heat and dust. Labour power was abundant and owners had not yet proceeded to mechanize their operations. This would change gradually at the turn of the century when hydro-electricity replaced steam power thus resulting in industrialization of the frontier and the emergence of class antagonisms.

PART II

1901-1925: INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF CLASS ANTAGONISM

INTRODUCTION

In retrospect, Sudbury was not a frontier settlement for very long. A series of events combined, at the turn of the century, to hasten its transition to an industrial center.[1]

The Spanish-American War of 1898 created an extensive demand for nickel which brought about a re-invasion of the Sudbury Basin by new mining companies. During the first and second decades of the twentieth century, the race for armament which culminated in World War I pushed the demand for and production of nickel to record levels. The mining companies responded by exploring new deposits, opening new mines and inventing new technology which led to a transformation of the labour process.

Until the Great Depression, lumbering activity rivalled that of mining in the Sudbury District. The extensive logging operations fed the numerous sawmills built on the North Shore as a result of the "manufacturing condition" as well as the pulp and paper mills established to the east and west of Sudbury.

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[1]Canadian society underwent wholesale transformations during this period as a result of the transition to industrial capitalism. See Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada. 1896-1921. A Nation Transformed, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974; Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey, eds, The Consolidation of Capitalism,1896-1929, Readings in Canadian Social History, Volume IV, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1983; Paul-André Linteau, Rene Durocher,Jean-Claude Robert, Histoire du Québec contemporain. De la Confederation à la crise. 1867-1929, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1979.

The state's attempts to impose an export duty and a license fee on nickel in order to force its refining in Canada led indirectly, in 1902, to the merger of the Canadian Copper, Orford Copper and other enterprises as the International Nickel Company.

During the first decade of the century, a series of new railroads were constructed in and around Sudbury criss-crossing the district in all directions and linking it to the metropolitan heartland of Toronto. This second phase of railroad construction in Northeastern Ontario[2] opened the territory for colonisation and the exploitation of natural resources.

This first decade also witnessed the construction of four major hydro-electric power plants in the vicinity of Sudbury. These hastened the industrialization of the mines, smelters, and pulp, paper and sawmills by replacing steam powered with electrically driven machinery. This led, in turn, to an increase in the volume of extraction and transformation of natural resources.

Hydro-electricity was a major innovation in the productive forces of the region and has to be situated within the broader context of the development of the capitalist mode of production. Ernest Mandel has identified long waves in this development, each wave characterized by a period of accelerated growth and one of decelerated growth. In each of these waves, the ascending phase is

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[2]For a detailed history of this construction, see Gaetan Gervais, "Le réseau ferroviaire du Nord-est de l'Ontario,1881-1931", Revue de l'Université Laurentienne, Vol. XIII, No 2, Fevrier 1981, pp. 35-63.

marked by major techological innovations. "Machine production of steam-driven motors since 1848; machine production of electric and combustion motors since the '90s of the 19th century; machine production of electronic and nuclear power apparatuses since the '40s of the 20th century- these are the three general revolutions in technology engendered by the capitalist mode of production since the original industrial revolution of the late 18th century."[3]

American, British and Canadian industrial capitalists were at the forefront of these hydro-electrical developments. the region. To supervise their growing operations, these capitalists delegated to Sudbury a growing cadre of executive managers and officials. While the International Nickel Company was the first to "replace owner management by executive management"[4], other companies soon followed suit.

These major developments in railroads, mines and smelters, lumber and pulp operations inevitably led to the expansion of the town of Sudbury as evidenced by its population growth from 2,000 in 1901 to 9,500 in 1925. It remained, however, a merchant town servicing the outlying mining villages, agricultural settlements and lumber camps. Dominated by a growing class of businessmen/professionals, Sudbury also experienced a spurt of industrialization after 1905 when a number of light industries were constructed along the Algoma Branch of the CPR. This was mostly the

[3]Ernest Mandel, Late Capitalism, London, New Left Books, 1975, p. 118..

[4]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 46.

result of the town's contract with the Wahnapitei Power Company for the supply of hydro-electricity. The major chartered banks set up branches in the town during this period in order to profit from its expansion. This period was in many ways the golden age of the local petite bourgeoisie which pursued, through Council and the Board of Trade, a consistent policy of developing Sudbury into the center of an expanding region.[5] They promoted roads, railways, mining, lumbering and industries in and around the town. As well, they owned and rented the majority of the properties in the town as new subdivisions, businesses and hotels opened. Many of these merchants/professionals built imposing residences to the east of the downtown business district and to the south near Lake Ramsey.

Stratification within this class grew more pronounced. Some merchants and business men hired managers and supervisory personnel in their places of business as their number of workers increased. The majority, however, continued to be owners/managers and workers in their own enterprises.

This period also witnessed the first stirrings of the working class. Within the town, groups of skilled workers established union organizations and a Trades and Labour Council. As in many other communities across Canada, labour organizations and political activities peaked in 1919, then declined drastically with the

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[5]In this sense it was attempting to reproduce at the local level the metropolitan-hinterland relationship that was evolving between itself and Toronto. For an analysis of this relationship with Toronto, see Gilbert Stelter, "Community Development in Toronto's Commercial Empire: The Industrial Towns of the Nickel Belt", Laurentian Review, Vol. 6, No 3, June 1974, pp. 3-54.

depression in 1921. Labour protest and organization surfaced in the mining camps as some miners, led mostly by Finnish workers, attempted without success to establish locals of the Western Federation of Miners. In the 1920s Sudbury became a center for the organization of lumber workers. Unemployed workers also began to protest in the streets of the town and the local elite started to fear the influx of "foreigners" in the area. After 1910, socialist candidates vied for the support of workers during provincial elections. They obtained some success in 1919 when the United Farmers of Ontario managed to form the government of the province.

The working class within the town consisted mostly of male railroad, commercial and service workers, although there were an ever-increasing number of women workers. In the mining and lumber camps, general labourers were the norm although quite a few skilled workers were needed to operate the gigantic industrial apparatus of the smelters.

After the First World War, Sudbury had indeed become the hub of an industrial center. It was one of the twenty-eight communities where the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations held public hearings in May of 1919. In the same year, during a visit to Sudbury, the general superintendent of the Lake Superior Division of CP, J.J. Scully, referred to Sudbury as the "second Hamilton of Canada."[6] There is no better testimony to the fact that Sudbury had

[6]Sudbury Star, June 11, 1919, p. 1. According to the Star, Scully was accompanying the president of the CPR, E.W. Beattie, to a function jointly organized by the Town Council and the Board of Trade.

been transformed, in twenty years, from a settlement and mining frontier.

CHAPTER III

INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

TRANSFORMS THE FRONTIER

A first measure of the growth in the region's forces of production lay in the number of rail lines built in and around Sudbury prior to World War I. The Canadian Pacific Railway remained the dominant transportation enterprise mainly because its main line and especially its Algoma branch ran through the heart of the basin's major mining properties and the district's lumber and pulpwood operations. It enhanced its positior in 1907 by building a new station in Sudbury and in 1908 by opening a line south to Toronto.[1]

The Manitoulin & North Shore

At the turn of the century, F.H. Clergue bought mining properties in the Sudbury Basin mainly to provide sulphur for his Sault Ste Marie pulp and paper operations[2] and nickel for Algoma Steel. In order to transport these to the Sault, Clergue bought the Manitoulin and North Shore railway company, chartered in 1888 to build a line from Little Current on Manitoulin Island to the North Shore of Lake Huron in the township of Nairn. Clergue

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[1]Gaetan Gervais, "Le reseau ferroviaire...", op.cit., p. 40. CP had used the Grand Trunk line from North Bay to Toronto via Gravenrust since 1888. It decided to build this new line via Parry Sound when the Grand Trunk increased its fees.

[2]For a detailed history of Clergue's dealings in New Ontario, see Duncan McDowall, Steel at the Sault: Francis H. Clergue, Sir James Dunn and the Algoma Steel Corporation 1901-1956, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1984.

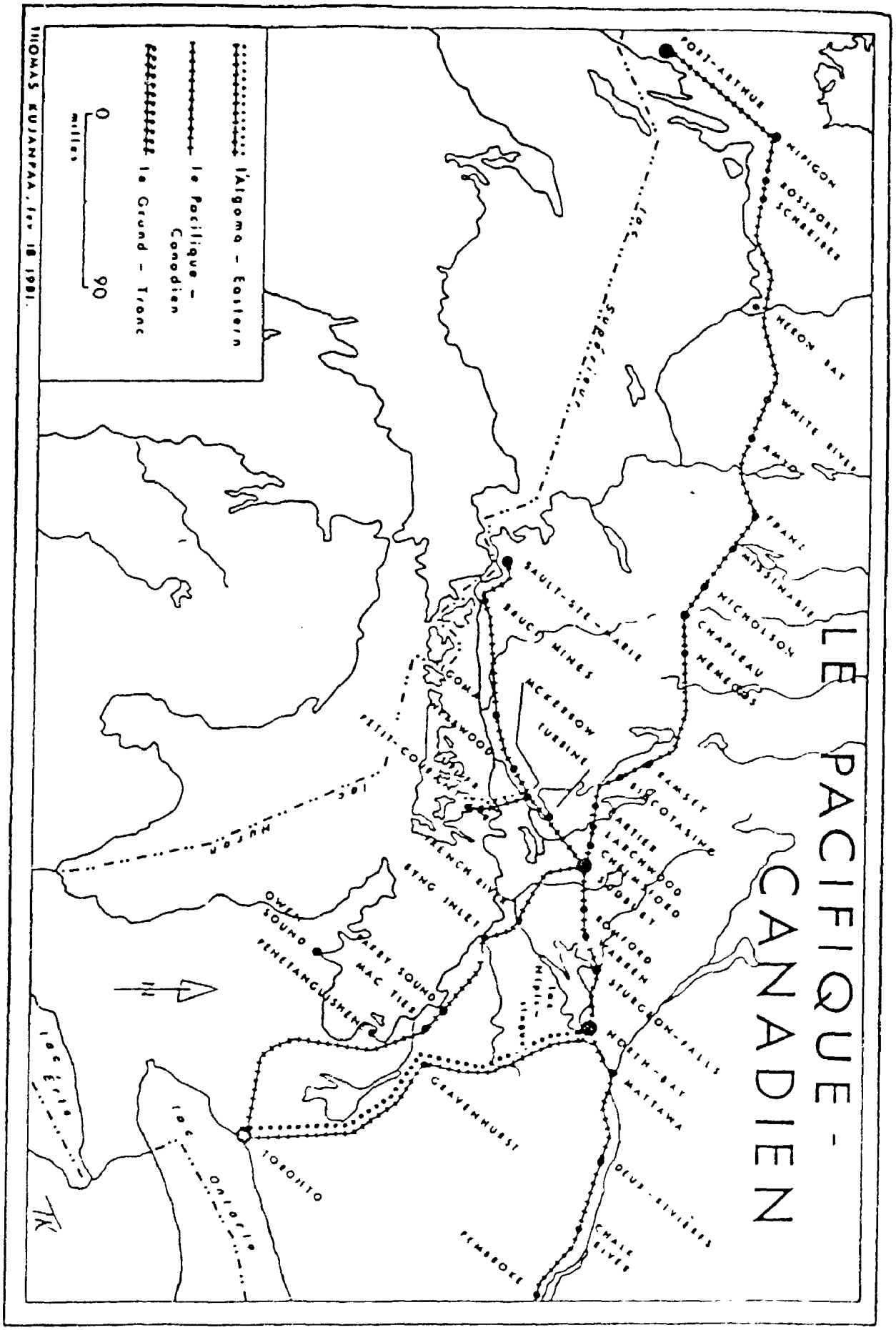

Figure 11: The Canadian Pacific Railway

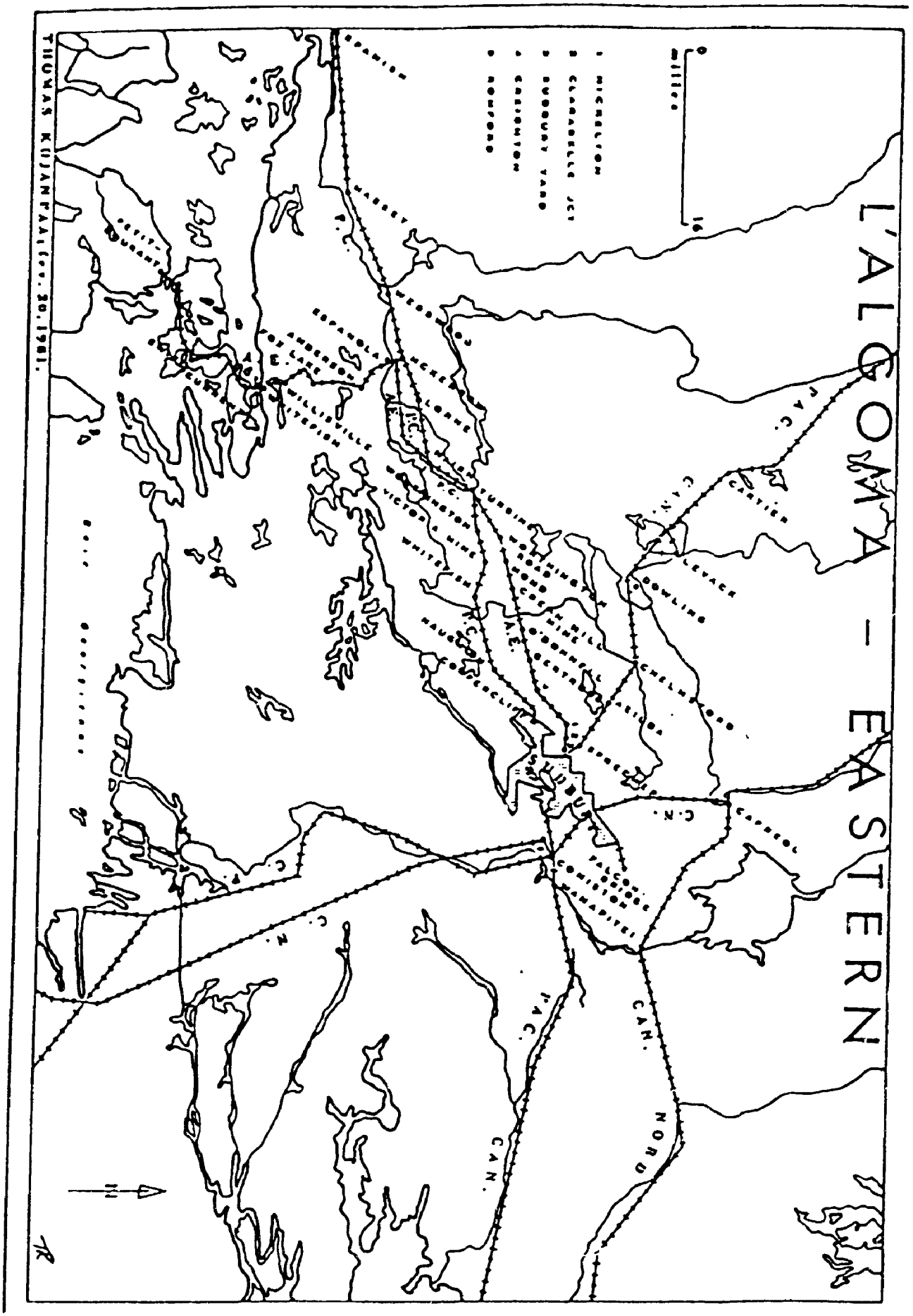

Figure 12: Manitoulin & North Shore - Algoma Eastern

obtained an amendment to the charter in 1900 giving him permission to extend the line to Sudbury. "Clergue added to the charter the intention of running several lines through the Sudbury District to tap mining and forestry traffic, plus a westward expansion to link up with his other railway, the Algoma Central,"[3] which ran from Sault Ste Marie northward to Michipicoten where he owned an iron mine.

In 1900 the Manitoulin and North Shore constructed 22.5 kilometers of line from its station in the northwest of Sudbury to the Gertrude mine, owned and operated by Clergue's Lake Superior Corporation. It thus passed through five mine sites, two of which were owned by Clergue (Gertrude and Elsie) and three by Canadian Copper. The most important of these was the Creighton. In fact, the M & N S permitted the opening of the Creighton mine in 1901 because, "until the building of the Algoma Eastern railway, there was no means of transporting ore from the Creighton mine to the

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[3]Dale Wilson, Algoma Eastern Railway, Revised and Expanded Edition, Sudbury, Nickel Belt Rails, 1979, p. 6. The name of the M & N S was changed to the Algoma Eastern in 1911 for reasons which remain unclear. For brief but interesting histories of the Algoma Central, see O.S. Nock, Algoma Central Railway, Sault Ste Marie, Algoma Central Railway, and London, Adam & Charles Black, 1975; Dale Wilson, Tracks of the Black Bear. The Story of the Algoma Central Railroad, Green Tree Publishing Co., 1974; Gaétan Gervais, "Le réseau ferroviaire...", op.cit.

company's smelting works at Copper Cliff."[4]

Construction of the rest of the line to Manitoulin Island progressed very slowly due in part to the collapse of Clergue's empire in 1903. Service was inaugurated only in 1913 when the first Algoma Eastern train completed the 140 km trip from Little Current to Sudbury.[5] From 1913 to 1924, the AER operated from the CN station.[6] After 1924, it transferred its operations to the CPR station until 1929 when it was merged with CP.[7]

The Canadian Northern

The Canadian Northern was the second company to construct facilities in the town of Sudbury in the first decade of the twentieth century.[8] In 1895, the Toronto entrepreneurs Donald Mann and William Mackenzie obtained a charter for the James Bay Railway

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[4]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 37. Work at the mine began in 1900, the same year that the railway line was completed. The first shipment of ore from the mine to the Copper Cliff smelter by way of the Algoma Eastern was made in August 1901. See Ralph D. Parker, "Mining at Creighton", Engineering and Mining Journal, November 10, 1930, p. 437. See also John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., p. 127.

[5]Sudbury Journal, October 2, 1913, p. 1.

[6]In 1912, AER and CN established a rail link in the northeast section of the town in order to transfer Mond's ores from its Victoria mine to its Coniston smelter. See Sudbury Journal, November 7, 1912, p. 1; CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. V, pp. 47 and 65; Dale Wilson, op.cit., pp. 21-23.

[7]For the reasons for and the history of this amalgamation, see Dale Wilson, op.cit., pp. 47-54.

[8]For a detailed history of this railway, see T.D. Regehr, The Canadian Northern Railway:Pioneer Road to the Northern Prairies 1895-1918, Toronto, Macmillan of Canada/MacLean Hunter Press, 1976; G.R. Stevens,Canadian National Railways. Volume 2: Towards the Inevitable 1896-1922, Toronto, Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1962.

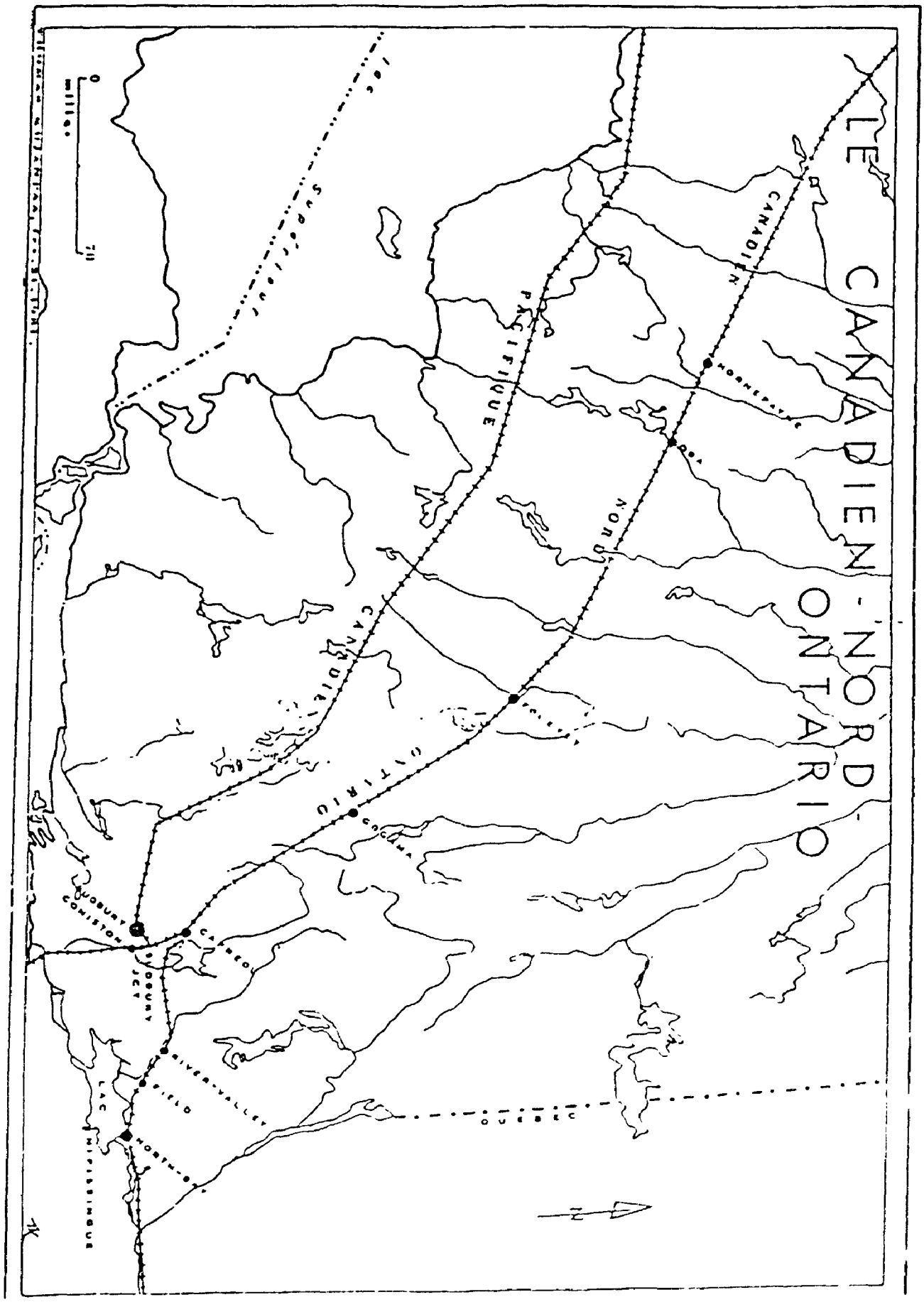

Figure 13: The Canadian Northern Railway

century. In the bush, logging operators started to hire university trained foresters. In general, these few innovative measures were taken to cut costs, increase productivity and return profits thereby serving the wider purposes of industrial capitalism.

Mining developments

At the turn of the century, Canadian Copper's monopoly position in the Sudbury Basin was threatened by the arrival of a major competitor, the Mond Nickel company of Great Britain, owned by Ludwig Mond[36] who had bought from Rinaldo McConnell a series of mining properties to the west of Sudbury. Compared to other companies, Mond had a relatively easy entrance into the Sudbury nickel fields.

> The entrance of Mond into the industry in 1904 was not accompanied by the usual "war" that had characterized the earlier periods. Mond was immediately granted a share of the market and he agreed to sell at the same price as the existing producers, and to use the same sales agent, Henry Merton & Sons. Moreover, Mond was given a share of the contract with the Steel Manufacturers Syndicate which had been formed earlier, and was allowed to make his own contracts for nickel with the British government. This ready acceptance of the Mond Nickel Company would indicate that the company had more bargaining power than its size and productive capacity would indicate.[37]

This bargaining power was due in no small part to the fact that Mond already owned a refining process and a refinery in Clydach, Wales. It posed no threat to International Nickel in the

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[36]See J.M Cohen, The Life of Ludwig Mond, London, Methuen & Co Ltd, 1956, especially chapter 7 "Nickel"; Mond Nickel Company, op.cit. Incorporated in 1900 under the Imperial Companies Act of Great Britain, Mond was mostly a family-owned enterprise.

[37]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 67.

reached Coniston in 1908 and joined with the 50 km long line which had been built from Sellwood to the northwest of Capreol. Mackenzie and Mann had bought the Moose Mountain iron ore deposit to the north of Sellwood in 1905 and planned to build a rail line from that point south to Killarney on Georgian Bay.[13] In their plans, Sellwood was to become more important than Sudbury.[14] In 1910, Sellwood was already a "busy town with two sawmills and an iron plant"[15] where 200 men were employed. The plant itself produced 400 tons of concentrated ore per day. A year later the mine was closed and Sellwood was soon to be forgotten.

In 1908, CN built its spur line into Sudbury as well as a station at the east end of the business district on the site of the Evans mill and lumber yard. From 1912 to 1914, it constructed another line from Montreal to Port Arthur, joining its Toronto line at Capreol which had been chosen the divisional point.[16]

Sudbury". A year later, they learned otherwise. D.M. LeBourdais, op.cit., p. 109.

[13]Sudbury Journal, November 9, 1905, p. 1.

[14]Gaétan Gervais, "Le réseau ferroviaire...", op.cit., p. 55.

[15]Sudbury Journal, September 8, 1910, p. 1.

[16]CN chose Capreol after receiving a gift of 100 acres of land from Frank Dennie, a local hotel owner. See Sudbury Star, September 12, 1938 and September 23, 1963. Frank Dennie had owned the Montreal House in Sudbury until 1910, then the first hotel in Hanmer. He had prospected with Thomas Edison on the Falconbridge properties in the early 1900s. From 1928 to 1931, he was owner/director of Sudbury Offsets Limited and operator of its mine in Foy township on the northern range of the Sudbury Basin.

By 1917, the Canadian Northern was in such financial straits that the federal government decided to support it financially until it became part of the Canadian National Railway in 1919 following the report of the Royal Commission on Railways and Transportation.[17]

Two other railway lines, the National Transcontinental and the Temiskaming and Northen Ontario Railway, were constructed further to the north before the First World War. The first was started in 1903 and after suffering financial difficulties, it too was absorbed, in 1923, into the Canadian National. The Ontario government launched the T.& N.O. following a 1901 report which had described the tremendous natural resources of New Ontario. Construction started in 1902 and the whole line from North Bay to Moosonee was finished in 1931.

By 1914 the major railway construction in and around Sudbury was finished and, as a result, the District was criss-crossed by numerous railway lines (see accompanying maps) linking it to points west, east and south thus giving credence to Romanet du Caillaud's prediction in 1905 that "Sudbury is to become one of the greatest railway points in the north of North America. Look at the map. When Toronto is joined by direct line to Sudbury, Sudbury will be on the route of every train going directly from New York to the Canadian West and the North-Western States, and of every train going from Montreal to the North-Western States and to the southern part of

[17]For a detailed account, see T.D. Regehr, op.cit., chapter sixteen, "The Search for Long-Term Solutions", pp. 410-437.

the Canadian West."[18]

This second phase of railway construction in Northeastern Ontario and the Sudbury Basin was clearly related to the development of mines and lumber operations as well as pulp and paper mills. Many of these were built by the State to hasten the development of New Ontario or by Canadian and American capitalists to service their own mines and industrial plants.

Lumber operations

These new railway lines opened the territory to the north and west of Sudbury thus giving lumbermen access to the extensive timber stands of the district. Much of the lumber cut in the area after 1900 was destined for the construction of the railways and the mining operations but most of it was shipped to the sawmills of the North Shore and Georgian Bay.

> By the turn of the century, square timber production was virtually over and there was a gradual increase in the production of such other products as pulpwood and mining timbers. This resulted in a broadening of the species usage to include spruce, balsam and later jackpine.[19]

Until 1930, the lumber operations in the Sudbury District were extensive. "Between 1901 and 1930, 2 billion, 520 million board feet of sawlog timber were taken from the Sudbury District alone, without taking into consideration pulpwood operations, railway

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[18]Sudbury Journal, August 3, 1905, p. 1.

[19]Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, A History of Sudbury Forest District, op.cit., p. 23. For a graph showing the differences in the Ontario crown land wood harvest from 1867 to 1976, see Ian Radforth, Bush Workers and Bosses, op.cit., p. 16.

ties, cedar poles, etc."[20] Before the First War, much of this activity was concentrated in the townships immediately north and west of the town of Sudbury. From 1907 to 1915, there were large operations adjacent to the Algoma Branch of the CPR, especially in the Webbwood and Massey areas where 2000 men were employed annually in logging, sawmilling, river driving and towing.[21] between 1909 and 1914, there was considerable activity in the townships of Capreol, Garson, Falconbridge, Lumsden and Morgan related to "the construction of the C.N.R. as operations extended up that line and included the production of substantial quantities of ties and similar materials."[22]

During this period, twelve large sawmills operated within a radius of 80 kilometers of the mouth of the Spanish River. Lumber was also transported from the mouth of the Whitefish and French Rivers to sawmills at Owen Sound, Parry Sound, Byng Inlet, Midland, Collingwood and other points on Georgian Bay and Lake Huron.[23] Numerous local sawmills dotted the landscape of the Sudbury Basin and large pulp mills were erected at Espanola and Sturgeon Falls, to the west and east of Sudbury respectively.

Not only did lumber operations decrease after 1930 in the

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[20]Ibid., p. 25.

[21]T. Thorpe, A Review., op.cit., p 2.

[22]Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, A History..., op.cit., p. 25. According to the Department, the logs cut in Morgan township by the Morgan Lumber Company "were some of the largest and of the best quality in the entire northland."

[23]T. Thorpe, op.cit., p. 3.

Sudbury District; they had moved much further from the town of Sudbury and were no longer as important in its development. "Year by year the lumbering industry is moving farther afield from Sudbury and Sudbury District reaching out towards the North and the undeveloped timber lands along the upper CNR."[24]

Companies and lumbermen

"During this time some 235 companies held licenses to cut on Crown lands; some on a large scale operation and many others appeared for a year or two only and then faded from the picture. On an average there would be 25 active lumbering companies operating each season in the District."[25] There were approximately twenty large operating companies in and around Sudbury from 1901 to 1930 which cut over 80 per cent of the total lumber in the District. The largest of these was Emery Lumber, an American firm. The second largest was the Spanish River Lumber Company, originally a New York firm bought by Sudbury lumbermen in the 1920s. Austin & Nicholson, J.J. McFadden, Marshay Lumber and Acme Timber were the other major companies operating to the west along the CPR line and to the north around Cartier, Gogama and Chapleau. The George Gordon Company was one of the only large firm to operate east of Sudbury, at Cache Bay. Most of these companies had large sawmills in the District, either on the Spanish, the Wahnapitei or on Georgian Bay.

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[24]Sudbury Star, November 11, 1911, p. 9.

[25]Ibid., p. 1.

Quite a few owners and/or managers of the larger companies emigrated from the Pembroke-Renfrew area to establish residence in Sudbury.[26] Such was the case of W.J. Bell, without a doubt the most important Sudbury capitalist in the early part of the twentieth century. As vice-president and general manager from 1901 to 1924 and then principal owner of the Spanish River Lumber Company, he employed thousands of lumber workers. He was a large property owner in the town, especially around the Lake Ramsey area where he built his Bell Rock mansion.[27] There were numerous small operators, such as W.C. Cochrane and Louis Laforest, who had been life-long Sudbury residents.

Supervision and technology

The supervisory structures and the technology employed in the lumber operations in and around Sudbury, from 1901 to 1930, varied according to the company, the location and the stage of operations. The primary process of logging did not change much from the nineteenth century. The changes occurred mostly in the sawmills and pulp mills.

> Almost from its start, the northern Ontario pulp and paper industry had been a modern science-based

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[26]D.H. Haight (Haight & Dickson), W.B. Plaunt, W.J. Bell (Arnold & Bell, Hale & Bell, Spanish River), Ben Merwin (Acme Timber Co and Pineland Timber) were from the Pembroke-Renfrew region. M. J. Poupore came from North Bay.

[27]This large stone house is now the home of the Laurentian University Museum and Arts Center. It is described in Michael C. Kelly et al., Inventory and Guide to Historic Buildings in Sudbury, Sudbury, Department of History, Laurentian University, 1978. Bell donated part of his properties around the lake to the town in 1921 to serve as parks (CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. VIII, p.167). These properties became known as Bell Park.

> industry,using the latest technological and chemical advances developed in corporate laboratories...And yet in their logging operations, even as late as 1945, lumber companies and pulp and paper firms clung to time-honoured methods that depended heavily on learning-by-doing, the strength of men and horses, and natural factors, such as the friction-reducing qualities of snow and the flushing power of the annual spring run-off.[28]

The sawmills relied on steam to power their giant circular saws and move the wood through the mill practically untouched by human hands. Like the pulp mills, they would convert to electricity after World War I. As Radforth has concluded, "within the Ontario forest industry of the early twentieth century, the secondary manufacturing sector was far more technologically advanced than the primary sector which, woods officials frequently complained, remained in a primitive state."[29]

It was not until the 1920s that the larger companies started to introduce gas tractors in their logging operations. In February 1925, the Sudbury Star reported that there were no innovations in that year in the logging operations around Sudbury except for tests of tractors intended to replace the horse. "Not for some time yet will gas-powered machinery replace the horse."[30] Mechanization on a larger scale, with the introduction of steam-powered machinery, started in the 1930s.

The whole of the logging was done within the camp structure described in chapter I, although the camps decreased in size while

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[28]Ian Radforth, op.cit., p. 25

[29]Ibid.

[30]Sudbury Star, February 24, 1925, p. 9.

increasing in numbers. Instead of having 100 to 125 men, the camps gradually decreased to 80 men each.[31] The supervisory personnel in these camps did not change considerably from the nineteenth century although that of the larger companies grew slightly more complex.[32]

During the period of the First War, some lumber company owners and managers took certain initiatives in order to cut costs and increase productivity. One of these was the piece rate system which, according to Thorpe, was inaugurated in the lumber camps of the Sudbury District around 1914-1915.[33]

> The operators' rationale for introducing piece work was quite straight-forward. It appeared to make good sense in the forest, where supervising a dispersed work force was difficult and operating costly machinery at optimal levels was not a consideration... .In addition, as time went on and woods operations increased in scale, piece rates made even more sense because managers could no longer rely on the personal ties between foremen and woodsworkers to maximize production.[34]

In the Sudbury District, not all woods operators adopted the piece work system although many did. In 1925 the Sudbury Star reported that the large company camps in the District were being gradually replaced by jobbers who worked by the piece and hired their own men.[35] Pulp mill owners started to introduce scientific innovations in their operations in the early part of the nineteenth

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[31] Ibid.

[32] For an organizational chart of some of these companies, see Ian Radforth, op.cit., pp. 50-51.

[33] T.Thorpe, op.cit., p. 5.

[34] Ian Radforth, op.cit., p. 72.

[35] Sudbury Star, February 24, 1925, p. 9.

century. In the bush, logging operators started to hire university trained foresters. In general, these few innovative measures were taken to cut costs, increase productivity and return profits thereby serving the wider purposes of industrial capitalism.

Mining developments

At the turn of the century, Canadian Copper's monopoly position in the Sudbury Basin was threatened by the arrival of a major competitor, the Mond Nickel company of Great Britain, owned by Ludwig Mond[36] who had bought from Rinaldo McConnell a series of mining properties to the west of Sudbury. Compared to other companies, Mond had a relatively easy entrance into the Sudbury nickel fields.

> The entrance of Mond into the industry in 1904 was not accompanied by the usual "war" that had characterized the earlier periods. Mond was immediately granted a share of the market and he agreed to sell at the same price as the existing producers, and to use the same sales agent, Henry Merton & Sons. Moreover, Mond was given a share of the contract with the Steel Manufacturers Syndicate which had been formed earlier, and was allowed to make his own contracts for nickel with the British government. This ready acceptance of the Mond Nickel Company would indicate that the company had more bargaining power than its size and productive capacity would indicate.[37]

This bargaining power was due in no small part to the fact that Mond already owned a refining process and a refinery in Clydach, Wales. It posed no threat to International Nickel in the

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[36]See J.M Cohen, The Life of Ludwig Mond, London, Methuen & Co Ltd, 1956, especially chapter 7 "Nickel"; Mond Nickel Company, op.cit. Incorporated in 1900 under the Imperial Companies Act of Great Britain, Mond was mostly a family-owned enterprise.

[37]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 67.

United States market. Since "it was financed almost entirely by the Mond family, with little need for outside financing, International could not block the formation of the company through its financial contacts."[38] Mond's success was due in great part to its ability to buy mining properties in the Basin. After acquiring the McConnell property in Denison township which became the site for the Victoria mine in 1901, "a smelting plant of the most modern type was installed on the Sault branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway, 22 miles west of Sudbury, and with the accessories of offices, storehouses, shops and comfortable dwellings, formed the village site of Victoria mines."[39]

The British company also "bought the Frood Extension deposit next to the Frood mine of International, for $100,000, the Dominion Mineral properties of Worthington and Blezard, and the Kirkwood property previously held on lease by the Canadian Copper. In 1913, Mond also purchased the Levack property of the Tough-Stobie-McConnell group, which had held it since 1887, at a price of $750,000."[40] In 1911, the company decided to build a new smelter at Coniston, some 15 kilometers east of Sudbury, at the junction point of the CN and CP rail lines. The CN also serviced Mond's Garson mine which was adjacent to its line by hauling the ores to the new smelter which started producing matte in 1913. The company owned

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[38]Ibid.

[39]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 80.

[40]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 70.

and operated the Garson, Levack, Victoria, Worthington, Blezard, Kirkwood, North Star and Little Stobie mines. The Garson and Levack mines were its largest producers of nickel-copper ores.

According to Main, Mond was more of an ally of International Nickel than a competitor and in 1929, the two would merge to form a monopoly in the Basin. This would be the second major merger. In 1902, just as Mond was establishing itself in the Basin, Canadian Copper and Orford Copper were merged into the International Nickel Company, which had been formed in 1902 as a holding company "with the assistance of friendly interests in the steel trade."[41] These friendly interests were "J.P. Morgan & Co, the New York financial bankers who had recently formed the United States Steel Corporation and set up a nickel syndicate, which took over the New Caledonian properties of a defunct London company, Nickel Corporation."[42]

Since U.S. Steel's control over armour plate depended on the control of nickel, Morgan's new company agreed to buy Orford Copper and Canadian Copper. "In April 1902 the syndicate formed the International Nickel Company, combining the refining works of Orford and Wharton with the mining properties of Canadian Copper Company, Anglo-American Iron Company, Vermilion Mining Company in the Sudbury district, and the properties of the Nickel Corporation and Société miniere Calédonienne in New Caledonia."[43]

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[41]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 67.

[42]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 45.

[43]Ibid., p. 45.

Since the other companies were not operating, this was really a merger of the Orford and Canadian Copper in which each kept its name but became a subsidiary of the holding International Nickel Company.[44] In July, 1916, The International Nickel Company of Canada Limited was incorporated under the Dominion Companies Act as a subsisiary of the parent American company.[45] It was licensed in Ontario in 1917 and "since that time has owned and operated the mines and smelter in the Sudbury district that were formerly worked by the Canadian Copper Company."[46] After more than thirty years, the Canadian Copper Company ceased to exist.

In general, Mond and International Nickel were the only major mining companies in the Sudbury Basin from 1901 to 1925. Their only serious competition, first from 1900 to 1903 and then during World War I, came from a few companies which tried to establish operations in the Basin.

The Lake Superior Power Corporation operated two mines, the Gertrude and Elsie, to the west of Sudbury from 1899 to 1903. It also operated a smelter near the Gertrude mine. As already mentioned, these properties were owned by F.H. Clergue and were operated in relation to his other industries in Sault Ste Marie as

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[44]For detailed description of these companies, see Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., pp. 67-72; Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1902, p. 17; Sudbury Journal, April 3, 1902, p. 1; John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., pp. 139-153. In his account of the formation of International Nickel, Thompson gives the central role to Colonel Thompson of Orford.

[45]John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., p. 168.

[46]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1921, p. 67.

well as his Manitoulin & North Shore railway. When Clergue's empire collapsed in 1903, these mining and smelting operations also ceased. These properties were eventually sold to the Booth-O'Brien interests from Ottawa[47] whose Dominion-Nickel Copper Company had already bought the Vivians' Murray mine and the Nickel Copper Company's properties (of which Mackenzie and Mann were part owners). Booth and O'Brien's dealings in the Sudbury Basin were purely speculative[48] and they eventuallyy sold all their properties to the British America Nickel Corporation.

The British America Nickel Corporation

The British America Nickel Corporation was a "strong British-Canadian company, which is controlled by the Imperial government"[49] incorporated in 1913 under the Dominion Companies Act. Its principal promoter until his death in 1915 was Dr F.S. Pearson, "who had emerged as a prominent financier in Canada through his successful promotion of the Brazilian Traction and Mexican Light, Heat and Power Companies, and of the Dominion Coal Company, and through his interests with Sir William Mackenzie in hydro-electric projects in Canada."[50] At his death, he was replaced as president

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[47]Ibid., p. 93. See also O.W. Main, op.cit.,p. 68 and the Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1904, p. 6.

[48]Ibid., p. 69.

[49]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 87. The general optimism displayed by the Commission in relation to the B.A.N.C. was no doubt due to the company's stated intention to refine in Canada.

[50]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 70.

by James H. Dunn of Algoma Steel.[51]

In 1912, the Pearson syndicate had bought Booth and O'Brien's Dominion Nickel Copper Company's properties in the Sudbury Basin (the Murray, Elsie, Gertrude, Whistle and Lady Violet mines). It also purchased the North American rights for the Hybinette nickel refining process.

> The process, which was electrolytic, was developed by a Norwegian, N.V. Hybinette, who was originally with the Orford company, and later with International, but had left after a disagreement over the ownership of his patent.[52]

The B.A.N.C. originally intended to be "unique in the history of the industry in the important particular that the mining, smelting, and refining of its ore will all be conducted not only within the Province, but within the Sudbury district."[53] In its first three years, the company had tremendous difficulty in obtaining financing, a problem that Main attributes to pressure exerted by J.P. Morgan. "It was not until the British government lent its support in 1916 that construction of a smelter and refinery was started. On the basis of a contract with the British government for 6,000 tons of refined nickel annually for ten years, and the purchase of $3 million in bonds by the Imperial authorities, British America was able to borrow additional capital

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[51]See Duncan McDowall, Steel at the Sault, op.cit.

[52]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 71. See also Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 87 and pp. 475-480.

[53]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 87.

from Canadian and Norwegian banks."[54] This development was due to the war and the British Empire's need to have adequate supplies of nickel at its disposal.[55]

Construction of the mining facilities and the smelter on the site of the old Murray mine (which the company had renamed Nickelton) started in 1917 but the company did not become a producer until 1920 after the war had ended. This long delay in the start of production was due in large part to the severe hydro-electric shortage in the district.

> The officials of the company have had conferences with the municipal council and board of trade of Sudbury, from which they report that encouraging advance has been made towards procuring the necessary power from the French River through the Ontario Hydro-electric Commission.[56]

Since 1913, Council and the Board of Trade had lobbied the Hydro-Electric Power Commission for more electricity in Sudbury and vicinity. On November 24, the council had adopted a resolution "that the Hydro Electric Commission of Ontario be requested to look into the question of furnishing the extra amount of Electric Power in Sudbury and vicinity."[57] This resolution followed a meeting between delegates of Council and Board of trade with Sir Adam Beck of the Commission in North Bay. According to the Sudbury Journal

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[54]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 95.

[55]D.M. LeBourdais, op.cit., p. 127.

[56]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 89.

[57]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. V, p. 143.

and Board of Trade[58], Beck had promised that if the Town Council passed a resolution asking the Hydro Electric Commission to investigate the question, the latter's engineers would be sent up at once. Three years later, town council adopted another resolution calling for "Sir Adam Beck to address the citizens here on the question"[59] of hydro-electricity. Council also asked for an engineer's report on the question. On December 18, 1916, the Board of trade held a special meeting with the officials of B.A.N.C. on the question of electricity for its plants. Similar resolutions were adopted by council in 1917.

From 1916 to 1920, the company tried to obtain power from numerous sources including the Sudbury Flour Mills' generating plant on the Vermiilion[60] and the Wahnapitei Power Company. But lobbying by Council and Board of trade as well as arrangements between the company and Sudbury Flour mills proved to be unsuccessful. As a result, B.A.N.C. decided to build its refinery at Deschênes , Quebec, near Hull where electric power was readily available. Although it did manage to obtain some electric power, it nonetheless found it "necessary to build the less efficient steam power plants for hoisting, lighting, and smelting

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[58]Sudbury Journal, November 27, 1913, p. 1; SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, November 24, 1913.

[59]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. VI, p. 130.

[60]See IA, Correspondence, Letter from B.A.N.C. Power Department Superintendent to E. Hibbert, Superintendent of Mines, October 17, 1916 and Letter from E. Hibbert to E.P. Mathewson, B.A.N.C. general manager, February 9, 1917.

operations."[61]

Once it started production in 1920, it was soon plagued by financial difficulties compounded no doubt by the British government dropping its contract and the 1921-1922 depression that forced nickel companies in the Basin to curtail operations. The B.A.N.C. went through a reorganization in 1922 and soon thereafter resumed production. After being involved in a price war with International Nickel but mostly as a result of severe financial difficulties, it was forced into liquidation in July 1924.[62] In 1925, through another company, International Nickel bought the assets and properties of the B.A.N.C. at Nickelton and dismantled the smelter.[63]

> The purchase of the assets of British America not only removed the threat of competition by that company, but also tightened the control of International and Mond over the district by preventing any other group from acquiring the property at a distress price which would enable the new company to be a formidable competitor.[64]

Hydro-electricity

Much of the B.A.N.C. episode highlights the politics of hydro-electricity in the region. Since the latter years of the

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[61]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 95.

[62]O.W. Main, op.cit., pp. 96-97; Sudbury Star, July 23, 1924, p. 1; Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1925, p. 20.

[63]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 98; Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1926, p. 24.

[64]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 98. LeBourdais attributes the failure of the company to a lack of "that most elusive of all commodities - managerial ability. Once more the Sudbury field was confined to the two companies which alone seemed to have what it takes - Inco and Mond." Op.cit., p. 128.

nineteenth century, the mining companies of the Sudbury Basin, the local petite bourgeoisie and the emerging industrialists of the town were all concerned with the question of obtaining electric power from the waters of the surrounding rivers. By 1905, some of these concerns had been partially solved by the erection of four hydro-electric plants to the east and west of Sudbury.

> One feature which marks the development of industries in the nickel region is the use which is beginning to be made of the water powers with which it has been by nature lavishly endowed. For instance, on the Vermillion river in Creighton township, at High Falls on the Spanish near Turbine station, and in Dryden township on the Wahnapitei, three separate power developments are in progress with a view to supplying the towns, villages and mines with cheaper power than can at present be obtained by the use of steam, and also no doubt in the hope of assisting to locate in the neighborhood industrial enterprises requiring considerable motive energy, such as pulp and paper mills, woodworking establishments,etc.[65]

The Ontario Bureau of Mines was one of the most active promoters of the development of hydro-electricity for New Ontario and the mining fields especially. It started its promotion of such power in 1896 and pursued it for a number of years after the turn of the century but the actual builders of the hydro-electrical plants in the area were industrial capitalists.

In 1904 the Huronian Power Company was incorporated as a subsidiary of the International Nickel Company for the purpose of erecting power plants and providing hydro-electricity to Canadian Copper's mine and smelter plants. Its first power plant was situated at High Falls, "about four miles north of the Canadian

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[65]Ontario Department of Mines, Annual Report, Vol. XIV, Part I, p. 10.

Facific Railway, Sault Branch, at Nairn, and about twenty-six miles southwesterly from Copper Cliff."[66] Construction of the plant was finished in September 1905 ard hydro-electric power reached Copper Cliff in February 1906.[67] In 1918, the Huronian Power company built a second plant, called the Big Eddy, about half a mile above High Falls. It was completed in 1920.[68]

Through its subsidiary, Lorne Power, Mond also built power plants on the Vermilion and Spanish Rivers, the first of which opened in 1909.

> The Lorne Power Company's plant is located at Wabageshik Falls, Vermillion River, about 3 1/2 miles from Nairn Station on the "Soo" branch of the Canadian Pacific railway, and 9 miles in a southwesterly direction from the Mond Nickel Company's smelter at Victoria Mines. This company is a subsidiary company of the Mond Nickel Company and was formed for developing electric power and supplying it to that company for use at its mines and smelters.[69]

In 1915 Mond opened another power plant at Lorne Falls on the Spanish near Nairn "about seven miles below the Huronian company's plants".[70] Construction of these plants obviously benefitted from the presence of the CPR's Algoma branch from which the companies built spur lines in order to transport material to erect their dams

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[66]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1905, p. 71.

[67]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1910, p.140.

[68]Canadian Mining Journal, "Power", November 1937, p. 701. For a detailed description of this hydro-electric plant, see the whole of Chapter VIII in this issue of the Journal.

[69]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1910, p. 142.

[70]Canadian Mining Journal, op.cit., p. 703.

and buildings.

In 1904 "power-development on some of the nearby streams was engaging the attention of budding Sudbury capitalists. J.R. Gordon incorporated a company to develop power on the Vermilion River. Frank Cochrane and William McVittie built a plant on the Wanapitei River."[71] Gordon's Sudbury Power Company built a dam "at McPherson's Falls on the Vermilion river on lot 11, concessions 1 and 2, Creighton township, about 16 miles west of Sudbury, for the sale of electric power."[72]

> Another power plant was begun in November 1904, and completed last year. This is owned by the Wahnapitae Power Company, and is located about 2 1/2 miles southwest of Wahnapitae on the river of that name. The power plant is about 18 miles from the lake of the same name, which is 10 by 12 miles in area.[73]

These two companies competed with each other to supply power to the town of Sudbury and to the surrounding mines and smelters. Wahnapitei Power, incorporated on December 14, 1904[74] by Frank Cochrane, William McVittie and Cornelius A. Masten "to manufacture, generate, buy, sell, accumulate, store, transmit, furnish and distribute electric current for light, heat and power," was eventually the more successful. The Sudbury Power Company was

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[71]D.M. LeBourdais, op.cit., p. 86.

[72]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1906, p. 62.

[73]Ibid.

[74]PAO, RG 55, Vol.82, No 30, Company Charters.

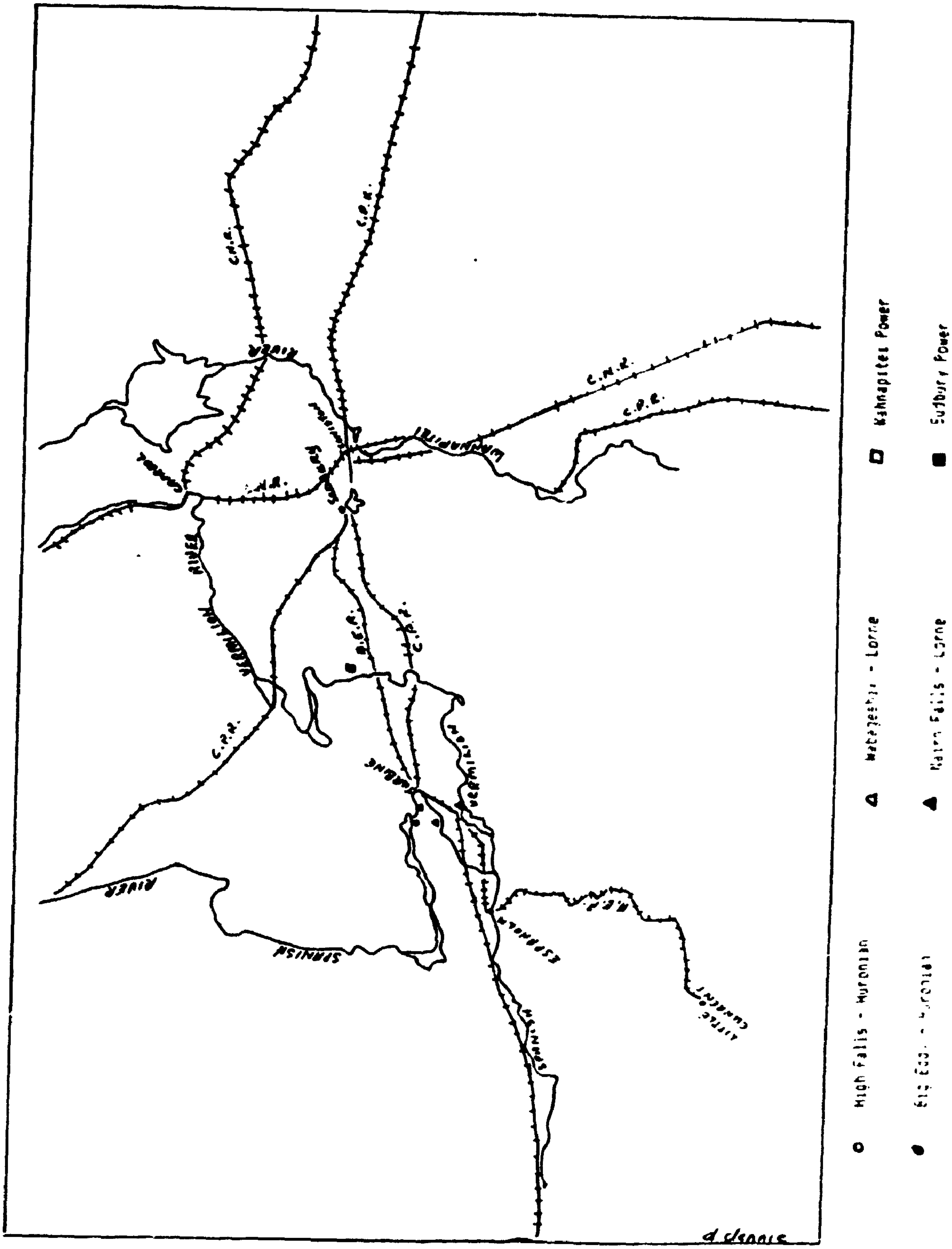

Figure 14: Location of power plants and railway lines, 1920

incorporated August 21, 1903[75] by a group of Ottawa men. It eventually supplied power to the Sudbury Flour Mills but did not operate for very long.[76]

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the three principal rivers in the Sudbury Basin had been dammed by four groups of industrial capitalists in order to provide electrical power to the mines and smelters as well as to the town of Sudbury. (See preceeding map). These power developments increased and transformed the productive forces in the region.

Increasing production

Development of these hydro-electric plants permitted International and Mond to increase their production of nickel-copper ores dramatically between 1901 and 1925 in response to the armament race prior to the First World War and then during the war itself. After a post-war slump in 1921-22 during which some mines were closed, production increased again in correspondence with the general prosperity of the 1920s. (See following graph).

At the turn of the century, the Sudbury Basin mining companies' production was lower than that of New Caledonia. But, starting in 1905, International Nickel and Mond consistently

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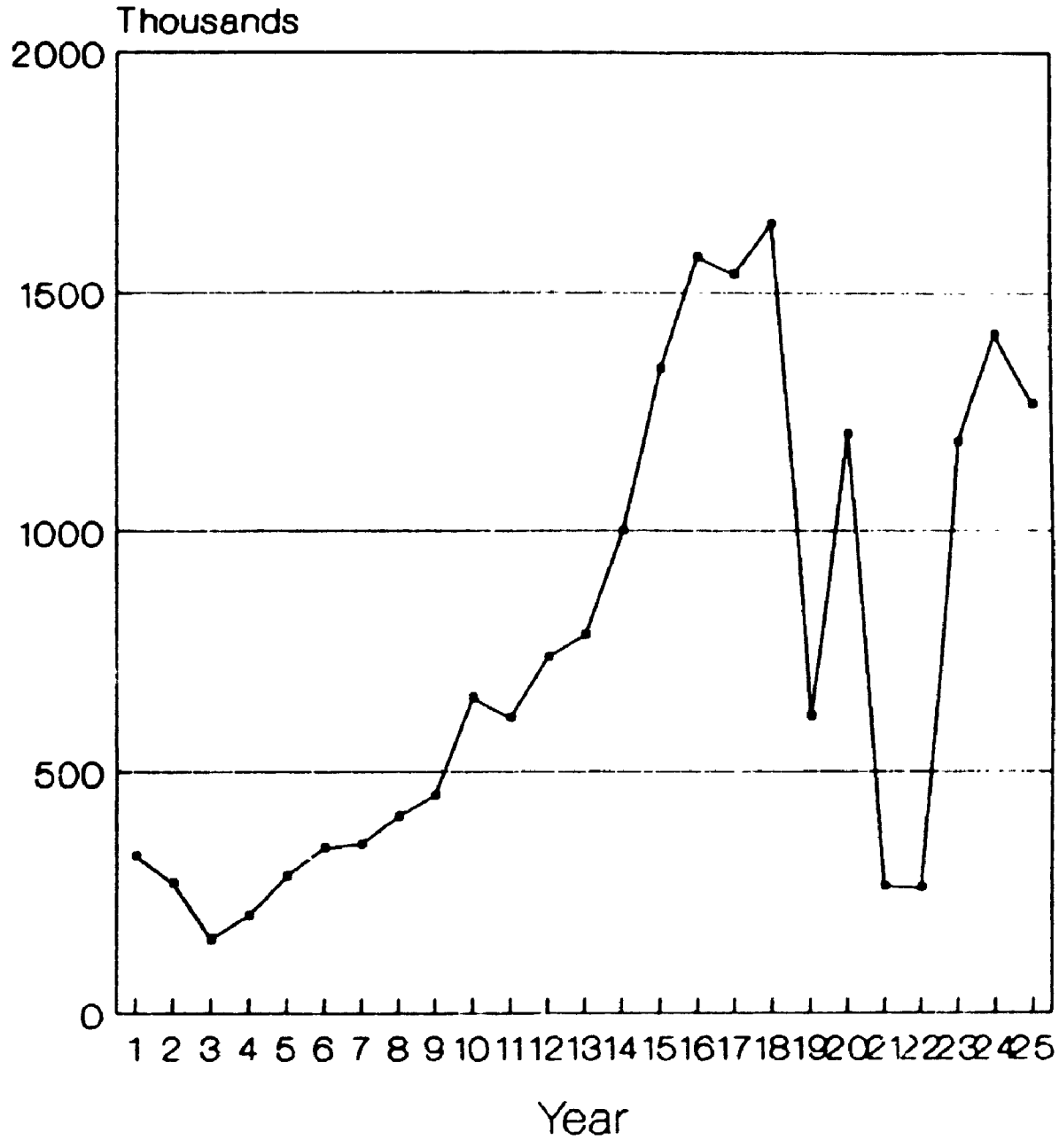
[75]PAO, RG 55, Vol. 73, No 92, Company Charters. The charter lists as the directors Angus William Fraser, Henry A. Burbridge, barrister, John G. Turriff, Commissioner of Crown Lands, James G. Gibson and Arthur A. Fraser both students at law.

[76]Conversations with Marty McAllister, INCO employee. Marty is presently researching the history of power developments in the Sudbury area.

Figure 15: Nickel-Copper Production in Sudbury Basin, 1901-1925



Source: Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Reports 1901-1925.

produced more nickel than New Caledonia[77] and at the beginning of the war, they were in clear control of the world market.[78]

The post-war period was one of adjustment from dependence on the armaments market to the development of new peace-time uses for the nickel. The increase of production after 1921 was related to the numerous discoveries of different uses for nickel. The International set out "1.to further extend the uses of nickel in already established civilian markets; and 2. to develop new uses for nickel, especially in fields not occupied by it."[79]

> Both International and Mond began to lay the foundation for a widening distribution of nickel by intensive research to develop new uses for nickel and to advertise those already established. By means of technical articles, field work in industry, interviews with nickel users, trade shows, conventions and technical bulletins, the companies widened the distribution of nickel tremendously.[80]

Mining methods

The tremendous increase in the production of nickel-copper ores obviously meant important developments in mining and smelting methods. The first innovations were related to the introduction of hydro-electricity in the mines. Starting in 1906, International used electricity for its lights, pumps and crusher motors; by 1907,

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[77]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 62; Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Reports 1901-1913.

[78]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 74.

[79]John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., p. 175. See also pp. 175-190.

[80]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 91.

all steam machinery in its mines had been replaced by electricity.[81] Mond started to use electricity in its Victoria mine in 1908. In 1910, the two companies were using electricity exclusively in all their mines and smelting plants with steam plants maintained on reserve.[82]

The open-pit method of mining was employed at the Creighton mine until 1911. Thereafter, because of the depth reached by the operations, only underground mining was possible. After 1913, Canadian Copper used only the shrinkage method of stoping in its mines because of the nature of its ore bodies.[83] It employed the square-set method once the Frood opened in the late 1920s. A major innovation in mining occurred in 1913 when Canadian Copper placed a crusher underground at its Creighton mine. "Placing crushers underground is a new departure in this district, and will no doubt largely increase the output of the mine. There will be no chance of ordinary surface delays hanging up the trammers for any length of time. It will also be much easier to load the skips with a sized product from the ore pocket than with a product that contains lumps. It is estimated that with the new underground equipment the mine can keep an average daily output of 2,000 tons."[84]

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[81]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Reports 1906,1907.

[82]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1910.

[83]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1914, p. 113. "As the mines increased in depth overhand stoping methods were adopted, shrinkage stoping being the first to come into general use." Canadian Mining Journal, May 1946, p. 334.

[84]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1914, p. 114.

The companies also utilised diamond drilling extensively after the turn of the century in order to define the ore bodies, estimate their reserves and plan the method of mining.

> As the demand for nickel grew it became necessary to revise both development and stoping layouts, and to introduce methods whereby a greater tonnage of ore might be produced from a given level than was possible when one stope covered an entire level and all the ore was hand trammed. Exploration by diamond-drill boreholes was undertaken and the level outlines were determined before development was started.[85]

In 1925, Mond introduced magnetic cobbing machinery at its Garson and Levack mines. "By means of this new apparatus, which has been patented, the grade of waste rock is lowered while the material going to the smelter is supplied in three grades (coarse rock, slightly magnetic ore and fines) in a much cleaner condition. A saving in man power is also effected. The concentrating is done on a continuous belt passing over magnets of varying intensity."[86]

Other than these innovations, the machinery used in the mines became more powerful in order to drill, blast, tram and hoist a greater amount of ore. But in general mining itself remained a labour intensive operation and one in which production not only increased but was considerably speeded up.

The smelting process

Innovations occurred more rapidly in the whole of the smelting and milling process, from the roast yard to the production of nickel matte. For the greater part of the period between 1901 and

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[85]Canadian Mining Journal, May 1946, p. 334.

[86]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1926, p. 24.

1925, the smelting process began with heap roasting of the ores. At the turn of the century, Canadian Copper had three roast yards, but it gradually phased out two of them and relied on what it called the No 3 yard which "has increased considerably in length since last inspection."[87] Railway tracks adjoined the heaps in order to transport the ore to the smelter. The process of loading the ore had begun to be mechanized. "Loading and unloading of the roast heaps will be done by swinging arm derrick, to operate from the railway tracks, transferring the ore from flat car to heap and vice-versa. One such derrick is now on hand."[88]

This mechanization was enhanced in 1906 when a steam shovel was used to load the ore from the roast heaps to the railway cars although the unloading from the flat-cars to the heaps was done by men with wheel-barrows.[89] In 1908, the yard was enlarged as the production of ore was on the increase. Finally in 1917, Canadian Copper opened a new roast yard in O'Donnell township, about four miles west of Creighton, mostly as a result of complaints and lawsuits arising from sulphur fume damage to farm lands in the area.[90] This yard was further mechanized as the unloading of the ore was done by the use of a mobile bridge which travelled over the

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[87]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1904, p. 83.

[88]Ibid., p. 84.

[89]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1907, p. 63.

[90]For an excellent summary of the sulphur fumes problem, see Matt Bay, "The Province of Ontario and the Problem of Sulphur Fumes Emissions ir the Sudbury District. An Historical Perspective," Laurentian University Review, Vol. XVI (2) 1984, pp. 81-90.

heaps on railway tracks built on each side. A system of hoppers, elevators and pan-conveyor belts loaded the ore into side-discharging rail cars. These then unloaded the ore onto the bridge which then discharged it onto larger beds.[91] This mechanization required less labour power.

> For a number of years before the bridge was built, various mechanical methods of handling the green ore had been under consideration, but while labour was plentiful and cheap they did not appear attractive, and it was mainly the shortage of labour during the war that finally caused the decision to be made to adopt the present method as the best of a number investigated.[92]

International finally stopped roasting in open heaps in 1928, thus following in Mond's footsteps which had stopped such practice in 1920. Mond had already limited its heap roasting to the winter months during the War and the British America Nickel Corporation did not employ the method in its smelting process.[93]

Mechanization of the roast yards was only part of the general overhaul of the smelting process which occurred during this period. In 1904, the Ontario Bureau of Mines reported that Canadian Copper's "energies and labor were largely occupied with the extensive overhauling and re-modelling of the smelting plant which

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[91]For a detailed description of this new mechanized roast yard, see The International Nickel Company of Canada, Limited, The Mining and Smelting Operations, A paper prepared by the staff and read before the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, Annual Meeting, Toronto, March 1920, pp. 43-50.

[92]Ibid., p. 50.

[93]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 428. This Report also contains a brief description of the new mechanized heap roasting at the O'Donnell yard, pp. 430-432.

has been going on for upwards of a year."[94] Over the next ten years, both Canadian Copper and Mond expanded considerably more energy and capital in order to overhaul their smelting plants.

Canadian Copper dismantled its original, or east, smelter in 1903 and gradually abandoned the west smelter as it erected the "new, modern electrically operated smelter, located a half-mile east of the West smelter. The new facility, which was designed to replace both the West Smelter and the Ontario Smelting Works, was referred to simply as the Smelter."[95] The blast furnace capacity of the new smelter was considerably enhanced once the facility was powered by electricity in early 1906.[96] In 1908, Canadian Copper constructed a converter plant where the low grade matte obtained from the furnaces "is enriched to about 80 per cent of nickel plus copper by a bessemerizing process".[97] In 1911, a new reverberatory plant was put into operation. "The complete plant as now operated includes a system of steel storage-bins, a ball-mill department, a Wedge furnace roaster plant, a pulverized-coal department and the

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[94]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1904, p. 6.

[95]Eileen Goltz, op.cit., p. 97. Before the new smelter was completed, the West smelter and the Ontario Smelting Works were destroyed by fire. Canadian Copper had to lease Mond's Victoria smelter in order to bessemerize its matte.

[96]For a brief technical description of this new smelter, see Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1907, pp. 64-65.

[97]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 430. For a detailed description of the whole smelting process, see this Report, pp. 424-457; International Nickel Company of Canada Limited, The Mining and Smelting Operations, op.cit., pp. 50-78.

reverberatory furnace itself, all housed in separate buildings."[98] The reverberatory plant permitted the roasting and smelting of fine ore from the mine thus sidestepping the roast heap which was fed by coarse ore. In the same year, the company also switched from acid converters to basic converters which were larger and also simplified the problem of dealing with large quantities of matte, an important consideration given the tremendous increase in production at the smelting works.[99]

Mond's new smelter was in operation in 1913 thus replacing its Victoria mine plant. Its smelting process was very similar to that of the Canadian Copper. "The chief point of difference lies in the use by the Mond Company of a larger proportion of green ore; thus, in average charges, the Mond Nickel Company take 55 per cent. of roasted ore, and the Canadian Copper 77 per cent. This is partly due to the fact that the ores of Mond are lower in sulphur, and partly to the fact that this company carries out a modified pyritic smelting."[100] Mond also did not employ reverberatory furnaces in its process.

The British America Nickel Corporation's smelting practice eliminated heap roasting altogether as it conducted mechanical or

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[98]International Nickel Company of Canada Limited, op.cit., p. 64.

[99]See Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1912, pp. 108-110 for a detailed summary of the completed smelting works at Copper Cliff.

[100]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., pp. 449-450. This explains why Mond did less heap roasting than Canadian Copper.

pyritic smelting. Its total smelting and refinery operations were also more efficient than those of the other two companies in recovering precious metals in the ore.

All these technological innovations introduced in the smelting process occurred prior to the First War. There were no further major innovations until the late 1920s. The whole process as it stood then can be summarized as follows.

> Practically the whole of the nickel ore smelted...is reduced direct in blast or reverberatory furnaces to a low grade, highly ferruginous matte. This is afterwards "converted" or bessemerized to remove practically the whole of the iron, and as much of the sulphur as can be eliminated without excessive loss of nickel, so that a material as rich as possible in nickel, or nickel and copper when both are present, is produced for refining.[101]

The use of hydro-electricity in the smelting operations greatly mechanized the whole process as different types of rail cars, conveyor belts and elevators hauled the ore and the various fluxing charges into and out of the furnaces. Machines were gradually replacing the labour-intensive tasks of transporting and hoisting the ore from the rock houses and crushers to the heaps and smelters.

During this period, the end of the smelting process still meant the transportation of nickel and copper matte to refineries outside the region although the latter were now situated, in the case of International and B.A.N.C., in Canada.

The issue of nickel refining in Canada had remained dormant since the turn of the century. However, events surrounding the

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[101] Ibid., p. 424.

First World War revived it dramatically and forced the International to construct a refinery in Port Colborne[102] on the shores of Lake Erie much to the consternation of many in the Sudbury district.[103]

International's Canadian refinery did not incorporate many changes from its refining process already in use in New Jersey. Mond continued to refine its nickel and copper matte in Wales while the British America Nickel Corporation's refinery at Deschênes employed the Hybinette process. Until the 1930s, no refining of nickel or copper was done in the Sudbury Basin.

Supervision grows more complex

The tremendous increase in the productive forces of their various plants in the Sudbury Basin from 1901 to 1925 brought about a growing complexity in the supervisory structure of the mining companies. Executive management clearly replaced owner management during this period.

The incorporation of International Nickel in 1902 and its subsequent reorganizations created a two-tier system of management. The parent company's cadre of officers resided at first in the United States. Robert M. Thompson, of Orford Copper, was first chairman of the board while Ambrose Monell, who had been "selected

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[102]For a summary of this question, see O.W. Main, op.cit., pp. 77-89; H.V. Nelles, op.cit., pp. 349-360; Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., pp. 1-19.

[103]The reaction to the nickel refinery question in Sudbury, especially among the members of the local petite bourgeoisie, will be discussed in the following chapter.

from a group of Carnegie's bright young men,"[104] was president.

As a subsidiary, Canadian Copper had a president, A.P. Turner, who resided in Copper Cliff. The supervisory and administrative structure[105] consisted, in 1905, of a superintendent, chief engineer, chief clerk, chief electrician, power house superintendent, mine captains or superintendents, smelter and shop foremen, metallurgist, purchasing agent, various foremen and bosses.

In 1910, this structure became slightly larger. A.P. Turner was still president. The company had a general superintendent, general smelter superintendent, general foreman of transportation, mine superintendents, master mechanic, chief electrician and engineer, chief clerk, timekeeper, purchasing agent, locomotive and track foremen and the numerous other foremen and bosses at different levels of operations.

In 1915, the new president, A.D. Miles, now had an assistant. The general superintendent had a cadre of superintendents for mines, smelter, transportation and the electrical department. The smelter superintendent had an assistant and each mine had its own superintendent. There were also a chief engineer, chief clerk, timekeeper, purchasing agents, engineers, paymaster, numerous

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[104]John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., p. 147.

[105]Information relating to these supervisory and administrative structures of Canadian Copper and International Nickel was obtained from Bell Telephone directories and Vernon's Copper Cliff Directories for the years 1905,1910,1915,1920 and 1925 in the case of Bell and 1911 and 1921 in the case of Vernon's.

foremen and bosses in the mining, smelting and yard operations.

After the 1917 reorganization, the International Nickel Company of Canada's president resided in Toronto supported by a growing staff of technical personnel. The Copper Cliff operations were directed by a vice-president and general manager, J.L. Agnew, who was in turn supported by a general superintendent and the cadre of superintendents at the various plants. These in turn all had assistants. In 1920 the structure had not changed much except for the new positions of works auditor and his assistant.

In 1925, Agnew was president of the company. There were a general manager and assistant to the general manager; superintendents and assistant superintendents of mines, smelter, transportation and electrical department. Each mine had its superintendent. There were as well master and assistant master mechanics at each mine and at the smelter, a chief metallurgist and engineer, a chief clerk, works auditor and assistant, timekeeper, paymaster, purchasing agent, real estate officer, foremen and bosses at all sites and levels of operation.

Not only had the general supervisory and administrative structure increased and grown in complexity but the overall operation had diversified as International Nickel established research and development as well as advertising departments after the war all geared towards increasing production and creating markets. International had started to incorporate scientific knowledge and personnel in its operations with a growing staff of university trained engineers, metallurgists and geologists. This

appropriation of science and university trained personnel accentuated the demise of the prospector.

> A few years ago there were a large number of these men roaming around in various districts. A good many of the old class of prospectors have cashed in and crossed the divide, but there are still quite a few left, and the majority of those have quit and are seeking an easier means of getting their livelihood... .All the present literature, some of which is called prospectors' handbooks' is utterly useless, unless the prospector should happen to be a college graduate.[106]

At Mond, the structure was similar but smaller because the operations were not as large as International's.

Supervision and control of workers take many forms apart from those on the work site. Housing was certainly one of these as the mining companies continued, during this period, their policy of building and leasing accommodations to workers and their families. The camps of the nineteenth century grew into villages and towns. Copper Cliff was incorporated as a town in 1902 and Frood in 1914. Creighton, Levack, Coniston and Garson mushroomed as company villages.[107]

The companies' police forces which grew considerably after the turn of the century was another type of supervision and control. The history of these forces remains to be written but there is no doubt that their presence exerted a very strong and direct control over the residents - workers and their families -

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[106]Sudbury Star, June 5, 1920, p. 7. An article written by Jack Mulholland in the Cobalt Nugget reprinted in the Star.

[107]For a description of these villages and towns, see Gilbert Stelter, "Community Development...", op.cit., and Eileen Goltz, op.cit.

of the company municipalities.

Summary and conclusion

The years 1901 to 1925 witnessed an unprecedented increase in the productive forces of the Sudbury Basin as American, British and Canadian industrial capitalists built hydro-electrical plants, railways, mines and smelters in the vicinity of the town of Sudbury.

Hyrdro-electricity was without a doubt the most important catalyst in the capitalists' plans to increase production of nickel-copper ore, lumber, pulp and paper. Railway lines were built in and around the mine sites and the town, oftentimes by the mine owners themselves, in order to transport the products of the mines and lumber camps. They also permitted the development of water power as the lines gave access to the various water falls. Finally they transported material and workers to the various industrial sites of the Basin.

International events such as the Spanish American war and World War I fed the demand for nickel when European countries launched an extensive armaments buildup. Two major mining companies, International and Mond, managed to dominate the nickel market and control the competition in the Basin. In the mining industry at least the era of competition between Canadian and foreign, large and small, capitalists was over. The establishment of International Nickel at the turn of the century coincided with the last major invasion of corporations in the Sudbury Basin in an attempt to develop nickel and copper mining properties. Mond proved

to be a friendly rival to International. By 1925 both were indeed the major world producers of nickel-copper ore.

Both corporations established larger and more complex supervisory structures in order to control changing social relations of production and the ever-increasing levels of nickel-copper production. All these executives and managers lived in the company towns of Copper Cliff and Coniston; there is no evidence of their involvement in Sudbury's community organizations and affairs.

The owners of railway corporations were also absent from Sudbury. The town and its environs served as a convenient junction point for their operations which multiplied before World War I in order to further develop the Sudbury district's and New Ontario's mining and lumbering operations.

The ranks of lumbermen grew considerably as both American and Canadian capitalists and their corporations exploited the timber stands or operated large pulp, paper and sawmills in the district. They were the only ones, from this class of capitalists, not only to establish residences in the town of Sudbury but to join ranks with the local elite of businessmen, merchants and professionals. Some like W.J. Bell became directly involved in town politics and community affairs. All were united however in a common endeavor to accumulate capital from their vast mining, lumbering and railway operations.

CHAPTER IV

THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE LOCAL BOURGEOISIE

The local petite bourgeoisie's agenda for Sudbury's growth as a service and distribution center hinged on the development of hydro-electricity, transportation and local industries at the turn of the century. Hydro-electric power especially was perceived as an important element in the town's expansion; it certainly was a key ingredient in the town's politics.

As part of a campaign to obtain a contract for the supply of power to the town, J.R. Gordon, the soon-to-be vice-president of the Sudbury Power Company, wrote a letter to the Sudbury Journal in January 1901 to promote the efficiency and lower costs of hydro-electricity compared to wood.[1] The Journal devoted considerable space to the question in its following issues and the publisher, James Orr, wrote that it was vital to the town's development. "We have no manufacturers in town now and if fifty offered to come they could not be supplied with a single horsepower."[2] The campaign was successful. In February, Council entered into an agreement with Gordon whereby the latter would supply the town with electric power for lighting and water supply purposes.[3] A year later, however, in May 1902, during Frank Cochrane's last term as mayor, Council

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[1]Sudbury Journal, January 3, 1901, p. 5.

[2]Ibid., January 17, 1901, p. 5.

[3]CoSA, By-law no. 115.

rescinded the agreement because conditions had not been fulfilled.[4]

In the summer of 1904, Council invited tenders from McVittie and Cochrane's Wahnapitei Power Company, Sudbury Power Company and Canadian Copper "for the supply of electricity for the waterworks and electric light plants of the Town."[5] In September, Council awarded the contract to the Wahnapitei Power, rejecting Sudbury Power's bid.[6] In November 1905, McVittie and Cochrane's company started to provide the town with hydro-electricity after its plant on the Wahnapitei River became operational.[7]

The petite bourgeoisie continued to lobby for more and cheaper hydro-electricity prior to, during and after World War I. Most of its efforts were related to the establishment of the British America Nickel Corporation at the Murray mine. Starting in 1913, Board of Trade, Town Council and the Sudbury Journal and Star multiplied their efforts to have the Ontario H.E.P.C. provide power to the town and the surrounding mining companies. Board of Trade resolved that "the power committee communicate with the Hydro-

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[4]CoSA, By-law no. 131.

[5]Ibid, Council minutes, Vol. III, p. 160. There are indications that Cochrane had been interested in supplying the town with electricity since 1901. It is plausible that Gordon's difficulties in arriving at an agreement with Town Council was due to Cochrane's stated interest especially since the latter was re-elected mayor in 1902.

[6]Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 167-168, September 13, 1904 and pp. 177-179, September 26, 1904. See also Sudbury Journal, September 29, 1904, p. 1 and CoSA, By-law no.160 for details of the contract with Wahnapitei Power.

[7]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. III, p.330, December 18, 1905.

Electric Commission with the object of obtaining power for the Sudbury District".[8] At a meeting of the United Boards of Trade of New Ontario held in Sudbury, the delegates resolved that "whereas the Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario have solved the question of cheap power for the Cities, Towns and Industries in Old Ontario it is desirous that this benefit should be extended to the Cities, Towns, Manufacturing and Mining Industries in New Ontario."[9] In his annual report to the Sudbury Board, president J.G. Henry summarized the question by stating that "cheap power for mining and manufacturing will do more to build up New Ontario than anything else."[10] The Star editorialized that electric power was very important in order to bring industries to Sudbury and district. "It is understood by the Star that the question of electric power is one of the questions of chief concern in the consideration of the establishment here of large and important works and of the expansion of industries already established in the district."[11] Council and Board of Trade had met with Sir Adam Beck in 1913 in relation to the B.A.N.C.; it was another three years before they renewed their delegations to Beck from whom they asked an engineer's report on the feasibility and costs of providing power to Sudbury. The H.E.P.C. submitted a report in December 1916

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[8]SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, April 7, 1913. A similar resolution was adopted by Council in November 1913.

[9]SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, October 2, 1913.

[10]Ibid.,Annual Report 1913.

[11]Sudbury Star, April 9, 1913, p. 1.

quoting costs which Council and Board of Trade found to be excesssive.[12] After this series of exchanges with the Commission, the question was brought up again in 1920 when members of Council and Board of Trade held a joint special meeting in Council chambers "to discuss an invitation from North Bay to participate in a delegation to wait upon Sir Adam Beck to lay before him the need of Hydro-Electric development in Northern Ontario."[13] The question was now one of importance for the whole of New Ontario. There were other lobbying efforts starting in 1919 to have the federal and provincial governments "construct the French River Waterway and the consequent development of power which would be available for use in Sudbury".[14] These efforts continued until 1923 when "the Federal Government assured the delegation that they would make a grant to construct the necessary dam if the province would take care of the waterway."[15]

Notwithstanding all these efforts, Sudbury had to rely on the power generated by the private power companies during the whole of this period. The contract with McVittie and Cochrane's Wahnapitei Power was renewed at regular intervals. After 1905 its supply of

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[12]Sudbury Journal, December 16, 1916; Sudbury Star, December 20, 1916; SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, December 18,1916.

[13]SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, March or April, 1920.

[14]Ibid., January 7, 1919. The Board subsequently sent a delegation to Ottawa; this delegation reported at the February 7 meeting that "their (Frank Cochrane and federal officials) comments on matter in hand were non-committal."

[15]CoSA,Council Minutes,Vol.VIII, p. 156, February 5, 1923; SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, March 13, 1923.

hydro-electricity to the town, augmented by the construction of two other dams and generating plants (the Stinson and McVittie) on the Wahnapitei river, provided the necessary power for the establishment of several light industries as well as the construction of an electric street railway.

Industrialization

Most of these industries, developed by outside capital and Sudbury capitalists, were established between 1905 and the First War. In 1912, "believing that industries are absolutely essential to insure the growth and permanency of a town like Sudbury, and being of the opinion that there are in the town today thriving industries"[16], the Journal published a series of sketches of these major concerns. "One of the most valuable which the town possesses" was the Sudbury Construction and Machinery Company, a local foundry built and owned by C.A. Durkee in 1909 alongside the CP's Algoma Branch which employed about 50 skilled mechanics. In 1916, the foundry was employing 70 mechanics after expanding its facilities by 50 per cent in order to serve the expanding mining districts of Cobalt, Timmins and Porcupine. "Now Sudbury's foremost industry, it will range alongside the majority of similar engineering industries of the province. Financed by local capital, the industry is one of the milestones in Sudbury's commercial development and

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[16]Sudbury Journal, October 17, 1912, p. 5. The newspaper was also "desirous of obtaining more industries but let us be proud of those we as citizens of the "Hub of the North" already have within our gates." For details about these industries, written at a later date, see Sudbury Star, Special Edition, August 2, 1930.

is an apt illustration of the steady and constant development of New Ontario and Sudbury as the coming manufacturing and industrial hub of that development."[17]

Adjacent to it was the Sudbury Brewing and Malting Company built in 1907 by J.J. Mackey, George Fee and J.J. Doran, brewers and bottlers of Silver Foam. This brewery expanded a few years later to other centers of New Ontario such as Sault Ste Marie, Fort William and Timmins.[18] Two other bottling concerns, the New Ontario Bottling Works and Taylor and Pringle, were established around 1905.

In 1910, the Ontario and Manitoba Flour Mill Company, with headquarters in Ottawa, decided to erect a flour mill and grain elevators at the northern limits of the town close to the Stobie branch of the CPR, Junction Creek and CN's spur line. In 1912 the mill was producing 1000 barrels a day, half of its projected capacity. "At present about 60 men are employed, the mill runs day and night, the monthly payroll is over $3000. Their domestic trade is just being developed with most encouraging results while the export trade is tremendous. Arrangements are being made for the construction of a branch line to run from the C.N.O. station to the west side of the mill which will enable shipments to be made from east end of the mill and to receive grain at the west end."[19] Like

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[17]Sudbury Star, January 15, 1916, p. 1.

[18]Linda Perette and Lorna Wood, History of Northern Breweries, Sudbury, Sudbury 2001, mimeographed document, 1979.

[19]Sudbury Journal, October 17, 1912, p. 5.

the mining camps, the company erected cottages near the plant to house some of its workers.

In December 1914, a new company called the Sudbury Flour Mills and financed by British capital[20] took over the plant which it leased to Quaker Oats for part of the war years. In May 1919, the lease expired and Sudbury Flour Mills was on the verge of liquidation[21] until a government contract assured the continued operation of the plant by the Copeland company of Midland.[22] The new company did not operate for very long and in the early 1920s the mills closed permanently. Seemingly ill-fated from its beginnings, this industry nonetheless managed to give its name to that part of town where the French-Canadian working class settled after the war. Today still, the Flour mill, part of the old Fournier ward, designates the old French section of Sudbury.

The largest locally owned industries were related to lumber and construction. W.A. Evans and J.B. Laberge built planing mills, wholesale and retail lumber stores, and were large building contractors. Both started at the end of the nineteenth century but considerably expanded after 1906 as Sudbury underwent a

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[20]Sudbury Star, December 16, 1914, p. 5.

[21]IA, Correspondence, Letter from W.A. Carlyle, B.A.N.C.'s managing director, to James Playfair, Midland lawyer. "I believe the Sudbury Flour Mills Co., Sudbury, now in liquidation, has been purchased by Mr Copeland of your town."

[22]Sudbury Star, May 17, 1919, p. 12.

construction boom.[23] Two other companies, Empire Coal and Lumber and Casey-Shaw Lumber, built planing mills during this period and also operated wholesale and retail businesses. The Sudbury Brick company, the New Ontario Pressed Brick company and the Martin Brick Yard started to manufacture bricks while D.L. Brown began to manufacture concrete blocks prior to the war.

A few other industries were established during and after the war, such as the Co-operative Creamery, the Liquid Air Company, the Woollen Mills factory and the Northern Ski Factory. The largest of these was the Canada Creosoting Company of Canada, a CPR subsidiary, which built a large plant, in 1920-21, on 167 acres of land it owned alongside its Algoma Branch in the west end of Sudbury.[24] This plant, described as the largest in Canada, employed between 100 and 200 men to treat a maximum of two million railway ties a year which were used by CP's Eastern division.[25] Much like the flour mills, the creosoting plant did not prove to be a permanent industry in Sudbury.

Newspapers came and went during this period. W.E. Mason started publishing the Sudbury Star as a daily then bi-weekly in 1910 after a previous attempt at publishing the daily Northern Star

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[23]Both were started in 1896, Evans by Thomas Evans and Laberge by J.B. Laberge.

[24]Sudbury Star, July 7, 1920, p. 1.

[25]Ibid.

in 1909 had failed.[26] The Journal, Sudbury's first paper, stopped publishing in 1917 after twenty-six years of continuous publication. Its owners and editors, James Orr and W.E. Cressey, continued to operate as a printing business. The Sudbury Mining News, owned by J.F. and A.G. Templeton, was an on-and-off concern which finally ceased publication in 1922. In 1917, the Vapaus, a Finnish weekly newspaper, started publication.[27] All these papers represented the full spectrum of political and ideological perspectives in the town from the right-wing Star to the liberal Journal and the left-wing Vapaus.

Electric street railway

The question of transportation obviously preoccupied the local businessmen and merchants as they sought ways and means to move mine workers and material to and from the mining sites. Since 1903 Council had supported attempts to build an electric street railway from the town to Copper Cliff. In the spring of that year, Council supported an application to the Ontario Legislature to construct and operate the Sudbury Copper Cliff and Creighton Electric Railway

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[26]Mason had been employed as a printing foreman at the Northern Star. When it failed after six months, "ten leading citizens of Sudbury met at the Star office in April of 1909. These 10 men asked Mr Mason if he could take charge of all phases of the newspaper." This he did by cutting staff and reorganizing the capital structure with $3,000 advanced by these 10 men. Sudbury Star Publishers Ltd was incorporated on June 23, 1910 with Charles McCrea, G.J. Valin, barristers, A.J. Manley, stenographer, H.J. Way and Lawrence Nicholls, bank clerks, as provisional directors. PAO, Company Charters, RG 55, Vol. 130, No 37.

[27]See Sudbury Star, November 10,1917, p. 5. Vapaus is Finnish for "liberty" or "freedom".

as "the town of Sudbury and the territory through which such road would run would be greatly benefited by its construction."[28] The ubiquitous J.R. Gordon applied for and was granted a franchise by the town in December 1905 "for a street railway and electric power distribution."[29] Gordon did not manage to build the line mainly because Copper Cliff Town Council, dominated by Canadian Copper, opposed the charter before the Railway Committee of the Ontario Legislature, citing the hardships it would cause to the local merchants.

> Further, there was an indication in this resolution of an enmity between Copper Cliff and Sudbury. "The agitation for such a road is entirely on the part of Sudbury merchants, while any desire for such a road is not heard in Copper Cliff."[30]

From the perspective of the Sudbury merchants, such a line between the two towns would have enticed Canadian Copper workers into their stores and hotels. From the Journal's perspective, the line would eventually be paid for by the workers because "there is one sure thing and that is that the workingmen of Copper Cliff will contribute literally towards helping it to make it pay by using it frequently."[31] They had to wait until 1912 when a new group of Sudbury businessmen headed by W.J.Bell, J.J. Mackey, Louis

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[28]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. III, p. 34. This company had been incorporated in 1903 by a group of Sudbury and Copper Cliff businessmen. See Eileen Goltz, op.cit., p. 146.

[29]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. III, pp. 323 and 328.

[30]Eileen Goltz, op.cit., p. 150.

[31]Sudbury Journal, October 13, 1910, p. 4.

Laforest, Wilbur Cochrane and D.M. Morin obtained a charter for the Sudbury - Copper Cliff Suburban Electric Railway Company.[32]

> The road was financed by several prominent Sudbury men but received technical assistance from the Mackenzie and Mann interests probably because the completed line would provide Mackenzie and Mann's Canadian Northern Railway with a connection to Copper Cliff independent of the Canadian Pacific Railway.[33]

Sudbury Council entered into an agreement with the company in 1913 permitting the operation of the railway within the town limits[34] and the voters overwhelmingly approved a by-law a few months later which ratified the agreement.[35] The charter indicates that the promoters of the railway intended to build lines from Sudbury to the major mining and smelting sites of Creighton, Coniston, and Blezard Mine. They also intended to extend their lines to the Frood and Murray mines.[36]

The street railway started operations in 1915 after Council had guaranteed $75,000 worth of its bonds.[37] It expanded in 1916 in order to serve the growing population of the Flour Mill section,

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[32]See An Act to Incorporate the Sudbury-Copper Cliff Suburban Electric Railway Company, Statutes of Ontario, 2 George V, Chapter 149, 1912. For a history of this railway, see John D. Knowles, The Sudbury Streetcars: the Sudbury-Copper Cliff Suburban Railway Company, Sudbury, Nickel Belt Rails, 1983.

[33]John D. Knowles, op.cit., p. 7.

[34]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. V, p. 101.

[35]See Sudbury Journal, August 7, 1913, p. 1; CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol V, p. 128.

[36]Ibid.

[37]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. V, pp. 43 and 81.

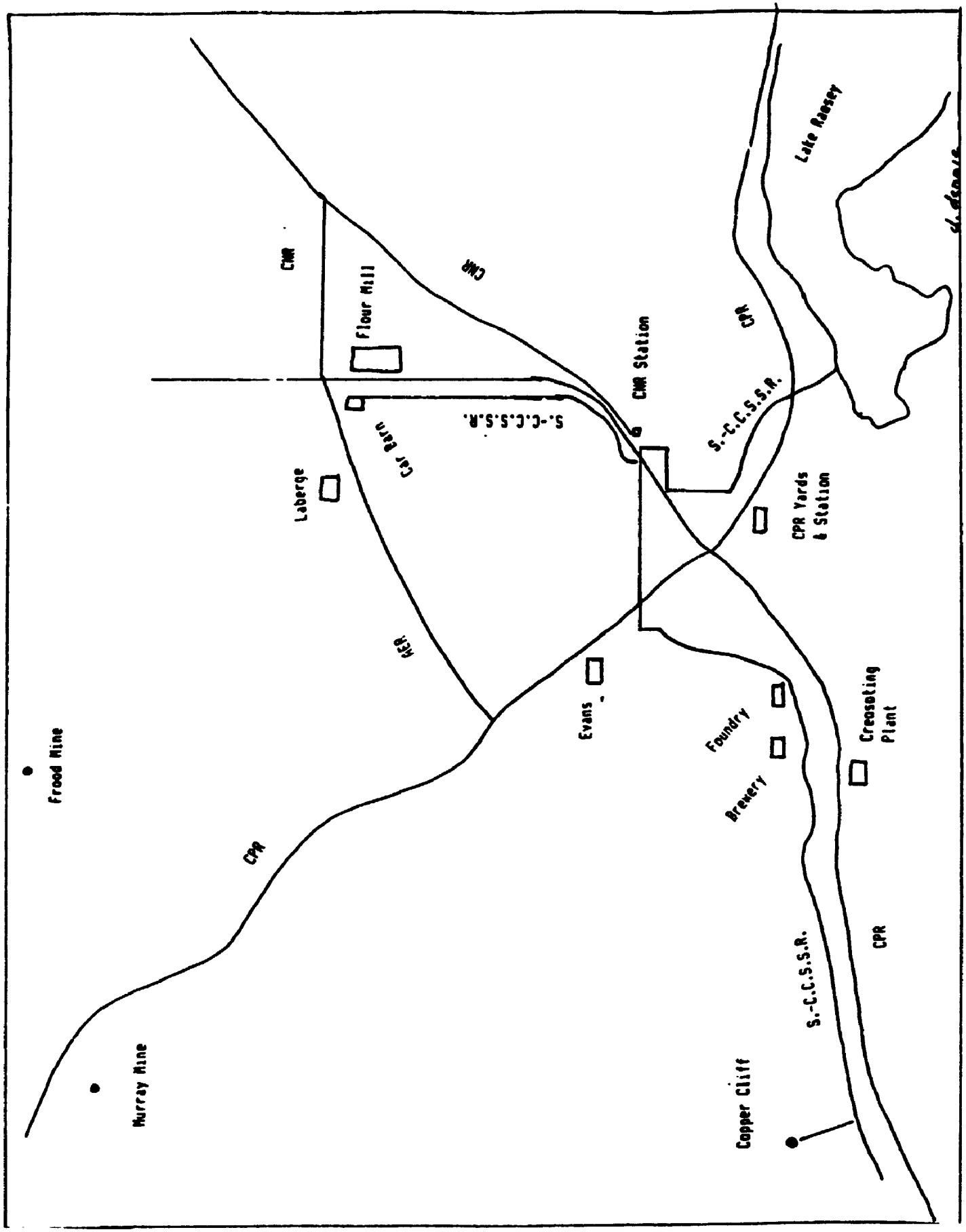

Figure 16: Sudbury-Copper Cliff Suburban Street Railway route and locations of major industries, Sudbury, 1920

the Jesuits' "collège classique" and the employees of Laberge Lumber whose mill was next to the A.E.R. line at the northern edge of the town. The street railway established its yard and car barns in that area, possibly as a mid-way stop between the town and Frood mine. The site chosen was on land belonging to Lawrence O'Connor, treasurer and managing director of the company,[38] adjacent to the AER-CN connection and CP's Stobie spur line.

The relationship between the merchants, Council and the street railway company was stormy from the very beginning. In 1920 the latter asked Council to take over the operations, but the finance committee, after a study of the matter, recommended against such a purchase. "We find that even in the best year of the company's existence, there would be required a considerable levy on the taxes to finance the railway", concluded the committee.[39] The company's financial difficulties worsened in the 1920s as bus companies started to operate in the town.

Expansion and stratification

The increased production of the outlying mining and lumber centers brought about an expansion of Sudbury as a service center not only for these mining and lumber operations but also for a growing agricultural hinterland. This resulted in a diversification

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[38]O'Connor was a seven time mayor of Sudbury from 1905 to 1907, 1910-1911, 1914-1915, president of the Board of Trade and promoter of numerous projects in Sudbury. In 1912, he bought land from the Jesuit Fathers, described as part of lot 5, concession IV in the Land Registry Office. This became known as O'Connor Park on which the street railway's line was built.

[39]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. VII, pp. 118 and 134.

of the branches of the petite bourgeoisie as the following table[40] illustrates. The merchants were still the most numerous group within this class but the contractors, real estate and insurance agents as well as the hotel owners grew considerably.

Table V: Composition of the Sudbury petite bourgeoisie, 1906-1921

Groups	Year and numbers	
	1906	1921
Lumbermen	5	29
Prospectors	22	8
Manufacturing		
Baker	3	7
Bottler & Brewer	-	6
Butcher	9	9
Dairy	-	4
Miller	-	-
Blacksmith	6	6
Harness maker	2	2
Shoemaker	4	7
Brickmaker	-	1
Photographer	3	2
Printer	2	4
Lumber	2	3
Foundry	-	1
Tailor,milliner	8	14
Textile	-	1
Construction		
Contractor	11	40
Electrician	-	4
Painter	4	12
Plasterer	1	2
Plumber	2	11

[40]The data for this table were obtained from the Vernon's Sudbury and Copper Directories and the City of Sudbury tax assessment rolls. The Vernon's directory is an important source of information but proved to be incomplete; it has to be used with other sources such as the tax rolls.

Groups	Year and numbers	
	1906	1921
Transportation & Communication		
Railway	2	4
Cartage and bus	2	4
Liverymen	3	3
Telephone	1	1
Merchants	45	175
Finance		
Banks	3	7
Real estate and insurance	4	23
Service		
Garage	-	10
Hotel	6	11
Restaurant	8	27
Billiard	1	12
Laundry	6	12
Barber	7	20
Jeweller	3	10
Undertaker	2	2
Theatre	-	3
Hospital	2	2
Employment agent	-	8
Professionals		
Accountants	-	6
Architects	-	2
Engineers	2	4
Dentist	3	10
Physicians	7	19
Lawyers	9	13
Total	**200**	**561**

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls 1906, 1921.

The table includes members of the haute bourgeoisie, such as lumbermen, bankers, telephone and railway companies because they owned property and employed workers in Sudbury. Each owner has been included in only one category although some belong to more than one. For example, jewelers were often watchmakers, merchants and

repairmen and therefore belong in three categories. Some garage owners were also automobile merchants. The two undertakers were at the same time furniture dealers. For the purpose of analysis, however, they have been counted only once.

An examination of individual groups shows that merhants, contractors, electricians, plumbers, real estate and insurance agents, garage and restaurant owners, as well as doctors, dentists and lawyers increased considerably in the span of 15 years.

Proportionately, the merchants' increase from one-quarter in 1906 to more than one-third in 1921 is striking. The owners in the construction and finance categories also increased while those in the manufacturing sector decreased. These increases are due to numerous owners establishing relatively small businesses in trade, construction and finance.

Table VI: Proportion of owners in categories, 1906, 1921.

Categories	**1906**			**1921**			
	N	**%**		**N**	**%**		
Lumbermen	**5**	**2**		**29**	**5**		
Prospectors	**22**	**11**			**8**	**1**	
Manufacturing	39	19		67	12		
Construction	18	9		69	12		
Transport & Communication	8	4		12	2		
Trade (retail & wholesale)	45	22		175	31		
Finance	7	3		30	6		
Service							
Personal	35	17		117	21		
Professional	21	10		54	10		
Total	200	100		561	100		

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls 1906, 1921.

Nothwithstanding this overall diversification in the structure of the petite bourgeoisie most of these owners did not employ, individually, a great number of workers. Few of the merchants had more than five employees and many construction firms were small concerns. The following table illustrates the relative importance of owners in relation to the number of employees.

Table VII: Number of employees by owners, 1911, 1921.

Owners		Number of employees							
		Less than 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-49	50-74	75-99	100+
1911										
Manufacturing		**28**	**5**	**3**	**2**		**3**			
Construction		15	1	1						
Transportation & Communication		3	2	2		1				1
Trade (retail & wholesale)		53	8	1	1		1			
Finance		11	1	1						
Service										
Personal		26	1	1	3					
Professional		7								
Total	N	143	19	15	9	1	4			1
	%	74	10	8	5	-	2			-
1921										
Manufacturing		40	10	2	1	3				
Construction		22	7							
Transportation & Communication		13	1		1	1	1	2		1
Trade (retail & wholesale)		87	13	5	1		2			
Finance		15	7	1						
Service										
Personal		47	11			2				
Professional		25	2							
Total	N	249	41	8	3	6	3	2		1
	%	80	13	3	1	2	1	-		-

Source: Vernon's Sudbury and Copper Cliff Directory, 1911,1921.

The expansion of the local petite bourgeoisie was due mostly to the increase in small contractors who benefitted from the building boom and merchants such as grocers who opened corner stores after the war to serve the town's growing population. Some of these contractors and merchants employed more workers in 1921 than in 1911 while the manufacturers' labour force had decreased. In the service sector, restaurant and garage owners increased in number but remained employers of small labour forces. Only the hotel owners employed a relatively large number of workers in both 1911 and 1921.

The largest buyers of labour power were members of the haute bourgeoisie. The railway companies were consistently the largest employers in the town during this period. The Canadian Pacific had more than 100 workers while the Canadian National and the Algoma Eastern increased the number of their workers to more than 50 in 1921. The banks also increased the number of their workers between 1911 and 1921.

Analysis of property within the town of Sudbury reveals an interesting picture of the structure of the local petite bourgeoisie, its relative importance to other classes and its internal composition. The tax assessment rolls of the City of Sudbury for the years 1906 and 1911 were useful instruments to carry out such an analysis as they contain information regarding the occupation of property owners and tenants.

Table VIII: Sudbury bourgeoisie's property holdings, 1906

Groups within class	Value of property and buildings			
	Value of real prop. $	Value of buildings $	Total assessment of taxable prop. $	% of total
Lumbermen	4955	6395	7425	1
Prospectors	7030	10870	19825	4
Manufacturing	18875	21950	27525	5
Construction	8525	8225	39975	8
Transportation &Communication	5425	4800	9875	2
Trade	36140	51865	69325	13
Finance	5400	11165	9900	2
Service				
Personal	31775	72600	89125	17
Professional	14635	24340	31575	6
Rentiers	10780	3295	94425	18
Total	143540	215505	398975	76

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1906.

In 1906 Sudbury's bourgeoisie owned three-quarters of the taxable property in the town. If the railways and the banks are excluded, the local petite bourgeoisie owned 70 % of the property. Within this class, a group of men and women (called rentiers although the rolls identified them as gentlemen, bourgeois, married women or widows) owned the most property which they used to generate rental income. As a group, they hardly ever resided on the property or in the buildings which they owned. The hotel owners were the next most important group and their buildings were without a doubt the most imposing structures of the town.[41] They were followed by merchants, contractors and prospectors. In terms of

[41] In 1910, the Toronto World published an article on the merits of Sudbury' six hotels. See Sudbury Journal, February 10, 1910, p.1.

property holdings, the latter were an important group in the town during the early years of the century.

Included in this group are a few lumbermen such as W.J.Bell and James McCreary who owned properties in the town. They were among the first and most important of this group to start holding large properties in Sudbury and to invest in local businesses capital accumulated in their lumbering operations. Among the merchants, Frank Cochrane was without a doubt the most influential of the propertied men. His hardware business had boomed with the expansion of the mines and he was one of the few Sudbury businessmen permitted by Canadian Copper to open a store in Copper Cliff. He also expanded to Little Current, North Bay and Sault Ste Marie. His store[42], one of the largest employers in the town, was also conveniently situated alongside the Stobie branch of the CPR which traversed the town and connected with the Algoma branch leading into Copper Cliff. As mentioned earlier, he was the co-owner of Wahnapitei Power as well as owner of valuable mining and timber properties. In 1905, he was named minister in the Ontario Conservative government.

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[42]For a detailed history of this store and Cochrane's life, see Winston J. Geldart, For want of a nail: the story of Cochrane-Dunlop Hardware ltd, n.p., n.p., 1966. In 1909, the business was incoporated under the name Cochrane Hardware Ltd with Cochrane, W.J. Bell, A.P. Turner (president of Canadian Copper), Archie Foster and George Gordon as directors. Bell was to serve as president of the company for 19 years after Cochrane's death in 1919. In 1925, the busines acquired the assets of Dunlop & Co in Pembroke and became known as Cochrane-Dunlop Hardware Co.

> Gradually the interests of the provincial government and the resource industries became more closely intertwined. Frank Cochrane, Premier Whitney's appointment as Minister of Lands and Forests in 1905, was deliberately chosen because of his prominence as a former mayor of Sudbury and his close ties with the entrepreneurs of New Ontario.[43]

Other merchants were gaining prominence and influence as property owners and as members of the local institutions, men such as Robert Martin, George Elliott, D.L. McKinnon, James Purvis, the brothers Aaron, Hyman and Myers Silverman, the Rothschild Brothers, Adélard Lafrance and Duncan Blue the baker. W.A. Evans and J.B. Laberge were the two largest lumber mill owners and contractors. Real estate and insurance men such as Alex Fournier, A.H. Smith and S.E. Wright were already prominent in 1906 while J.S. Gill and A.H. Beath, the jewellers, were starting their businesses. D.M. Morin, Louis Laforest, Henry Johns, S.M. Doyle and M. Desjardins were the hotel owners; J.R. Bissett was starting his laundry and dry cleaning business. Finally, there was a small but influential group of lawyers and doctors, among them Charles McCrea who was starting his law practice in the town. In 1911, he would replace Cochrane (who had been elected to Parliament) in the Ontario Legislature and later become minister of Mines.

The most curious of these men was no doubt the French count, Frédéric Romanet du Caillaud, who had bought considerable property around Lake Ramsey and to the east of the town. He left his domain in France every year and travelled to Sudbury where he stayed for

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[43]Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, op.cit., p. 89.

a few months buying and selling property in this period of booming prosperity. His legacy is a grotto on the top of a rocky hill overlooking the business district and the CPR tracks.[44]

In 1921, after fifteen years of expansion, the structure of Sudbury's property holders had changed considerably.

Table IX: Sudbury bourgeoisie's property holdings, 1921

Groups within class	Value of property and buildings			
	Value of property $	Value of buildings $	Total assessment $	% of total
Lumbermen	58110	54800	144030	3
Prospectors	6730	6070	10750	-
Manufacturing	145560	147250	324810	7
Construction	86085	57980	172965	3
Transportation &Communication	377415	101395	512265	10
Trade	435485	322420	994000	20
Finance	137635	83920	316180	6
Service				
Personal	276025	211170	537200	11
Professional	99045	82225	159685	3
Rentiers	185155	42075	551450	11
Total	1807245	1109375	3723335	74

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1921

Overall, the bourgeoisie's proportional position in terms of property holdings remained steady from 1906 to 1921. By adding the lumbermen's holdings in 1921, which amount to 3% of the total, the proportion is about the same as in 1906. There are however significant differences between 1906 and 1921. The haute bourgeoisie of lumbermen, railways and banks increased their share

[44]See Lorenzo Cadieux, op.cit.

of property from 5% to 16% in fifteen years. Whereas the banks rented their premises in 1906, they had become important property holders by 1921. They owned not only the property and buildings in which they conducted their businesses but also other properties in town. The railway companies' stations, offices, freight sheds and repair shops built between 1906 and the war constituted in 1921 a significant proportion of the total assessment of the town. Finally a growing cadre of lumbermen, such as W.J. Bell, E. Casey, W.C. Cochrane, Louis Laforest, James McCool, James McCreary, W.G. McFadden, John Yuill and W.H. Poupore built residences, occupied office space and owned numerous other properties in Sudbury as a result of their profitable lumbering operations in the District.

Of the local petite bourgeoisie, only the merchants had managed not only to hold but to improve their relative position as a group in 1921. From 13% of total assessable properties in 1906, the merchants owned 20% of the total in 1921, an obvious result of the group's expansion in fifteen years. But the contractors, rentiers and prospectors, who owned considerable property in 1906, had seen their situation relative to other groups deteriorate. The prospectors were without a doubt the group which lost the most in this period as their share of the property declined from 4% in 1906 to practically nothing in 1921. This reflected their position in the labour process as the mining companies appropriated some of their skills and most of their property.

Some of the older merchants were still active but there was a newer generation mostly of English and French Canadians: F.M.

Stafford whose store now rivalled Cochrane's[45] in terms of number of employees, J.A. Laberge who now co-owned Laberge Lumber with nis father, J.B.; the brothers Emile and Félix Ricard, Napoléon Adam, Alex Turpin, P.A. Comtois, H. Andress, F.C. Muirhead. These were joined by a growing group of Jewish (Valensky, Greenspoon), Greek (Christakos,Booth), Italian (Fabbro) and Finnish (Lehto) merchants as the town's population became more ethnically diversified after the war.

The haute bourgeoisie had started to rival the local merchants: wholesale traders such as National Grocers, Canada Packers, Imperial Oil and Gamble-Robinson had opened shops in the town after the war. The same was happening in the insurance sector as national companies such as Metropolitan Life opened an office to compete with the local real estate and insurance agents such as the Fourniers, Gormans, Wrights and Smiths.

The Chinese now owned numerous restaurants and laundries and there were new hotel owners such as J.P. Coulson, Thomas Riddle and James Fouriezos. Doctors and lawyers were more numerous than in 1906 but were still predominantly English and French.

One of the most influential of this new generation was W.E. "Bill" Mason, owner of the Sudbury Star and the Sudbury Realty and Holding Company. Deeply involved in the Sudbury Board of Trade, Mason used his newspaper to defend and promote the rights of the propertied in the town, especially the large owners such as the

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[45]Frank Cochrane died in September 1919 after eight years in federal politics. See Scott and Astrid Young, op.cit.

International Nickel Company. His newspaper came to be called at one time the Inco Star[46] for its stalwart defense of the mining company.

These were all men who owned and rented not only their business premises and their sometimes imposing residences but also came to own numerous residential properties which they rented to the workingmen and other merchants/businessmen. Some were women, part of the group of rentiers who owned either vacant properties held for speculation and development or apartment blocks and houses used for rental purposes. The only business women were the milliners and dressmakers.

In general, Sudbury's petite bourgeoisie had lost ground to the haute bourgeoisie in terms of property holdings within the town. But overall, the haute and petite bourgeoisie of Sudbury, owned 70% of the property. The lines between the two classes were at times difficult to distinguish as some members of the haute bourgeoisie invested with local merchants and businessmen in various projects. Some groups of Sudbury capitalists, such as Cochrane Hardware and Sudbury Brewing, had started to invest their capital outside the town and the region.

To help it administer and supervise these properties, and the rights which accrued from it such as the hiring of labour power and the control of the labour process, Sudbury's bourgeoisie could now

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[46]See Mike Solski and John Smaller, Mine Mill. The History of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in Canada Since 1895, Ottawa, Steel Rail Publishing, 1984, p. 105.

turn to a growing cadre of managers and superintendents. In 1906, there were a dozen men identified as managers in the town of Sudbury; in 1921, this number had grown to over 50.[47] These were employed by the railways, the lumber operations both outside and inside the town, the retail and wholesale businesses, theatres and various manufacturing concerns. These men were not owners of considerable property. In 1906 most were tenants, but in 1921 the majority had opted to buy residences and their holdings represented one per cent of the total assessable property.

Town Council and Board of Trade

To administer their common affairs within the town, the local bourgeoisie continued to rely on the Council and the Board of Trade as their major institutions. The Council was the more permanent of the two. During this period, its budget and number of employees gradually expanded and the affairs which it had to administer grew in complexity. The Board of Trade on the other hand was very active during the war period, but its membership decreased considerably following the 1921 depression as interest in this body declined markedly.[48] That both were indeed controlled by and for the local bourgeoisie is an easily drawn conclusion when one analyzes their membership from 1901 to 1925. As in the previous period, 1893 to

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[47]Information gathered from the tax assessment rolls, Vernon's Directory and the local newspapers.

[48]The existing documentation dates only as far back as 1912. It is therefore impossible to determine how active the Board was prior to this time. Reports in the Sudbury Journal lead one to believe that this body was meeting consistently and adopting resolutions on the matters of the day.

1900, the Council was dominated by merchants although contractors were also greatly involved. As the previous analysis has shown, these were two of the groups which were consistently the largest property owners in the town.

Table X: Occupations of elected office-holders, Sudbury Town Council, 1901-1925

Occupation groups	Positions on Council			
	Mayor		Aldermen	
	N	%	N	%
Prospector			**1**	**-**
Lumbermen			**6**	**4**
Manufacturing	**2**	**8**	**10**	**7**
Construction	**1**	**4**	**38**	**27**
Transportation & Communication			**7**	**5**
Trade	**16**	**64**	**43**	**30**
Finance			**4**	**3**
Service				
Personal	2	8	14	10
Professional	4	16	6	4
Gentlemen/rentiers			3	2
Managers			2	1
Workers			10	7
Total	25	100	144	100

Source: CoSA, Council Minutes 1901-1925; Vernon's Directory, 1911-1925.

The above table does not refer to individuals but to positions. For example, there were actually only eleven men who served in the position of mayor during this period. However they were elected to the mayor's chair a total of twenty-five different times and merchants occupied this position 62% of the time. Lawrence O'Connor was the longest serving mayor as he was elected and/or acclaimed seven times; most of the other mayors served two terms.

Merchants and contractors served most often as aldermen along

with lumber manufacturers, barbers and jewellers. Of the workers, three were clerks who served for a total of nine terms and could easily classify as managers because clerks occupied some of these functions in the early twentieth century[49]. Zotique Régimbal was a bookkeeper/clerk for Laberge Lumber; A.P. Lefebvre was a clerk for the merchant Moïse Allard and J.R. Vincent was clerk of the Township of McKim. The other two workers were D. Burbridge and Andrew Bell, railway employees.

As the affairs of Council expanded, so did the number of officials. While there were only two such officials in 1901, there were seven in the 1920s, thus paralleling the emergence of managers in the private sector. This managerial staff consisted of an assessor and collector, a clerk-treasurer, a building inspector, an engineer, a sanitary inspector, a superintendent of water and light and a superintendent of labour, the latter appointed in 1921 as Council hired labourers to relieve unemployment in the town. Overall, this growing staff of managers and workers built and maintained the expanding infrastructure of streets, water, electrical and sewerage plants as well as the municipal buildings. During this period, Council developed public institutions and buildings such as schools, parks, and libraries, the boards of which were staffed by members of the petite bourgeoisie including

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[49]See Graham S. Lowe, "The Administrative Revolution in the Canadian Office: An Overview," in Katherine L.P. Lundy and Barbara Warme, Work in the Canadian Context. Continuity Despite Change, Second Edition, Toronto and Vancouver, Butterworths, 1986, pp. 100-120.

the first woman elected to public office in Sudbury in 1919.[50] But increasingly after the war, Council had to regulate, through its police force, the social relations between classes in the town and also attempt to manage the social problems, such as housing, engendered by the sudden development of the Basin and of its population.

Council continued to promote, however, the construction of railways, industries and buildings in the town. As already mentioned, it actively promoted the availability of hydro-electrical power in order to attract industries. It also promoted the building of the Canadian Northern, the Manitoulin & North Shore, the Toronto line of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the electric street railway. The different buildings erected by these railway companies and Bell Telephone[51] before the war were welcomed additions to the town's assessment base.

Starting in 1906, Council actively pursued the building of a federal post office by sending delegations to Ottawa.[52] In 1911,

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[50]On December 31, 1919, the Sudbury Star reported on page 1: "For the first time in the history of Sudbury, a woman will grace the Board of Public School Trustees for 1920. Mrs Thomas E. Smith, one of the town's best know women, has been elected by acclamation to represent McCormick ward." The list of the different school board representatives often reads like a Who's who of the local bourgeoisie. W.J. Bell was a long-serving member of the Parks Commission.

[51]Bell Telephone, which had started its service in the town in 1902, completed construction of its new building in November 1913. See Sudbury Journal, November 20, 1913, p. 1.

[52]In October 1906, Council presented a petition asking the Postmaster General for a government building in the town. See CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. III, p. 423.

W.J. Bell went to Ottawa to renew the demand for a post office[53] where he no doubt received the support of his business partner and Minister of Canals and Railways, Frank Cochrane. The first sod was turned in October 1913 and in November 1915, Cochrane presided at the opening ceremonies of the new federal building[54] situated diagonally across from his hardware store.

Throughout this period, Council also built and promoted the construction of roads leading to the various surrounding mine sites of Frood, Nickelton and Copper Cliff. Along with the Board of Trade, it also lobbied the government for the construction and improvement of trunk roads leading to and from outlying agricultural settlements such as Azilda, Blezard, McKim, Broder and Dill.[55] Following a Board resolution in June 1913 for a farmers' market in the town, Council immediately approved "of the temporary market place recommended by the Board of Trade as explained by Mr W.A. Evans and that steps be taken at once to prepare the place recommended."[56]The market opened in 1914 and continued to operate for a number of years. During the suphur fumes dispute, Board of Trade attempted on numerous occasions to have the government assist

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[53]Sudbury Journal, May 4, 1911, p. 1.

[54]Ibid., October 2, 1913 and November 18, 1915.

[55]For examples of these activities, see CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. III, pp. 107, 138,239; Vol. IV, pp. 91, 95; Vol.5, p. 22; Vol. VIII, pp. 3, 210; SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, July 29, 1912, November 27, 1912, March 1, 1913, May 6, 1914, January 17, 1923.

[56]CoSA,Council Minutes, Vol. V, p. 117; SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, June 5 and July 19, 1913.

the farmers affected by smoke damage. Obviously caught in a cross-fire between the mining companies and the farmers, Board of Trade struggled to avoid blaming the companies while lobbying the government to assist the farmers.

In the 1920s, Board of Trade was especially attentive to the plight of the region's farmers and promoted numerous activities to encourage the development of the area's agricultural production. For instance, in 1925, W.A. Evans, the Board's president, stated in his annual report that "there were three different interests that make for the future of the district. First: Farming. This as has been proven can be carried on successfully in the district as was shown to the members of the Board who had the pleasure of visiting the Experimental Farm operated by the Government under the direction of Mr D.J. Robichaud during the summer. He urged closer cooperation between the farmer and the Board."[57] Whether this was a result of the sulphur fumes problem or the United Farmers' electoral victory in 1919 is uncertain. What appears certain, however, is that throughout these various activities, Council and Board of Trade pursued a clear policy of developing the town of Sudbury into the center of an expanding region. Such was the stated purpose of a resolution adopted in 1913 "that it is in the best interests of the development of New Ontario that Sudbury be made a distributing point and that the freight rates be equalized to

[57]Ibid., January 26, 1925.

permit of this being accomplished."[58] Council's 1910 letterhead promoted Sudbury "The Distributing Point of New Ontario's Great Mining and Lumbering Industries." The Journal echoed this self-promotion: "industries are bound to come in the near future as this will be one of the greatest distributing points in Greater Ontario. Watch Sudbury Grow."[59]

This policy of regionalisation applied not only to commercial ventures. In 1906, town alderman and future Minister of Mines, Charles McCrea, had suggested to Council the creation of a new Judicial District composed of portions of West Nipissing and East Algoma with Sudbury as district town.[60] In 1910, Sudbury was named the seat of the new district. The new provincial electoral district of Sudbury was also established in 1908 and government departments soon thereafter established regional and district headquarters in the town.

This policy paralleled the growing export of Sudbury capital to outlying areas as some of the town's bourgeoisie expanded to outlying centers in the Basin and in Northeastern Ontario. Some of this capital was strong enough to establish, in 1921, a trust and loan company.[61] Of course, both bodies pursued a policy of inviting foreign capital to invest in the Sudbury Basin and Charles McCrea

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[58]Ibid, August 25, 1913.

[59]Sudbury Journal, March 3, 1910, p. 1.

[60]CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. III, p. 354. See also Sudbury Journal, February 22, 1906, p. 4.

[61]Sudbury Star, March 30, 1921, p. 12.

was very often their spokesman in this regard especially after his appointment as Minister of Mines.[62]

All these promotional activities by Sudbury's bourgeoisie were the clear expression of class interests.

A class for itself

Even though it shared common interests and was more propertied, as a whole, than the workers, Sudbury's petite bourgeoisie was not a homogeneous class. There was within it a growing stratification during this period evidenced by the fact that some became full-blown capitalists while most remained traditional petite bourgeoisie. A good many shared a lifestyle which made it obviously different from that of the working class. One of the symbols of this lifestyle was in the residences that many built for themselves and their families to the southeast of the town on Cedar, Larch and Drinkwater streets. The wealthier built residences around Lake Ramsey on Elizabeth, John and McNaughton streets as well as Ramsey Road. Some had cottages either on the shores or on some islands of the lake. After the war, many started building their residences across the CPR tracks to the southwest of the town; others went northwest in the College-Baker area. These homes were imposing two and three story brick and stone residences many of them maintained by maids and gardeners.

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[62]In an address to the Sudbury Rotary Club, McCrea appealed to the converted by stating "Give Capital a square deal." Sudbury Star, April 12, 1924, p. 1.

Members of the petite bourgeoisie participated in glittering social events such as the Benedicts and Bachelors' Ball at the King Edward Hotel in 1906. "(It) was a most successful affair in every way, and has not been equalled by any similar entertainment in the history of the town. Over two hundred guests were present, many coming from a distance. The combinations of delicately tinted satins, filmy muslins and laces, with here and there a black gown, adorning the many handsome women present, together with the brilliantly lighted dancing rooms, altogether had a most charming and picturesque effect, and made the onlooker feel as if he had been transported to a swell function in the hotel's namesake in Toronto."[63] The "lady patronesses" of the ball were the wives of the town's bourgeois elite. The guests, including "Hon. Frank and Mrs Cochrane" and others from Toronto, Ottawa and the United States, represented the best known of Sudbury's petite bourgeoisie. They not only participated in balls but could also spend an evening at the opera as the Grand Opera opened its doors about this time.[64] One can easily imagine these merchants and businessmen in top hats alighting from their carriages or walking from their nearby

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[63]Sudbury Journal, January 4, 1906, p. 1.

[64]The Sudbury Opera House Company Ltd was incorporated on October 29, 1907 "to build own lease or acquire opera houses theatres or music halls and to give public or private performances of any kind therein or anywehere else". The first directors listed in the charter are Joseh H. Morin, hotelkeeper, Lawrence O'Connor, coal merchant, S.E. Wright, agent, Max Rothschild and David Jacobs, merchants. PAO, RG 55, Company Charters, Vol. 103.

residences to attend the presentations at the opera house.[65] After the war, Sudbury's golf and country club was built when the ubiquitous Lawrence O'Connor and D.H. Morin, the hotelkeeper, incorporated the Sudbury Golf Club.[66]

In politics, they were resolutely Liberal and Conservative, like two warring camps often at odds with each other not only on federal and provincial matters but on local matters as well. The Liberals were often led by James Orr and Dr Arthur; the Conservatives by Cochrane, McCrea and W.E. Mason. In municipal politics, French-English, Catholic-Protestant splits were common although there seems to have been an implicit understanding that French Catholics and English Protestants would alternate in the mayor's chair.[67]

For a short period of time between 1906 and 1908, these political lines were obscured by a movement in favor of separating New Ontario from Old Ontario and creating the new province of Algoma. This movement had earlier surfaced "as far back as 1891 and

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[65]The opera house was not a roaring success. It was transformed into a movie house; its mortgage was foreclosed in 1922.It was then bought by Charles Davis and Alex Turpin, real estate speculators, who sold it to W.E. Mason, the Star publisher, in 1925. There was another opera house in the early 1900s, Lennon's, which did not operate for very long.

[66]See PAO, RG 55, Company Charters, Vol. 195, No 103. The company was incorporated in May 1922 with O'Connor, Morin, Thomas Gale, banker, William M. Duncan, wholesale grocer and W.M. Brodie, law student as first directors.

[67]"le maire est élu pour deux ar . C'est la coutume que les catholiques alternent avec les prote nts pour occuper ce poste." JA, Diarium, December 27, 1909, p. 113.

1892 when meetings were held in Sudbury to protest against the mining bill passed by the Government, imposing a royalty on all properties taken up after the passing of the act."[68] The same feeling of alienation had surfaced in 1906, this time across many districts of New Ontario and supported by many of its "leading citizens."

> Yes, New Ontario is paying its way, and paying Old Ontario's way in addition. Over $40,000,000 has been taken out of New Ontario to help pay the running expenses of Old Ontario and how much have we got back? A few paltry thousands each year scattered over thousands of miles.[69]

Separation meetings were held In March and April 1908 in Sudbury and Sturgeon Falls[70] at which hundreds of men participated. The speakers were Liberals and Conservatives alike stating that "this was not a party movement; both parties had dealt unjustly with New Ontario."[71] The issue deeply divided the local petite bourgeoisie with the two weeklies taking opposite sides and some Conservatives even criticizing Frank Cochrane for his change of opinion since being appointed minister. However the question was apparently soon forgotten and did not surface again for many years.

The refinery question

The separation issue was not the only one to divide Sudbury's petite bourgeoisie. The refinery question illustrated once again

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[68]Sudbury Journal, April 2, 1908, p. 1.

[69]Ibid, June 21, 1906, p. 4.

[70]Ibid, March 19, 1908, p. 1.; April 2, 1908, p. 1.

[71]Ibid., March 19, 1908, p. 1.

the dilemma it faced when confronted by issues relating to the development of the mining industry, and therefore the actions of the haute bourgeoisie, in New Ontario.

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the question of refining nickel in Canada surfaced anew at the beginning of the war as a result of a campaign conducted by the Toronto press and a debate with Canadian Copper. Amidst this debate, the president of the Sudbury Board of Trade, J.F. Black, wrote to the president of the British Board of Trade in December 1914:

> As a British subject I consider it only my duty to draw your attention to the fact that the Canadian Copper Co. (an American company operating our nickel deposits at Sudbury) it is reported has recently made a contract with one of the South American republics to deliver them a large quantity of nickel and copper. There is a persistent rumor in this district that these products will be shipped to Germany. The Dominion Government, I am informed, has the assurance of the company that these products will not be shipped to Germany; which may be quite true as far as the Canadian Copper Co's shipments from here are concerned. But what puzzles most people is what would a South American republic be doing with a quantity of nickel just at this time.
>
> You now have the facts, and it remains with you to bring this before the proper British authorities. Personally, I believe the nickel deposits of the Dominion should be owned and controlled by the Imperial Government.[72]

This letter (only the main part is reproduced here) or a copy thereof was sent to Canadian Copper and on December 29, 1914, its president, A.D. Miles, wrote to the Board of Trade to inform them of the facts with quotes from Black's letter. Miles stated that Canadian Copper had never had a contract with a a South American

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[72]Sudbury Star, January 16, 1915, p. 1.

republic for quantities of nickel and copper.

> From Mr Gardner's cable it would generally be assumed that this statement was made by Mr Black in hiis official capacity as President of the Sudbury Board of Trade.
>
> The situation is one which at this juncture requires frankness for we feel that Copper Cliff and Sudbury are vitally interested in this report and its possible effect. No such contract has been made by us, and no shipments of nickel or copper made. Would you be good enough to give the fullest information possible to this subject. We take it that if authorized by your Board you will give us your ground, and if not authorized, that you will give the matter a public denial.[73]

This affair caused quite a stir amongst the members of the Board of Trade and the town's businessmen. And at its meeting on January 12, 1915, Sudbury's elite filled the Board's chambers to capacity. "Tuesday night's meeting of the Sudbury Board of Trade was the largest, in point of numbers, and the most representative in the history of the organization. The meeting convened shortly after 8 o'clock and ajourned at 12.30 a.m."[74] During the meeting which was rported extensively on the Star's front page, Mr Black was grilled by Board members regarding his actions. W.J. Bell wanted to know how the letter was signed; J.G. Henry, former mayor, wanted to know if Board letterhead had been used; John McLeod, merchant and former mayor, asked where Black had obtained his information because "he had never heard any rumors in reference to a contract with a South American republic."[75]

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[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid., January 13, 1915, p. 1.

Mr Black responded that he had nothing to apologize for. "I think that having the information I had, seeing the articles that appeared in the press of Canada at the time with regard to a contract having been made between a South American repubic and the Canadian Copper Co. and having heard rumors on every street corner as I suppose every man in the audience has heard, with this knowledge I would consider myself a traitor to the flag and the Crown if I did not report that to the proper authorities in Great Britain."[76] When Mr McLeod asked if anyone else in the audience had heard any of these rumors or read articles in the press, the Star wrote : "Nobody else apparently had heard anything of it except Black although there were over 100 present at the meeting."[77]

After lengthy discussion, members of the Board adopted the following resolution moved by Lawrence O'Connor and seconded by W.J. Bell. "That the Secretary be instructed to reply to the letter of the Canadian Copper Company to the effect that this Board of Trade at no time authorized its President, J.F. Black, in his capacity as president nor on behalf of this Board, to state to the British Board of Trade nor to any other body or person, that the Canadian Copper Company recently made a contract with a South American republic for large quantities of nickel and copper, suspecting the ultimate destination to be Germany."[78] This

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[76]Ibid.

[77]Ibid.

[78]SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, January 12, 1915, p. 131; Sudbury Star, January 16, 1915, p. 1.

resolution originally ended with the phrase "and that this Board repudiates the action of the said J.F. Black in doing so" but this was struck out "as several prominent speakers expressed the opinion that the word 'repudiate' was repulsive and that the main portion of the motion conveyed the opinion of the Board in unmistakable terms."[79]

The latter part of the meeting was taken up with the substantive question of nickel refining in Canada. Black expressed the opinion that refining should and could be done in Canada. But the majority of the speakers, according to the Star, argued that the agitation fomented by part of the Toronto press was injurious to the district, that nothing should jeopardize existing industries in the Basin and finally "that this district owes the Canadian Copper Co. a great deal."[80] At the end of discussions, the members defeated a motion by James Purvis and Black "that it is in the best interest of the British Empire, in the best interest of the Canadian People that our raw minerals such as nickel and copper be refined in the Empire and this within a reasonable time."[81] Only the mover and seconder voted for the motion. The Board did approve a resolution, moved by O'Connor stating that it accepted and believed the Canadian Government's assurance and precautions regarding the shipment of nickel to Germany. It also stated: "That this Board is

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[79]Ibid.

[80]Ibid., p. 2.

[81]SBoTA, Ibid.

in favor of refining the mineral products of Canada, including nickel, in Canada, if the same is economically practicable, and can be done without injury to Canadian trade. That this Board realizes the importance of the nickel industry in the Sudbury Nickel area, carried on by the Canadian Copper Company and the Mond Nickel Company, and is of the opinion that no action should be taken by the Government by placing an export duty on nickel matte or by prohibiting the export of nickel matte, without first making a thorough investigation of the matter as this Board of Trade and this community do not wish large industries such as the Canadian Copper Company and the Mond Nickel Co jeopardized by mis-guided patriotism or rival interests."[82]

The dispute between Black and members of the Board did not end there. In February, the vice-president of the Board, acting at the request of six members, called a meeting for election of new officers because "the affairs of the Board of Trade had come to a point where many of the members were out and out opposed to President Black conducting any further business."[83] The regular elections had not been held in December and now some members decided to hold them. Black had refused to call a meeting but the vice-president did so. Black then called his own meeting for the same night in order for the Board to discuss anew the refinery

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[82]Ibid.

[83]Sudbury Star, February 13, 1915, p. 1.

question.[84] He must have cancelled it because he was in attendance at the election meeting during which Charles McCrea delivered a speech on the recent events, which the Star printed in full, in which he stated that economic considerations outweighed patriotic concerns. "Let nobody jump in here and by stampede methods jeopardize the paysheets of the Canadian Copper Co or the Mond Nickel Co. I have been complimented on behalf of Sudbury by a great many people outside for the sense shown by the Sudbury Board of Trade as contained in (your) resolution."[85]

Black responded "by alleging the movement to be part of a plan to muzzle the Board from any further discussion on the nickel question."[86] It goes without saying that Black was not re-nominated as president of the Sudbury Board of Trade. It also goes without saying that when International Nickel announced construction of a refinery in Canada a year later, Board of Trade immediately issued its congratulations not, however, without promoting Sudbury as a suitable site.[87] The whole episode illustrates how such events brought the petite bourgeoisie to define and reinforce its common interests and positions. As in the sulphur fumes episode, these positions were always ones of compromise. On the one hand it did not want to repudiate the farmer or the patriotism of refining in

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[84]Ibid., February 9, 1915, p. 1.

[85]Ibid., February 13, 1915, p. 2.

[86]Ibid.

[87]SBoTA, Minutes of minutes, August 1, 1916.

Canada, but would not, on the other hand, contemplate alienating the large mining companies. Ultimately defense of the mining companies' interests was also a defense of its own interests because, as John McLeod put it at one of the Board meetings, "any cessation of operations by the two nickel companies in this district would cut local trade in two."[88] And trade, in the final analysis, was its very raison d'être.

The petite bourgeoisie defined itself as a class not only vis-à-vis the mining companies, the farmer and Old Ontario but also, increasingly, vis-à-vis the working class. With the influx of thousands of mine workers during and after the war, many of whose mother tongues were neither English nor French, there grew a sense of unease and anxiety about "dangerous foreigners."[89] In 1914, the Board of Trade adopted a resolution in favor of raising the standards of naturalization. "In Northern Ontario we are enfranchising a large number of aliens year by year, exceeding in number native sons of Canada. This demonstrates that within a short period of time the alien will control the destinies of the hinterland of Ontario as well as other parts of this Dominion."[90] The Board concluded that "by assimilation alone can we hope to

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[88]Sudbury Star, January 16, 1915, p. 1.

[89]See Donald Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1979.

[90]SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, January 3, 1914, p. 79.

overcome this evil."[91] In the same year, unemployed men living in make shift camps on the outskirts of town started protesting in the streets and the Star started publishing articles on the question quoting town leaders' concerns.

A crescendo of fear and anxiety built considerably after the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Star reported that foreign labour worried heads of industries[92], then branded local labor organizers bolsheviks.

> Local organizers are active in propagating the doctrine and at the psychological moment the professional organizer and agitator enters upon the scene.
> "Unless something is done to curb the movement, the ranks of labor among those men is going to be reduced to the chaotic state of Russia, right here in Canada and in the Sudbury district. The stuff that is being preached to them is of the most revolutionary type," was the prediction made by an official who is closely in touch with the situation both in Sudbury district and in Canada.[93]

Earlier, the mayor had issued instructions "to the police department to prepare a census of foreign laborers in Sudbury who were not employed, on which the Mayor proposes to base some action. This will probably be a memorandum to Ottawa urging Government control of all foreign labor."[94] The Star branded these foreign laborers as lazy. "Stories of several hundred foreigners lodged in basement boarding houses, drinking beer, playing cards, and

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[91]Ibid.

[92]Sudbury Star, January 5, 1918, p. 5.

[93]Ibid., March 2, 1918, p. 2.

[94]Ibid., January 2, 1918.

generally enjoying themselves are related by every employer of labor who has endeavored to hire these men."[95] This crescendo of accusations and anxiety about foreign labor evidently reached its peak in 1919 during the period of the Winnipeg General Strike. It was no doubt related to the increasing strength and organization of workers in the Sudbury district and in Canada generally.[96] It subsided greatly after the 1921 depression in the nickel industry.

The housing dilemma

The petite bourgeoisie's fear and anxiety about the dangerous foreign workingmen were rooted not so much in the different mother tongues as in their under-employment and homelessness. Housing the working class had always been an issue in Sudbury, especially during times of mine expansions. The mining companies had provided housing accommodations around the different mine sites creating in the process company villages and towns. But during and after the First War, the number of men seeking employment in the mines and lumber camps was more than the available housing stock could accommodate. And many congregated in and around Sudbury.

In many ways, this situation was a dilemma of the merchant/businessmen's own making. Their relentless promotion of mine and lumber developments, of railway and road construction and of Sudbury as a central distributing point for an expanding region in New Ontario brought on the influx of workers. Council

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[95] Ibid.

[96] Details about this are contained in chapter V.

continuously upgraded the necessary infrastructure for expansion of the town, but housing was left to the forces of the market. There was a flurry of new subdivisions and an increase in the real estate prices during the boom times of 1904-1914. Of 35 new subdivisions created between 1901 and 1925, 31 were opened from 1904 to 1914, including nine by the Canadian Pacific[97] around the downtown business center where the petite bourgeoisie built their residences.[98]

Building activity was quite heavy from 1904 to 1914. In 1912 and 1913, building permits reached record values.[99] As well, real estate prices increased as speculation in land reached a peak, lot prices having climbed from $150 to $350 in a year.[100]

> The local realty market is in a flourishing condition. Demand for real estate investments, especially from outside capital is very active. Sudbury is rapidly developing into a humming, attractive town, both financially and from a growing standpoint.[101]

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[97]Land Registry Office, Abstract Books. The Jesuit fathers opened three subdivions; Léon Croteau, barber, opened another three on lands bought from the Jesuits; the other owners were lumbermen W.J. Bell and E.L. Casey, merchants L. O'Connor, D.L. McKinnon; real estate agent S.E. Wright; civil engineer Wm Stull; Lawyer J.A. Mulligan, contractor Wm Dickie and hotel owner J.P. Coulson. The Eyre family, Sarah and S.B., opened three subdivisions in Ryan ward, in the west end of the town.

[98]From 1905, the Journal and then the Star from 1913 report and publish photos of these "fine residences". See Journal, August 10, 1905, p. 5; Star, March 28, 1913, p. 5.

[99]See Sudbury Journal, Sept 5, 1912, p. 1.; Sudbury Star, November 1, 1913. p. 1. There were many schools built during this period including the Jesuits' classical college in 1913.

[100]Sudbury Journal, May 18, 1911, p. 1.

[101]Ibid., May 16, 1912, p. 5.

This building activity, which reached a peak in the summer of 1914, reflected the tremendous increase of Sudbury's population. From 2,000 in 1901, the population had increased to only 2550 in 1908 but then to 7060 in 1914.[102] It is not surprising that the housing accommodation did not keep up to demand despite the evidence of great activity in property sales and building. A few months prior to the war, the Star reported that the question of housing had indeed become a problem.

> Nothwithsanding this substantial increase in population, firsthand information which constantly comes to the Star bears out our former contention that the lack of residential houses is a serious impediment to the growth of the town and which, if modified, would result in a considerable addition to the figures quoted above.[103]

Even though the Star's preoccupation with the question concerned its negative impact on the town's growth, it did blame the lack of housing for workers on high rents demanded by landlords and high prices by contractors. "Workmen earning $12 or $15 a week are in great need of houses that can be rented for reasonable sums, but the existing tendency of high rentals is disheartening, for no man working for small wages can make headway towards a home of his own when he has to pay out $20 or more per month for rent."[104]

As part of the solution, the Star suggested that Board of Trade look into the possibilities offered by the provincial Act to

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[102]See Sudbury Star, May 1, 1915, p. 1.

[103]Ibid., March 11, 1914, p. 1.

[104]Ibid., p. 2.

Encourage Housing Accommodation in Cities and Towns.[105] Nothing was done during the war as the problem subsided. But in 1918, Council decided to apply for a loan of $100,000 under the Housing Accommodation Act in order to construct houses. "The lack of houses was a serious problem in Sudbury, not only now, but would become more serious next year."[106] In 1919, population had increased to 8,227, 1,000 more than 1918, and building activity started again. But this laissez-faire attitude of reliance on the market meant that once again the housing question became a troublesome issue for the merchants/businessmen of Council. In the year of the Winnipeg General Strike and of general labour revolt in Canada[107], housing became a sensitive political issue in Ontario and in Sudbury. In January, Council appointed a municipal housing commission under the Act to deal with the question."Councillors Dorling and Burbridge pressed for what they styled 'labor representation' on the commission" [108] but were defeated by a majority of councillors led by mayor Percy Morrison. But within the year two labour

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[105]Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1914, chapter 202. The province passed two other housing laws, the Act to Provide for the Erection of Dwelling Houses known as the Ontario housing Act on April 24, 1919, and the Act Respecting the Erection of Dwelling Houses known as the Municipal Housing Act on April 21, 1920 under which the municipal housing commissions obtained financing.

[106]Sudbury Star, September 21, 1918, p. 1.

[107]This was the year of the highest strike activity. See Gregory S. Kealey, "1919: The Canadian Labour Revolt", Labour/Le Travail, 13 (Spring 1984), pp. 11-44.

[108]Sudbury Star, January 29, 1919, p. 5. See also CoSA, Council Minutes, Vol. VI, p. 29.

representatives were added to the commission.[109]

In May the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations held hearings in Sudbury at which housing was cited by labour spokesmen as one of the major factors contributing to capital-labour antagonisms. In July, Council applied to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to borrow another $150,000 under the provisions of the Act. For the next two years Council experimented with public housing in order to relieve the housing shortage. In that period it built nearly 100 houses but then dropped the scheme in 1922. Two years later, when alderman Dorling tried to resurrect the housing commission, then mayor J.S. Gill refused to permit discussion of the question at Council stating that the scheme "had benefitted those who could afford to buy a house and not the workingmen as it was intended by the Act."[110] Gill added that "the growth of the town would be much more healthy if homes were built by private enterprise."[111] The Housing Commission's building program of 1919-1921 contributed to the increase in building activity in Sudbury until the 1922 depression caused another slump in construction. In

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[109]"In all likelihood, they were accepted by the three member commission, first of all, because it was too small numerically to cope with all the work that was involved, and second, because the offices of chairman and secretary were already filled, thus rendering relatively harmless the addition of two labour representatives". John Kesik, The Government's Role in Providing Working-Class Housing in Sudbury From 1919 to 1930, Term Paper, History Department, Laurentian University of Sudbury, 1988, p. 31.

[110]Sudbury Star, June 4, 1924, p. 5. This is also the conclusion drawn by John Kesik.

[111]Sudbury Star, June 4, 1924, p. 5.

1923 building activity started anew and increased considerably as the mining companies prepared the opening of the Frood deposit and the population reached 9500 by 1925. The housing shortage again became acute but, in the meantime, boarding homes, owned by East Europeans, multiplied in Sudbury,[112] especially in the west and north west as mine and smelter workers started to reside in the town. This would again contribute to the fear of invasion by "dangerous foreigners" when a new era in the relations between social classes began.

Summary and conclusion

This period was indeed a golden age for the local petite bourgeoisie, one in which it expanded, diversified and stratified as it fed upon the increase in productive forces unleashed by hydro-electrical, mining, lumbering and railway developments in the Basin. The pre-war period was one of great expansion as the town's contract with the Wahnapitei Power company spurred the establishment of several industries and the construction of a street railway which linked it to the expanding smelters of Copper Cliff. However this was to be a case of arrested industrial development in the town as very few new major industries were established after the War.[113] These new industrialists joined a

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[112]According to Council minutes, there were four licenses for boarding houses in 1919, 16 in 1923 and 20 in 1925, mostly to East Europeans.

[113]One could argue with T.N. Naylor ("The Rise and Fall pf the Third Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence", in Gary Teeple, Capitalism and the National Question, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1971)that the influence of merchants in the town was responsible for this arrested development. But some merchants

growing cadre of merchants, contractors, real estate and insurance agents, owners of personal and professional services as the leading members of the petite bourgeoisie. The prospectors, so important at the end of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, were no longer important property owners or influential class members after the War.

Stratification within the class was evidenced by the fact that a fairly small group of merchants, contractors, professionals, and real estate agents became large property owners and influential public figures. The mayors for instance were among the town's largest property owners; Frank Cochrane became minister of Conservative governments, both in Toronto and Ottawa, while maintaining his commercial interests and financial ties to mining and lumbering concerns in Sudbury. In 1906, there were approximately 15 men and two women who owned the largest proportion of the property; in 1921, after fifteen years of expansion, there were roughly 50 men and five women in this category. Overall, the local bourgeoisie owned approximately three-quarters of the assessed property in Sudbury in both 1906 and 1921. The following table illustrates the structure of property-holders in the town.

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were also industrialists or invested in these industries and the Board of Trade was an active promoter of industries; these facts tend to support L.R. Macdonald's "Merchants against Industry: An Idea and Its Origins", Canadian Historical Review, 65 (september 1975), pp. 263-281. It is perhaps the case that industrialisation was arrested because of a lack of hydro-electrical power in the region.

Table XI: Property owners in Sudbury, 1901, 1926, by class

Categories	Year 1906 %	1921 %
Bourgeoisie	77	74
Managers, foremen superintendents	1	2
Farmers	1	1
Clergy	1	1
Public servants	1	1
Widows, spinsters married women	3	2
Others (men-no occupation stated	5	7
Working class	11	12
Total	100	100

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls 1906, 1921.

Many women and men whose occupations were not stated on the assessment rolls had family names similar to those of the local bourgeoisie. It is therefore plausible to think that overall the property holdings of this class were actually over 80 per cent. In both years, farmers from the outlying communities owned either vacant properties or houses and apartment buildings for rental purposes. Though more numerous, workers were not important property owners. Overall, the structure is similar over this fifteen year period.

There were different groups and interests within this petite bourgeoisie, united and divided by financial, political and personal interests. One of these groups was led by J.J. Mackey, president of the Sudbury Brewery and the street railway company,

along with Louis Laforest, Lawrence O'Connor and W.J. Bell. Bell, general manager then owner of the Spanish River Lumber company, was also tied to the Cochrane interests in hardware and power. The Laforest family, Louis and son William, was involved in lumbering with Cochrane's son Wilbur. W.E. Mason, the Star publisher, was leading a new generation of financiers after the War with holdings in various properties. Their politics were resolutely Liberal and Conservative although they could cross lines in favor of a movement promoting the separation of New from Old Ontario and the creation of a new province of Algoma. All these groups were predominantly Anglo-Saxon although a few French-Canadians owned considerable property. All these groups were serviced by a small cadre of lawyers in the town[114] who often acted as spokesmen for and as mediators between the various interests. Charles McCrea, Cochrane's successor in the Ontario Legislature for close to 25 years, was the perfect example of this spokesman/mediator. He appeared before Council, Board of Trade and at various public functions, now for one group and then for another.

Expansion and stratification meant that many of Sudbury's petite bourgeoisie were small owners of corner stores, garages, restaurants, sometimes closer to the working class than to the large owners. The latter, or at least some of them, became tied to members of the haute bourgeoisie, especially the lumbermen whose

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[114]For an interesting historical and sociological description of these Sudbury lawyers, see François-X. Ribordy, Les avocats de Sudbury 1891-1981, Sudbury, Published by Author, 1982.

number in the town nearly quadrupled during this period. As the lumbering operations grew ever more distant from Sudbury during this period, the lumbermen became more influential as they opted to reside and invest in the town.

The golden age of the petite bourgeoisie began to lose some of its glitter after the War. It was increasingly caught between competing and conflicting interests, either those of the haute bourgeoisie, the farmers or the working class. Part of this situation was due to its relentless promotion of Sudbury as the distributing and service center for an expanding industrial and agricultural region, as the housing question well illustrates. Part was due to the growing presence and strength of the working class, whose members, increasingly unemployed and homeless foreigners, generated a sense of fear and anxiety amongst merchants/businessmen. This fear and anxiety crested in 1919 when the working class in Sudbury started to organize, protest and compete for political power.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST STIRRINGS

OF THE WORKING CLASS

Workers in the Sudbury Basin were generally unorganized in the nineteenth century; apart from a brief work stoppage at Canadian Copper there is no evidence of their participating in any type of collective protest. But the first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed the first stirrings of the working class in the town and surrounding area as workers started to protest and organize. The increase in the productive forces resulting from the introduction of hydro-electrical power in the region brought about a restructuring of the social relations of production not only in mining and lumber but also in the various industrial, railway and commercial enterprises of the town. As elsewhere in Canadian society, industrialization generally led to the emergence of class antagonisms.[1] Whether it be an erosion of the craftsmen's skills, the introduction of scientific management in the labour process, the growing control by a top-heavy management or the deterioration of living conditions, workers responded to the advent of industrial capitalism in Canada by protests, organization and political involvement in socialist

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[1]This correlation between industrialisation and class conflicts has been well documented by Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1980; Bryan D. Palmer, Working Class Experience, op.cit; A Culture in Conflict, op.cit; Bryan D. Palmer and Craig Heron, "Through the Prism of the Strike: Industrial Conflict in Southern Ontario, 1901-1914," Canadian Historical Review, 58, 1977, pp. 432-458.

parties. The Sudbury working class was not much different as this chapter will demonstrate. This response, as elsewhere, peaked in 1919 only to wane in the 1920s. The major difference from this general labour revolt was the absence of strikes in the Sudbury Basin.

Structure of the working class

The Sudbury working class underwent changes in size, occupational composition, ethnicity and gender during this period. But the fundamental structure of workers selling their labour power to the haute and petite bourgeoisie remained not only intact but in many ways became more entrenched with the increasing concentration of capital. Workers exchanged their labour power for wages whose levels varied according to cycles in the demand and supply of labour as well as those of capital accumulation; these were reflected by the fluctuating operations of mining and lumbering which in turn affected the building and commercial activities in the town.

> The reproduction of a mass of labour-power, which must incessantly re-incorporate itself with capital for that capital's self-expansion; which cannot get free from capital, and whose enslavement to capital is only concealed by the variety of individual capitalists to whom it sells itself, this reproduction of labour-power forms, in fact, an essential of the reproduction of capital itself. Accumulation of capital is, therefore, increase of the proletariat.[2]

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[2]Karl Marx, op.cit., pp. 575-76. Marx also wrote: "The correlation between accumulation and the rate of wages is nothing else than the correlation between the unpaid labour transformed into capital, and the additional paid labour necessary for the setting in motion of this additional capital," p. 581.

These cycles created a considerable floating population of workers in the town as well as a growing permanent one.[3] Therefore in 1918, while the population of the town was listed at only 8,227, "however, Assessor Tanner and those acquainted with transient population conditions are satisfied that 9,000 people and probably more move and live and have their being in Sudbury."[4] The size of the floating population varied according to the general demand for labour in the mine and lumber camps.

For a decade prior to the War, demand for and supply of labour was fairly high in the Sudbury Basin as mines expanded; lumber operations consistently required thousands of bushworkers, railway construction, especially that of the Canadian Northern, attracted hundreds more, and the expanding building and commercial activities in the town were powered by an increasing number of workers, many of whom opted to stay. These workers were recruited by various means, such as the burgeoning private employment agents and by the Canadian government which opened its gates to a wave of immigrants.[5] Therefore by the beginning of the War, Sudbury's working class contained many non-British and non-French.

Such high demand and easy supply of labour did not seemingly

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[3]Marx identified three types of population in the capitalist mode of production: floating, latent and stagnant. See Karl Marx, op. cit., p. 600.

[4]Sudbury Star, April 2, 1919, p. 4.

[5]In the decade prior to the War, the number of immigrants arriving in Canada more than doubled. See Warren Kalbach and Wayne McVey, The Demographic Bases of Canadian Society, Second Edition, Toronto, New York, McGraw-Hill of Canada, 1979, pp. 10-30.

help the workers in obtaining higer wages prior to the War. In 1914, a group of teamsters appeared before town council asking for work and fair wages of $5 a day. Council refused to insert any type of fair wage clause in any municipal contract. "They would not tie the contractors' hands. If the surplus of labor and teams was in the contractors' favor it was in his interests to secure both as cheaply as possible."[6]

The availability of labour was not to last much longer. During the war years, from 1914 to 1918, there was an acute shortage of workers in Sudbury. The Star reported on October 13, 1915 that labor scarcity was quite acute in the Basin forcing some employers to increase wages. For instance, Canadian Copper increased wages for its miners, roast yard employees and workers in the transportation department.[7] A year later, labour power was still in short supply thus prompting Canadian Copper to establish its own employment bureau to recruit workers from Sudbury. "Instead of scouring the labor market across Canada, the Canadian Copper will concentrate on local labor which is now departing in 'hundreds' for other parts of the province and the Dominion."[8] Workers were leaving Sudbury for munitions factories and other industrial areas where wages were better. In August 1916, Board of Trade obtained

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[6]Sudbury Star, June 10, 1914, p. 4.

[7]Ibid., October 23, 1915, p. 4. Canadian Copper and Mond, as well as other employers in town, instituted eight hour shifts at this time as a result of provincial legislation.

[8]Ibid., June 24, 1916, p. 4.

funds fro Council in order to advertise "so as to help out Labor situation."[9] The shortage was relieved for the local employers when Austro-Hungarians were released from internment camps and arrived in Sudbury at which time the Star reported there were 1,300 aliens registered in Copper Cliff.[10] The mines and town employers had started by this time to heavily recruit foreign workers. In the first half of 1918, the local bourgeoisie was still having difficulty hiring the necessary labour power and Canadian Copper felt obliged to grant another fifty cents per day increase to 2,800 wage labourers as well as an increase to its 200 salaried men. "This is due to the labor shortage and the high demand for foreign labor by large corporations in Canada."[11] At the same time, local police were rounding up unemployed men in Sudbury, all Austrians and Russians, according to the Star.

> Wednesday night's round up has already had a salutary effect, large numbers of foreigners applying during the past two days to the local police to have their registration cards revised that they could go to other places and get to work. The majority have gone with the local mining companies and nearby railway work.[12]

The end of the War created a reversal of the situation with the supply of labour now exceeding demand. Veterans and workers from munitions factories soon arrived in Sudbury looking for work

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[9]SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, August 1, 1916; see also Sudbury Star, August 2, 1916, p. 5. By "Labor situation", both meant an inexpensive supply of labor.

[10]Sudbury Star., August 2, 1916, p. 4.

[11]Ibid., April 20, 1918, p. 4.

[12]Ibid., p. 5.

in the mines and on the railway. For the first time in four years, reported the Star, the local supply was greater than demand. This resulted in wages remaining steady for the first time in a number of years. There was another consequence to the large influx of workers.

> The result of the influx has been that a better quality of labor is being chosen. Laborers who have been attempting the work of skilled and semi-skilled workmen during the war are now finding it difficult to hold their job. The men are being culled.[13]

True to its by-now traditional style of reportage, the Star could not resist another slap at the workers by quoting yet again anonymous agents. "Agents say that nearly all the men have fat bank accounts and are none too anxious to start into work. They are in the mood of looking things over many refusing with scorn offers of job which bring only half of what they have been drawing at munition plants."[14] For the next two years, there was an influx of labourers in town reminiscent of the CNR construction days. The mine closures in 1921 evidently worsened the situation for workers as hundreds were laid off and hundreds more throughout the district took pay cuts. For instance, bushworkers who had been paid $75 to $80 a month plus board were now accepting less than half that amount. In the summer of 1922, the situation was reversed again there being "more jobs than men". And in 1923, the labour shortage was again acute and wages increased. Labourers were now getting 40

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[13]Ibid., November 27, 1916, p. 1.

[14]Ibid.

cents an hour but bushworkers were getting $40 to $45 a month.[15] The mines had re-opened in 1922, but since many workers had left town in search of employment elsewhere, the companies, and especially the British America Nickel Corporation which did not have an available pool of workers[16], had difficulty in obtaining the required labour power. The increase in lumbering operations in 1923 and 1924 also created a heavy demand for workers. But in 1924 and 1925 the demand for labour became normal again according to the Star. Normal obviously meant that a fair number of workers were unemployed because many of them renewed their protests in the streets of the town. In 1926 the cycle of heavy demand would soon start anew and would reach proportions never before seen in the Sudbury district as the mining companies opened the Frood nickel deposits and International Nickel greatly expanded its Copper Cliff smelting facilities.

From 1901 to 1925 there was a great fluctuation of demand for and supply of labour, well illustrated by the following graph of the number of workers in the mines during this period.

Amongst other things, this fluctuation affected the level of wages mine and smelter workers could obtain for their labour power. It is difficult to ascertain if the labour protests and

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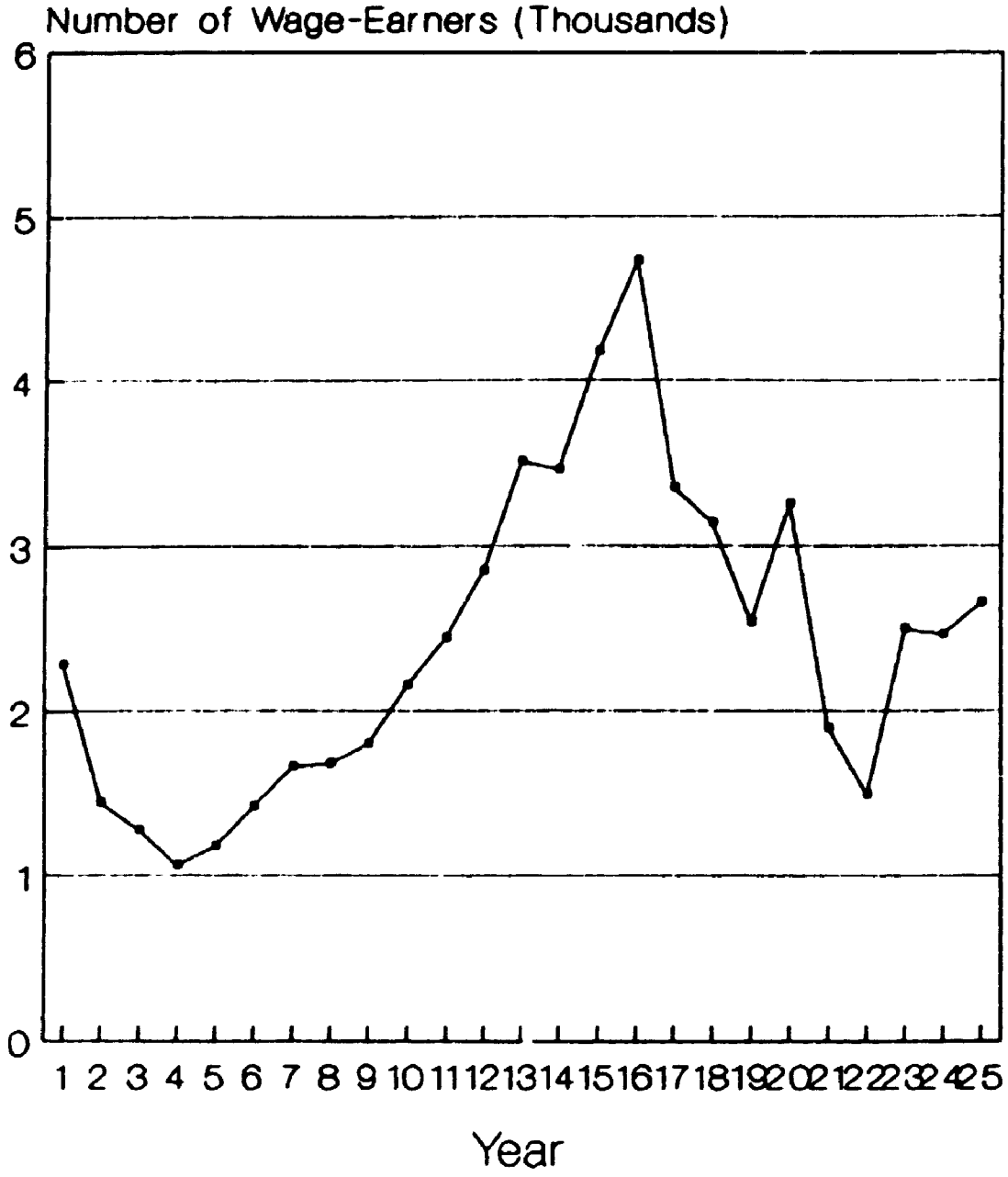
[15]Ibid., August 11, 1923, p. 1. See also Ian Radforth, op.cit., "From late 1920 to at least the end of 1922, unemployment levels rose sharply," p. 119.

[16]O.W. Main, op.cit., p.97. According to Main, B.A.N.C. reported at this time being short 500 men.

Figure 17: Number of Wage-Earners in Sudbury Basin Mines & Smelters,1901-25



Source: Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Reports 1901-1925.

attempts at organizations in the mines of the Sudbury Basin, between 1914 and 1919 was also a determining factor in the increase of wages. But when labour protests and organizations started to wane in the 1920s, the level of wages remained stationary or increased very slowly. The following table read alongside the previous table illustrates the correlation between wages and demand and supply.

Table XII: Wage levels (hourly rates) for specific occupations at Canadian Copper, 1913-1923

Occupations	Year and Wage Levels				
	1913	1915	1918	1922	1923
Mines					
Drillers	**37.5**	44	56	50-53	59
Trammer	28	31	47	47	53
Laborers	22.5	25	35	34-30	34
Steel sharpeners	34	44	56	45-47	53
Timberman	37.5	47-50	59-62	53	59
Smelter					
Laborers	20	30	44	34-38	42
Binmen	20	25	44	30	42
Feeders	30	49	60	49-55	59
Tappers	30	45	59	49-55	59
Tuyere punchers	20	30	47	40-45	50
Cranemen	35	52.5	64	49-55	59
Skimmers	30	45	59	48-54	59
Wedge furnacemen	30	45	59	48	59
Matte men	20	30	47	38	50
Transportation					
Brakemen	34	42	51	48-45	50
Conductors	37	45	55	50	55
Engineers	39	47	56	53-60	66
Firemen	28	36	44	45-50	55
Shops					
Machinists	30-47	34-62	61-74	39-64	50-70
Blacksmiths	25-37	34-44	51-66	39-51	55-60
Carpenters	25-40	34-47	47-61	39-51	51-58
Masons	27-45	37-50	60-70	39-59	55-70
Fitters	30	37-47	47-51	39-45	50

Source: IA, Labour Force Reports, 1913-1922.

Wage levels for all occupations increased considerably from 1913 to 1919 as the shortage of labour power was acute. They decreased during the 1921-22 depression but increased again as the mines re-opened in the fall of 1922 and labour was again difficult to obtain.

The structure of working class occupations in the mines and smelters of the Sudbury Basin is well illustrated by the previous table. Not shown in the table are occupations in other smaller workplaces such as the electrical department which employed patrolmen, linemen and electricians. The mechanical department had power house engineers and firemen, steam shovel engineers and firemen, locomotive crane engineers and firemen. There was obviously a stratification of skills as recognized by the wage levels. The laborers, rock pickers, helpers and watchmen were the least skilled of workers in mines and smelters. In the mines, drillers and timbermen were the most skilled while in the smelters, these were the tappers, skimmers, cranemen and wedge furnace men. The transportation and shop workers as a group were recognized as being more skilled than mine and smelter workers; engineers, machinists and masons were the elite of this group. All bosses and foremen in the various departments obtained higher wages than the workers they supervised.

The question of skill

The question of skill is complex. Its very definition embraces many definitions. In most of the literature, "skill is correctly perceived to be a complex blend of technical competence and social

construction (that is, subjective assertions of what a skill involves). Skilled workers combine manual dexterity and conceptual abilities and usually exercise some degree of autonomy and discretion on the job (within the inevitable constraints of a wage relationship)".[17]

> Skill is an indefinite blending of several things - manual dexterity, knowledge of the art, knowledge of the theory, and comprehension and decision-making ability based upon experience.[18]

In order to examine the question of skill and deskilling, Heron and Clement have done empirical studies of steelworkers and nickel-copper workers respectively (although in different time periods). With some nuances, these two authors have reached different conclusions partly because they represent opposite positions in the debate concerning deskilling, a debate launched by Harry Braverman.

> Braverman, like Marx, places great emphasis on the role of new technology in this process of wrenching control away from skilled workers, and in his eyes, the impact of mechanization was to reduce drastically the skill levels of the industry in question. The degradation of labour, and of the worker, was the inevitable outcome. The theoretical assault on this analysis has been telling. Several writers, especially labour historians, have challenged the emphasis of Braverman and others on one-dimensional degradation through technological change. They have stressed in particular working-class resistance to managerial innovations, both in informal work groups

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[17]Craig Heron, Working in Steel. The Early Years in Canada, 1883-1935, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1988, pp. 53-54.

[18]Wallace Clement, Hardrock Mining, op.cit., p. 295.

and through new unions.[19]

Heron has concluded from his studies that historians should not leap to easy assumptions "that a new machine equates with a stripping away of all skill. Studies of the First Industrial Revolution have made clear that new skills emerged and old skills survived and we should approach the Second Industrial Revolution with the same sensitivity to a new range of skills. The transformation of working life in the age of monopoly capitalism was not a one-dimensional process of "deskilling".[20] According to Heron, workers' resistance has to be taken into account when the question of deskilling is posed.

For his part, Clement argues that as a result of the introduction of technology in nickel mines, "in many instances the workers have less control over the work process and ultimately their work requires lower skill levels. Most labour becomes separated from special knowledge or training and becomes simple labour with little skill content. There is also evident a reorganization of work that separates its "mental" and "manual" components so that work comes to be executed in the plant or mine and planned or conceptualized in the administrative structure."[21]

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[19]Craig Heron, Working in Steel, op. cit. For examples of the second approach, see Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict, op.cit.; Craig Heron and Bryan D. Palmer, op.cit; Ian McKay, "Strikes in the Maritimes, 1901-1914, Acadiensis, 13, 1, (Autumn 1983), pp. 3-46; Ian McKay, Industry, Work and Community, op.cit.

[20]Craig Heron, Working in Steel, op.cit., pp. 169-170.

[21]Wallace Clement, Hardrock Mining, op.cit., pp. 19-20.

Clement does not conclude however that nickel-copper workers underwent a process of complete deskilling and degradation.

These positions are difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile although they can be seen to proceed from two different levels of analysis. In some ways, the first position looks at individual skills or at least at the technical competence of groups of workers; the second approach focuses more on the overall structure of the work process and the long-term objectives and relationships between owners of the means of production on the one hand and workers on the other.

In light of this debate, what can be concluded from the available evidence concerning the skill of workers, especially mine, mill and lumber workers, in the Sudbury Basin during this period?

Generally in the mines and smelters the process of transforming the individual worker into the collective worker was well under way. As Clement has noted, "capitalization revolutionizes the instruments of labour through the technical refinement of the forces of production thus greatly raising labour's productivity. The basis of the organization is shifted from the skills of workers to the pace of machinery and there is a shift from craft skills to detail labour when workers become machine operators."[22] The changes in the technical conditions of labour brought about by the introduction of hydro-electrical power

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[22]Wallace Clement, Hardrock Mining, op.cit., p. 21.

and subsequent mechanization increased the division of labour. This process was obviously more advanced in the smelters than in the mines where mechanization was being introduced at a slower pace. Whereas mining still depended to a great extent on the individual skills of drillers and timbermen, smelter workers were being gradually subjugated to the imperatives of the mechanized operations. This was not yet a completed transformation as smelting still required the skills and expertise of the tappers and skimmers. There was, however, in the overall mining operations a gradual transformation to the collective labourer accompanied by the greater use of science in daily operations and the increase in management size and control.

There is evidence from the growing number of university trained personnel employed by the mining companies that science was being introduced in this industry in order to gradually separate the "mental" and "manual" components of the work process. However, as Heron has rightly concluded about the same process in the steel industry, "the know-how acquired in and around the furnace itself would give the blue-collar furnace keeper an edge over the white-collar professional for years to come. Scotia's general manager explained this problem in a letter to his Scottish labour agent in 1910. He was disappointed that the young chemist recently sent over had not had enough "practical knowledge of the working of fur,naces"; the man needed "an inclination to spend more

of his time around the furnaces and watch and assist in their working."[23]

There was a parallel process in lumber operations. Whereas logging still depended on the physical labour power and skills of the bushworkers, mechanization was being introduced in the saw and pulp mills where the worker was being transformed into a machine operator. Like the general mine labourers, bushworkers continued to be the backbone of logging operations and to be considered unskilled workers. But as in the mines, there was in the lumber camps a gradation of skills from the sawyer to the head chopper, the teamster and the loading crews.[24]

If wage levels and differentials between skilled and unskilled workers at Canadian Copper are a reliable indicator, it seems clear that skill levels of individual workers or groups of workers did not change during the period. Another indicator of skill in the mining industry would be the ratio between skilled and unskilled workers; however evidence for this is presently lacking. Indeed the paucity of documentary evidence at present on the question of skills and deskilling in the work world of the Sudbury Basin make it difficult to reach more than general conclusions. While the general processes of introducing science and separating the mental and manual components of work were under way in the major industries, there was unnevenness of mechanization and a gradation

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[23]Craig Heron, Working in Steel, op.cit., pp. 56-57.

[24]See Ian Radforth, op.cit., pp. 53-69 for details about different skills in lumbering operations.

force.

Occupation and property in Sudbury

The structure of the working class and the labour process was somewhat different in the town of Sudbury. Industrialization affected only a small number of workers, those in the light industries established prior to the war and to a certain extent the railwaymen. These were also the only areas where workers were concentrated in fairly large groups and submitted to the discipline of the machine. The occupational structure of the working class in Sudbury did not change much between 1906 and 1921: the majority of the workers were construction, commercial, hotel and service employees. As a result of the establishment of light industries in the town, there were, however, more machinists, millwrights and moulders in 1921. Automobile mechanics, bus and taxi or jitney drivers were completely new occupations in 1921 as a result of the appearance of motorized transportation. This led inevitably to a decrease in the number of teamsters working in the town. In the fifteen year period there was a siginificant increase in the number of workers in all categories. The following table, compiled from information on the tax assessment rolls, illustrates the composition of the Sudbury working class in 1906 and 1921. Because this information relates to property, women tend to be under-represented in some occupations.

Table XIII: Workers' occupations in Sudbury 1906, 1921

Occupations	1906		1921	
	N	%	N	%
Foresters	3	1	11	1
Scalers	2	-	-	-
Labourers	-	-	7	-
Miners	15	4	37	3
Smelter workers	-		17	1
Butchers	4	1	4	-
Dairy men	-	-	1	-
Shoemaker	1	-	2	-
Blacksmith	6	2	20	1
Baker	3	1	6	-
Tailor	5	1	-	-
Printer	1	-	1	-
Machinists	1	-	25	2
Millwrights	-	-	8	1
Moulders	-	-	13	1
Construction				
Bricklayers	11	3	17	1
Carpenters	50	13	131	10
Electricians	-	-	16	1
Painters	13	3	20	1
Plasterers	3	1	6	-
Plumbers	5	1	22	2
Transportation				
Agents	-	-	10	1
Brakemen	1	-	17	1
Baggagemen	1	-	8	1
Car repairmen	-	-	14	1
Conductors	**7**	**2**	**24**	**2**
Despatchers	-	-	22	2
Engineers	1	-	50	4
Firemen	4	1	22	2
Inspectors	1	-	15	1
Linemen	5	1	3	-
Motormen	-	-	12	1
Porter	-	-	3	-
Roadmaster	-	-	5	-
Sectionmen	7	2	8	1
Signalmen	-	-	5	-
Yardmen	-	-	7	-
Drivers	1	-	34	2
Teamsters	32	9	18	1
Clerks, secretaries	1	-	5	-

Occupations	1906		1921	
	N	%	N	%
Transportation				
Telephone & telegraph operators	-	-	4	-
Trade				
Clerks	18	5	60	4
Salesperson	2	-	3	-
Traveller	8	2	31	2
Finance				
Clerks	8	2	3	1
Service				
Mechanics	-	-	24	2
Jewellers	-	-	5	-
Barbers	4	-	3	-
Cooks	8	2	20	1
Janitors/ watchmen	1	-	29	2
Waiters	6	2	9	1
Bookkeepers/ clerks	40	10	69	5
Teachers	-	1	14	1
Labourers	96	26	446	33
Total	375	97	1367	97

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls 1906, 1921. The percentages do not add to 100 because of fractions too small to be rounded off to 1.

The number of workers residing in Sudbury nearly quadrupled between 1906 and 1921, reflecting the general expansion of the population. Proportionately, labourers, railway workers and craftsmen such as carpenters make up the majority of the Sudbury working class in both years. The number of railwaymen significantly increased, however, as a result of the construction of numerous railway facilities in the town and the increased rail traffic due to the mine and lumber production. There was a slight decrease in

the proportion of craftsmen in 1921 but an important increase in the number of labourers.

Tax assessment rolls as a source of information under-represent those with less property such as women workers who tend to be ghettoized in certain low-paying jobs. Since many of these lived at home, tax rolls do not enumerate them except as members of the family, usually without giving their occupations. An analysis of Vernon's Directory on the other hand reproduces the same overall occupational structure but with a better and larger representation to clerks, stenographers, salesmen, bartenders, waitresses, maids, tailors and milliners. There is a serious problem in the use of Vernon's as a source to compare occupational structures; starting in 1921, the directory often employs the category "works" besides a person's name instead of the occupation. Nevertheless, in 1911 it lists 35 bookkeeppers, 13 stenographers, 70 clerks in trade and hotels, 29 clerks in railway, 29 salespersons, 20 bartenders and bellboys, 15 waitresses, 37 maids, 21 of whom worked in the local bourgeois'residences, 10 tailors, 21 milliners and 17 teachers. Compared to the tax rolls, the Directory under-represents such occupations as carpenters and labourers. In 1921, it listed over 100 salespersons, over 150 clerks, 66 stenographers, 6 tailors and 21 milliners, 7 tellers, 9 porters and bellboys, 7 hotel maids, and 41 teachers. In general then, the Directory better captures those occupations in the trade and service sectors which, as will be shown, were those of women workers.

Was there a stratification in the Sudbury working class of this period in terms of property holdings? The following table demonstrates that carpenters were the largest property owners. Of all the workers, carpenters were, proportionately, more likely to be owners than tenants; they also owned properties and buildings which they did not occupy, thereby using them as rental income or for speculation. Labourers, given their large numbers, were also large property owners. In order to render the table less cluttered, some of the categories of the previous table have been collapsed.

Table XIV: Sudbury workers' property holdings, 1906

Occupations	Value of property $	Value of buildings $	Value of assessment $	% of total
Lumber	**750**	**1400**	**1350**	
Mine	**675**	**700**	**1375**	
Manufacturing	3950	5625	4825	
Construction	9275	12725	19020	
Railway workers	2950	5210	5800	
Other transportation	1800	2100	2500	
Clerks/ bookkeepers	4680	7295	5000	
Commercial	2875	3025	1400	
Service	2325	2200	3250	
Labourers	8085	14250	10525	
Total	37765	54530	55445	11

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls 1906

Overall the working class owned 11 per cent of the total assessed property in the town of Sudbury in 1906. Compared to the bourgeoisie, workers occupied land and buildings whose value exceeded what they owned which meant that more workers were tenants

than owners. Within the class, construction workers, and especially the carpenters, labourers and railway workers, were the largest property owners. Construction workers also had the highest average property value in 1906, followed by lumber workers and railway workers. Transportation workers (teamsters), as well as those in manufacturing, clerical and service categories were the lowest in terms of average property values. Of the 375 workers, 251 were tenants and 124 owners.

In 1921 the working class owned only 12 per of the town's total assessed property, compared to 11 per cent in 1906. Even though the number of workers had nearly quadrupled in fifteen years, the class structure of property holdings had remained the same. There were however significant variations within the working class as the following table demonstrates.

Table XV: Sudbury workers' property holdings, 1921

Occupations	Value of property $	Value of buildings $	Value of assessment $	% of total
Lumber	**14400**	**11000**	**20150**	
Mine	**12600**	**13850**	**21990**	
Manufacture	**24280**	**20965**	**30300**	
Construction	57545	64740	97445	
Railway workers	77140	105725	118905	
Other transport	11825	13850	12295	
Clerks/ bookkeepers	23245	25750	39085	
Commercial	31330	44110	33780	
Service	49080	54420	72630	
Labourers	106390	81680	149495	
Total	408035	436080	596105	12

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls 1921.

As in 1906, the 1921 Sudbury workers again occupied land and buildings whose value was greater than their own property holdings. Labourers, as a group, now owned the most property although they only ranked eighth in terms of average value of property. Railway workers, whose numbers had also increased, were the second largest group while construction workers had slipped to third. In terms of average property value, lumber workers were first, followed in order by commercial, construction, service, railway, mine, clerical workers, labourers, manufacturing and other transportation workers (such as bus and taxi drivers).

The ratio of owners/tenants in the working class changed between 1906 and 1921. In 1906, a third of Sudbury workers (33%) were owners and two-thirds were tenants; in fact, the majority of workers in all categories except construction were tenants. In 1921, the situation was reversed: nearly two-thirds (63%) were owners and slightly more than a third (37%) were tenants; in all categories except commerce the majority of workers were owners. This preponderance of owners amongst workers, in 1921, was probably the result of mine closings during which a good proportion of the floating population, mostly tenants, left town.

Gender and Ethnicity

In general, the Sudbury working class was overwhelmingly male. Mine, smelter, lumber, industrial and transportation workers were exclusively male. Maids and nurses were the only comparable female enclaves in Sudbury. The number of female workers increased between

1906 to 1921 but only in certain specified areas. This feminization of certain occupations, which occurred throughout Canadian society and has been noted by numerous authors[25], also took place in Sudbury. Feminization of secretarial, clerical, commercial[26] and teaching[27] occupations occurred gradually as the following table demonstrates.

Table XVI: Feminization of selected occupations, 1911-1921

Occupations	1911				1921			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stenographer/ secretary	6	32	13	68	1	1	66	99
Clerks	94	95	5	5	105	67	51	33
Bookkeepers	26	72	10	28	12	28	31	72
Tailors/ milliners	10	32	21	68	6	21	22	79
Salespersons	25	83	5	17	36	47	40	53
Telephone & telegraph operators	10	63	6	27	8	30	19	70
Teachers	8	47	9	53	9	22	32	78

Source: Vernon's Sudbury Directory 1911,1921.

The feminization of the clerical and secretarial occupations

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[25]See Janice Acton et al., eds., Women at Work: Ontario 1850-1930, Toronto, Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974; Pat and Hugh Armstrong, The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work, Revised edition, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1984; Collectif Clio, Histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles, Montréal, Les Quinze, 1982; Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, eds., The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

[26]See Graham S. Lowe, "Women, Work and the Office: The Feminization of Clerical occupations in Canada, 1901-1931", Canadian Journal of Sociology, 5 (Fall 1980), pp. 361-381.

[27]See Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching", in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, The Neglected Majority. Essays in Canadian Women's History, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1977, pp. 49-65.

would have been more significant if railway and hotel clerks had not remained predominantly male throughout this period. In the banks, there was a gradual shift from male to female clerks, but tellers remained exclusively male. Sales staffs also underwent changes from male to female but some stores, such as hardware and men's furnishings, continued to employ exclusively salesmen. In teaching, there also occurred a significant change from men to women during this period, although all school principals remained male.

Waitresses, nurses and maids were exclusively female. The number of maids decreased dramatically in 1921. No maids working outside the hotels are listed in the 1921 Vernon's Directory although it had listed maid's names prior to and after 1921. There might have been a shortage of maids after the war; in 1919 the Star advertised a number of times for residential servants.[28] Their numbers increased dramatically in the twenties.

The composition of the Sudbury working class was changing in other ways during this period, especially after the war when immigrant workers started to reside and work in the Sudbury Basin. The 1917 Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission could note with some exaggeration that "labour in the district is principally foreign, probably not more than 25 per cent being Canadian or American. The more skilled workmen such as foremen, mechanics and carpenters, are Canadian or American. Underground, the drill

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[28] For instance, on May 10, 1919, the Star advertised on page 1, "Many Servants Wanted".

runners and helpers are principally Finns and Austrians; the trammers are generally Poles, Italians, Austrians and Russians."[29] In 1920, the British America Nickel Corporation's labour force was composed as follows: English, 56; Canadian, 91; French Canadian, 35; Finn, 80; Russian, 43; American, 8; Austrian, 76; Italian, 56; Bulgarian, 8; Polish, 8; Ukrainian, 5; Swede, 4; Irish, 6; Scotch, 4; others, 8. [30] The Finns especially started to reside in great numbers in the district and find employment in the mines. They were also highly sought after as skilled bushworkers.[31] Comparative census data for the town of Sudbury also show the increasingly diverse ethnic composition of its population, the majority of which was working class.

Table XVII: Ethnic Origin of Sudbury population, 1901-1921

Ethnic Origin	Year 1901 %	1911 %	1921 %
British	56.2	53.4	50.2
French	34.6	36.6	35.8
Central Europe	1.9	1.3	2.4
Northern Europe	0.7	0.3	2.7
Eastern Europe	0.1	1.1	1.5

[29]Report of the Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, op.cit., p. 225.

[30]IA, Force Report, British America Nickel Corporation Limited, June 16 to June 30, 1920.

[31]For interesting accounts of the Finns in the Sudbury district, see Lennard Charles Sillanpaa,"A Political and Social History of Canadians of Finnish Descent in the District of Sudbury", M.A. Thesis, Helsinki, 1973; Martha Isobel Allen,"A Survey of Finnish Cultural, Economic and Political Development in Sudbury", M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Western Ontario, 1954; Polyphony, Fall 1981, Vol. 3, No 2, especially pp. 23-54.

Table XVII: Ethnic Origin of Sudbury population, 1901-1921

Ethnic Origin	Year 1901 %	1911 %	1921 %
Italian	2.4	1.9	3.3
Asiatic	0.1	0.6	2.0
Jewish	3.6	2.1	1.5
Others	3.9	2.6	0.6

Source: Census of Canada 1901-1921.

The proportion of European immigrants in Sudbury doubled from 1901 to 1921. While the proportion of French Canadians remained relatively steady, that of British and Jews slowly declined.[32] It is not surprising then that, coupled with the growing organizational and political activities of the working class after the War, this first wave of immigrant workers in the town and outlying mining villages should spread fear amongst Sudbury's largely British and French bourgeoisie.

Protests and strikes

This fear was fed by a series of protests and strikes which started to occur in and around Sudbury in the first two decades of the century, more specifically during and after the First War. If these created anxiety amonst the local bourgeoisie, they were for the working class a necessary expression of its burgeoning formation.

> Before there were workers with any level of consciousness of themselves as part of a collectivity - labour - there were social tensions and confrontations. Before there were unions, there were strikes. Protest, then, is the prior phenomenon, preceding the organization that would

[32]For cultural and organizational histories of these ethnic groups, see Polyphony, Spring/Summer 1983, Vol. 5 (1).

eventually be associated with it.[33]

In the case of Sudbury, protests accompanied organization during these formative years of the working class. While attempts at organization often failed, protests occurred regularly and, it would seem, spontaneously in the mines and on the streets of the town. Often these were quelled by repression of various kinds. Strikes were few in the Sudbury Basin during this period compared to other centers in Northeastern Ontario and to the province in general.[34] The first one occurred in January 1904 in Copper Cliff.

> A number of Italian labourers employed in handling coke by the Canadian Copper Company stopped work on account of a stipulation by the company that they should load a certain amount of coke each day for $1.50. It is stated by the company that eight or ten were willing to work at the rate demanded of them, but about twenty refused, and joined by a number of others, they are alleged to have induced the rest of their fellow-labourers, to the number of three or four hundred, to refrain from working.[35]

According to the Sudbury Journal, the work stoppage was initiated by a gang of Italians causing trouble by compelling men to stop working.[36] Militia authorities ordered members of the No. 2 company, 97th Regiment, to be in readiness. Some of the strikers

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[33]Bryan D. Palmer, "Labour Protest and Organization in Nineteenth Century Canada, 1820-1890", Labour/Le Travail, 20 (Fall 1987), p. 62.

[34]See Douglas Cruikshank and Gregory S. Kealey, "Strikes in Canada, 1891-1950", Labour/Le Travail, 20 (Fall 1987), p. 90.

[35]The Labour Gazette, February 1904, p. 808.

[36]Sudbury Journal, January 14, 1904, p. 4.

were arrested and fined and seven of them were jailed.[37] "The company was able to resume work again, having secured other men to replace the missing strikers. All the men concerned in this dispute, with the exception of two or three, were subsequently taken back by the company"[38] and the incident was over by the end of the month.

As production increased in the mines, social relations began to change. One area of confrontation between workers and supervisory personnel concerned the tools employed underground. In 1909, a drill was damaged during blasting operations at Garson Mine. When mine supervision asked that the miner, Gus Viitasaari, pay for the damaged tool, the latter refused. "Gus had been working on the night shift and as soon as the news of the company position became known to the miners on the day shift they understood that this was of grave importance to them all because it was not unusual for tools to break or disappear in the underground workings. And if they should give in this time there would be a possibility of recurring cuts in pay for the future."[39] Despite the fact there was no union, the day shift went on strike demanding that Gus be rehired and need not pay for the damaged drill. "Because of the solid front put up by the miners, the Company had no alternative

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[37]Ibid.

[38]Labour Gazette, op.cit.

[39]Vapaus, Finns in the Nickel Basin, a commemorative booklet published in 1937 and quoted in Mike Solski and John Smaller, op.cit., p. 99.

but to take Gus back to work under the conditions laid down by the miners."[40]

These protests had occurred in the mines on the outskirts of the town. In 1914, a few weeks prior to the outbreak of war, "Sudbury witnessed something distinctly new Monday afternoon when about four hundred out of work men paraded the main streets of the town. They started from their haunt where they are being housed in boxcars on the Stobie tracks of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the Township of McKim and traversed the streets of the town at some length. The affair was orderly throughout. It ws distinctly new and novel to Sudbury."[41] The phenomenon of unemployed men, no doubt attracted to Sudbury in order to find work in the mines, parading in the streets of the town to protest their lack of work and their living conditions, would last for a number of years. A few days later, the unemployed again paraded in the streets but this time the Riot Act was read in order to force the men to disperse.[42] In September, the local élite expressed concern with the situation of the unemployed not because of the workers' plight but because "industries will not operate fully".[43]

In 1918, a local police squad proceeded to round up the unemployed in the town, "Chief of Police Brown proceeding under

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[40]Ibid.

[41]Sudbury Star, July 1, 1914, p. 1.

[42]Ibid., July 8, 1914, p. 1.

[43]Ibid., September 2, 1914, p. 5.

the recent order-in-council that every able-bodied man in Canada between the ages of 16 and 60 years is required to engage in some productive pursuit."[44] A year later, shortly before the Winnipeg General Strike and the visit of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations to Sudbury, the Star reported extensively on labour activities, the One Big Union and on all events related to Russia. At one point, it claimed that the streets of Sudbury had been strewn with Bolshevik literature.

In 1920 a small number of electricians and plumbers went on strike. "The chief complaint of the strikers of course is that the master plumbers refuse to recognize the union."[45] The stoppage lasted only a week.

When Canadian Copper and B.A.N.C. closed their mines in 1921 and 1922, the unemployed again started to protest, but this time in a different way. For the first time, they held a meeting at which they organized a local of the Workers' Party of Canada.

> Thomas Bell, organizer, outlined the aims of the Workers' Party. Ostensibly these are the consolidation of existing trades unions and the consequent building up of one union for each trade, the ousting of the present "reactionary" leadership of trades unions by the building up of left wing groups therein, participation in the general political life of the country for the purpose of exposing the sham democracy of capitalism which expresses itself in the declaration of formal rights for the whole population but which only means freedom in the possession of civil rights of the capitalist class. Finally, he said, the Workers' Party aimed to organize the workers

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[44] Ibid., April 20, 1918, p. 5.

[45] Ibid., May 22, 1920, p. 5. According to the Star, there were only eight men on strike.

for the overthrow of capitalism.[46]

Some speakers at the meeting called for formation of an unemployment council composed of all local unemployed. "At the conclusion of the meeting, the unemployed paraded down Elm St. in a body."[47] A few days later, "between three and four hundred unemployed men staged a demonstration in the downtown section of Sudbury protesting against town council's action in suddently cutting off transient relief. They raided ten Chinese restaurants and were finally dispersed by police. As a consequence the town put the meal-ticket system of relief to transients into effect again."[48] This new demonstration brought Mayor Arthur to suggest to Council that the unemployed shculd be rounded up and sent to the Burwash farm jail a few kilometers south of Sudbury. "The rest of council showed a disposition to forget about the idea."[49] A year later, in April 1925, another group of unemployed organized a parade down the streets of the town which the local police promptly broke up.

These protests and strikes expressed a growing awareness of the workers' situation. This awareness is evidenced by a growing associational life on the part of the Sudbury workers as they gradually organized various activities, from sports to unions, and

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[46]Ibid., March 29, 1922, p. 10.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid., April 1, 1922, p. 3.

[49]Ibid.

built meeting places in order to promote their solidarity and defend their interests. There were many agents responsible for these formative activities but none more active than the Finns.

Associational life

At the turn of the century, Finn workers started to organize discussion groups and other associations. In 1903 the "Nuorisoseura" or Young People's Association was founded by John Virta of Copper Cliff. "This may safely be called the first of the radical-socialist societies in the District. Lists of discussion topics for the year 1904 show an increasing consciousness of the problems of the working-man"[50] not only in the Young People's Association but also in the more conservative Finnish Temperance Society. Socialist literature and organizations began to appear in the Sudbury Basin at the end of the first decade. The radical-socialist publication Koyhaliston Nuija appeared in the District between 1907 and 1911 and "the name socialist began to attach itself to various groups at an early date; in 1910 a Finnish Socialist Association appeared at Garson Mine, to be followed by another at Sudbury in 1912. Crean Hill, about thirty miles to the west of Sudbury, boasted a similar association in the same year."[51]

> In 1911, the year of its foundation, the FOC (Finnish Organization of Canada) could count no less than seven local units scattered around the hardrock districts of Ontario at Cobalt, Copper Cliff, Creighton Mines, Sellwood, Silver Centre and South Porcupine. In a number of communities, this was the first working-class

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[50]Martha Allen, op.cit., pp. 81-82.

[51]Ibid., p. 84.

institution of any kind.[52]

Before the First World War, the FOC had many branches in the Sudbury District, "in Copper Cliff, Garson, Mond Mine, North Star Mine, Sellwood, Stobie, Sudbury and Wolf Siding. All of these locals played an active role in the working class movement of the District, weak though it was."[53] According to Seager, the FOC was the institution that best reflected the concerns of the working-class immigrant, "with its far-reaching program of reform and its ultimate ideal of a classless society, popular control of industry and production for use instead of for private gain."[54] Apart from contributing to the formation of local unions, the organization built two institutions in Sudbury during the war. The first was Liberty Hall, constructed in the west end of the town after its first hall in Copper Cliff burned down under mysterious circumstances in 1915. This hall, completed in 1919 and expanded in 1923, served as the meeting place for the unemployed during this period. The Ukrainians also built a hall named the Labor Temple during this period in the same vicinity as Liberty Hall.

> Like immigrants of every background, the Finns sought the company of their compatriots and established networks and institutions that provided practical benefits, as well as cultural continuity. For the radical Finns, that meant building socialist halls for mutual help,

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[52]Allen Seager, "Finnish Canadians and the Ontario Miners' Movement", Polyphony, op.cit., p. 38. This whole issue of Popylphony is devoted to various aspects of the Finns in Ontario.

[53]Lennard Sillanpaa, op.cit., p. 42.

[54]Allen Seager, op.cit.

recreation, education, and political action.[55]

The second Finnish working class institution in Sudbury was the weekly newspaper Vapaus which began publication on November 6, 1917. It reported events in and around Sudbury from a truly working class perspective and it defended immigrant and other workers consistently not only in Sudbury but across Canada. The fact that it became a tri-weekly (in 1921) and a daily (in 1928) much before the Star reveals not only the important immigrant population in the District but also the popularity of the support which it gave to left-leaning working class causes.

These two Finnish institutions were banned in 1918 under the Enemy Aliens' Act. The paper's editor and other staff members were arrested and its offices raided.[56] It was able to resume publication in 1919 at the same time as the ban on the FOC was lifted. A few years before this government repression, local bodies had reacted to the establishment of these two institutions. In 1915, the president of International Nickel, A.D. Miles, had given a grant to the Finnish People's Institute in Copper Cliff, a more conservative organization.[57] In the same year, an anti-socialist Finnish society was founded in Copper Cliff, thus symbolizing the rivalry which continued to exist in the Finnish community between

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[55]Ian Radforth, op.cit., p. 109.

[56]For a copy of the warrant issued by John Brown, Chief of Police, authorizing the raid and seizure of documents in Vapaus offices, see PAC, MG 28 V 46 Vol. 4, File 5.

[57]Sudbury Star, February 27, 1915, p. 4.

left and right elements.

These Finnish organizations were not the only expression of working class associational life in Sudbury. Boarding houses established by East Europeans were a locale for immigrant worker networks. Sports was also an important ingredient of workers' lives. In 1905, the Young People's Association founded an athletic club in Copper Cliff. After 1909, Finns establsihed such clubs in many mining communities of the Basin. In 1924, the idea of creating a central organization for these clubs was first discussed and Vapaus opened its pages as a forum for its readers to further discuss the project. On March 22, 1925, the Finnish-Canadian Workers Sports Federation was born.[58] Even though it changed its name over the years, the federation maintained its objective stated in 1925 : "The purpose of the Federation is to raise the physical, intellectual and cultural level of workers by promoting an interest in physical activity; and to further the country's militant labour movement."[59] Employers and the local bourgeoisie had also realized the importance of sporting activities in the workers' lives and moved to establish their associations. Canadian Copper formed the Cunnickel Athletic Association to promote amateur sports in the area[60] and town council also discussed an athletic association in

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[58]See Jim Tester, ed.,A History of the Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation, 1906-1986, Sudbury, Alerts AC Historical Committee, 1986, p. 7. See also Lennard Sillanpaa, op.cit., p. 56.

[59]Jim Tester, op.cit., p. 7.

[60]Sudbury Star, January 17, 1914, p. 5.

1919.[61] Although it did not exist either consistently or for a long period, the British America Nickel Corporation also organized athletic activities and clubs for its workers.

The workers evidently participated in other types of associations which also included members of other social classes. Apart from churches, there were still the omnipresent lodges in Sudbury although their activities received less publicity than in the nineteenth century. These were now mostly Orange lodges which existed mainly to celebrate the Glorious 12th and whose leadership was still provided by merchants, businessmen and professionals. Their July parades seemed to be well attended, more so than Labor Day parades on which the Star reported only once in 1924 and which had been organized by the Great War Veterans Association. These were evidently not broken up by the local constabulary.

Union organizations

Sudbury area workers organized two different types of labour unions during this period. In general, East Europeans established the socialist associations to organize the workers in the mines and lumber camps as well as the unemployed. British, French and Italian workers organized the more traditional international craft trades unions which represented the skilled workers in railway, construction and industrial concerns. These two types were sometimes in conflict and seemingly fought for control of the Sudbury Trades and Labour Council after the war.

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[61] Ibid., January 27, 1919, p. 29.

Of the craft unions, there are no traces in Sudbury until 1903 when the Labour Gazette reported the existence of two locals, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Division no 236 and the United Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters, No. 463.[62] Until 1911, there were only two or three local unions in Sudbury representing either railway employees, bartenders or plumbers. From 1911 to 1925, the number of locals as well as union membership varied as the following table reveals.

Table XVIII: Local unions and membership in Sudbury, 1911-1925.

Year	No. of existing local unions	No of locals reporting	Total membership
1911	5	4	87
1912	5	2	59
1913	6	5	348
1914	5	3	306
1915	4	2	47
1916	1	1	15
1917	3	3	-
1918	4	4	153
1919	18	17	800
1920	15	7	284
1921	8	4	121
1922	7	3	27
1923	4	3	46
1924	7	6	121
1925	6	6	3,751

Source: Department of Labour, Report on Labour Organizations in Canada,1911-1925, Ottawa

As the table reveals, there were two surges of union organization in Sudbury during this period; at the onset and at the end of the war when both the number of local unions and the

[62]Labour Gazette, 1903-04, p. 1120.

total membership increased considerably. During the first wave, unemployed workers also started to demonstrate in the town and the local bourgeoisie expressed for the first time its fear of "dangerous foreigners". The second wave of labour organization, during which the Star branded local organizers as bolsheviks[63], corresponds generally to the spurt of union organization throughout Canada. The high number of unionized workers reported in 1925 is a result of an organizational drive among the district's lumber and bush workers.

After 1910, skilled workers in the construction industry - carpenters and joiners, bricklayers, masons and plasterers, electrical workers, plumbers and steam fitters - were consistently organized in various locals. Hotel and restaurant workers were organized in local No 237 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America. The first significant increase in union membership in 1912-14 corresponded to the first attempts by the Western Federation of Miners at organizing the miners in the Sudbury District. The only local left in 1916 was local No 31 of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union. During the second wave, locals representing workers in the various light industrial enterprises were established. Boilermakers, machinists and iron and steel workers were organized alongside the construction workers, retail clerks and mine, mill and smelter

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[63]Sudbury Star, March 2, 1918, p. 4.

workers. In 1921 and 1922, when the number of local unions and total membership declined considerably as a result of the general depression in the mines, only the blacksmiths, boilermakers, stage and railway employees remained organized. According to the Report on Labour Organizations, the officials of these local unions, except that of the miners, were mostly British. Only a few French workers are listed as officials.

In 1918, when union membership and labour activities increased, the Sudbury Trades and Labour Council was established. This labour council, which existed until 1921, had a labour hall in the King Edward Hotel in the downtown business district. There was seeming dissenssion within the labour council between the left and the trades union elements with the trades unionists gaining the upper hand in 1920 when the Star heralded "Safe and Sane Labor Gains Local Control."

> With the election of new officers in S.P. Crean as president, D. Moore, recording secretary and L.A. Miron as financial secretary for 1920 Sudbury T.L.C. may be said to have ousted the "red" element from control of Labor affairs and will return to the well-beaten paths of trade-unionism. Substantial elements among the trades unionist movement following the last provincial election and the more recent civic election in Sudbury perceived an attempt to turn the trades unionist machinery and organisations of the town and district into a political machine, contrary to the best accepted principles of trades unionism. Direct political actionists for the past eighteen months have used every artifice to dovetail the trades union movement in this district into a political organization to fit in with their political aspirations. The principles of the AFL will be strictly adhered to in the future.
>
> With the change in events the Socialists have apparently shot their bolt politically including not a few newcomers to Sudbury who have held sway on the hustings. "Tourists" from labor storm centers in the Western States and

> Winnipeg have furnished a large part of this quota and it is to the credit of the substantial element among Sudbury and district trades unionists that they have not been stampeded along either labor or political lines.[64]

While labour organizations in the town tended to be those of skilled workers affiliated with international trade unions, those in the mines and lumber camps were generally more radical. The first attempt at organizing miners in the Sudbury District occurred in 1913 when a local of the Western Federation of Miners was chartered. "However, because of overwhelming pressure from management, this first local in the Sudbury basin lasted only one year, its membership hounded out of the industry."[65] Notwithstanding this first failure, organization continued and from Garson the mining union movement spread to other Mond and Canadian Copper mines. On April 18,1913, Sudbury District Local 183 of the WFM was chartered.

> As the union showed signs of growth, the companies went into action with the notorious Pinkerton spy agency imported from the U.S. Little by little, union men lost their jobs, and a vicious blacklisting system came into being in the district. When the union still persevered, the union offices in Garson and Sudbury were ransacked in 1915; the safe was opened, and union material, including membership lists, was stolen. As a result of these activities, union members, the majority of whom were Finnish miners, were blacklisted and the local collapsed during the years 1915-1916. The local's membership minutes, in the Finnish language, were

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[64] Ibid., February 28, 1920, p. 1.

[65] Mike Solski and John Smaller, op.cit., p. 99.

deposited with the Western Federation of Miners.[66]

Another attempt at organizing mine workers occurred in Coniston in 1919 when a local of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the successor to the WFM, was chartered. Local 116 lasted until 1920. The next attempts would have to wait until the Depression years when first the Workers Unity League, an organization of the Communist Party of Canada, and then the Mine Mill took up the arduous, even perilous, task. These organizational attempts were no doubt the result of changing conditions in the mines and smelters. "Inevitably, unbearable conditions forced the workers to consider means of inducing the industry's owners to ameliorate conditions and to establish decent living wages, security of employment, and safer work places."[67] That conditions were indeed worsening as production levels increased is evidenced by the rising number of fatalities and injuries in the mines and smelters as the following graph illustrates.

The industrialization of the mines and smelters and the resulting increase in production caused a serious deterioration in working conditions as hundreds of workers died and thousands were injured during this period. It is not surprising that workers attempted to organize.

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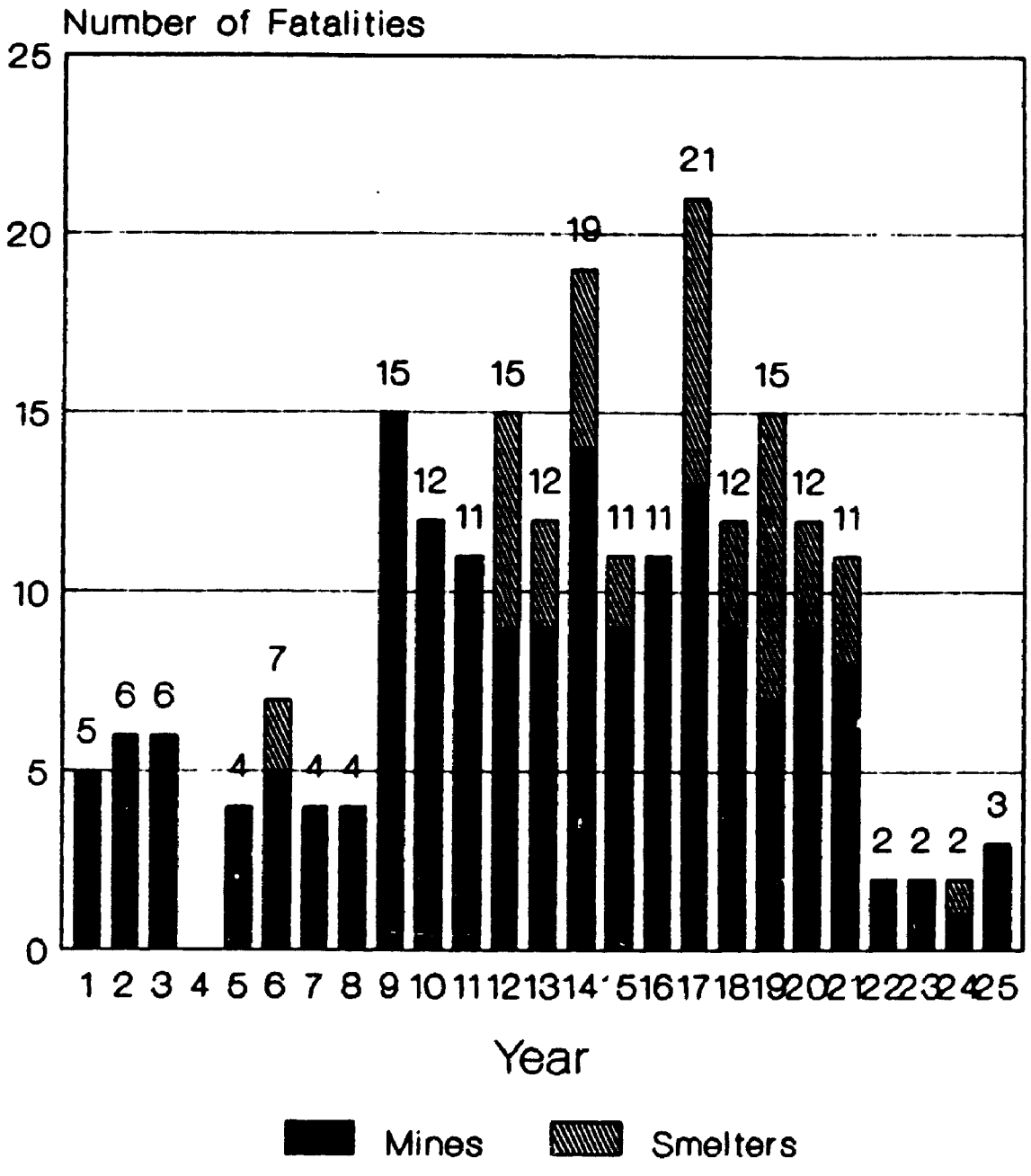
[66]Ibid. The WFM was also active in most other mining centers in Northeastern Ontario. For accounts of these activities, apart from the one by Solski and Smaller, see Brian F. Hogan, Cobalt: year of the strike 1919, Cobalt, Highway Book Shop, 1978; Laurel Sefton MacDowell, 'Remember Kirkland Lake': The Gold Miners' Strike of 1941-42, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1983.

[67]Mike Solski and John Smaller, op.cit., p. 97.

Figure 18:Number of Fatalities, per year Sudbury Basin Mines & Smelters,1901-1925



Source: Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1901-1925.

Organizing the bush and lumber workers was also undertaken during this period, again mostly by Finns. "In the Ontario woods, the union idea came, in part, from British Columbia. Coastal loggers and union organizers provided the example of militant industrial union drives and inspired Ontario bushworkers to take up the same cause in 1919 and 1920. Yet this post-World War I upsurge would have been far weaker and of little lasting significance had it not been for the contribution of the radical Finnish immigrants."[68] These Finnish bushworkers, employed in camps near the Algoma Central Railway and the Canadian Northern west of Sudbury, were soon active in organizing the first union drive. They were led, amongst others, by A.T. Hill, who had worked in the United States in 1915 and had been recruited by the Lumber Workers Industrial Union no.120, part of the Industrial Workers of the World. He was first active in the Lakehead district at the end of the war where socialist organizations were very influential.[69] While Hill was organizing lumber workers in the Northwest, Finn bushworkers to the west of Sudbury were also working to organize. After the establishment of the One Big Union in 1919, lumber workers from British Columbia and Northern Ontario joined its

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[68]Ian Radforth, op.cit., p. 108.

[69]For an account of these organizations and the roles played by Finnish workers, see Jean Morrison, Community and Conflict: a study of the working class and its relationships at the Canadian Lakehead, Thunder Bay, M.A. Thesis, Lakehead University, 1974. According to Morrison, the Wobblies became an important factor in Northern Ontario for the first time during World War I with the arrival of Finnish bushworkers.(p.20).

affiliate, the Lumber and Camp Workers Industrial Union to which Vapaus gave its enthusiastic support. The OBU opened an office in Sudbury which was by then becoming a center for the unionization of surrounding bush and lumber workers. After the collapse of the OBU and the split from its ranks of the LWIU, Finnish bushworkers again set about to establish new organizations. This time, two rival groups were organized. The first was tied to the IWW.

> In the mid 1920s, even after the IWW had been smashed in the United States, the remarkably tenacious Finnish-American Wobblies gained considerable influence in northern Ontario. Their success would be attributed in part to their publication Industrialisti, which had a wide circulation in the north and in part to the presence of several Finnish-speaking Wobbly leaders who had fled the United States and had come to the Sudbury district. In December 1923 a referendum was passed in the Sudbury area which brought local OBU bushworkers into the IWW's Lumber Workers Industrial Union no. 120.[70]

The second union was established by Hill who, by 1921, had become the leader of the large Finnish-speaking group within the newly formed Workers' Party of Canada, a local of which had been established during a meeting of unemployed at Liberty Hall in 1922. At this time, "a Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union local was established in Sudbury from the small group of members of the Lumber Workers Industrial Union of Canada."[71] Sudbury was now the center of two rival bushworkers' organizations, a fact which the Star did not fail to notice. In 1924, it published a series of

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[70]Iar Radforth, op.cit., p. 119.

[71]A.T. Hill, Historic Basis and Development of the Workers' Organization and Struggles in Ontario, no place, no publisher, 1948, mimeographed document. PAC, MG 28, V,46, vol. 192, file 10.

three articles on the situation and on the presence of radical elements in the town.

> Sudbury, Port Arthur and Timmins are the centres of radical activity in the North, and while each place has been comparatively free from trouble of a serious nature, the I.W.W. and Communist converts and agitators are more numerous than is generally suspected.[72]

The tensions between these rival groups would come to a head in the 1930s. Sudbury would continue to be the center of organization for lumber and bushworkers well into the next decade.

Political activities

The labour movement in Sudbury was active not only in union organization but also, for a short period of time, in political activities. The first evidence of involvement in the political process is the presence of a socialist candidate opposing Charles McCrea without success in the 1911 provincial election in 1911. During and after the War, a few workers were elected to Town Council. In 1919, the Trades and Labor Council allied to the Great War Veterans Association decided to enter the municipal elections. They endorsed five candidates for aldermen; none were elected, although three made a respectable showing. They also adopted a platform which was published a week prior to the election. In it, they stood for 1)equal representation for French and English based on population; 2)8 hour day in all civic positions; 3)civic positions for returned soldiers where competent; 4)market to be used as a means of co-operation between urban and rural population;

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[72]Sudbury Star, June 11, 1924, p. 1. The other two articles were published on June 14 and 18, p. 2.

5)no civic licence to other than British subjects; 6)municipality handle coal and wood and other utilities essential to the welfare of the town; 7)development of the Hydro to be encouraged, so as to develop local industries; 8)referendum and recall to be placed on the statutes of the town.[73]

In publishing the list of candidates for council positions, the Star commented on page 1: "In the councilmanic race the outlook takes on a different complexion and Labor, as dictated from Trades and Labor Council, has made a specific and definite bid for control of Sudbury's municipal affairs. The chief objection to this is the obvious dictatorship which so-called Labor leaders have attempted at different times throughout the past year... .The movement to gain control of the council may properly be interpreted as an attempt to set up an autocracy of "red" Labor in Sudbury."[74] The following year the Trades and Labor Council again adopted a civic platform and endorsed candidates for election, one of whom, Andrew Bell, a CPR locomotive engineer, was successful as a result of "strong support from railwaymen and working men in general."[75] There is no evidence of any further political involvement in municipal politics until World War II.

Labour did get involved at the provincial level, however. In the 1919 provincial elections, the United Farmers of Ontario and

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[73]Ibid., December 31, 1919, p. 1.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid., January 5, 1921, p. 1.

the Independent Labor Party nominated a common candidate, A.P. Sweezey, former railway conductor and organizer of the I.L.P. in Sudbury. While the United Farmers of Ontario managed to form the government as a result of the October 20 election, and certain Northern Ontario centers such as the Lakehead and Sault Ste Marie elected labour representatives, Sweezey was less successful. McCrea won the election in Sudbury district by a close margin over the Liberal candidate, Dr R. Arthur. Sweezey came in a very respectable third.

> One feature of the campaign and results of the election is the comparatively large labor vote polled by Mr Sweezey. All through his campaign he had a most enthusiastic following and many of his meetings outdrew in attendance those of both the old political parties. It is apparent from the returns that the organized industrial workers of the mine, mill and smelter gave Sweezey a fairly solid support. Sweezey polled a surprising vote in Sudbury, Copper Cliff and Coniston.[76]

Labour's next involvement in provincial politics would also come twenty years later. But in 1919, in the year of the general Canadian labour revolt and of the labour movement's Indian Summer[77], the Sudbury working class had demonstrated its political teeth and shown organizational strength especially relative to previous years. But compared to some other centers in Canada, Sudbury workers proved to be rather docile in 1919 even though the public hearings of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations served to demonstrate that they - or at least some of its representatives -

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[76]Ibid., October 22, 1919, p. 2.

[77]Bryan D. Palmer has so called this general period of labour organization in his Working Class Experience, op.cit., pp.136-84.

not only articulated a radically different perspective on Sudbury from that of the local bourgeoisie, they also challenged the latter's views on class relationships.

Royal Commission on Industrial Relations

In March 1919 the Union government appointed a Royal Commission to "inquire into and report upon industrial relations in Canada". From April 26 to June 13, the Conmmissioners visited 28 industrial centers from coast to coast and heard a total of 486 witnesses. Like its 1886 predccessor, the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor appointed by John A. Macdonald, the 1919 inquiry occurred during a year of crisis in class relations.

> If the titles suggest something of transformed bourgeois and state attitudes, then the contents of the two collections of testimony tell us much about the development of the Canadian working class. The specific material complaints enumerated by Canadian workers vary little from 1886 to 1919 - unemployment, low wages, high prices, long hours, unsafe and unsanitary working conditions, abysmal housing, the super-exploitation of women workers, employer blacklists, non-recognition of unions, refusal of collective bargaining - all remain a constant in the working-class bill of grievances. What differs however is the workers' attitude. The cautious note of respectability and, in some cases, of near deference present in 1886 was transformed into a clarion cry for change.[78]

The commissioners held public hearings in Sudbury on May 17, 1919 during which 12 witnesses were heard. Of these, four represented the haute bourgeoisie of lumber and mines: another was the president of the Board of Trade, one an employee of the province's employment bureau; the remaining six were workers. In

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[78]Gregory S. Kealey, "1919: The Canadian Labour Revolt," Labour/Le Travail, 13 (Spring 1984), p. 12.

many ways, their testimony reveals much about the conflicting attitudes and perspectives of these different social classes. The commission's purpose was to enquire "into the existence, if any, and if so, the extent and cause of industrial unrest and also to receive suggestions as to the best methods of remedying it and improving the relations between employers and employees in the future."[79] Testimony of the 12 witnesses focused on the unemployment and housing situation in Sudbury as well as the relations between workers and local employers, especially the question of labour organizations.

At the start of the hearings, J.G. Henry, president of the Board of Trade, merchant and undertaker, was asked for the benefit of his views on the general situation. But Mr Henry replied :"I would rather ask Mr Bell to come forward".[80] W.J. Bell then appeared before the commissioners and was promptly asked if there was any unemployment in Sudbury.

> At the present time there appears to be. Since shortly after the signing of the Armistice a good many foreigners appears to be idle here, and in many cases we found they were not looking for work very hard. We asked them to come to work but they were not ready, they have money.[81]

According to Bell, these idle and moneyed foreign workers were mostly Austrians and Ukrainians and numbered 200 to 300. There was no unemployment problem for other classes of workers. Furthermore,

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[79]Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, 1919, p. 80.

[80]Ibid, p. 1.

[81]Ibid., p. 2.

there was no dissatisfaction amongst the employed bushworkers. "We have not had any trouble. Last summer whilst things were going up we raised the wages a little here and there and we would hear from some of the men occasionally but that was adjusted without any trouble."[82] The men were the best fed and best housed men in the country. Some were dissatisfied, but their chief business was "to go about and make trouble." These workers were not organized, according to the general manager of the Spanish River Lumber Company, because of the seasonal nature of their employment. However, if he ran a twelve-month operation, he would be in favor of some type of organization. "I would be glad to encourage any employee to come to me personally with anything he had in way of suggestions or even if they organized so that their intelligent representatives might sit at a board and consider matters in connection with the business."[83] But Bell then stated that organization in the north country was more difficult than in a country such as England because "we have not the material." When asked: " Do you mean the average intelligence is low?", he replied: "Yes". Another obstacle to organization amongst bushworkers, according to the witness was "the mixture of races." While in past years, workers were largely French Canadians, there were now many foreigners who "all stay to one side "

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[82]Ibid., p. 3.

[83]Ibid., p. 5.

The longest testimony was that of C.V. Corless, general manager of Mond Nickel in the district. There was "surprisingly little unemployment in the district", according to Corless even though he admitted the nickel industry had very recently laid off half its work force. Concerning housing conditions for employees of Mond, the general manager admitted that they do not all have modern improvements such as water in the house. "There is water in the village but not in the houses. On account of our climate it costs practically double to build a house in which the water system is installed."[84] Furthermore, because mining is a temporary business, these houses will have to be abandoned in any case.

Corless talked at length about the practice of industrial councils in Great Britain. Although he favored the principle of such cooperation between employers and employees, it would not be practicable in the Sudbury mining district. "At the present time not over 35% of the total number of our workman employees are British; a larger percentage than we have of British workmen are Poles and Slavs, and that fact would render the proper working of industrial councils very difficult."[85] The floating characteristic of the mining work force also hindered the establishment of such councils. Corless also believed that the mining industry in the Sudbury district was not sufficiently mature, as it was in England, to have such bodies. Did he favor labour organizations? "We have

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[84]Ibid., p. 10.

[85]Ibid., p. 14.

had no strikes, and, as far as I can see, our men have been happier than they would have been had they been highly organized and had outside interference when they would have probably had a series of strikes which would have thrown them out of employment and caused a loss to them as well as to the industry."[86] When asked directly if his company favored organizations, Corless sidestepped the issue by stating that "in the old country they are organized, but in this country we are not organized." Some employees at Mond, and at International Nickel, were members of safety committees. These members were selected by superintendents among "all the men whom we regard as having sufficient intelligence to be of use in inspecting machinery and operations."[87] At this point Corless talked at length about the lack of proper education by the school system which he considered as primitive as "when the industries were primitive. It does not enlighten the growing youth who will step tomorrow into industry either on the capitalists' side or the workers' side as to his economic and industrial responsibilities."[88] He favored a minimum wage established by local boards as one way of quelling the present unrest. As to unemployment insurance, he thought that would be the responsibility of government although industry would ultimately have to bear the burden. Finally he returned to the question of labour organizations and opined that

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[86]Ibid., p. 15.

[87]Ibid., p. 18.

[88]Ibid., p. 22.

some, like the railroad brotherhoods, were quite constructive but others were quite destructive, especially one in the west and in Michigan.

Although not as loquacious as Corless, Vice-President Agnew of International Nickel had the same opinion concerning the unemployment situation in the district. He also testified that 60 per cent of International Nickel's work force was foreign and that there had been very little unrest because 90 per cent of the men were satisfied. Worker organizations were also unnecessary because 75 per cent of the employees were "very reasonable". Industrial councils, according to Agnew, worked best in England in the highly organized trades. "In our industry I would say it is doubtful as to just how they would work."[89] Agnew told the commissioners that his company had instituted a profit-sharing plan with its employees whereby the latter could buy stock of the company below the market price. Asked if workers could have representation on the board of directors, the witness answered: "Certainly, if they have shares". Commissioner Moore then asked what was the capitalization of the company. Forty-eight million dollars, answered Agnew. Moore then commented: "So even if your normal force of three thousand bought shares, Mr Agnew, it would be a long time before they gained a voice or secured a controlling interest?" "Certainly would", answered Agnew. The transcript then indicates that "The foregoing

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[89] Ibid., p. 41.

question was followed by much hand-clapping and stamping of feet".[90] The audience was solidly working class. Mr Agnew also informed the commissioners that International had a pension plan whereby "a man, upon a recommendation of the executive, would be placed upon a pension after he had worked continuously in our employ for 20 years." Would a man's pension be affected if, after 18 years, he became involved in a strike asked commissioner Moore. "Is it at the pleasure of the company?" It is at the pleasure of the company, answered Agnew.

E.J. Carlyle, smelter superintendent at the British America Nickel Corporation, testified later in the day. He admitted there was more unemployment in the last months although he thought there were less idle men, especially Russians, in the streets of the town. He also thought the workers at his company were not dissatisfied. He agreed with Corless that the "mixture of races" would hinder the workings of industrial councils in the nickel mines and that labour organizations were detrimental to workers' interests because their officials often brought them into a course of action which the majority of the men did not want.

J.G. Henry, Board of Trade president, was a true representative of his class. He reminded the commissioners and no doubt the working class audience that he himself had been a worker and a union member. "I am quite in sympathy with the unions. I belonged to a union myself in years gone by and I am quite in

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[90] Ibid., p. 45.

accord with unionmen. I have no fault to find with the labor men in particular."[91] After stating his sympathies with workers and unionmen, he admitted that there was "more or less" labour unrest in Sudbury. "The employers of labor, however, have all been very gracious and have put themselves about to assist us in placing men."[92] As to the causes of unrest, Henry thought that it was due to the "after-feeling" of the war because men had been getting tremendously big wages during the war and had taken advantage of the situation. But now times were changing and the men were not satisfied. Finally, he admitted that the high cost of living was caused by the workers themselves because they demanded high wages and these increases were then reflected in the price of goods. Commissioner Moore then told the Board of Trade president that according to government figures wages were responsible for only a third of the increase in the price of certain goods. Henry reiterated: "The more you pay labor the more things will go up generally". He concluded by saying that "I am not at all antagonistic to labor".[93]

The provincial government employee, G.K. Katon, identified as representing the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, then testified that there was little unemployment in the district at least as far as his department was concerned. He informed the

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[91]Ibid., p. 73.

[92]Ibid., p. 72.

[93]Ibid., p. 75.

commission that "employers around town and in the district are doing all in their power to assist the returned men."[94]

Workers' perspective

The six workers who agreed to testify before the commission all told a different story. As one of the last to testify, A.M. Walker, member of the International Association of Machinists, could reply to the mine managers who had appeared earlier in the day. As far as he was concerned, there was serious unrest in the district caused by "the economic and social conditions under which the workers at the present time exist, the present conditions under which we are working."[95]

> This morning I heard three or four representatives of the various mining corporations and if I had been a stranger in this town I would have been inclined to think they were in favor of labor organizations. I have been a resident of this town for the past 12 years. I know different.[96]

Walker told the commission that he had sent a letter to the companies asking them to negotiate with the machinists. His letter had gone unanswered. One of the reasons for the unrest was clearly the fact that the employers refused to recognize organized labour. Moreover they consistently got rid of labour organizers in their employ. He told the commission that should he be selected by the men to organize a union in the district, "my job aint going to last very long with any of these companies. I do not wish for one

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[94]Ibid., p. 89.

[95]Ibid., p. 85.

[96]Ibid., p. 86.

minute, neither would I lead you to believe that they would fire me. Oh no; they never fire a man because he is a labor organizer, but after three years service in the company they will discover you are - well, you aint no good."[97]

This statement was greeted with laughter from the audience. Walker continued by saying that the employers in the district had a bitter hatred towards labour organizations.

Frederick J. Eldridge, engineer and secretary of the Sudbury Trades and Labour Council, stated that there was and had been considerable unemployment in the district and "a great dissatisfaction being felt at the present time among the laboring classes."[98] He complained especially about the housing, the high cost of living and discrimination against union men. According to him, rents were unreasonable and buying a house was beyond the means of the working man. As to the possibility of cooperation between employers and employees, "I do not know how it is possible under the present system because immediately the wages go up the cost of living goes up to an equal amount and the working man is left in exactly the same position as he was before." According to Eldridge, the main cause of the unrest was dissatisfaction with the system.

> That is the main cause. The workers do not get enough of what they produce. It is silliness to say that the cost of living is the reason, because we are robbed anyway and in spite of the fact that the British Government issued the statement that 10,000,000 to 25,000,000 men have been

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[97]Ibid., p. 87.

[98]Ibid., p. 81.

> killed or died through disease as the result of the war we have unemployment all over. Why? Because efficiency methods have been introduced, and there is only one method for it, and that is to reduce the hours of labor and distribute the work over a greater number of men. If the wages then paid on those hours of work are not enough to produce enough food, clothing and shelter on a better plane of life than they do today, then some other method must be found to satisfy the capitalistic class. I advocate Government ownership of everything...that is the only solution of the problem and I am only one of hundreds of workmen in Sudbury that think the same thing.[99]

Michael Balandaski, a machinist's helper, told the commission that many of his Ukrainian countrymen were unemployed in the Sudbury district. Many of them, unskilled workers, had been employed in the mining companies but were now out of work. He said that many of them were getting $4 a day in the mine before being laid off. "The International Nickel Company have laid off inside of two days 1400 men, and three days after there was a big sign in Copper Cliff in front of the head office: "100 laborers wanted. 30 cents an hour." Commissioner Moore asked : "They have laid off at one wage and wanted to hire at a lower wage?" To which Balandaski replied: "Yes. The sign would not be there for nothing."[100] He stated that he had been blacklisted by a mining company because he carried a union card. But he complained most bitterly about the Canadian press' treatment of Russians and their mother country.

> Also why these people want to get away from Canada is because the Canadian press - I should say the capitalistic press - are trying to throw all kinds of dirt on that nation and make the people hate them, although during the war these people were producing

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[99]Ibid., pp. 83-84.

[100]Ibid., p. 62.

> nickel and all the necessary things with which to fight the German and Austrian militarism. That is why these people feel so bad now and want to leave the country.[101]

He was not the only worker to complain about the press. D.J. Fortin, a French Canadian iron worker who had testified in the morning, asked permission at the start of the evening session to make a statement. "I noticed that the "Sudbury Star" has branded me as an agitator, and I would like to know if I made any statements in your presence this morning that would justify such treatment? I do not think that I am than kind of man."[102] When members of the commission did not reply to this statement but asked for other representatives of labour to testify, A.M. Walker stated that he would like to say a few words, "but before doing so, could you tell me whether the "Sudbury Star" will brand me as an agitator if I do? Can you guarantee me protection?" Chairman Mathers replied that the commission had no control over the Star. Walker declared" "Then I will take the chair irrespective of the "Sudbury Star" or any other paper in this district."[103]

In his testimony, Fortin had stated that he had not come "here with any intention of speaking but I see some of these employers claim that they are not antagonistic to organized labor, and I know the reverse to be the fact. I know that immediately a man takes an active part in labor organization he is immediately discharged from

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[101]Ibid., p. 66.

[102]Ibid., pp. 84-85.

[103]Ibid., p. 85.

his position. I was born in Sudbury and am acquainted with the whole locality pretty well, and as long as I refrained from public speaking, I could manage to hold my job for three or five years in this place, but when I started organizing in this town and took a little active part in it, I was immediately discharged and could not find out why."[104] He claimed that Finlanders, "mostly bright intelligent people", were especially persecuted in this regard. "When there is a slack time, they are the first to be laid off." When commissioner Moore asked Fortin if there was a general feeling among the men that discrimination was practiced, whether there was proof of it or not, he replied : "Exactly, a big general feeling." He also opined that there was considerable unemployment in the area, mostly among the unskilled workers. He attributed dissatisfaction in the working class to the high cost of living, the rent and quality of houses. Finally he said that he favored old-age pension, unemployment and "sick" insurance.

In its report of the morning's session, the Star gave a fairly accurate acccunt of the witnesses' testimony. At the end of its article it wrote:

> For employees, D.J. Fortin and Mike Balandaski, said they had been discharged by the International Nickel Co. because they belonged to unions and were on the "black list". Mr Fortin said there were about 4,000 unemployed in the district. The evidence of both Fortin and Balandaski savored much of the agitator type. Balandaski confined his remarks to a defence and reasons for Bolshevism... .There were quite a number of Finnish Socialists present and all evinced great interest in the

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[104] Ibid., p. 47.

proceedings.[105]

Dess Brubridge, CPR car foreman and member of Town Council, testified there was "quite a lot" of unemployment in the district because of a large influx of workers during the war many of whom had been laid off. While it was true that local employment agents were advertising for men, these positions were for unskilled bushworkers and many of the unemployed were skilled men who did not care to go into the bush. Burbridge stated there was a general spirit of unrest amongst the Sudbury workers which was attributable to the high cost of living. Rents were mostly responsible for this high cost of living as many men had to work for "a week and a quarter" in order to pay a month's rent. He concluded on the same note as other workers by advocating "a national insurance or a national unemployment scheme similar to that obtaining on the other side of the ocean. I would like to see the Government take up the question of pensions for the aged, and the question of unemployment, and some means or other of stopping this profiteering and to make the economic conditions of the workers a little bit better for their social welfare in the future."[106]

William J. Young, an Algoma Eastern engineer, stated that low wages, bad working conditions and the fact that AER was not living up to its agreement with its workers were the main causes of unrest amongst the men he knew. "We are enlightened as any other men, and

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[105]Sudbury Star, May 17, 1919, p.2.

[106]Report of the Royal Commission, op.cit., pp. 34-35.

we object to being ground down and driven the way we were during the war. We took it during the war for no other reason than, as I have already stated, patriotic motives. But now that the war is over I think we should be put on a different footing altogether."[107]

Finally, H. Cornell, a machinist, agreed with his colleagues about unemployment and unrest in the district. He complained specifically about rents of $30 or $35 a month for a house with no water or toilet or bath. He also told the commission that non recognition of unions by district employers was a main cause of dissatisfaction amongst the workers.

At the end of the proceedings, there followed this exchange between A.M. Walker and chairman Mathers which tells a lot about the class relations in Sudbury at this time.

> A.M. WALKER: Mr Chairman, would I be in order in asking you before you close what guarantee this Commission can make to the workingmen who have given evidence before you that they will not lose their jobs before you get to Toronto or Montreal because we will all get fired? For my part I am not worrying.
> CHAIRMAN: We can give no guarantee, but if anything of that kind takes place we would like to know of it.
> MR WALKER: Are you prepared to deal with it if any of these men get fired.
> CHAIRMAN: Please let us know if any men get fired because of giving evidence here. A. Oh, they won't fire us "because of giving evidence here"! but because after 12 years they find out we are not good enough. Q. Well, if you will let us know if any men are recently discharged we shall be glad to have you do so. A. Thank you.

The Commission's hearings in Sudbury certainly revealed fundamental disagreements between the witnesses, disagreements which go beyond individuals to express those of opposing class

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[107] Ibid., pp. 79-80.

interests. On the one hand, members of the local bourgeoisie all concluded there was little unemployment, unrest and dissatisfaction among the workers of the Sudbury District. Cooperation between employers and employees was fine in principle but it could not work in the region because of the primitiveness of its industries and the workers' level of intelligence. In reading these men's testimony, one concludes their underlying message is that proprietorship of the means of production gives its owners the unfettered right to hire, control and dispose of labour power as they wish. Any type of workers' organizations not controlled by owners is, for the latter, an infringement on these rights and should be resisted at any cost. The lone representative of the petite bourgeoisie expressed very well the dilemma of his class.

On the other hand, workers all agreed there were high levels of unemployment, unrest and dissatisfaction due to numerous factors such as high living costs, bad working conditions and resistance to union organization. Their solutions varied however thus echoing a finding of the Commission concerning the wide spectrum of views held by Canadian labour.

> One group lays down as principle the complete possession by themselves of the machinery of production and the full product of their toil, whilst the group at the other extreme would be satisfied with merely a larger purchasing power of the wages they receive. In between these groups lie the more moderate, and we believe the majority, who would welcome co-operation and industrial peace until by a gradual process of evolution a system may be ushered in by which the workers will receive a more adequate share of what their labour produces.[108]

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[108] Ibid., p. 5.

Some Sudbury workers thought that common ownership of the means of production through the State was one solution; others were satisfied with reforms in the social and economic conditions such as unemployment and health insurance so as to alleviate the hardships of the working class. Whatever their differences of opinions, on the whole the workers consistently expressed interests and views opposed to those of the bourgeoisie and as such tell us much about the state of class relations in Sudbury during this period.

The State and class relations

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the State at all levels had moved to arbitrate these class relations in many ways. The establishment of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations was in itself an attempt to defuse the latent and open conflicts between the two main social classes in Canadian society. The federal government had taken other measures since the turn of the century.[109] In 1900, Ottawa had established the Department of Labour which in turn had started publication of the monthly Labour Gazette. In 1907, it set up the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act in order to arbitrate directly local, regional and national class conflicts. The provincial government had been no less active in its involvement in class relations. In 1910, it amended its

[109]For an analysis of some of these measures, see Paul Craven, An Impartial Umpire: Industrial Relations and the Canadian State, 1900-1911, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Trades Disputes Act[110] which remained however a fairly cumbersome and inefficient arbitration mechanism. It became much more active during and shortly after World War I. Its attempts to alleviate the workers' housing situation have already been noted in the previous chapter. It adopted a workmen's compensation law[111] which attempted to address the serious question of mounting deaths and injuries in the industrialized work places of the province. In the mines, the government legislated the 8 hour shift for all underground work, prohibited boys and girls under 14 from working in and around mine sites and boys under 17 from working underground.[112] In 1914, it also revised the Municipal Act and adopted amendments which lowered the value of property, freehold and leasehold, required to vote and be elected in municipal elections. Prior to the War, apart from being male, 21 years of age, and a resident of the municipality, a voter had to be either an owner of property worth $600 or a tenant of property worth $1,200. In its revised act[113], voters in towns of less than 3,000 needed a freehold or leasehold of $200;

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[110]Trades Disputes Act, Statutes of Ontario, 10 Edward VII, chapter 74, 1910.

[111]Workmen's Compensation Act, Statutes of Ontario, 4 George V, chapter 25, 1914. For an account and evaluation of this legislation, see Michael J. Piva, "The Workmen's Compensation Movement in Ontario," Ontario History, 67 (1975), pp. 39-56; Dennis Guest, The Emergence of Social Security in Canada, Second Edition, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1985, pp. 39-47.

[112]An Act to Amend the Mining Act, Statutes of Ontario, 2 George V, chapter 8, 1912.

108The Municipal Act, Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1914, chapter 192.

in towns of more than 3,000, the requirement was $300. These new criteria no doubt permitted more workers to contest positions on municipal councils. The gender requirements were removed federally in 1917 and provincially in 1919.[114] Finally, in 1919, the Ontario Department of Labour was established.[115] All these measures were adopted during a period of rapid transformation in class relations.

At the municipal level, Council was involved mostly in two areas: relief and law enforcement. After the war, Sudbury Council became increasingly preoccupied with measures to provide relief to unemployed workers. It also ordered its police force to intervene in workingmen's meetings, parades and demonstrations in the streets of the town.

In general, the State at all levels functioned to protect and promote rights related to private property especially those concerned with the means of production. In mining, the province adopted a new Mining Act in 1907 which continued its policy of transforming common into private property for the purpose of capital accumulation but streamlined and decentralized the administration of mining divisions.[116] In lumber, Crown timber laws were changed in 1912 which permitted limit holders rights in

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[114]For Ontario, see The Women's Assembly Qualification Act, Statutes of Ontario, 9 George V, chapter 8, 1919.

[115]The Department of Labour Act, Statutes of Ontario, 9 George V, chapter 22, 1919.

[116]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1907, p. 36.

perpetuity.[117] These measures did not change the structure of property; in many ways they only strengthened it in favor of the already large owners.

Summary and conclusion

The increase in productive forces in the Sudbury region brought about by the introduction of hydro-electricity at the turn of the century transformed the Basin into an industrial center. The establishment of industries in the town and the tremendous increase in mining and smelting capacity necessitated an increase in the amount of labour power and a diversification of occupations. Industrialization created not only the collective workers, especially in the smelters, but also the collective capitalist with a growing cadre of managers and supervisors to control workers and the labour process. Thousands of new workers, many of them foreign, were drawn to the area. More women also became wage labourers during this period. Generally, the structure of wage labour became more entrenched.

As the haute bourgeoisie industrialized its properties, antagonisms between it and the working class emerged in the Sudbury area. Protests and strikes, especially during and after World War I, became more numerous as workers found themselves more and more unemployed. The workers' associational life also changed as socialist organizations, led mostly by Finnish immigrants, began to sprout in Sudbury and the surrounding mining communities. This

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[117]See T. Thorpe, op.cit., p. 1.

associational life was also evident in sporting activities, boarding houses and labour halls. While foreign, unskilled workers were generally drawn to socialist clubs, skilled craftsmen, mostly British and French, organized themselves in trade unions, the numbers of which fluctuated during this period. The Sudbury and indeed the Northern Ontario working class could count, after 1917, on a newspaper, Vapaus, to promote its causes and report on events from its perspective although it did so only in Finnish.

Workers in the Sudbury Basin were not however a unified nor a very militant group during this period. The diversity of the working class was due to numerous factors. The variety of work places, from the mines, smelters and lumber camps on the outskirts of the town to the railways, small industries, commercial and service establishments inside the town meant workers with different skill levels. The conflicts at the Sudbury Trades and Labour Council hinted at by the Star were no doubt those between skilled and unskilled workers in the area. While the first espoused trades unionism practices, the second - or at least their organizers - tended to be more radical. These conflicts reflected those witnessed in other sections of the Canadian working class.

The small commercial and service establishments in Sudbury obviously hindered any type of union organization. This was no doubt the case if these were staffed, as one can assume, by owners' relatives and family members.

Ethnic diversification, especially after World War I, was probably an important factor in the lack of working class unity as

it was in Hamilton[118] and other centers. The testimony of some members of Sudbury's bourgeoisie at the Royal Commission hearings also point to ethnicity as an important divisive factor. It is also probable that mining and lumer companies recruited workers of various ethnic backgrounds precisely for the purpose of dividing the working class.

The last important factor, and one not to be minimized, is that of repression especially by mining and lumbering company owners and managers. The eloquent testimony of workers at the Royal Commission hearings as well as workers' letters in the area's weekly newspapers are evidence that mine and lumber companies did indeed have repressive policies and practises in order to hinder any type of union organization.[119]

The Royal Commission on Industrial Relations held hearings in Sudbury in 1919 at the height of the general Canadian labour revolt. These hearings revealed the deep class antagonisms in the region. As elsewhere across Canada, the Sudbury working class had reached a peak of political and organizational activities in 1919. From 1921, and for a few years afterward, it was "foreman's day" as the labour movement waned under the pressure of a short-lived depression and the reaction of the bourgeoisie. But further

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[118]Craig Heron, "The Crisis of the Craftsman: Hamilton's Metal Workers in the Early Twentieth Century", Labour/Le Travailleur, 6 (Autumn 1980), p. 44; see also Craig Heron, Working in Steel, op.cit., p. 86.

[119]This was also the case in Canada's steel industry. See Craig Heron, op.cit., pp. 96-97.

industrialization of the mines and smelters of the Sudbury Basin after 1928 resulted, in the next period, not only in stirrings, but in the making of the Sudbury working class.

PART III

MONOPOLY AND THE FORMATION OF THE SUDBURY WORKING CLASS: 1926-1946

A series of events which occurred in the mining industry at the end of the 1920s combined to transform further still the Sudbury Basin and the town of Sudbury. Most of these matrix-events occurred from 1928 to 1930, but there was already in 1926 a feeling in Sudbury that the town and the region were on the verge of an unprecedented boom.

> It is about two years ago since the new era for Sudbury actually dawned. This was when Joseph Errington and his associated recognized in the lead-copper-zinc deposits of Chelmsford a form of commercial ore which had been treated successfully elsewhere and set to work to provide capital for its development.[1]

This new mining venture, to the west of Sudbury, occurred at roughly the same time as International Nickel and Mond set about to develop their adjoining Frood ore bodies at the northwest limits of the township of McKim. The year 1928 was perhaps one of the most eventful in the Sudbury Basin: Inco and Mond decided to merge thus creating a nickel mining monopoly; a new mining company, Falconbridge, started operations on the northeast range and International embarked on the building of a gigantic new smelter and mill in Copper Cliff. In 1929, the Ontario Refinery Company, partly owned by International, started building an electrolytic copper refinery near Copper Cliff and Canadian Industries Limited

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[1]Sudbury Star, March 14, 1928, p. 4.

constructed an acid recovery plant near Inco's new smelter.

These developments were permitted in large part by Hydro-Electric Power Commission's decision, in 1928, to start providing power to the North, more specifically to the mining and forest industries. After years of lobbying by Sudbury and Northern Ontario politicians, H.E.P.C. decided to buy and build facilities in order to provide power to the expanding resource industries.

Lumber operations continued to be important for Sudbury as a new generation of lumbermen operated their concerns, built residences and invested their capital in Sudbury property and enterprises. Thousands of workers continued to pass through the town since Sudbury had become a recruiting as well as a union organizing center for lumber and bushworkers. In many ways, lumber was not as significant in the economic life of the town as it had previously been.

Outside capital started to establish retail and wholesale operations in the city thus competing with the local petite bourgeoisie which had controlled regional commerce for the previous forty years. These provincial and national chains were following the lead of the banks which had established, at the turn of the century, a permanent presence in the town.

The huge mining and smelting developments obviously attracted thousands of new workers and their families who now started to reside in the west end near the Copper Cliff smelter and refinery and in the north west section, near the Frood mine. The question and politics of housing and transportation continued to be an

important issue for workers and for the local bourgeoisie.

This boom period of the late twenties gave way to the Depression. While the latter was short lived for the mining companies, Sudbury workers had to endure unemployment and Council struggled to provide relief throughout the thirties. Many property-owners had to relinquish ownership of their land and Council found itself, at the beginning of the War, owner of hundreds of vacant properties within its limits.

Continuous transformations in the mining and smelting operations resulted in a considerable increase in the plants' production capacities which led in turn to changes in the social relations of production. On the one hand, the mining companies augmented their management staff and introduced more sophisticated technology which was controlled by a growing cadre of university-trained personnel. On the other, miners, smelter and refinery workers complained about working conditions, stepped-up production and inadequate housing. The Communist Party was very active in the Sudbury area until 1935, working to organize mine and bush workers and voicing many of their complaints in make-shift newspapers. The arrival of Mine-Mill organizers in 1936 proved crucial in the formation of the Sudbury working class. In 1943, Sudbury workers elected a CCF candidate to the Ontario Legislative Assembly and also competed seriously and nearly successfully for positions on City Council. In the same year, Mine-Mill was certified as the bargaining agent for both Inco and Falconbridge workers. A few months later, in 1944, the first collective agreement was signed

between the union and the two mining companies. Union organization did not stop there. Despite serious setbacks and reprisals against some workers, Mine Mill managed to establish the Sudbury General Workers' Union in 1946. In some ways, these working class organizations realized the dream of William Steele, financial secretary of the Sudbury Civic Employees' Union, itself in the midst of an arduous organizing campaign, who had written to P. Conroy, secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Congress of Labour in 1944: "From now on our membership should expand considerably as it is our hope to make Sudbury a Union City."[2]

In the 1890s, Sudbury had been a merchant town which the local petite bourgeoisie struggled to develop into a distribution and service center for the outlying mining and lumber camps. It had also been the center for an anonymous and unorganized gang of men, members of the working class. Half a century later, the working class of men and women had managed to organize itself and compete for political power.

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[2]PAC, MG 28, 1, 103, vol. 94, file 6. Letter from Steele to Conroy, June 9 , 1944.

CHAPTER VI

MERGER AND MONOPOLY

IN THE SUDBURY BASIN

Not unlike the period at the turn of the century, the late 1920s were boom times in the Sudbury Basin as new companies arrived on the scene to explore deposits by diamond drilling and to undertake developmental work. The two existing companies, Mond and International Nickel, completed a massive expansion of both their mining and smelting plants at the same time as they finalized their merger. The new company, International Nickel, the largest nickel-copper producer in the world, continued its monopoly of the nickel market. It was not without competition in the Basin however as Falconbridge Nickel mines started producing on the northeast range.

Prior to Mond and International's expansion and Falconbridge's arrival, the most promising new mining development in the Basin was that of the Treadwell Yukon Company, an American concern which started operating its Errington mine, a lead and zinc deposit, six miles from the town of Chelmsford. The discovery of this deposit by James Errington in the late 1890s had caused considerable stir in the district.[3] The Treadwell Yukon bought Errington's properties in 1925 and built a shaft, a mill and the necessary camp and office facilities for a work force of 200 to 300 men.[4] Sudbury Council

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[3]Sudbury Journal, November 12, 1896, p. 1.; November 19, 1896, p. 1; November 25, 1897, p. 1.

[4]For a detailed description of the company and facilities erected on the Errington mine site, see Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Reports 1927, 1928, pp. 144-45 and 158-60 respectively.

offered land to the Bunker Hill and Sullivan company of San Francisco in 1927 for the building of a lead-zinc smelter on the western edge of the town limits.[5] However, a lack of markets and the Depression resulted in the closing of the mine which was never re-opened. Numerous other companies explored the Basin in the late twenties and a few such as Sudbury Offsets started operations but all ceased operations with the onset of the Depression.

The most extensive developmental work was undertaken by the Mond and International in 1925. Canadian Copper had already mined the Frood deposit from 1900 to 1903 and again in 1913 and 1914 but had opted to work on its richer Creighton deposit. Mond had done some diamond drilling in 1916 on its property (which it had bought from Frank Cochrane in 1910[6]) known as the Frood Extension. It was not until 1925 that both companies decided to seriously develop their Frood properties which constituted one and the same orebody. Since "engineers had predicted the early exhaustion of the Creighton mine"[7] and demand for nickel was on the upswing, International Nickel started developmental work and Mond soon followed suit with a program of diamond drilling. When both companies realized, in 1926, the richness and the size of the deposits (estimated at the time to be in excess of 125 million

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[5]Sudbury Star, February 23, 1927, p. 9.

[6]Cochrane sold the property to Mond for a reported $100,000. See John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., pp. 192-193; Scott and Astrid Young, op.cit., p. 135.

[7]John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., p. 197.

tons)[8], they started sinking shafts, one half mile apart. Both shafts had been completed in early 1928.[9] But before full production started at both these mines, Mond and International had consummated a merger.

Merger

In December 1928, International and Mond agreed to a merger of the two companies through an exchange of stock.

> Although Mond became a subsidiary of International, the union was, in fact, a merger of the two interests. It represented the logical outcome of the need for collaboration in the technical problems relating to the exploitation of adjoining ore deposits; of the economies to be effected by technical reorganization, eliminating duplicate services and centralizing selling operations; and of the profits to be reaped from the financial transactions relating to the merger.[10]

Main gives other reasons for the merger. On the one hand, Mond Nickel had become but a small cog in the Mond family empire of companies and it thus became more logical and profitable to merge it with International. The merger was accompanied at the same time by a reorganization of International whereby International Nickel Company of Canada became the parent company "with subsidiaries in

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[8]Engineering and Mining Journal, November 1930, p. 435.

[9]Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1929, p. 22. For details of construction and operations of the shafts, see Allan F. Brock, "Sinking No.3 Shaft at Frood" and H.J. Muntz, "Mining the Frood Orebody at Depth", Engineering and Mining Journal, November 1930, pp. 443-44 and 445-52 respectively. See also Sudbury Star, June 11, 1927, p. 5.

[10]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 104. Thompson and Beasley attribute the merger to the logic of having only one company exploit the Frood ore deposit. See John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., pp. 199-210.

the United Kingdom and the United States. It was able to circumvent the possibilities of anti-trust action in the United States, since it was a foreign company selling in that country."[11]

The merger took effect on January 1, 1929 and its result was that "the formal position of International as a monopoly was clearly recognized. The company enjoyed world-wide control over 90 per cent of the market, and could easily have secured 100 per cent if it had desired."[12] International thus acquired in the Basin another smelter and three working mines, the Frood extension, Levack and Garson. No sooner had it become a monopoly than International had to contend with a new competitor in its own backyard. The Falconbridge Nickel Mines Ltd, which owned nearly 8,000 acres in the Basin, started developmental work on its mine and smelter site in the western part of Falconbridge township, approximately thirty kilometers northeast of Sudbury, in late 1928. The new company, which was to remain a small competitor to International, started operations in 1930.[13]

In the same year as it acquired new mining properties through its merger with Mond, International set about to dramatically increase its smelting and refining capacities.The new type of ore contained in the Frood deposits, with a higher percentage of copper

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[11]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 106.

[12]Ibid.

[13]For further details abou Falconbridge during this period, see Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Reports 1929,1930, pp. 159-60 and 137-41 respectively. See also Sudbury Star, February 2, 1929, p.6. and August 7, 1929, p. 6.

and precious metals, required numerous changes in technical equipment. International thus decided to have a new enlarged smelter built at Copper Cliff in the same general area as its other plants. After years of experimentation with a flotation and concentration process, International decided to build a new mill as part of the smelter thus eliminating the necessity of heap roasting. Fraser-Brace commenced construction of the smelter in the summer of 1928 and completed it in 1930.[14] The same construction company also built, in 1929-30, an electrolytic copper refinery west of Copper Cliff for the Ontario Refining Company[15], of which International was part owner, as well as an acid recovery plant for Canadian Industries Limited. International also expanded its Coniston smelter in the summer of 1930 as well as its Levack and Creighton mines.

The new 5,000 ton capacity smelter consisted of thirty roasters, five reverberatory furnaces and eight converters. Added to the expanded Coniston plant, International's smelters had, in 1930, a total capacity of 8,000 tons of ore per day.[16] Following the Depression and as a result of pre-war demand for nickel, International twice expanded its smelting facilities, once in 1934

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[14]See James H. Brace, "Three Years of Construction", Engineering and Mining Journal, November 1930, pp. 455-459; D.M. LeBourdais, Metals and Men.The Story of Canadian Mining, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1957, pp. 123-24.

[15]See Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Report 1933, p. 22.

[16]Donald MacAskill and R.M. Coleman, "The New 5,000-Ton Smelter", Engineering and Mining Journal, op.cit., p. 473.

and again in 1936,[17]increasing its capacity to 12,000 tons per day. Two further expansions, in 1940 and 1942, pushed the capacity to 30,000 tons per day.[18]

All these expansions, which resulted in a tremendous increase in International Nickel's forces of production, depended on availability of cheap and plentiful hydro-electrical power. The introduction of flotation and concentration processes in the new smelter was especially dependent on "very cheap power".[19] Although it obtained such power by expanding its Big Eddy hydro-electrical plant on the Spanish River in 1927, International Nickel also benefitted from Ontario's Hydro-Electric Power Commission's decision, in 1928, to provide cheap power to Northern Ontario.

H.E.P.C. comes North

The Sudbury groups lobbying for cheap power from the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission were not active in the early 1920s. But the surge in mining developments added to the information that H.E.P.C. was now serious about its plans to provide power in the Sudbury area revived the local campaign for hydro-electricity. In February 1927, the Sudbury Star reported that the Commission was to conduct a survey of hydro-electrical power available and adjacent to the Sudbury mining area, notably in the French River

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[17]See Sudbury Star, July 14, 1934, p. 6; Canadian Mining Journal, 1937, p. 673.

[18]Canadian Mining Journal, May 1946, p. 423.

[19]Wm. T. MacDonald, "Selective Flotation at Copper Cliff", Engineering and Mining Journal, op.cit., p. 465.

area "in view of the large power requirements which the lead-zinc industry may require in both mining and smelting."[20] In March, the Board of Trade resolved "that the Ontario government be requested to take immediate action in investigating the practical development of Hydro-Electric power on the Mississauga River with a view of supplying the new mining district of Sudbury".[21] The situation must certainly have been under study by the Ontario government during this period because Charles McCrea responded to the Board of Trade's resolution a few weeks later "advising that the whole question of further power for this important area is receiving a great deal of attention having specially in mind the new zinc and lead requirements."[22] In August 1928, the Board of Trade again asked for a comprehensive survey of the actual or potential supply of hydro-electrical power within the territory bounded on the East by the Ottawa River and on the West by the Mississauga.[23]

While these lobbying activities and government studies were apparently taking place, International Nickel had proceeded in 1927 and 1928 to expand its hydro-electrical facilities at its Big Eddy and High Falls plants on the Spanish River in order to provide greater power for its Frood mine and the new smelter.[24]

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[20]Sudbury Star, February 19, 1927, p. 1.

[21]SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, March 28, 1927.

[22]Ibid., April 25, 1927.

[23]Ibid., August 3, 1928.

[24]See James H. Brace, "Three Years of Construction", op.cit., pp. 445-458; John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., p. 198.

Finally, in February 1929, Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission purchased control of the Wahnapitei Power Company, thus establishing the necessary beachhead in the district to provide cheap power to the mining companies. H.E.P.C. gained control of the Wahnapitei by buying part of the company still owned by Frank Cochrane's estate.

> As has been characteristic of countless power deals, negotiations which culminated in the change of control of the Wahnapitei system to Hydro's hands were featured by a clash of interests and in this connection, William McVittie finds himself the president of a company in which he is the minority shareholder. [25]

H.E.P.C. envisioned making of Wahnapitei Power the center of a large power grid across the Northeast in order to provide cheap power to the developing mining sites.

> The Wahanapitei Power Company, control of which was purchased within the past month from the Cochrane estate and other interests for approximately $2,700,000 is to become the stepping stone toward the establishment of a giant hook-up of power development plants, extending from the Ottawa River on the east to the Mississagi River 275 miles distant to the west. The total available electric energy in this territory exceeds 400,000 horse power. A market for a substantial proportion of this power is already assured by the demands of existing industries as well as from inquiries from other sources indicating the possibility of other important industries becoming established in this section.[26]

In 1930 H.E.P.C. managed to buy the remaining 48% interest in Wahnapitei Power Company from William McVittie for $1 million. According to the Star, the Commission gained 100 per cent control of the company "because of the broad and widespread development of

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[25]Sudbury Star, February 27, 1929, p. 1.

[26]Ibid., March 23, 1929, p. 1.

mining facing the Sudbury district and other parts of the North."[27] In April the Commission contracted to buy power from Abitibi Power and Paper company, then commenced construction of a transmission line to Sudbury to provide hydro-electrical power for the expanded mining and smelting operations.[28] There is no doubt that the expansion of Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission's services to the north was related directly to expansion of the mines and smelters of the Sudbury Basin in particular and those of the North in general.[29] According to the Star, which quoted from a bulletin prepared by A.R. Webster, inspector of mines for the Ontario Department of Mines, the increase in mining development in the Basin in the last three years had resulted in greater development of water-power and the intervention of the Commission.

By 1930, therefore, the increase in the forces of production of the Basin nickel mines and smelters had been quite phenomenal. The Frood deposit, the largest producing mine in the world, a new smelter and copper refinery with unprecedented capacity, harnessed by cheap and abundant hydro-electrical power, were the necessary ingredients for Inco's monopoly position on the nickel market and for its ever-increasing production. This production in both the mines, the smelter and the refinery obviously necessitated the hiring of an abundance of labour power especially after 1932 when

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[27]Ibid., February 15, 1930. p. 7.

[28]Ibid., April 12, 1930, p. 1; May 13, 1930, p. 6. See also T. Thorpe, op.cit., p. 26.

[29]See Sudbury Star, June 7, 1930, p. 6.

the company started to recover from the effects of the Depression. The following graphs illustrate the increase in production and labour power from 1926 to 1946. The production of ore (raised and smelted) increased from 1,300,000 tons in 1926 to nearly 13 millions tons in 1944. The only decrease during this period occurred from 1930 to 1933 with the sharpest decline occurring in 1931-32. The lowest production occurred in May 1932[30] after which there was a steady increase.

Labour power closely followed the production curve. The decrease lasted from 1930 to 1932 after which the hiring of workers steadily and gradually increased. From 3,132 workers in 1926, the labour force in the Sudbury Basin mines in 1944 was 14,161. Evidently the fluctuations in production and labour force were dictated by International Nickel's relative position in and control of the nickel-copper market. After World War I, International and Mond had succeeded in selling nickel for consumer products such as automobiles and household appliances.[31] After the 1928 merger, International's monopoly position, measured by its 90 per cent control of the world market for nickel, was based on its control over the ore supply and its dominance of the United States market, the main consumer of nickel. The Depression highlighted International's weak market position in Europe. When steel production fell in the United States after 1930, International also

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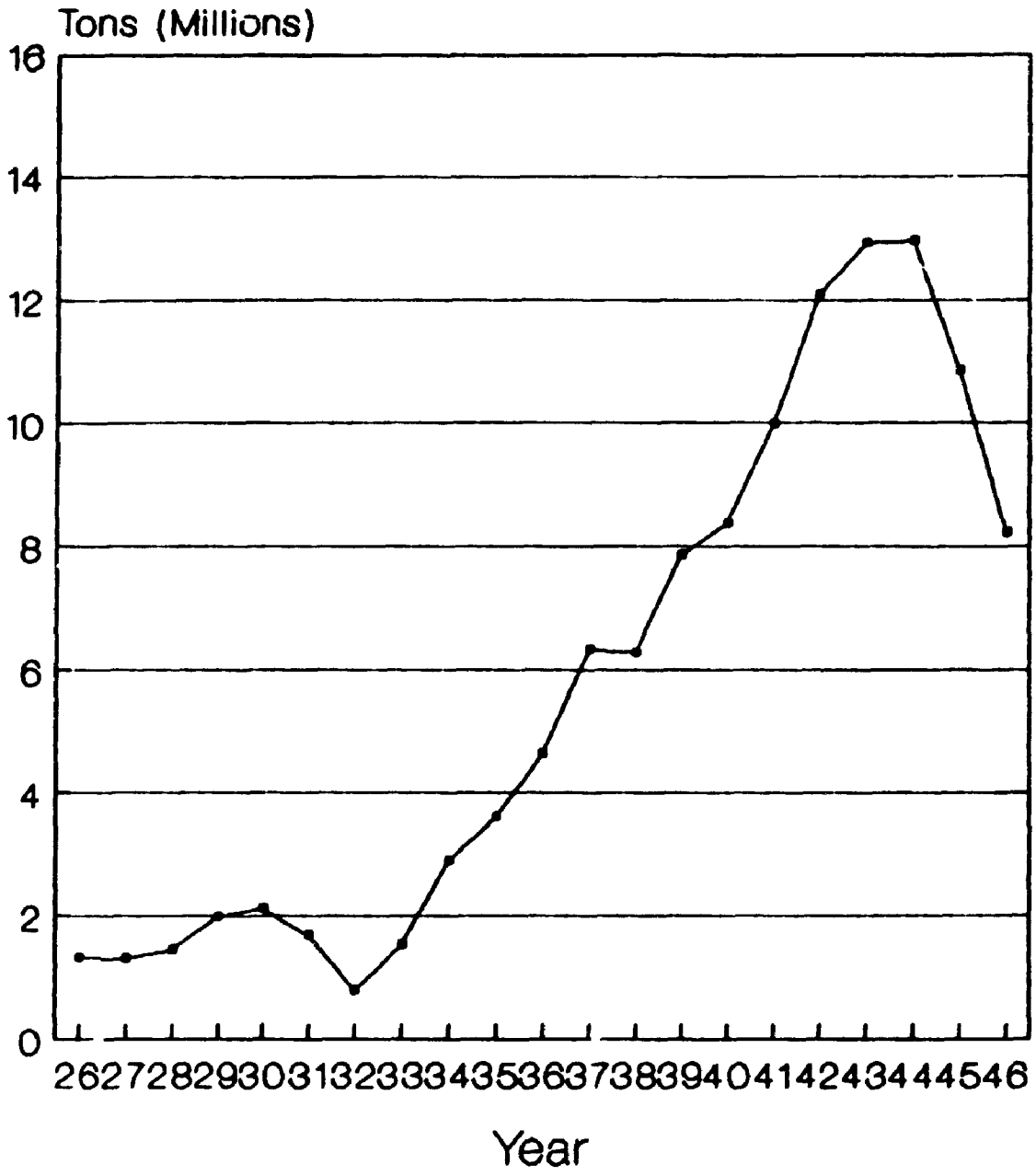
[30]IA, Labour Force Reports.

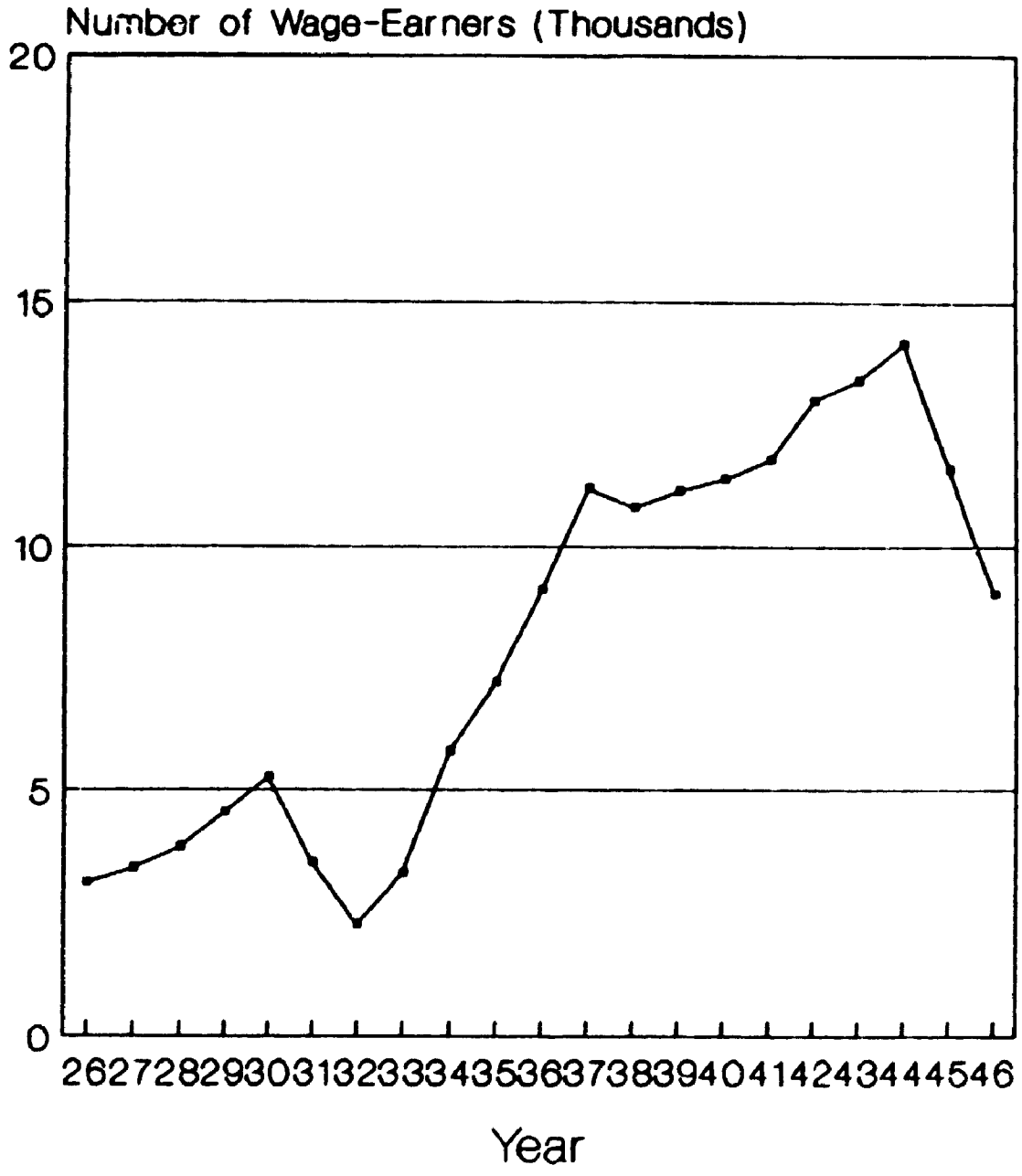
[31]See John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., pp. 221-224 for examples of the extended use of nickel in consumption items.

Figure 19: Nickel-Copper Production
1926-1946



Source: Ontario Bureau of Mines
Annual Reports 1926-1946.

Figure 20: Number of Wage-Earners in Sudbury Basin Mines & Smelters, 1926-46



Source: Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Reports 1926-1946.

had to curtail its ore production. Starting in 1933, the situation changed.

International's hold on the European market after 1933 was due to its great ore reserves and production capacities, to the race for armaments and also to the company's initiatives to sell its nickel more aggressively. However, International Nickel controlled only 80 to 85 per cent of the market after 1933 as New Caledonia and smaller producers around the world increased their production in order to respond to higher demand. One of these small producers was Falconbridge which managed to maintain a relatively small -5 per cent- share of total Canadian production. During this period, the United States market, still controlled by International, accounted for only 25 to 40 per cent of the world market.[32] Therefore the European and Asian markets became major buyers of International's ores in the thirties.

World War II increased demand and production considerably and the State became involved by requesting that both International and Falconbridge carry out expansion programs in order to supply Allied forces. As a result of various events during the war, "International and its subsidiary, Mond, refined the total Allied production of nickel"[33] from 1940 to 1945.

Mining and smelting methods

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[32]Ibid., p. 108.

[33]Ibid., p. 121.

To increase its ore production during this period, International modified and transformed its mining and smelting methods mostly by pursuing the mechanization of its plants. Mining remained heavily dependent on physical labour power but there was some mechanization which consisted in improving the efficiency and productivity in drilling, loading and scraping. Four types of rock drills became in general use during this period: air-operated drifters, stopers, sinkers and pluggers. Air -operated mechanical loaders for shovelling in all drift headings were gradually introduced. "To eliminate hand shovelling, slusher hoists and scrapers are used in various mining operations."[34]The practice of installing crushers underground was continued and expanded.

The increased production of ores in the mines eventually led to the serious problem of rockbursts defined as "the sudden release into a mine opening of stress in a rock, occurring when local stresses have exceeded the elastic limit."[35] Associated with deep mining, rockbursts occur suddenly and with great violence thus creating for miners an extremely dangerous working environment. The first rockburst occurred in 1928 "but it was not until stoping areas were being expanded in 1934 that they became a definite mining problem".[36] In 1938, International started a research program in order to predict and control the occurrence of rockbursts.

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[34]Canadian Mining Journal, May 1946, p. 338.

[35]Ibid., p. 375.

[36]Ibid.

While mining was undergoing gradual mechanization as well as becoming more dangerous, smelting and milling became a heavily mechanized process. The new smelter eliminated the necessity of heap roasting with the introduction of the flotation process whose central operating principle "is the lifting action of air bubbles rising in a column of pulp, where only selected mineral particles adhere to the bubbles, and the remaining particles settle by gravity. The minerals that the bubbles "float" to the surface are skimmed off in a froth, and the minerals that sink are rejected as underflow. The process takes place progressively through a bank of cells, to provide adequate opportunity for the floatable particles to contact bubbles."[37] After crushing and grinding, the ore went through the flotation process before being smelted in a series of furnaces. The product from these furnaces was conveyed to the converter plant from which the bessemer matte was then submitted to the Orford department, which was introduced in the smelter in 1932 for separation of the matte in tops and bottoms. The copper product was then transported to the Ontario Refinery in Copper Cliff and the nickel to the Port Colborne refinery.[38]

These new mechanized operations eliminated much of the manual handling of material which was now transported from one department to another by a complex system of conveyor belts and hoisting

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[37]Joseph R. Boldt, Jr., op.cit., p. 199. For a detailed description of the whole process, see pp. 191-289.

[38]For detailed descriptions of all these processes, see Canadian Mining Journal, November 1937.

apparatus.

Labour process

These massive transformations in the smelting process and to a lesser extent in the mining operations resulted in and had the intended effect of gradually divorcing plant and shop workers from direct design, control and knowledge of the overall work process. This became the function of a growing cadre of geologists, chemists, engineers and members of the reorganized research department who utilized their scientific knowledge gained from university training to design and operate the mechanized, continuous flow process of smelting and refining. Apart from a small group of workers, such as drillers and timbermen in the mines as well as furnace men in the smelter, knowledge and skills were being concentrated more and more in a growing staff of salaried personnel.

> Intelligence in production expands in one direction, because it vanished in many others. What is lost by the detail labourers is concentrated in the capital that employs them. It is a result of the division of labour in manufactures that the labourer is brought face to face with the intellectual potencies of the material process of production, as the property of another, and as a ruling power. This separation begins in simple co-operation...It is completed in modern industry, which makes science a productive force distinct from labour and presses it into the service of capital.[39]

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[39]Karl Marx, Capital. A Critique of Political Economy, Volume 1, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1977, p. 341. For a contemporary analysis of the labour process, see Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital. The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1974, especially pp. 155-183. Of the scientific-technical revolution of the early twentieth century, Braverman concludes: "The key innovation is not to be found in chemistry, electronics, automatic machinery, aeronautics, atomic-physics, or any of the products of these science-technologies, but

This process was certainly gradual. Started in the pre World War I period, it was amplified by the organization of various new departments in the 1920s. The research and development department established during this period had as its main objective the development of new uses for nickel in order to create new markets. In the thirties, the employment of scientific personnel and the incorporation of science into daily operations were meant to cut operational and labour costs as well as to centralize control and knowledge in a staff separate from the wage workers in the mines and on the plant floor.

At International Nickel, the Geology Research Department was formed in 1930 to replace the Mine Engineering Department. "The geologists were given the responsibility for 1)finding new ore deposits and 2) assisting in the grade and recovery control of the ore being mined. In 1943, with increasing interest in the use of geophysical methods, there came a rapid expansion in the department. It became one providing employment to many geologists, geophysicists, surveyors, technicians and engineers."[40] Not only were these new prospectors out discovering and plotting new deposits, but some were permanently posted at the different mine sites in order to plan blasting, recovery of the ore and the general progression of work in the mines.

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rather in the transformation of science itself into capital." (p.167) See also Craig Heron, Working in Steel. The Early Years in Canada, 1883-1935, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1988.

[40]John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., p. 266.

By the 1930s, International came to realize it had serious production problems. "Becoming more and more urgent was the need to find ways to offset the falling nickel and copper contents of the Sudbury ores, as well as higher labor and supply costs. A natural place to look was in the research laboratory. Accordingly, in 1937, a laboratory was built in the shadow of the reduction works at Copper Cliff".[41] The laboratory's objective was to use scientific methods to reduce operational and labour costs which it effectively did by improving the Orford process and also by finding ways to separate platinum and other precious metals from the bulk of nickel.

> While metallurgists know quite a bit about why materials behave as they do, why one alloy is stronger, or more ductile, than another, or why one constituent has one effect and another constituent quite a different effect, the need is for more fundamental informatiobn all along the line. The real demand is for more basic studies...The discovery and application of new techniques of recovering nickel and the other elements contained in the company's ores is moving at an accelerating rate.[42]

This new information was coming increasingly, not from the workers in the underground stopes or the furnace men in the smelter, but from university trained researchers and scientists employed in laboratories near the plants. During this period, research was divided into two branches, laboratory and plant research, under the direction of a new superintendent. Their objectives were to solve technical problems which arose in the

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[41] Ibid., p. 325.

[42] Ibid., pp. 330-31.

daily operation of the mill, smelter and refinery, to improve methods of process and production and to find new methods of treatment.

> To carry out this program, a staff of engineers and assistants is maintained in the plants in constant touch with operations. Difficulties in production are studied in co-operation with the operating staff of the plant concerned and the technical assistance of the research laboratory is drawn upon as required...The idea for improved processes may originate in the field or in the laboratory, but invariably such ideas are tested on a very small scale in the laboratory first, proceeding by degree to larger equipment as warranted by results.[43]

The control chemical laboratory was also important once the flotation process was established in the new smelter as the whole process depended on the correct mixture and addition of chemical reagents.

The process of mechanization undertaken at the turn of the century was hastened after 1928 especially in the smelting and refining operation. The new mill required new occupations and therefore new skills such as reagentmen, flotation and marcy mill operators. Judging from wage levels, the differential between unskilled and skilled workers such as furnacemen was slightly more pronounced at the end of World War II than in 1928 leading one to conclude that skills had not been generally degraded during this period. Mine and smelting operations still required and depended on a gradation of skills. But mechanization had created an important new level of workers which some authors have labelled

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[43]Canadian Mining Journal, May 1946, p. 477.

"semi-skilled".[44] Whatever judgment one passes on these new levels of workers, their common characteristic was to tend and work with machines. Therefore one must not lose sight of the fact that if skill persisted - as it no doubt did - workers were generally more subordinated to the rhythms of the machines, especially in the smelters, and that knowledge necessary to operate the whole work process was, on paper, more and more concentrated in the laboratory and the office of university trained personnel. Evidence is presently lacking to determine how these transformations concretely affected workers on the smelter floor and underground in the mines.

It is quite evident that some of the skills and knowledge required for operating the gigantic operations, especially after the construction of the new smelter in 1928-30, were gradually being concentrated in these new departments staffed by university trained personnel.

From the company's perspective, the continuous and successful operations of this gigantic new industrial setting also required increased control and surveillance of the burgeoning labour force.

During this period, the administrative structure of International Nickel underwent changes especially after the

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[44]According to Clement, "the main impact of mechanization is to decrease drastically the need for both skilled and unskilled labour. The workers are replaced by what are euphemistically called "semi-skilled"labour or machine operators. In other words, both manual labour and craft skill give way under capitalization to workers who tend equipment with built-in work processes." Hardrock Mining, op.cit., pp. 357-358. According to Heron, these semi-skilled machine-operators were essential for the regular and efficient production of Canada's steel plants. Working In Steel, op.cit., p. 68.

Depression and during the war period.[45] The structure remained relatively the same in 1926 and 1931 with the top echelon consisting of a president, general manager and asssistant to the general manager. There were four superintendents one each for transportation, electrical, mines and smelter; a mine engineer, a chief of the Engineering department, a master mechanic for mines and one for the smelter and a chief metallurgist. The works auditor and his assistant, a time office, purchasing and real estate agents staffed the clerical office. Each of the operating mines had a superintendent, a cadre of police officers, foremen and bosses[46] for the warehouses, yard and underground operations.

From 1936 to 1946, the overall administrative structure grew and diversified considerably. In 1936, the Sudbury Basin operations of the company were the responsibility of a vice-president and general manager, D. MacAskill, who was seconded by an assistant and a general assistant. R.D. Parker occupied the new office of general superintendent which supervised six superintendents responsible for the following departments and plants: transportation, concentrator, electrical, mill, mines and smelter. There was now a chief engineer with an assistant as well as a safety engineer; this latter office had been created in response to the numerous accidents and

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[45]Data on this administrative structure were compiled from the Bell telephone directories of Copper Cliff and Sudbury for the years 1926, 1931, 1936, 1941 and 1946.

[46]It has been impossible to obtain data on the number of foremen and bosses in various locations or the ratio of foremen/bosses to wage workers.

fatalities in the mines and smelter. The master mechanics for mines and smelter had not changed. A chief geologist and a chief metallurgist as well as a general mine engineer occupied offices in the Copper Cliff complex. The clerical staff had remained much the same with a works auditor and his assistant, a time office, a paymaster, a purchasing and a real estate agent.

Each mine had a superintendent who now had an assistant. There were also a master mechanic, a time and survey office and a police force. At the Frood, which was by far the largest producing mine not only of International but of the Basin, the company had established an efficiency office to monitor productivity. International also established offices in the City of Sudbury during this period to house medical personnel and an employment bureau.

In 1941, the company made changes in its top executive offices. MacAskill was still vice-president and general manager. He was seconded by an assistant to the vice-president and an assistant to the general manager as well as a technical assistant to the vice-president. Creation of the office of research director reflected the importance of research in the overall operations. At the mines, the superintendent had an assistant as well as a general foreman. The efficiency office was still part of the mine's administrative structure.

By 1946, the new vice-president and general manager, R.L. Beattie, had two assistants and a technical assistant to the vice-president; the general manager, Parker, now had an assistant. The

various superintendents and master mechanics also had assistants. The research department, headed by a director in 1941, was now the responsibility of a superintendent, again reflecting the growing importance of scientific activity and knowledge in the operations of the mines and plants. The Geological Department had been established and a Mine Efficiency office was now part of the general structure with sub-offices at the different mines. This overall structure was obviously seconded in the mines, the yards and the various plants by a growing cadre of foremen, bosses and police officers.

In the twenty years since 1926, the general administrative and surveillance structure of the company had grown and changed considerably. The chief executive officer became surrounded by numerous assistants and a general superintendent. The importance of research and therefore of conception of the labour process was reflected in the establishment of various departments and offices and their gradual upgrading in the general hierarchy. Efficiency offices and the growing administrative structures at the mines and plants also reflected the continuing direct control of work. The numerous police officers, foremen and bosses also contributed to this control of the burgeoning labour force which had quadrupled during this period. This burgeoning managerial structure and growing cadre of scientific personnel are but one aspect of the social relations of production between capital and labour. Workers responded by complaining of speede-up production and unsafe conditions and finally by union organization.

Along with this control, Inco seemingly began shifting its public attitudes towards its workers. For instance, in 1928, it established a retirement and pension scheme for its employees[47] and in 1937 it established an employees' club in downtown Sudbury. A.J. Muntz, superintendent of Mines, declared in 1935: "The worker is now looked upon as an asset and the larger mining enterprises treat him accordingly."[48] And Inco's president, R.C. Stanley, paid homage to the workers' loyal and efficient service during the war years.[49] Whether these gestures and declarations were a reaction to workers' growing militancy is difficult to ascertain. These are examples of "welfarism" which Canadian owners and managers adopted during the 1920s.[50] As also happened in the steel industry, International Nickel took pains to organize safety campaigns during this period. These had obious advantages such as reducing workers' compensation costs and absenteeism caused by workplace injuries thereby increasing productivity.

> But it was the ideological power of the safety campaigns that made them so appealing. Here was the opportunity for large corporate employers to show a humanitarian concern for their workers, in order to win back their confidence and allegiance and to counterpose to labourist or socialist critiques an alternative vision of social welfare within corporate capitalism.[51]

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[47]Sudbury Star, January 7, 1928, p. 3.

[48]Ibid., April 24, 1935, p. 21.

[49]Ibid., March 17, 1942, p. 5.

[50]For an example of welfarism in the steel industy, see Craig Heron, Working in Steel, op. cit., pp. 101-111.

[51].Ibid., p. 104.

Lumbering activities in the district moved progressively further to the north and west of the town of Sudbury during this period. While annual sawlog production had averaged 100 million feet in the first thirty years of the century, "since 1930, production has been less than 40 million feet a year and in the year 1932-33, dropped to less than 4 million."[52] Most of the large companies which had been active in the district during the previous period ceased operations in the mid twenties. Some of them, such as Austin and Nicholson, Pineland Timber, George Gordon (eventually bought by Inco), J.J. McFadden and Spanish River Lumber continued to operate mostly in the western part of the district although the latter, owned by W.J. Bell, ceased to do so in 1932. A new generation of lumbermen, such as W.B. Plaunt Sr, Ben Merwin, James McCreary Jr and M. J. Poupore, operated their enterprises and often resided in Sudbury where they recruited, through private and government employment agencies, hundreds of bush and lumber workers each year. There were also a number of smaller companies, owned by lumbermen such as Léon Portelance, which were active during this period.

Many of the large sawmills which had been established in the general vicinity of Sudbury, either on the shores of Georgian Bay or alongside railway lines ceased to operate. The large pulp and paper mill built in Espanola at the turn of the century by the

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[52]T. Thorpe, op.cit., p. 26.

Spanish River Pulp and Paper company was purchased in 1929 by Abitibi Paper which proceeded to close it at the end of that same year. After serving as a prisoner of war camp from 1940 until 1943, it was bought by KVP and reopened in 1946.

Railroad construction in and around Sudbury ceased after World War I. Canadian Pacific purchased Algoma Eastern, merged it with its own operations and reorganized its lines from Sudbury to Espanola and Little Current.[53] Railway traffic in and around Sudbury was particularly heavy after the Depression as the companies hauled ore from the mines and smelters. The symbiotic relationship between mining, lumbering and railway continued but the mining companies became the dominant partner as they consumed great amounts of lumber for their underground operations and also made of CP lines in the area probably the busiest in the country. In 1936, for example, Frood mine consumed 180 railway carloads of new timber each month.[54] In 1937, International Nickel's general superintendent, R.D. Parker, told a Sudbury Lions' Club gathering that his company had bought 62 million board feet of lumber in the Sudbury district during the past year.[55] While much of this lumber was bought from the George Gordon company, International also relied on smaller jobbers to supply it with timber for its

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[53]See Dale Wilson, op.cit., and Gaétan Gervais, op.cit.

[54]Sudbury Star, March 2, 1936, p. 7.

[55]Sudbury Star, March 23, 1937, p.10. After the Depression, International Nickel officials became more "present" in Sudbury affairs and often announced, through the Star, the amount of money spent in the community. Parker became active in the Board of Trade.

operations.

In numerous ways, the mining industry, and especially International Nickel, became the dominant presence in the basin during this period as it continuously increased its forces of production. There were transformations also in the relations of production as both mining and lumber companies faced the serious challenge of labour unions during this period. At first, in the thirties, they managed to successfully oppose unionization of their labour force by employing various measures. After 1935, owners were less sucessful as Mine Mill and the Lumber and Saw managed to stage organizational campaigns among the workers. At the end of World War II, companies in both industries had to accept unionization of their workers and to sign collective agreements with their respective unions.[56]

These changes were not met with glee in the boardrooms of International Nickel although there was a recognition that social relations between the haute bourgeoisie and workers had indeed changed. "As one who had been associated with industry nearly all his life, I felt, as I think most persons in industry felt, that the time had come for a change - that the time was at hand for organized labor to play its fair part in business. I have always felt that negotiated contracts are the only kind of contracts one should have. There should be recognition that employees have every

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[56]For a detailed analysis of the workers' struggle to organize and the resistance of some lumber camp owners, see Ian Radforth, cp.cit., pp. 107-158.

right to organize, and that the right to organize includes the right to bargain as to hours of work, terms of employment, wages and so forth."[57]

This kind of testimony, after the fact of unionization and collective bargaining, did not necessarily mean that such a state of affairs was natural or that workers' representatives were now to be accepted as equal and rational partners.

> I really welcomed the opportunity, now that it was here, of sitting down with labor to discuss our first contract. The first talks were disappointing. The union representatives would not negotiate a labor contract as one would negotiate any other kind of contract. Instead, they injected an emotional spirit into the discussions, and steamed up the men they were supposed to represent into a frame of mind that made it difficult to talk over contract matters in a calm and proper way.[58]

The State

At both the provincial and federal levels, the State played a crucial role in the development of these industries and thus in promoting private property and the accumulation of capital. Ontario's Hydro Electric Power Commission, for instance, expanded its services to the North mainly to provide cheap power to these resource industries.

> Commencing in 1930, the H.E.P.C. agreed to operate in trust for the Provincial Government, a group of unconnected power systems serving mainly mining and pulp and paper industries.[59]

At the federal level, the State protected the private

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[57]John Thompson and Norman Beasley, op.cit., pp. 338-39.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, op.cit., p. 2

ownership of the nickel companies when calls for government control of the industry surfaced anew when the armaments race heated up in the thirties. In the Commons, the question was debated every year from 1934 to 1937 as numerous groups, among them the Canadian Legion and the Trades and Labour Council, lobbied for such intervention. But the government took no action.

> It was apparent that International was again in danger of losing its existence during the rearmament period. However, the fact that the government chose not to take any action to control either International or the export of nickel, attested to the strength of International's position as a large employer of labour in an unemployment-ridden economy.[60]

The government received considerable help from International in quelling these public demands when the latter mounted a sophisticated public relations campaign. "It had carried out an institutional advertising campaign to advertise its British and Canadian nature, its role in Canadian industry, and, particularly, its contribution to the development of Canada. This campaign, which had been carried out extensively since World War I, effectively linked the prosperity of the company with the welfare of Canada."[61]

The federal government did intervene after 1941 to regulate

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[60]O.W. Main, op.cit., p. 119.

[61]Ibid., p. 120. A good illustration of this is the following quote taken from Thompson and Beasley's book: "Represented in their achievements is a stronger national economy, the result of the conservation of a nation's resources, new uses for nickel, widened markets, greater and more stabilized employment, higher wages, and a company better able to carry out its first responsibility, that responsibility being to strengthen the economic life of the nation." The Canadian Mining Journal also played a part in this type of campaign. See its May 1946 issue on International Nickel and especially chapter II, "Inco's Part in the War".

production and distribution of nickel in relation to the needs of the Allies. In the process it helped in the expansion of Inco's smelting and refining capacities. It also intervened in the supply of labour for the nickel industry through its National Selective Service and other regulations. In fact, after 1930, the State's intervention in various domains had an impact on class structure and relations in Sudbury and other Canadian communities.

Conclusion

The late 1920s were indeed the dawn of a new era for the Sudbury Basin as the Star had predicted. The merger of International and Mond created a huge nickel monopoly even though a new mining company, Falconbridge, started operations on the range. The construction of a new smelter, refinery and acid recovery plant, the expansion of the existing Coniston smelter and the development of the Frood mine added considerably to the Basin's forces of production. These developments, permitted in part by H.E.P.C.'s expansion in the North, changed yet again the labour process in the mining industry with the increased mechanization of the smelter and the concentration of knowledge in a growing cadre of scientific personnel. The mining industry became the major force in the region, far surpassing lumber whose activities, changed by the introduction of tractors and diesel trucks, had moved further north and west.

This new era produced vast changes in the town of Sudbury as the working class population increased. The town became a city in which unemployment, housing and transportation became everyday

concerns. As the next chapter will demonstrate, it also produced changes in class relations between the petite bourgeoisie and the workers as the latter organized and gained some political power.

CHAPTER VII

FROM MERCHANT TOWN

TO UNION CITY

International Nickel's vast expansion of its mines and smelter plants, from 1925 to 1942, had a direct and multidimensional impact on Sudbury. The most visible effect was the town's increase in population after 1926. Sudbury was a community of 9,500 at the end of 1925; in 1929, its population stood at 16,622[1]. A year later, in 1930, Sudbury surpassed the 20,000 mark which moved both Council and Board of Trade to have the provincial Legislative Assembly declare it a City.[2] As a result of the Frood mine development and construction of the new smelter and refinery, Sudbury's population increased more than 100 per cent in five years.

The end of construction in Copper Cliff and the Depression caused the population to decrease in the early thirties until it reached a low of 17,246 in 1933.[3] A year later, the population had reached 20,078[4] as mine and smelter production at nearby Frood and Copper Cliff began to climb and the new labour force opted to reside in the city as well as in the surrounding McKim township. These new workers and their families were continuously

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[1]Sudbury Star, September 28, 1929, p. 11.

[2]SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, 1930, p. 254; Sudbury Star, February 6, 1930, p. 4. See An Act to incorporate the City of Sudbury, Statutes of Ontario, 20 George V, Chapter 102, 1930.

[3]Sudbury Star, July 11, 1934, p. 11.

[4]Ibid., Sept 29, 1934, p. 11; CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1934.

expanding Fournier and Ryan wards to the west and north of the city, with francophones opting for the Flour mill section of Fournier and Europeans for Ryan. Italian workers especially were congregating in the new Gatchell subdivision of McKim township situated between the city limits and Copper Cliff. To the east, the old Romanet du Caillaud domain, now called Minnow Lake, was being transformed into a working class neighborhood.

From 1934 to 1946 Sudbury's population increased an average of 1,500 inhabitants a year to reach 38,122 by 1946.[5] In the 1931 census year, Sudbury was ranked the 17th largest community in Ontario with a population of 18,518. In 1941 it ranked 7th with 31,875 and in 1943, 6th. In 1946 McKim township's population had grown by 500 per cent since 1936, mostly in the Gatchell area. From 1,348 in 1936, the population of McKim stood at 6,402 at the end of the war.[6] Therefore in the 45 years since the turn of the century the town of Sudbury had grown into a city, increasing in population from approximately 2,000 in 1901 to close to 40,000 in 1946.[7] While it is difficult to measure precisely, it is safe to assume that this increased population was the direct result of the mine and smelter expansions in the vicinity of Sudbury during this period, especially those undertaken after 1925.

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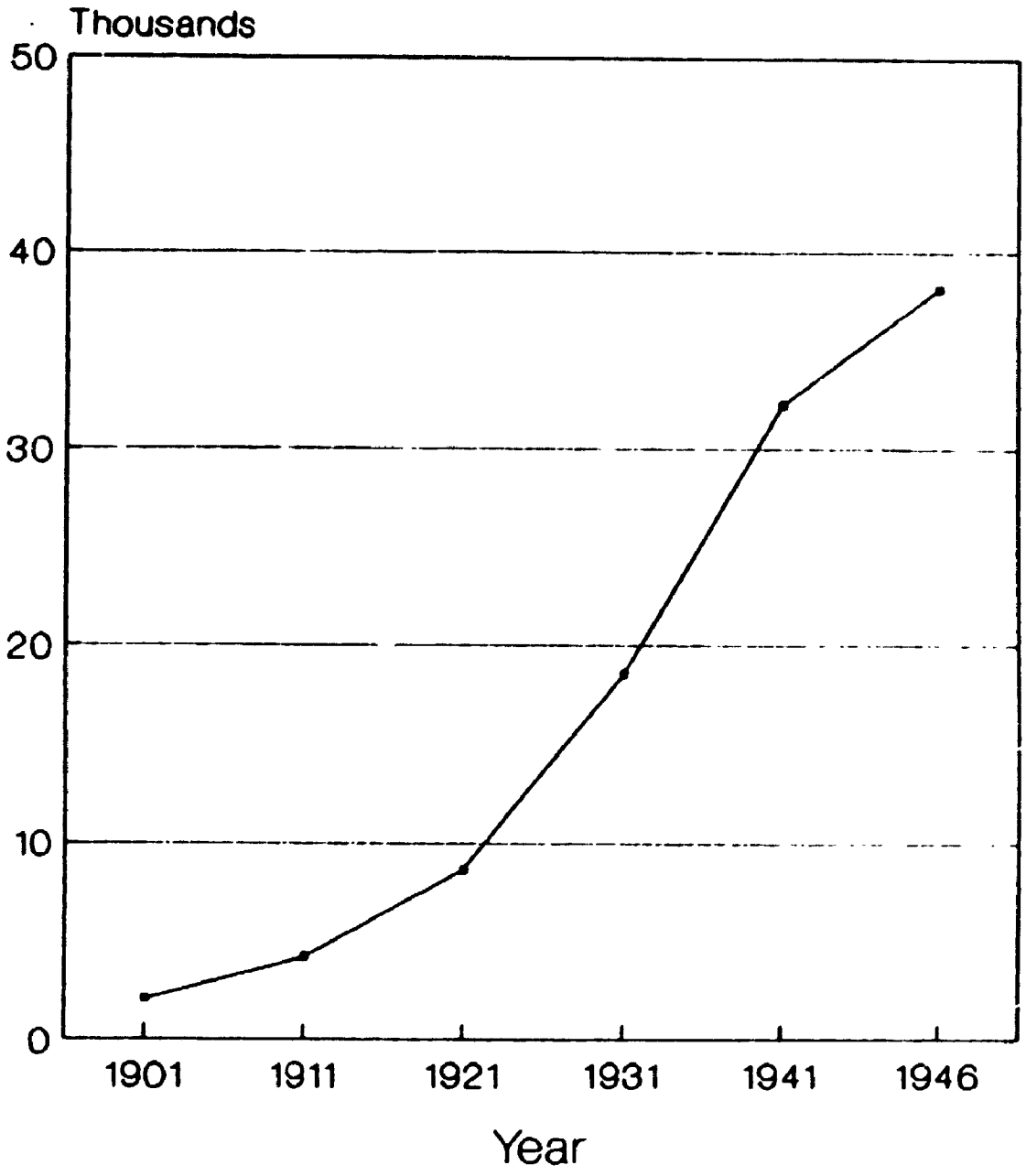
[5]Sudbury Star, December 3, 1946, p. 1.

[6]Ibid.

[7]While the tax assessment rolls and the Sudbury Star published the 1946 population as being 38,122, Vernon's Sudbury Directory placed it at 41,000.

Figure 21: Population of Sudbury 1901-1946



Source: Census Canada, 1901 to 1941;
CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1946.

The majority of this new population were workers whose origins were neither British nor French. The influx of North and East European workers in Sudbury to work in the mines and smelters was especially dramatic after 1921 as the following table illustrates.

Table XIX: Ethnic origin of Sudbury population, 1921-1941

Ethnic Origin	Year		
	1921 %	1931 %	1941 %
British	50.2	36.6	41.5
French	35.8	35.9	33.4
Central Europe	2.4	2.9	2.4
Northern Europe	2.7	8.3	4.9
Eastern Europe	1.5	8.2	10.2
Italian	3.3	3.4	3.0
Asian	2.0	1.3	0.8
Jewish	1.5	0.1	0.7
Others	0.6	2.1	2.9

Source: Census Canada, 1921-1941

The British proportion decreased considerably as Finnish, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian workers migrated to Sudbury. The French remained proportionately stable which meant however that a large number of French-Canadian workers also migrated to Sudbury, especially to the Flour mill. Italians established residences in the Gatchell area. By the end of World War II, these ethnic working class neighborhoods were well established with important kin, friendship and associational networks.

Construction and housing

Construction activity in Sudbury followed the boom and bust cycle of the mining industry. The Frood mine development in 1926 alerted town officials and Board of Trade to the serious shortage

of accommodation for workers and their families. It prompted a special meeting between Council, Board of Trade, Rotary and Lions clubs officials and the president of International Nickel, J.L. Agnew and the general manager of Mond, C.V. Corless to discuss questions of transportation and housing.[8] There is no documentary evidence of the results of these meetings. It seems clear however that it was left to the existing and growing cadre of contractors within the town to respond to the situation. In 1928, construction reached record levels in Sudbury as the value of building permits passed the $1 million plateau for the first time.[9] In 1929 and 1930, this figure surpassed the $2 million mark.[10] Much of this building activity was for housing but a lot of capital was invested in business blocks, churches, schools and additions to hospitals. Council also had to spend nearly a million dollars to reconstruct and expand its water and sewer facilities.[11]

It is not surprising that housing the increasing working class population became a serious concern. Board of Trade held a series of special meetings in 1928 to discuss accommodation[12] and the Star described the housing shortage as acute and existing accommodations

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[8]SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, May 14, 1926.

[9]Sudbury Star, November 24, 1928, p. 1.

[10]Ibid., January 9, 1929, p. 1; September 24, 1930, p. 13.

[11]Sudbury Star, November 8, 1928, p. 11 and September 7, 1929, p. 11.

[12]SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, April 20 and 23, 1928.

as overcrowded.[13] According to the Star, the town needed 400 more dwellings in the fall of 1929 to house the "wage earners who have felt the shortage more than any other."[14] Although many transients and single men were looking for shelter, there were also new families. Eventually many workers were unable to bring their families to Sudbury because of the shortage. Rents were sky high during this period and Sudbury was one of the costliest cities in Canada in which to live.[15] However many realtors and contractors were wary of building too much housing stock "in case of an eventual oversupply".[16]

The Depression brought a halt to construction activity in the town as the value of building permits plummeted during the first half of the thirties. This evidently worsened the housing situation and in 1935, many people were living in sheds and garages[17] and the Star lamented the slum conditions of the Flour Mill and Primeauville to the north and east of the business district.[18] In the same year, Council amended its building by-laws in order to permit construction of more frame houses for workingmen and to relieve the still acute housing shortage. Bill Mason, Star

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[13]Sudbury Star, July 10, 1929, p. 1; August 7, 1929, p. 11.

[14]Ibid., September 29, 1929, p. 11.

[15]Ibid., August 20, 1930, p. 16.

[16]Ibid., September 29, 1929, p. 11.

[17]Ibid., May 18, 1935, p. 1.

[18]Ibid., September 18, 1935, p. 19.

publisher and president of the Board of Trade, approved of these amendments "in order to encourage building by the working class."[19]

In 1935, construction activity became heavier than in the previous four years and by 1936 started to boom again as the value of building permits surpassed the million dollar mark. New hotels and commercial buildings were constructed during this boom, which lasted until the War, but this time, contractors invested capital in houses and apartment buildings. At the end of 1939, there were 300 houses under construction in the city and the Star reported "more building under way in Sudbury than in any other city in Canada except Vancouver."[20] Although construction slowed during the War, the bulk of it was either for new housing or conversion of houses into apartment buildings in order to accommodate the heavy influx of miners, smelter and refinery workers into the city. Housing still remained a serious concern for workers and the petite bourgeoisie during the War although it seemed less acute than it had been in the thirties and at the end of the twenties. In general therefore, construction activity paralleled that of the mining industry from 1926 to 1946 with its cycles of boom and bust. This is illustrated by the pattern and number of subdivisions approved and opened in the city during this period.

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[19]Ibid., May 11, 1935, p. 1.

[20]Ibid., January 8, 1940, p. 1.

Table XX: Subdivisions approved in Sudbury, 1926-1946

Years	Number
1926-1930	2
1931-1935	3
1936-1940	9
1941-1945	4
Total	18

Source: Land Registry Office, Sudbury, Abstract Books

A third of these subdivisions were opened by the original Sudbury property owners, the Jesuit fathers and the Canadian Pacific. The latter sold its remaining commercial properties during this period by opening one subdivision while the Jesuits, through their Collège du Sacré-Coeur, opened five subdivisions in the general area of the Flour Mill to accommodate the growing French-Canadian working class. Most of the others were opened in the west and northwest sections of the city. By 1939, there remained only 527 undivided acres of territory within the city, most of it rock or railway property.[21]

For some members of Sudbury's petite bourgeoisie this construction activity from 1926 to 1946 meant periods of prosperity; for others, it resulted in genuine concern for the social conditions engendered by acute housing shortages. For most workers and their families, it obviously meant a continuous struggle to find affordable and suitable accommodations. Overall,

[21] Ibid., July 24, 1939, p. 23.

this period of expansion, through its cycles of boom and bust, resulted in changes in the structure as well as the formation of social classes in the city.

Sudbury's bourgeoisie

The structure of Sudbury's bourgeoisie exhibited both continuity and change from 1926 to 1946. Mining, railway companies and lumbermen continued to be the largest employers of labour power in and around Sudbury. Of these, only the lumbermen continued to reside and work in the new city as a new generation - such as W.B. Plaunt, Ben Merwin, Ed White, J. Poupore - supplanted the old such as W.J. Bell who retired in the mid thirties to his Bell rock mansion.[22] International Nickel established a physical presence in the city by opening a building which housed medical offices, recruitment officers and an employees club. Like Inco, CIL bought houses in the city to house some of its managers. The railway companies expanded their stock and the number of their employees but not their buildings. The major banks also expanded by opening branches in the newly developed sectors. The ranks of the haute bourgeoisie increased as national retail and wholesale outlets opened stores, warehouses and offices in Sudbury to compete with the local owners who had promoted and controlled the regional market since the inception of the community. National and American insurance companies, previously represented by independent agents, opted to establish offices and hire managers especially after the

[22]W.J. Bell's lumber ompany, Spanish River Lumber, ceased operations in 1932. Bell died in 1945.

Depression.

The petite bourgeoisie expanded and diversified. Its numbers increased slightly following the developments of Frood mine and the smelter-refinery complex, decreased and stabilized during the Depression and then increased dramatically after 1934.[23] Unlike the pre World War I period, there were no new industries established in the city during this period. Small local bakers became more numerous, sign manufacturers appeared for the first time and the lumber manufacturers - Laberge and Evans - expanded significantly to become amongst the largest local employers. Both were also the largest suppliers of building materials. The number of contractors varied according to the building cycles.

Ownership and types of retail outlets changed before and after the Depression. Shoe and clothing stores decreased after 1930, no doubt as a result of the new department stores (Eaton's Kresge's, Woolworths, Metropolitan Stores) opening in Sudbury in the late twenties. However some local furniture and clothing store owners, such as Bannon and Silverman, became large employers. Local grocers and confectioners increased before 1930, stabilized during the Depression and increased after 1934. Two large national food chains, Loblaws and Dominion, as well as some national wholesale operations became established in the city during this period.

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[23]Data on the number of local owners in certain sectors were obtained from the Classified Directory of Vernon's City Directory for the years 1926, 1930, 1932, 1934 and 1941.

Service station and garage owners mushroomed. Some garage owners, such as Davidson and MacLeod, became large concerns. The number of taxi and bus owners multiplied. Hotel, restaurant, laundry and theatre owners became more numerous as did some professionals, such as doctors and lawyers. The following table illustrates the structure of the bourgeoisie at the beginning of World War II.

Table XXI: Composition of the Sudbury bourgeoisie, 1941

Sector	Number	%
Lumbermen	9	1
Drillers	4	-
Prospectors	8	1
Manufacturing	90	8
Construction	67	6
Transportation & Communication	48	4
Trade	376	35
Finance	92	8
Service		
Personal	273	25
Professional	123	11
Total	1090	99

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls 1941.

Compared to 1921, the number of business owners and employers had nearly doubled. While the manufacturing and construction sectors did not change considerably in terms of numbers, the transportation, trade, finance and service sectors exhibited considerable increases in the span of twenty years.

Proportionately, owners of retail outlets and personal service establishments increased the most. However most of these were owners of small establishments such as grocery stores, confectioneries, service stations, restaurants, barber shops and beauty parlors who were not large employers. While most of the large employers represented outside capital, some members of Sudbury's petite bourgeoisie continued to be or became large owners and employers during this period.

Table XXII: Number of employees by owners in categories, 1941

Owners		Number of employees							
	Less than 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-49	50-74	75-99	100+
Manufacturing	16	10	2	2		1	2	1	
Construction	29	8	2	4	1		2		1
Transportation & Communication	19	4	6	3		1	1	1	1
Trade	211	26	7	5	3	13	5		
Finance	42	6	7						
Service									
Personal	141	23	6	3	2	5	1	1	
Professional	53	2							
Total N	511	79	30	17	6	20	11	3	2
%	75	12	4	3	1	3	2	-	-

Source: Vernon's Sudbury Directory 1941.

The proportion of employers with less than 5 was relatively the same in both 1941 and 1921. However, there were significantly more employers of 25 workers and more in 1941. These fairly large establishments were department stores, lumber manufacturers, garages, railway operations and hotels. The largest contractor, in terms of employees, was Nordale Construction owned by International Nickel. These large employers represented both local and outside

capital. The majority were of British origin but there were a few French. Among the smaller employers were a growing number of Italians and Europeans. The élite of Sudbury's bourgeoisie remained members of Canada's two charter groups.[24]

The two major institutions of Sudbury's petite bourgeoisie, the Board of Trade and Council, also exhibited continuity and change during this period. Starting in 1936, the Board of Trade suffered from a lack of membership. Minutes of Board meetings indicate that membership fluctuated from 70 in 1926 to 147 in 1927 to 70 in 1928. In January 1929, president J.A. Laberge "stressed the lack of interest in the Board."[25] At the general meeting in October, at which nine members were present, there was an attempt to reorganize the Board in order to attract more members. The lack of interest apparently continued, especially during the Depression years. From 1935, W.E. Mason, publisher of the Star and proprietor of Sudbury Realty, was president of the Board and at times its only member. In 1940, "it was felt that there actually was no Board of Trade at the present time. Mr Mason felt that there should definitely be a Board of Trade in Sudbury."[26] A year later, the Board was financed and managed solely by Mason and the minute book reports that "Mr Mason had lost confidence in the members of the

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[24]John Porter utilised the concept of charter group to characterize the British and French in Canada. See The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp. 60-63.

[25]SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, January 28, 1929.

[26]Ibid., November 21, 1940.

Board since they would not attend meetings and decided to carry on the routine work of the Board himself."[27] In the meantime, a new association called the Sudbury Business Men's Association had been formed in 1938. In 1942, both groups joined to establish the Chamber of Commerce.[28]

Its reduced membership notwithstanding, the Board pursued its policy of promoting the region's development through trade and better roads. In 1926, it lobbied for the construction of a road to the Noelville agricultural district. This was part of its continuing policy of promoting agriculture in the surrounding area. The Board approved of measures to help the local farmer such as the establishment of a seed exchange, a fall fair and the development of markets for graded potatoes.[29] While it paid particular attention to the potato crop, the Board also encouraged the farmer to improve the quality of its live stock and asked for "an inspector to go into the picking and marketing of the blueberry crop and the advisibility of establishing a cannery to take care of the surplus in Northern Ontario."[30]

Transportation of workers to and from the mines and the smelter preoccupied members of the Board. They lobbied for improvements to the Sudbury-Copper Cliff road and congratulated

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[27] Ibid., May 1, 1941.

[28] Ibid.,January 22 and April 2, 1942.

[29] Ibid., March 2, 1926.

[30] Ibid., March 22, 1926.

the Delongchamp Cartage company "for establishing connections with surrounding towns through "motor transport" and bringing people to the town of Sudbury".[31] Their interest in tourism increased significantly after 1930 when construction of the Trans-Canada highway through Northern Ontario was being discussed. From 1930 to 1934, they lobbied extensively for construction of this highway from North Bay through Sudbury and Sault Ste-Marie to Port Arthur and Fort William "on account of their strategical localities as to mineral wealth, timber wealth and tourist attraction and accessibility"[32]. The Board also petitioned the provincial government for construction of a Sudbury-Timmins highway.[33]

During the Depression, the Board was especially concerned with the problem of relief. Its petition for the Sudbury-Timmins highway and construction of other roads was partly motivated by the need to alleviate unemployment in the region. The Board consistently adopted a policy of having the unemployed "work out their relief." In this regard, its members adopted the resolution "that it views with alarm the abuses that have crept into the distribution of relief in Sudbury and District and recommends: first that all men on relief work out their relief; second, that all found guilty of

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., July 6, 1931. See minutes of meetings of April 2, August 29 and September 12, 1930; October 24, 1932 and December 1934.

[33] Ibid., May 23, 1932. R.D. Parker, of Inco, made a report to the Board on the matter as chairman of the mining committee. No other information is contained in the minutes.

securing relief under false pretences be prosecuted."[34] The Board met with members of City Council on a few occasions to discuss the city's financial situation. At one of these joint meetings, "Mr J.D. McInnes, alderman and chairman of the relief committee, spoke at some length giving facts as to the relief situation and steps he had taken to deal with it, which received the approval of the meeting, and agreed to work with and cooperate with a committee appointed by the Board to study and develop the relief problem."[35]

These concerns echoed those of Mason's Sudbury Star which stated in 1935 that "Sudbury has been too patient."

> Public opinion in Sudbury will be wholeheartedly behind the annouced intention of the city council to grapple energetically with the relief question and eliminate from the list those on relief who cannot qualify for the privileges, and effect a reduction in the number of transients continually entering the city's gates and becoming a charge upon the citizens.[36]

City Council: unemployment and relief

Council also was preoccupied with the unemployment and relief situation. From 1930 until 1936, its members, still mostly merchants, debated ways of financing relief costs, grappled with demonstrations of unemployed men in the streets of the city and in the Council chambers. The situation was worsened by the end of the huge construction projects at International Nickel in 1930. Workers

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[34]Ibid., September 22, 1933.

[35]Ibid., June 24, 1932. The Board committee, of which R.D. Parker and W.J. Bell were members, had the mandate to look into assessment of the city and to cooperate with the Finance Committee of the City.

[36]Sudbury Star, November 22, 1935, p. 4.

employed on the building of the smelter and refinery found themselves unemployed as the Depression years started. The construction projects at International Nickel and the increased productivity of the mines had brought thousands of men to Sudbury. In the spring of 1930, as International started to lay off workers, the Sudbury mayor, Peter Fenton, warned men to stay away from Sudbury and one councillor expressed concern that foreigners were taking jobs from native Canadians.[37]

Like the Board of Trade, Council petitioned on numerous occasions the provincial government to build the Sudbury-Timmins highway as a way of relieving unemployment.[38] When construction of the highway started east of the city, workers flocked to Sudbury in the summer and fall of 1931. In August, 2,509 men had registered as unemployed at City Hall for work on the Trans-Canada highway. According to the Star, "it is believed that many of the men who give their address as general delivery at the post office are living in the "jungles" around the city."[39] In September, the City Hall register contained the names of 3,800 men and in October 2,000 others registered for work on the highway in the hope of obtaining the 100 available jobs. Once again, the petite bourgeoisie suffered the consequences of its promotional activities. Council approached International Nickel in 1932 to obtain "some financial assistance

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[37]Ibid., June 4, 1930, p. 3.

[38]CoSA, Council minutes, Volume XI, June 15, 1931; Dec. 6, 1932.

[39]Sudbury Star, August 26, 1931, p. 3.

from them to help the unemployment situation in Sudbury."[40] A year earlier, Inco had decided to spend $100,000 for relief of unemployment by undertaking improvements of roads and sewers in Copper Cliff.

Most often, delegations of City Council went to Toronto or met with government officials in Sudbury to discuss ways to alleviate the financial burden caused by relief costs.[41] After receiving special relief allocations from the provincial government, Council started hiring men for public works such as removing snow, straightening creeks and opening streets.[42] Council adopted a policy "that all married men receiving relief from the City of Sudbury be required to work two days of eight hours per day one week previous to the day they receive relief. Any person refusing to work for his relief to be cut off the relief list."[43] Council attempted to modify this policy in 1933 in order to have welfare recipients work for the full amount of their vouchers but Charles McCrea intervened by stating that since the provincial government paid 85 per cent of the relief costs, Council had no jurisdiction "to decide how much work recipients had to do."[44]

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[40]CoSA, Council minutes, Vol. XI, February 15, 1932.

[41]Ibid., September 21, 1931; June 4, 1933; December 10, 1934.

[42]Sudbury Star, November 5, 1930, p. 1; November 12, 1930, p. 1; January 31, 1931, p. 11.

[43]CoSA, Council minutes, July 18, 1932. This policy was re-adopted on August 25, 1934.

[44]Sudbury Star, June 7, 1933, p. 1.

Council did decide that "steps be taken to stop people coming to the City who will be a public charge and that all who are residents of other municipalities on relief in the city be returned to whence they came."[45] In 1937, Council blamed Premier Mitchell Hepburn for an influx of unemployed in the city as a result of stating that many jobs were available in Sudbury.[46] Council also asked the chairman of its relief committee to produce a list of unnaturalized citizens on relief "to consider deportation."

Relief obliged Council to establish a structure to deal with applicants. In 1932, it hired three "temporary" inspectors to investigate and examine all persons receiving relief from the City[47] and also appointed a public welfare board. It was also forced to reduce the salaries of its employees. In late 1932, Council advised that "the City of Sudbury are not in a position to carry on the cost of relief from this date and ask the government to assume the whole cost of this relief and provide ways and means of distributing this relief."[48] The year 1932 was the most difficult for Council in terms of providing relief. The situation seemed to improve slightly in 1933 and in 1934 it was definitively better as the number of relief inspectors was reduced and the salaries of civic employees were raised. In 1936, it combined the public health

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[45]CoSA, Council minutes, Vol. XI, August 24, 1932.

[46]Sudbury Star, December 10, 1937, p. 13.

[47]Ibid.

[48]CoSA, Council minutes, September 6, 1932.

and relief departments into one.

City Council continued to lobby the federal government to assume the costs of relief however[49] and continued to protest against any reduction in provincial and federal financing of relief.[50] Mayor Bill Laforest even threatened to close the city's relief department if the two levels of government decreased their share of relief costs[51]. In 1938, the situation had so improved that when Council lobbied for the construction of the Sudbury-Timmins and Sudbury-Parry Sound highways, it argued that "the completion of the roads requested would be a boon to Mining and Lumbering developments as well as opening new fields of business for all affected."[52] It continued to promote the development of Sudbury in other areas. In 1938, Council requested the Dominion government to investigate the possibility of Trans-Canada Airways establishing a feeder line from North Bay to Sudbury.[53] In 1943, it lobbied the federal governmen. for the construction of an airport adjacent to Sudbury and the newly elected Conservative

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[49]Ibid., October 7, 1935.

[50]Ibid., July 20, 1936. For an analysis of government measures during the Depression years, see James Struthers, No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State, 1914-1941, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1983; John H. Thompson and Allan Seager, Canada 1929-1939. Decades of Discord, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1985; John H. Taylor, "Mayors à la Mancha: An Aspect of Depression Leadership in Canadian Cities", Urban History Review, IX (February 1981), pp. 3-14.

[51]Sudbury Star, January 6, 1939, p. 1.

[52]CoSA, Council minutes, Volume XII, October 17, 1938.

[53]Ibid., October 17, 1938.

provincial government for the establishment of the University of Northern Ontario in the city.[54]

Labour and communists

During and after the Depression, members of the petite bourgeoisie became increasingly concerned on the one hand with labour matters and communism. That they should concern themselves with labour matters is not surprising given the workers' organizations and demonstrations during the thirties. Also, Council became a large employer in its own rights after the Depression years; in 1941, it had more than 100 employees who started to organize and petition Council for improvements in salary and working conditions. In 1934, Council adopted a resolution condemning certain store owners in the city for exploiting labour "in a most disgraceful manner insofar as having them labour after closing hours for 3 to 6 hours each night and more often on Sundays."[55] It asked the provincial government to enact legislation giving municipalities the power to prohibit such practices. However, Council also approved a resolution circulated by the City of St Thomas "prohibiting employers of labour from hiring in any capacity married women whose husbands are in steady and full employment."[56]

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[54]Ibid., November 30, 1943.

[55]Ibid., Volume XI, October 1, 1934.

[56]Ibid, October 15, 1934.

As the number of its employees increased, Council decided in 1937 to establish and keep records on all its employees. These started to appear before Council during the War years in order to petition for salary increases, cost of living bonus and continuation of a sick leave plan. During this period, an organization drive was initiated to unionize all civic employees, a move which was met with some resistance on the part of Council.

If members of Council showed some concern for the condition of the working class, they exhibited strong resistance to those branded as Communists who demonstrated in the streets and in Council chambers during the early Depression years. In 1930, an "army" of 250 jobless men headed by Communists met with Mayor Fenton to obtain relief or work. Shortly after, members of Council held a special meeting to prepare for rioting by a group of Communists at its next regular meeting. Rioting did not occur.[57] In February 1931, a delegation of the Workers' Unity League appeared before Council.

> Mr Kostanruk presented a letter outlining the demands of the Workers' Unity League to Mayor Fenton who, after reading it, submitted it to the other members of Council. "I think the deportation act should be appealed to" was Alderman Newburn's comment.
> "I told you we would welcome a delegation", Mayor Fenton said in reply to the Communist demands, "not a demonstration in defiance of law. British Canadians will not stand for it. You are getting protection and treatment in this country like British subjects and you should be satisfied."

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[57] Sudbury Star, November 1, 1930, p. 13.

"We will not encourage this lawlessness, he said. It is too bad we did not get you all and put you in a cell."[58]

At a subsequent Council meeting, Mayor Fenton read letters from a nearby council and from the National Catholic Syndicate which approved suppression of all Red activities. In May 1931, City Council adopted a resolution favouring deportation of Communists and other undesirables.[59] In 1935, by edict of the Sudbury police commission, police officers seized the film "Ten Days That Shook the World" which the Worker Sports Association was preparing to show to an audience of 500 people gathered at St. Ann's Paris Hall. After the film was seized, many of the 500 signed a resolution stating: "Whereas we consider these actions a manifestation of a semi-fascist character directed against freedom of speech and art and its expression, Be it resolved, that we who compose the audience of 500 people tonight at St.Ann's Parish Hall most vugorously protest these actions and methods of the police commission who are directly attacking the just rights of working people in expression of their culture."[60]

On other occasions, Sudbury police arrested demonstrators, including women, who paraded in the streets of the city after meeting to hear speeches either at Bell Park, at Liberty Hall or at the Ukrainian Labor Temple. There were also occasions when such

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[58]Ibid., February 25, 1931, p. 10.

[59]Ibid., May 20, 1931, p. 17. This resolution had also been adopted by 36 other municipalities.

[60]Ibid., January 5, 1935, p. 1.

parades and demonstrations were not disturbed by city police.

These actions of Council and City police accompanied those of other groups who launched and pursued an aggressive campaign against Communists and Reds in Sudbury during this period. Mason's Star was at the forefront of this campaign; since World War I, it had taken every opportunity to denounce labour organizers and community activists who threatened the rights of the large property owners. In 1928, for instance, it led a campaign against Vapaus whose editor had been found guilty of sedition against the British monarch and jailed in Burwash for six months.[61] It advocated the suppression of the Finnish newspaper by calling it a "monster of iniquity" and reporting a resolution passed at "a meeting of clergy, patriotic lodges and public spirited organizations to deny Vapaus use of the mails as subversive to morals and good Canadian citizenship."[62] In May 1931, a petition signed by the Legion, different local churches and religious organizations as well as Loyal Orange Lodge no 1008 was sent to the federal and provincial governments asking for the suppression of Vapaus.[63] At the same time, Masons's paper was publishing a series of articles by a Reverend T.D. Jones, purportedly of the United Church, against Communism and its failures.[64]

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[61]Ibid., December 15, 1928, p. 11; December 26, 1928, p. 1. and December 29, 1928, p. 9.

[62]Ibid., January 12, 1930, pp. 1 and 3.

[63]Ibid., May 1, 1930, p. 1.

[64]Ibid., February 6 to 23, 1930, pp. 1, 3 and 20.

In 1932, the Star reported that a squad of R.C.M.P. and local police officers had raided the offices of the Finnish newspaper and "seized the correspondence and records" to obtain evidence in a "clean-up of Communists similar to the one last year when eight Communist leaders were arrested all over Canada. The Vapaus newspaper has been notorious for its Communist leanings."[65] The paper was raided again in 1939 after peace pamphlets had been distributed throughout Sudbury on Remembrance Day. "It is expected concrete evidence will link several well-known Sudbury district communists with this literature as well as other subversive activities in the North."[66] In 1940, City police hired two extra officers to guard against subversive activities.

Local organizations imported speakers to warn against the dangers of Communism during this period. George Drew came to Sudbury for that purpose in 1938[67] and a professor F. Déry gave a conference against communism in 1939[68] at St. Ann's parish hall. These campaigns against communism were more sustained in the first years of the thirties as the Communist Party was declared illegal in Canada. After 1935, Council, the Star and Board of Trade became concerned with Mine-Mill and the C.I.O. These concerns were particularly acute in 1943 when the CCF candidate in the provincial

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[65]Ibid., May 7, 1932, p. 1.

[66]Ibid., December 7, 1939, p. 1.

[67]Ibid., January 31, 1938, p. 1.

[68]JA, Diarium, Volume II, p. 399.

election, Robert Carlin, won Sudbury riding and later in the year when Mine Mill presented a full slate of candidates in the municipal election. In a page 1 editorial against Carlin, Mason's paper called him a CIO organizer and "a man with a suitcase."

> James Cooper is a man who has a stake in the community; he was born and raised here. Carlin calls himself a working man. But he lives off the sweat of other men's brows. All he seeks from his candidacy in the political field is more publicity and more power in order that Sudbury may be made another testing ground for the theories and isms he propounds - at a profit.[69]

Despite other similar attacks against Carlin, who was involved in the Mine Mill drive to organize Inco and Falconbridge workers, the CCF candidate won against the Conservative and Liberal opponents. The Star launched a similar campaign against the union slate in the fall municipal elections and greeted the latter's defeat with the headline: "Experienced Men Returned as C.I.O. Slate Submerged by Landslide Vote in All Wards." Its lead paragraph was that "a rampaging C.I.O. campaign which challenged every elective civic office in the City met with almost wholesale defeat at the hands of Sudbury ratepayers in yesterday's civic elections."[70] The union slate had without a doubt unnerved Sudbury's bourgeoisie. Witness the following ad in the Star by the Bank of Toronto under the headline "Business has contributed much to Better Living".

> The organizing and productive genius of modern business has put within the reach of most people riches undreamed of less than a hundred years ago. The regal carriages of ancient Kings could not compare in luxury with the modern motor car today. The home of yesteryear knew nothing of

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[69]Sudbury Star, July 26, 1943, p. 1.

[70]Ibid., December 7, 1943, p. 1.

> the wealth of entertainment the smallest radio can bring. The greatest lords of feudal times would have been amazed at the infinite variety of tasty and nutritious foods that daily grace the tables of even modest homes. Before the day of modern business, mankind toiled long hours at dismal occupations to eke out an existence. Now business coordinates the efforts of scientists, primary producers, manufacturers and distributors to give a higher standard of living which may be still further improved through the cooperation of management and labour.[71]

The Mine Mill campaign also concerned members of the Business Men's Association and the Board of Trade. In 1942, the two organizations held a joint meeting "to discuss the eventuality of the C.I.O. getting too much of a hold in the Mines."[72] Mr Foot, real estate agent, mentioned that the organizational drive undertaken by Mine Mill was a forerunner of trouble "such as had happened in Kirkland Lake".

> Mr Mason mentioned several cases of the underground working of the C.I.O. and that Sudbury could be in the same condition as Kirkland Lake. Mr Mason said we are not looking for a fight but we can if necessary. He also outlined the experience the Algoma Steel at the Soo had had with the same C.I.O. and that we must act at once to fend off trouble in the near future. The following committee were suggested to go next week to Kirkland Lake to look into the affairs on what has taken place at the above place: Mr OReilly, Henderson, Jackson, Foot, Mason, A. Fournier.[73]

At the next joint meeting, Mr Foot reported on the trip to Kirkland Lake where one of the mine managers had told the delegation that his company did not want to deal with the C.I.O.

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[71] Ibid, November 30, 1943, p. 2.

[72] SBoTA, Minutes of meetings, January 22, 1942, p. 72.

[73] Ibid.

"Mr A.A. Jackson told the gathering that a report on the findings of the strke at Kirkland Lake had been sent to the International Nickel Company, also Falconbridge."[74]

As the civic elections neared, members of these associations were increasingly concerned. At one of their meetings, "Mr Laberge made reference to the approaching Municipal Election and stressed the necessity of each member using the proper influence as the time was ripe for action. This was followed by remarks from Mr Mason of which (sic) was quite enlightening to the club."[75] Businessmen organized a series of anti C.I.O. public meetings during the fall of 1943. These events somewhat resembled those of 1919 when class entered politics in Sudbury. These were not isolated events however, as communist and labour candidates had contested elected positions on Council in the thirties.

Class composition of Council.

Table XXIII: Occupations of elected office-holders, Sudbury Council, 1926-1946

Occupational groups	Positions of Council			
	Mayor		Aldermen	
	N	%	N	%
Merchant			35	20
Manager	6	28	23	13
Contractor	5	24	22	13
Insurance Agent	6	28	3	2
Lawyer	2	10	9	5
Architect			1	-
Doctor/chiropractor			8	5
Lumberman			9	5

[74] Ibid., February 12, 1942, p. 75.

[75] Ibid., September 30, 1942.

Occupational groups	Positions of Council			
	Mayor		Aldermen	
	N	%	N	%
Foreman			17	10
Undertaker			1	-
Cartage			1	-
Despatcher	2	10	3	2
Railway engineer			5	3
Car inspector			4	2
Yardman			2	1
Clerk			8	5
Bricklayer			7	4
Carpenter			4	2
Miner			3	2
Sampler			1	-
Timekeeper			5	3
Union Organizer			3	2
Total	**21**	**100**	**174**	100

Source: CoSA, Council Minutes 1926-1946; Vernon's Sudbury Directory 1926-1946; Sudbury Star.

Members of the petite bourgeoisie still held most of the elected positions on Council during this 20 year period. While a CP despatcher was twice elected mayor in the thirties, the others all represented the petite bourgeoisie. The latter occupied three-quarters of the aldermanic positions when managers and foremen are included. The increasing number of managers and foremen in municipal politics reflected their greater numbers and importance in the overall class structure of Sudbury. However workers occupied a much larger share of elected positions than in the previous period. They were elected in Ryan and Fournier wards where the working class resided after 1930. Of these workers, railwaymen predominated until 1934 and mine workers after 1936.

Municipal politics were not always dominated by class conflicts or issues during this period. Various groups within the petite bourgeoisie managed to defend and promote their interests within Council. For instance, the Mackey group, which owned the street railway and brewing companies, was represented by three of the mayors. Two of them, Charles Bibby and W. Laforest, were also managers of the street railway while the third, A. Samsom, was manager of the brewing company. It was no doubt imperative for this group to have representatives on Council as its interests were threatened by the newly created bus companies. In 1929, for instance, Mason's Star led a vigorous campaign against the street railway, assailing its antiquated equipment, bad management and bad service. In a page 1 editorial headlined "Time's Up", the paper wrote: "Street railways are becoming a thing of the past all over the continent anyway, remarked one of the Inco superintendents in discussing the problem."[76] Mason argued that a bus line would better serve the commuters of Sudbury than the street railway. This was hardly surprising since he was part owner of the Sudbury Transit company incorporated in 1927 to "carry on the business of proprietors of omnibuses, cabs, drays and taxicabs."[77]

To counteract such campaigns, the Sudbury Citizens' Publishing Company Limited composed of three members of the street railway

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[76]Sudbury Star., April 20, 1929, p. 1. See especially May 8, p. 1 and May 18, pp. 1 and 19.

[77]PAO, Company Charters Volume 219, No. 99. The other owners were J.P. Nader, Percy Morrison, a former mayor, Kris Koleff, garageman and G.M. Miller, lawyer and one-time alderman.

group, J.J. Mackey, W. Laforest and J.N. Desmarais[78], as well as J.A. Laberge, attempted to start a second newspaper in Sudbury. "The opposition of the Sudbury Star to the Sudbury Copper Cliff Electric Railway was quoted as one of the reasons why the Mackey-Laberge-Laforest combination were interested in a new newspaper."[79] But its application to the Canadian Press for a daily news service was refused because the board of directors of CP thought Sudbury could not support two English language newspapers. During this period, Mason was undoutedly a man of power and influence in Sudbury and environs. As owner of the Star, the newly established radio station CKSO and the North Bay Nugget, as well as numerous properties held by his Sudbury Realty company, he was a major "captain of consciousness" and a "mover and shaker"[80] in many areas of business and politics; without a doubt he was a premier member of the petite bourgeoisie's élite. This élite had grown since 1921. It was still composed of many of the older generation of merchants and business men but now contained a new generation of lumbermen, contractors, merchants, real estate and insurance agents, lawyers and doctors, hotel owners and rentiers, garage owners and transit

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[78]Desmarais was a new lawyer in Sudbury having established his practice in 1924. He occupied for years an office in the Mackey block built in 1927. J.N.'s father was a lumberman and merchant in the Noelville area. His son, Paul Desmarais, of Power Corporation, started his business career in Sudbury as owner of a bus line. J.N. Desmarais married the daughter of Louis Laforest whose son W.J. was twice mayor of Sudbury.

[79]Sudbury Star, April 30, 1930, p. 1.

[80]This expression is still employed today by some of Sudbury's businessmen and politicians to describe Mason.

operators.

The dilemma of growth in a mining community

The élite as well as other members of Sudbury's petite bourgeoisie were created in great part by and profited from the mining expansion during this period. As a result, they promoted Sudbury vigorously in the late twenties to attract investors, business men and workers.[81] Like the pre World War I period, expansion and promotion brought about a serious dilemma for the petite bourgeoisie. The resulting influx of the working class population altered the nature of class relations in the city as workers started to challenge for elected positions on Council. It also brought serious housing and transportation problems which were amplified by the Depression years. Population increase obviously meant construction of the required infrastructure of sewer and water facilities, schools and roads to be financed by municipal taxes most of which was provided by the city's petite bourgeoisie. Even though thousands of workers had streamed into Sudbury and bought properties and houses, they did not augment the tax base considerably for the simple reason that, struggling to survive on low wages until the war years, they could not afford expensive housing. Furthermore, the petite bourgeoisie had been unable to attract major new industrialists to the city. As a result, the increasing costs of a burgeoning public municipal structure had to

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[81]For instance, when the Financial Post published an article titled "Sudbury Faces Boom", they trumpeted it in newspaper advertisements (see Sudbury Star, May 28, 1927, p. 2).

be borne by members of the petite bourgeoisie who still owned the majority of properties.

This dilemma of growth was rendered more acute on the one hand by Council's continuing conflicts with Canadian Pacific regarding access to properties necessary for construction of sewers and roads and on the other by its growing concerns over the mining companies' privileged position on taxation. Since the latter were situated outside city limits, Council could not benefit from any type of tax assessment on mining properties although it had to provide services to an increased population brought about by mining expansion. Municipal politicians lobbied the provincial government for an increased share of mining taxation. Mining companies lobbied for continuing restrictions on such taxation. The situation was highlighted in 1943 when the Ontario Mining Commission held hearings in Sudbury. Council adopted the following resolution which was incorporated into its brief to the Commission:

> We do hereby petition the Government to give special consideration to our peculiar situation in Sudbury so that we may participate in said subsidies on a reasonably equal basis with municipalities in Old Ontario; due to the fact our assessment is so far out of line with other municipalities our size for the simple reason we enjoy very little Industrial Assessment and Industrial Business Assessment because the Nickel Industry, which employs the residents of this City of some 36,000 population is located outside and on the fringe of our borders. The City of Oshawa with some 10,000 less population enjoys some Seven Million Five Hundred Thousand Industrial and Industrial Business Assessment compared with our Two Hundred and Fifteen Thousand Dollars. We realize there will be some unavoidable difference in general assessments in Municipalities which may take some time to adjust but it is impossible to do anything about our Industrial assessment as the Industry does not exist within our borders but the responsibility of providing all the necessary services for the well being of the

Workers of the Industry definitely exists in Sudbury.[82]

Council's brief went on to state that the provincial government received more than one million dollars in income from the International Nickel company part of which was returned to Sudbury in subsidies. "Our grievance is that such a small part of it returns to Sudbury where it belongs and who provides the major part of the municipal services for the workers of the great Nickel Industry."[83] Council asked that it be permitted to annex "the suburban area and mining industries to the city or in lieu of this that legislation be passed giving Sudbury a percentage of the mining tax being collected."[84] These positions obviously created some divisions within Council as well as sharp rebuttals from Inco.[85] This situation was a contentious issue during the 1943 election.

Structure of property holdings

The fact that Council's financial burden had grown considerably since the twenties is illustrated by an examination of the tax assessment rolls. When municipally tax exempted lands and buildings are added to the total amount of taxable real property in Sudbury, Council held three per cent of properties in 1941 compared to one per cent in 1921. Municipal properties

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[82]CoSA, Council Minutes, Volume XIII, March 20, 1943, p. 718.

[83]Ibid.

[84]Sudbury Star, November 23, 1943, p. 7.

[85]These are hinted at in Council minutes but not explicitly reported. See CoSA, Council minutes, Volume XIII, p. 711.

included a new city hall, park lands, police and fire protection, hydro-electrical and library facilities; when schools are added, municipal public properties accounted for nine per cent of the total value of properties in 1941 compared to seven per cent in 1921. This increase is largely the result of the Depression when Council became the owner of 2245 vacant properties within the city although these were of relatively low value. In general, public lands and buildings owned by federal, provincial and municipal governments accounted for 11 per cent of the total amount of real property in 1941, the same as in 1921. Since World War I, various levels of the State had increased their presence in the regional social formation through holdings of public properties.

The structure of privately owned properties (the total amount of taxable real property) reflected changes in the overall class structure of Sudbury between 1921 and 1941. The haute and petite bourgeoisie's proportion of property ownership had declined since 1921 while that of the working class had nearly doubled, a result of the large influx of mine, smelter and refinery workers to the City since the late twenties. Compared to 1906, the bourgeoisie's share of property had declined by eight percentage points while that of the working class had doubled. The following table illustrates the structure of property ownership by class in 1941.

Table XXIV: Structure of property ownership by class, 1941

Class	Value of property and buildings			
	Value of real prop.	Value of buildings	Total assessment of taxable prop.	%
Bourgeoisie			$11,208,550	71
Haute	$ 840,395	$ 437,335		
Petite	1,840,190	4,265,370		
Managers, foremen and superintendents	76,535	423,535	314,520	2
Public servants			75,050	-
Workers	1,083,495	5,122,749	3,183,525	20
Others (Farmers, retired spinsters, widows and married women)	318,955	983,230	870,880	5
Clergy	12,605	61,015	71,195	
Miscellaneous/ no occupation stated	60,975	243,895	176,715	1
Total			$15,900,435	99

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls 1941.

In 1941, the structure of ownership was more clearly polarized between the haute and petite bourgeoisie on the one hand and the workers on the other. The bureaucracy of capital, the managers, foremen and superintendents, held a constant proportion of properties in the city as did the group of spinsters, widows and married women. The presence of a relatively important group of retired working men (who owned two per cent of the total assessable property) reflected the growing permanence of Sudbury. The proportion of farmers and clergymen as owners declined in

comparison to 1921.

The structure within the two major classes had changed somewhat since 1921. Within the bourgeoisie, the haute bourgeoisie's share had decreased to nine per cent of the city's total assessable real property compared to fourteen per cent in 1921. This was mostly the result of the lumbermen's declining importance in the overall structure. The railway companies had the highest percentage (six), Canadian Pacific being the largest single property owner in Sudbury. They were followed in order by the national retail and wholesale chains, the banks, International Nickel, the lumbermen and Bell Telephone. The lumbermen's and Inco's properties were offices and residences, not employed for production purposes.

The petite bourgeoisie's share - 60 per cent - had remained relatively constant. Rentiers now owned a quarter of the total amount as a result of the construction of apartment and commercial buildings as well as workingmen's houses after the Depression. Charles Davis and Alex Turpin were two of the most active rentiers during this period. As well as being real estate agents and hotel owners, they specialized in renting hundreds of houses and apartments to workers in and around the downtown district. Many women were also important owners of rental accommodations. Merchants' share of the total real property had declined to 13 per cent from 20 in 1921. Hotel owners held five per cent of the total, a reflection of their increased numbers rather than of the worth of their individual properties. Garage owners, doctors, contractors

and real estate agents each owned two per cent of the total. Jewellers and movie theatre operators each owned one per cent.

A large number of business men rented rather than owned their premises. This was especially true of some national retail chains and insurance companies, small merchants such as confectioners and grocers, most taxi cab operators, restaurant owners and small service operations.

Table XXV: Sudbury bourgeoisie's property holdings, 1941

Groups within class	Total assessable real property $	%
Lumber	95,315	1
Mining	169,080	2
Manufacturing	363,850	3
Construction	481,445	4
Transportation	1,037,610	9
Trade	2,252,080	20
Finance	487,310	4
Service		
Personal	1,777,440	16
Professional	598,250	5
Rentiers	3,946,770	35
Total	$11,208,550	99

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1941

The influx of mine, smelter and refinery workers to the city was reflected in the fact that they now owned more than six per cent of the total real property. This represented a third of the total properties owned by the working class. Labourers owned two per cent, carpenters, office and store employees one per cent. The majority of workers (65.5 %) rented rather than owned living accommodations; only amongst carpenters were there a majority of owners. This was basically the same structure as in 1906. Of

course, workers' properties were used almost exclusively for housing rather than capital accumulation although a few miners owned small confectioneries which they operated from a section of their houses.

Table XXXIII: Sudbury workers' property holdings, 1941

Groups within class	Total assessable real property $	%
Lumber	18,245	1
Mining	1,176,275	37
Manufacturing	162,760	5
Construction	389,785	12
Transportation	443,660	14
Trade (including clerks/bookkeepers)	277,435	9
Finance	4,400	-
Service	313,390	10
Labourers	376,785	12
Others	20,790	1
Total	3,183,525	99

Source: CoSA, Tax Assessment Rolls 1941

The differences in residential patterns of the bourgeoisie and the working class were striking as some articles and photos in the Star well illustrate.[86] While some of the petit bourgeois' homes were imposing two and three storey brick and stone structures surrounding the downtown business district, workers houses were, on the average, one and two storey frame buildings further to the north, east and west of the downtown core. Most of the petit bourgeois' homes were occupied by one family; in many of the

[86]See for instance the Star's edition of January 3, 1938, p. 8.

élite's family homes also resided one or two maids.[87] Workers' houses were more than likely occupied by two and sometimes three families, especially as many miners rented accommodations in their residences to other workers. This pattern of working class housing started during the Depression and was still prevalent during World War II. While many rented such accommodations, they were hardly rentiers. The latter did not reside in the properties used for rental purposes; they also employed these properties for revenue and capital accumulation. Workers on the other hand rented part of the houses in which they lived in order to augment their revenues obtained in the workplace. This different residential pattern was a clear product of the class structure.

Sudbury's working class

Thousands of workers, accompanied by their families, flooded into Sudbury before and after the Depression years to obtain jobs in the expanded mines and mills of International Nickel. This changed considerably the composition of the working class in the city as the proportion of mine, smelter and refinery workers doubled in the period between 1931 and 1941. This increase was especially notable after 1935 when mine production to meet armament demands was speeded up. The demand for mine and smelter workers during the war period was also very high as the federal government,

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[87]According to Vernon's Sudbury Directory, there were 191 maids working or residing in these homes in 1941. According to Census Canada, there were 300 domestic workers in 1931 and 462 in 1941. In 1921, the Star called them "precious gems".

through its National Selective Service board,[88] attracted thousands of new miners from various parts of the country to the city.

Table XXVII: Composition of Sudbury working class, 1931-1941

Categories	Year			
	1931		1941	
	N	%	N	%
Mines & Forests	1056	16	3067	27
Manufacturing	603	9	1899	17
Construction	823	12	818	7
Transportation & Communication	611	9	792	7
Trade	460	7	728	6
Service				
Professional	409	6	656	6
Personal	793	12	1379	12
Other	72	1	204	2
Clerical	431	6	827	7
Labourers (other than mines and forests)	1291	19	794	7
Other/not classified	159	2	54	
Total	6708	99	11224	100

Source: Census Canada 1931, 1941. This table was compiled from census data on occupations by substracting owners, managers and foremen.

The proportion of workers in the manufacturing sector also increased slightly during this period while that of construction, transportation and communication workers decreased. The proportion in the other sectors of finance, insurance, trade and services remained constant. The proportion of female workers increased slightly in this ten year period but overall Sudbury's working

[88]The National Selective Service was established March 21, 1942 by Order-in-Council P.C. 2254 to direct civilian labour supply in order to meet the requirements of the war and essential services.

class remained preponderantly male. The large influx of male workers for the mines and smelters skewed somewhat the sexual division of labor. Mining, forest, manufacturing, construction, transportation and communication sectors remained male preserves. Female workers were heavily concentrated in the trade, finance and service sectors. While the male labor force was more or less evenly distributed in the different sectors in 1931, it was definitely concentrated in mining in 1941. Almost half the women worked in personal services in both 1931 and 1941, a quarter being employed as domestic workers. The segregation of women workers in certain occupations was a dominant characteristic of the Sudbury labour force, thus reflecting the overall labour force of Canadian society.

Table XXVIII: Composition of Sudbury working class, by gender, 1931-1941.

Categories	Year and Sex			
	1931		1941	
	M %	F %	M %	F %
Mines & Forests	19	-	33	-
Manufacturing	10	2	20	3
Construction	15	-	9	-
Transportation & Communication	10	3	8	2
Trade	6	11	5	12
Service				
Professional	4	14	3	18
Personal	5	47	5	47
Other	1	1	2	-
Clerical	4	20	5	17
Labourers	22	-	9	-
Other/not classified	3	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100
N	5648	1060	9262	1958

Source: Census Canada 1931,1941.

There was within these broad sectors a significant division and hierarchy of occupations. In the mining sector, for instance, each operation had a gradation of skilled and unskilled workers of which labourers and helpers were the most numerous and lowest paid. Binmen, feeders, tappers, tuyere punchers, crane operators, skimmers, furnace and mattemen worked in the smelter. Drillers, trammers, rock pickers, timbermen, scalers, steel sharpeners carried on underground operations. Brakemen, conductors, engineers, firemen and trackmen worked in the transportation and mechanical departments. Mostly skilled workers such as machinists, blacksmiths, boilermakers, loco fitters, carpenters, painters, masons and fitters were in the shops. The mills had a wide variety of workers: binmen, crushermen, feedermen, rollmen, screenmen, trippermen, flotation operators, reagentmen and pumpmen. Measured by wages, labourers were on the lowest rung of the hierarchy while machinists were on the highest. Between these two levels were, first, underground miners and smelter workers then transportation, shop, mechanical and mill workers. This hierarchy stayed relatively constant during this period although wages increased especially in the 1940s and particularly after the first collective agreement between Mine Mill and International Nickel.[89]

Mining and smelting remained a male preserve but during the war women workers were employed in some of the lower paying jobs. In the summer of 1942, International Nickel studied the possibility

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[89]This information is summarized from IA, Labour Force Reports 1930-1946.

of hiring women to replace male labour in some positions. When Order-in-Council P.C. 7032 was issued on August 13, 1942, amending the Ontario Mining Act in order to permit the employment of women in mines, International Nickel was authorized to employ "women in other than technical, clerical and domestic work in or about the mines."[90] The Order-in-Council established regulations governing these women workers. They were to be over 18 years of age, employed on the surface only, for a period not to exceed eight hours in any one day and "in no case shall a female person work more than 60 hours in any one week"[91] although the regular work week was to be 48 hours. The lunch period was 30 minutes and no woman was to work between midnight and 6 a.m. Before being employed, each female worker was to undergo a medical examination. The company had to provide proper and separate dressing, rest and wash rooms as well as toilets.

In July 1942, International Nickel had already estimated that "it would require 450-500 women to replace the above men depending on the type of women available and how they would react to working conditions in our plants."[92] Parker had identified the positions at the different locations and departments in which women could be employed. In the mill, these were mostly helpers. "Reasonably strong women of average intelligence could be trained to fill the

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[90]IA, Department of Labour Memo, September 28, 1942.

[91]Ibid.

[92]IA, Memo from R.D. Parker to F. Benard, July 31, 1942.

above occupations. The only manual labour involved is for the assistance of mechanics where crushers, rolls and screens are being adjusted, and in the case of tripper operators when a spill occurs. Dust conditions in the crushing plant at present would be objectiobale to female labour but when the crushing plant revisions are completed it is hoped that such conditions will no longer exist. Conditions in the concentrator are excellent."[93] In the smelters, Parker identified 178 positions capable of being filled by women. "None of the above occupations involve heavy manual labour but with the exception of the Cottrell plant, brickshed and lining stand, they are performed under very poor working conditions. Some of the operations such as gas analysing and crane running require considerable skill but given sufficiently intelligent women who were willing to stand the working conditions, replacements could be made."[94] The other positions were in the transportation, electrical, mechanical and metallurgical departments. Overall, "of the total number of women required to make the above replacements, an estimated 120 would necessarily be of average intelligence, possibly with Junior matriculation, 2 would have to be graduate chemists, the remainder would be required to have average intelligence and be of good physique."[95]

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[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

In May 1943, 671 women were employed and working in different occupations and locations at International Nickel: 171 in surface jobs at the different mine sites, 199 in the Copper Cliff mill and smelter, 175 in various departments, 17 at the refinery and others at the power plants and Coniston operations.[96] The company had approved employment of women in other occupations and locations but did not hire any. It was engaged in a continuous survey of occupations suitable for female employment. It also adopted strict rules regarding clothing (no dresses were to be worn), hair (to be totally confined in a close fitting cap, bandana or turban), shoes and behavior before and after work shifts (loitering in changehouses and lunch rooms would not be tolerated).[97] The company also kept a record of female absenteeism during this period. The experimentation with female labour ended at the end of the war although many continued to be employed in various clerical positions in the Copper Cliff main office.

Many Sudbury women registered for work with the National Selective Service Board during the war. According to the Board,

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[96]IA, Memo from R.D. Parker to R.L. Snitch, May 27, 1943. The Star published two articles on women workers at Inco. "The feminine ability to give intense application to smoething new and interesting, to an even greater degree than the male of the species, has enabled many of the women now working at the mines to do scores of things, which generally speaking, have been designated for many years as particularly the forte and field of manpower." November 20, 1942, p. 7. See also photo spread of November 18, p. 6. with title: "Ample provision made to ensure that new workers receive best possible attention." These articles were obviously propaganda for the mining company during the period of Mine Mill's organization drive.

[97]IA, Notice to all female employees, July 1943.

there were more women in 1942 registering for wartime work in Sudbury than in the country as a whole. In September there were 2,721 women registered, 2,025 of whom were married, in Sudbury out of 36,000 for Canada.[98] Apart from the mines, some obtained employment in Canadian Pacific shops (as engine wipers) and various small industries in the city during this period. Hundreds went to work in munition factories at Nobel and Toronto in response to advertisements in the local daily.[99] Mayor Beaton even wrote to Dominion Industries of Nobel advising that "he could guarantee 400 women from the Sudbury District" to work in the company's munitions factory.[100] Women who worked in the city during the period were employed as saleswomen, stenographers and typists, waitresses in restaurants and hotels, nurses and teachers. The latter were progressively more female after the Depression: two-thirds in 1931, three-quarters in 1941. The sexual division of labour within the office was also established: men were clerks, women were stenographers and typists.

Men were not only mine and smelter workers. In the mnufacturing sector, most were employed as mechanics, machinists, furnacemen and stationary enginemen. In construction, they were carpenters, electricians and plumbers. The majority of male transportation workers were truck and taxi drivers while in trade

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[98]Sudbury Star, September 24, 1942, p. 2.

[99]Sudbury Star, October 11, 1941, p. 1.

[100]CoSA, Council Minutes, Volume XIII, 1941, p. 112.

they were salesmen in the numerous men's clothing stores.

Agents of class formation

The working class in Sudbury was formed in the crucible of the Depression and the war years. Its political and unionization successes in the 1940s were the result no doubt of experiencing difficult living, housing and working conditions during the Depression. But mostly they were the result of efforts by two agents during this period, the Communist Party and the International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers.

The Communist Party was very active in Sudbury in the late 1920s as the campaign by Reverend Jones and the Star illustrates. It was active in organizing and leading numerous demonstrations by unemployed especially during the years 1930 to 1932. Some of these demonstrations were stopped by local police. In August 1929, they organized a meeting at Liberty Hall followed by a parade to Bell Park during which police intervened to arrest a number of its leaders.[101] The scene was repeated in 1930 when police arrested and jailed eighteen Communist activists.[102] The Workers' Unity League[103] organi.ed a demonstration and sent a delegation to Council in early

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[101]Sudbury Star, August 9, 1929, pp. 11 and 13.

[102]Ibid., May 3, 1930, p. 1.

[103]For a description of this organization, see Labour Gazette, 1931, pp. 37-38. "The Workers' Unity League of Canada, the funcyion of which is to organize industrial labour unions, was organized in 1930." See also Charles Lipton, Trade Union Movement of Canada 1887-1959, 3rd Edition, Toronto, NC Press, 1973, pp. 255-56; Charles Logan, Trade Unions in Canada. Their Development and Functioning, Toronto, Macmillan, 1948, pp. 340-43.

1931 which was received coolly by Mayor Fenton. During a May Day parade in 1932, organized by the Unemployed Workers' Association, four of its leaders were arrested and later convicted of unlawful assembly.[104] Other organizations - the Sudbury District Conference on Unemployed and the Sudbury Single Men's Protective Association - also paraded and demonstrated in City streets and parks as well as confronted municipal politicians. In the late thirties, the Star accused the "Reds" of hiding in houses on the outskirsts of town and distributing literature in the City.[105]

The party was particularly active in its attempts to organize lumber and mine workers through two affiliates of the Workers' Unity League. The Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Canada organized a local in Sudbury in the early thirties in opposition to another Finnish union, the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union no 120.[106] After leading a violent strike wave in the lumber camps of Northern Ontario from 1933 to 1935, the LWIUC disbanded and many of its Finnish leaders worked to organize the Lumber and Saw Mill Workers' Union which also had a local (no. 2537) in Sudbury. During this period, lumber and bush workers were not numerous in the City and the Communist party spent more energy in attempting to organize a local of the Mine Workers' Union. Various branches of the party

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[104]Sudbury Star, May 25, 1932, p. 1.

[105]Ibid., December 30, 1939, p. 1; February 22, 1940, pp. 1 and 8.

[106]For an account of the rivalry between these two unions, see Ian Radforth, op.cit., pp. 119-133.

published and distributed newspapers in the mines of the Sudbury Basin encouraging fellow workers to organize unions in order to improve working and living conditions.

In 1929, three editions of the Sudbury Worker, published by the Finnish Agitation and Propaganda Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, were distributed in Sudbury mostly in response to Reverend Jones' anti-communist campaign and the arrest of Vapaus' editor. In its first edition, the paper criticized the merger of International Nickel and Mond. "This will mean the rationalization of the nickel mining production. This will bring unemployment and a great deal of suffering to large sections of the working community. The speeding up and possibly a wage reduction will be the next plan of the merger."[107] It also reported the arrival of Eaton's in Sudbury as a sign of change for the town. "Huge chain stores backed with vast resources of capital, are driving the small merchants out of business and into the ranks of the wage workers."[108] Finally the paper called the campaign against the "Reds" a smoke screen "of the bosses to protect their undisputed rule in Canada. Particularly is this true of capitalists in Northern Ontario. It is well known, to the sorrow of the workers, that trade unionism is comparatively non-existent in these parts. Gallant attempts have been made, and are being made, to get the lumber workers and metal miners organized. Such moves have been met

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[107]PAC, MG 28, V 46, Vol. 141, File 22, The Sudbury Worker, January 1929.

[108]Ibid., p. 2.

with stern repressive measures on the part of the employers."[109]

In 1935, two other newspapers, the Frood Miner and the Voice of the Nickel Youth were published and distributed by the Communist party in order to protest against working conditions at Frood.

> The past year was one of the hardest for all of us who toil in the Frood Mine. Production was speeded up to the highest possible level, to increase production and consequent profits. Our labor, our sweat and our blood earned more profits to the already fabulously rich foreign and Canadian shareholders. While the capitalist reaped increased profits out of our toil, we did not get a cent increase in our basic wages, but on the contrary, were speeded up. Many have been mutilated, lost health or killed outright in the feverish drive of INCO for profits and more profits.[110]

The paper called for improvements in shower facilities, ventilation and the elimination of gas fumes. Its main message was the ncessity of union organization to bring about these improvements at the Frood mine.

A year later, another paper, called the Nickel Bullet, also encouraged miners to unionize in order to raise the standards of living of the Sudbury worker. Unionization would force International Nickel "to share a greater portion of its wealth to its employees in the form of increased wages."[111]
To remedy the lack of a sufficient tax base, it argued, as the Sudbury labour movement would in later years, that the surrounding

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[109]Ibid., p. 2.

[110]PAC, MG 28, V 46, Vol. 141, File 27, Frood Miner, January 21, 1932, p. 1.

[111]PAC, MG 28, V 46, Vol. 143, File 26, Nickel Bullet, Vol. 3, No 4, September 1936, p. 4.

company towns of Frood, Copper Cliff and Creighton should be incorporated into a Greater Sudbury in order to permit the City to tax Inco. Its description of the workers' living standards was in some ways reminiscent of some articles in the Star.

> Visit an average home in "French town", in Donovan or Brewery section. You will find houses that compare with the worst slums of Toronto or any other big city. Ramshackle, weather beaten, overcrowded houses, walls of poor quality, devoid of what usually is termed necessary comforts, while in some of them you find electric lights missing. Then step into any of the numerous boarding houses where hundreds of miners and smelter workers live...Poor heating system leaves rooms cold and sleep is made fitful by men coming from and going to their shifts. Some of the rooms are overcrowded by vermin, varying in size from a mouse down.
> These are the surroundings and the home life of a great majority of those who create the wealth that is taken out of this city and the surrounding district.[112]

It is difficult to gauge the reception accorded these publications by Sudbury workers. In many ways, their articles offer a vivid perspective of living and working conditions in and around Sudbury during this period. There is no evidence of other newspapers being published and distributed by the Communist party in Sudbury after 1936. This is no doubt a result of the Communist party's change in strategy as exemplified by its attempt to work within the Lumber and Saw Mill Workers' Union. It is also a result of internal conflicts within the Finnish community over the role and importance of the Communist party. The disputes between the Reds and the Whites had been amplified by the activities of the party during the Depression and after 1935 Red Finns seemed to turn

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[112] Ibid.

away from union and cooperative organizations in the Sudbury area.[113] Whatever the reasons, the Communist party ceased to be openly active in Sudbury after 1935 and it was left to Mine Mill to continue the work of organizing the working class. "With the rebirth of Mine Mill in Ontario (in 1936), the remnant that was left of the Mine Workers' Union of Canada affiliated with Mine Mill to advance the cause of industrial unionism."[114] This affiliation was described in the Nickel Bullet as being "a positive and progressive move to bring the right of organization to miners."[115]

If at first you don't succeed...

The Western Federation of Miners and Mine Mill had attempted, without success, to organize mine workers in the Sudbury area from 1909 to 1920. Mine Mill ceased to function in Canada from 1925 to the mid-1930s. "Mine Mill's re-entry to the mining camps of Northern Ontario in 1936 was directed from Sudbury by George W. "Scotty" Anderson - the sole organizer on the International payroll. Logan maintains that the union's strategy was to "capture I.N.C.O. for collective bargaining and with this victory they would presumably sweep the mining camps of the province. To this end in

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[113]This is the argument of Martha Allen, op.cit. It has been criticized by Wm Eklund, the editor of Vapaus in a letter written to Allen. See PAC, MG 28, V 46, Vol. 191, File 18, Wm Eklund - Correspondence.

[114]John B. Lang,"A Lion In A Den of Daniels. A History Of The International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers in Sudbury 1942-1962", M.A. Thesis, Guelph, University of Guelph, 1970, p. 30.

[115]PAC, MG 28, V 46, Vol. 143, File 126, Nickel Bullet, Volume 3 , No. 1, January 1936, p. 1.

March 1936, Locals 239, 240 and 241 were chartered at Sudbury, Kirkland Lake and Timmins respectively."[116] The first public meeting of local 239 was held at St. Anne's parish hall in April 1936 where Mayor W.J. Cullen and Léo Gauthier, later Federal Liberal member of Parliament for one of the Sudbury ridings, delivered greetings.[117] By May of 1936, the local had 150 members. Recognizing the importance of information, the local also started publishing a monthly bulletin called Union News which reported on working conditions in the Sudbury Basin mines thus continuing the practice of previous Communist publications. By the fall, 2,000 copies of the bulletin were being sold in the area and plans were being made to increase the number of copies to 5,000.

During this period, working conditions in the mines were very difficult.

> Conditions in the mine were terrible in the thirties. Very hot and men were driven like slaves. Safety? There was no such thing. There was at least one man killed a week. I personally helped to dig out three men in one day. They fired men for no reason at all. One poor fellow, a family man with seven kids, pleaded with them not to let him go but to no avail. He ended up blowing himself up with a stick of dynamite at the city dump on Frood Road. That's the kind of pension he got for his hard work.[118]

Although the number of fatalities was slightly exagerated by this retired miner, there was in the late twenties and thirties a

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[116]Ibid. See also Mike Solski, op.cit., p. 102.

[117]Mike Solski, op.cit.

[118]Recollections of a retired Frood miner, Nick Stempien, published in Mike Solski, op.cit., p.102

high number of men killed in the mines of the Sudbury Basin. As production increased so did the number of fatalities in mining accidents.

The number of fatalities was no doubt higher because the Annual Reports do not give information on men killed in the Sudbury smelters during this period. There is no doubt that conditions in the mines were indeed dangerous at least until the war. (See following graph)

As a response to the organization of local 239 and the publication of Union News, Inco and Falconbridge increased wages by five percent in 1936.[119] According to the Union News, International Nickel also hired the head of the Auxiliary Company of Canada, a private detective agency, under an assumed name to work in the Copper Cliff smelter and become a member of local 239 to "secure its membership lists and plans. After that, he would be dismissed by the company, ostensibly because of Red sympathies, in order to avoid any suspicions of union members and officials falling on him."[120]

A lack of funds from Mine Mill's international headquarters and a subsequent decline in membership resulted in local 239 being dissolved in 1939. Two similar locals at Falconbridge, nos 278 and 361, were chartered in 1937 and 1938 and then dissolved. After three years of attempting to organize mine workers, Mine Mill again

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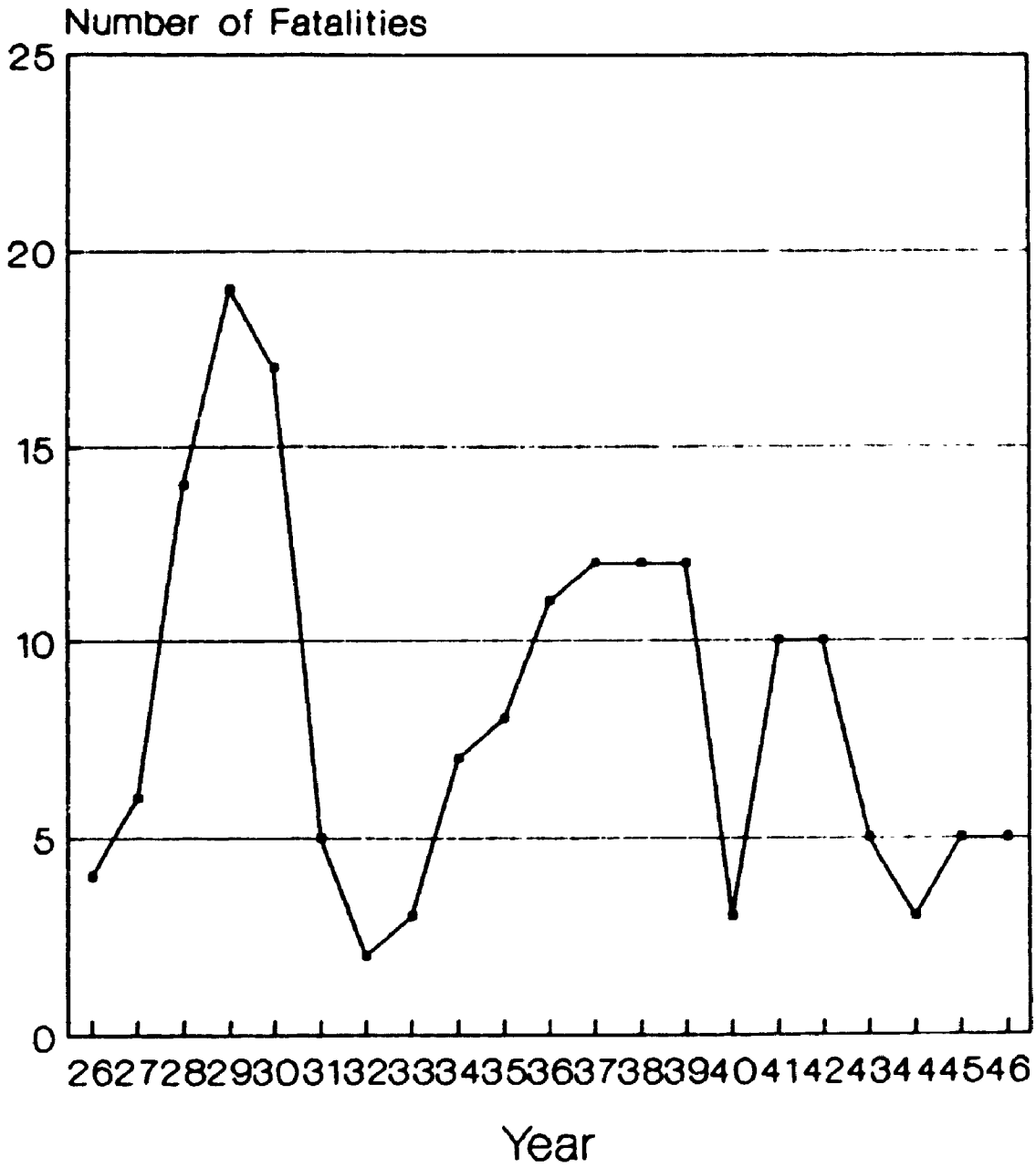
[119]Mike Solski, op.cit. and John B. Lang, op.cit., p. 31.

[120]Mike Solksi, op.cit.

Figure 22: Number of Fatalities in Sudbury Basin Mines, 1926-1946



Source: Ontario Bureau of Mines, Annual Reports 1926-1946.

left Sudbury without success. "Although Local 239 had been the most successful effort to that time, the principle of unionism was not widely accepted in the Sudbury region."[121] This is confirmed by the yearly statistics of union membership in Sudbury from 1926 to 1940.

Table XXIX: Union membership in Sudbury, 1926-1940

Year	No. of unions existing	No. reporting members	No. of members
1926	7	5	89
1927	8	6	588
1928	8	6	380
1929	11	5	337
1930	12	5	150
1931	10	9	164
1932	9	6	87
1933	11	8	105
1934	9	5	72
1935	10	8	108
1936	12	9	627
1937	13	7	118
1938	11	9	139
1939	10	9	302
1940	9	9	338

Source: Labour organizations in Canada 1926-1940. After 1940, information on union membership in different localities is not published.

From 1926 to 1930, locals of the Lumber Workers no 120 and Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Canada as well as railway workers' locals were the major unions in the town. The construction of the Copper Cliff smelter attracted skilled workers, such as brick layers and electrical workers, to the area who organized union locals affiliated to international unions. In the thirties, the number of locals was relatively constant. In the early

[121]John B. Lang, op.cit.,p. 33.

thirties, the Mine Workers' Union and the IWW were new locals alongside those of railway employees. After 1935, union locals for postal employees, civil servants, bakers and carpenters were organized. During this period, railway and stage employees were the only workers to be consistently organized in locals. The others were chartered and dissolved at various times. Such was also the case for the Sudbury Trades and Labour Council which was re-organized in 1930 but ceased to exist in 1936.

There were few strikes in Sudbury during this period. The only organized work stoppage in the thirties was that of a few dairy workers who went on strike for ten days in 1935; they were quickly replaced by new workers. This lack of strikes, compared to other urban centers in Northern Ontario, was due to a lack of union organization on the one hand and employer repression on the other. Labour militancy was more apparent in the forties. In 1943, employees of McKim township went on strike for a week to obtain higher wages. Mine employees staged brief walkouts in 1943 and 1944 in Copper Cliff and Levack to protest against disciplinary measures adopted by International Nickel against certain employees. These were a product of union organization drives in the Sudbury area led by Mine Mill.

After dissolving local 239 in Sudbury in 1939, leaders of Mine Mill went to Kirkland Lake to organize gold miners. When Mine Mill decided to return to Sudbury in 1942, its efforts were quickly met with success. Certain events had managed to change the climate in labour's favor. These had started in the late thirties as the

provincial and federal governments intervened more aggressively on the side of organized labour, especially that of industrial workers. According to Radforth, the provincial government's Industrial Standards Act of 1935 was instrumental in changing the relations between owners and organized workers.[122] The G.M. strike in Oshawa in 1937 had established the principle of industrial unionism and the C.I.O. in Canada. The Kirkland Lake strike, lost by Mine Mill, eventually led to Order-in-Council P.C. 1003 in 1944 which recognized in law the right to form a union and negotiate collectively.

When Robert Carlin left Kirkland Lake to lead Mine Mill's drive in Sudbury in 1942, he also benefitted from other developments within the City. Miners had already held secret meetings in 1941 to organize workers in the Sudbury area. As well, "since 1940 the C.C.F. in Sudbury under the direction of Jack McVey had been busy presenting its policies to the workers. The C.C.F. club met with considerable success in recruiting new members... Early in 1942, the Ontario secretary of the C.C.F., Bert Levens, instructed the Sudbury club to do all in its power to assist Bob Carlin in his efforts to form a union."[123]

Shortly after Carlin's arrival in Sudbury and the opening of an office in the City, "a dozen goons ransacked the office in broad daylight, beating union workers Forrest Emerson and Jack Whelahan

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[122]Ian Radforth, op.cit., p. 241.

[123]John B. Lang, op.cit., p. 41.

so badly they had to be hospitalized."[124] On April 21, 1942, local 598 of Mine Mill was chartered. International Nickel responded to this new challenge by establishing its own company union, the United Nickel-Copper Workers, in November 1942 and eventually signing a collective agreement with it. Mine Mill continued its drive to organize mine and smelter workers at both Inco and Falconbridge. In 1943, it started publishing a weekly newspaper, the Sudbury Beacon, printed by Vapaus; it established its union hall on Lisgar street in the heart of the business district.

The officials of Mine Mill had recognized once again the importance of information and publicity in order not only to transmit labour's perspective but also to counteract information by the Star and other publications. For instance in 1944 union officials were sufficiently concerned with a new French-language weekly being published in Sudbury that they organized a meeting with its editor.

> I also had a long interview with young Camille L'Heureux editor of L'Ami du Peuple and wrote Bob Carlin about him regarding the opportunity at hand to possibly neutralize that French publication; if not possible to definitely swing it behind us.[125]

Local 598 also bought air time on Mason's CKSO radio station to inform members about labour views and events and also "to

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[124]Mike Solski, op.cit., p. 103

[125]PAO, MU 6571, Box 4, Letter from Ben Levert, United Steelworkers, to Jos Rankin, CIO office, Lisgar street, June 6, 1944. For a history of L'Heureux and the french weekly, see Serge Dignard, Camille L'Heureux et L'Ami du Peuple 1942-1969, Sudbury, Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Documents historiques no 80, 1984.

promote history, ideals of trade unionism, credit unions, cooperatives."[126]. They also held numerous meetings in 1943 during which international representatives of Mine Mill as well as representatives of Canadian Congress of Labor encouraged miners and smelter workers to talk about labour views and the necessity of organization.[127] In March 1943, Dorise Neilsen, a trade unionist member of the Gas Workers' Union, gave a speech to a large group of Sudbury women at Union Hall in which she exhorted them "to build yourselves a strong union and women's auxiliary group."[128] On May Day 1943, Mine Mill held a large rally outside Union Hall to celebrate local 598's first anniversary at which international president Reid Robinson addressed a large crowd.[129] In July, the Canadian Conference of Metal Miners, consisting of delegates from all Mine Mill locals in Canada, met in Sudbury. "This was the first labour conference of any sort to be held in Sudbury and it was heralded as a great success; organized labor was becoming a force to be reckoned with in the nickel industry."[130]

In the summer of 1943, local 598 officials wrote International Nickel requesting a meeting for the purpose of negotiating an agreement. When Inco refused stating that it already had a

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[126]PAO, MU 6577, Box 77, Mimeographed document.

[127]PAO, MU 6577, Box 10, Press releases.

[128]Ibid.

[129]Mike Solski, op.cit., p. 105.

[130]John B. Lang, op.cit., p. 45.

collective agreement with the UCNW, Mine Mill decided to apply to the Ontario Labour Court for certification. "While awaiting a hearing in the Court, Local 598 increased its efforts to sign up members, especially among the women who were working at I.N.C.O. as a wartime measure, in the hope that the Labour Court would grant certification without a hearing."[131] When local 598 reached an agreement first with Inco and then with Falconbridge[132] that a vote would be held, dates for balloting were set for December 17th and 18th at Inco and for December 20th at Falconbridge. Results of the vote were clear. "At both companies the percentages were approximately the same, 80% of those who voted and 70% of all employees favoured Local 598."[133] Local 598 was certified as bargaining agent for Inco workers on February 4, 1944 (for Falconbridge workers on March 8) and negotiations with the company started on February 14. The first collective agreement between Mine Mill and International Nickel was signed on March 10th 1944. After a long arduous campaign, "unionism had been recognized in Sudbury."[134]

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[131]John B. Lang, op.cit., p. 49.

[132]See PAO, RG7, VI-2, Box 18, Minutes of Settlement in Labour Court of Ontario, October 29, 1943.

[133]John B. Lang, op.cit., p. 51. See also PAO RG7, VI-2, Box 18, Report of the Registrar of the Labour Court, January 28, 1944; Sudbury Star, December 20, 1943, p. 16 and December 21, 1943, p. 1.

[134]John B. Lang, op.cit., p. 51.

While Mine Mill was organizing Sudbury workers, the labour movement was active in the political arena. In the August 4, 1943 provincial election, Bob Carlin was elected as the C.C.F. member for Sudbury in the Ontario Legislature defeating his nearest opponent, James Cooper, the sitting Liberal member, by more than 6,000 votes. Encouraged by this landslide victory, some members of local 598 turned their attention to the municipal arena. After some discussion in the Beacon, the Sudbury Labour Municipal Election Conference was formed to represent labour in December 6 elections. "Led by James Kidd for mayor, the Conference placed seventeen candidates in the field contesting every position. Eight of the candidates were Local 598 members while three were members of other unions, four were small businessmen and two were school teachers."[135] The Conference's platform called for a widening of the City of Sudbury charter to create a Greater Sudbury with the addition of Copper Cliff, Frood and McKim township; a revision of assessment rolls by obtaining legislation to bring mining companies under municipal taxation; a civic housing commission to solve the housing shortage and to build modern low-rental dwellings; union conditions and wages for civic employees; extension of civic vote all residents over 18 years of age.[136] Kidd lost to Beaton by 1100 votes and only one labour aldermanic candidate, J.P. McCool, Mine Mill's financial secretary, managed to get elected onto Sudbury

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[135]Ibid., p. 62.

[136]PAO, MU 6577, A-I, Box 10, Greater Sudbury Municipal Reform Platform.

Council. Two women labour candidates, Mrs D.W. Ward and A.W. Stephenson, were elected to the Public School board. Five labour-supported candidates were elected to various positions on surrounding township councils. The Star and Sudbury's business élite campaigned extensively against the labour candidates in the municipal election citing their lack of experience. As stated above, the morning after the election, the Star headlined its story "Experienced Men Returned as C.I.O. Slate Submerged by Landslide Vote in All Wards" and started its article with the following lead: "A rampaging C.I.O. campaign which challenged every elective civic office in the City met with almost wholesale defeat at the hands of Sudbury ratepayers in yesterday's civic elections."[137] Notwithstanding this defeat, the labour movement's entry into politics could be deemed a success especially when compared to its attempts in the thirties when communist candidates were badly defeated in municipal and federal elections and when Mine Mill organizer "Scotty" Anderson had been handily defeated as a farm-labour candidate in the 1937 provincial election.

The struggle to organize

Mine Mill's struggle to organize mine and smelter workers paralleled that of other Sudbury workers who sought to obtain union recognition during this period. In many instances, Local 598 was part of that struggle. In 1942, Carlin had indicated in a letter to the Canadian Congress of Labour that the 75 employees of the

[137]Sudbury Star, December 7, 1943, p. 1.

Sudbury Brewing Company would not be difficult to organize and also that the 35 street railway employees "are very dissatisfied with their wages and working conditions and are anxious to have a Union."[138] J.P. McCool, an employee of Sudbury Brewing and Mine Mill organizer, managed to organize the brewery workers during this period as the Beverage Workers Union, National Local 4, which was chartered in June 1942 by the CCL. Negotiations leading to the first collective agreement proved to be somewhat difficult. In early June, McCool was fired. "I was fired this morning for taking the day off yesterday. Brother Robson was down to see one of the officials John C. Clemens the man that fired me. He gave Brother Robson lots of reason for firing me. But he never mentioned that he let me go for staying home yesterday. John Clemens then said I was disloyal to the company."[139] The correspondence between CCL and Mine Mill officials reveals that company officials were using various tactics to intimidate the brewery workers. "One of the local brothers overheard John Clemens telling the foreman of the Bottling shop to put all the new men on the machines and we will get rid of the old men one at a time."[140] Members from other unions in Northern Ontario were encouraged to send letters and telegrams to the brewing company stating that they were "good patrons of

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[138]PAC, MG 28, I 103, Vol. 52, File 6, Letter from R.H. Carlin to A.R. Mosher CCL, May 21, 1942.

[139]Ibid., Letter from J.P. McCool to Conroy, secretary-treasurer of CCL, June 12, 1942.

[140]Ibid., July 7, 1942.

Silver Foam and Soo Falls Beer and we would appreciate it very much if you would give our fellow unionists in your plant at Sudbury the privilege of being union men with a trade union agreement."[141] A provisional agreement was reached between the union and the company in July but in 1943 McCool complained to Conroy that men with eight years service and active in union affairs had been laid off while workers with less seniority had been kept on.

Street railway employees were chartered as Division 269 of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and Other Transport Workers in January 1944. They signed their first collective agreement with the company in April 1944.[142] In these two campaigns, Mine Mill had been active in encouraging workers to organize. Local 598 had put "on a drive in the Sudbury Organizing Committee to organize all of the workers who are eligible to join a union."[143] This drive had started in 1943 when Local 598 decided to sponsor the Sudbury Workers Committee to bring non-nickel industry workers into CCL unions. Mine Mill volunteer organizers were successful in encouraging hundreds of Sudbury workers such as the brewery and street railway employees to affiliate with CCL unions. In 1945, Mine Mill had managed to organize workers at CIL and the Sudbury

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[141]Ibid., Letter from E. Robson to Pat Neenan, Mine Mill, June 17, 1942.

[142]Sudbury Star, April 6, 1944, p. 1. See also PAC, MG 28, I, 103, Vol. 94, File 6, Telegram from Carlin to Conroy January 17,1944 and letter from Conroy to Carlin January 19, 1944.

[143]PAC, MG 28, I, 103, Vol. 94, File 6, Letter from Carlin to Conroy, January 15, 1944.

Construction and Machinery.[144] In December 1944, Local 3 of the National Union of Building Workers was chartered by the CCL to organize all the building trades in Sudbury. It managed to negotiate an agreement with the Evans Lumber Company in 1945.

In 1944, public works employees of City Council met at Mine Mill Hall to organize themselves under the aegis of the CCL. After meeting with the CCL president, A.R. Mosher in January, they were chartered by the Congress on February 4, 1944 as the Sudbury Civic Employees Union. Negotiations with Council proved to be difficult which prompted Local 598 official Murray Cottrell to ask for CCL assistance. The union was certified by Council in June. "Our City Council has at last, after a certain amount of dodging around, agreed to pass the necessary By-Law enabling us to be certified," wrote the union's financial secretary William Steele to P. Conroy.[145] In a letter written in September, Steele indicated to Conroy that "Brother Stevenson is trying to have the Hydro and City application dealt with at the same time so that our contract can be negotiated before Civic election and it looks very much as though the City Aldermen are trying to stall."[146] Negotiations with City Council proved to be so difficult that national organizer Ben Levert wrote to Conroy in February 1945: "The negotiations with the Municipal Council of Sudbury on behalf of the Civic Workers has

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[144]PAO, MU 6577, Box 10.

[145]PAC, MG 28, I, 103, Volume 94, File 6, June 9, 1944.

[146]Ibid., September 1, 1944.

been a nightmare and nerve-breaking ordeal. Not only had we to balk the municipal anti-union members but also the controlling spirit of International Nickel was visible at all times."[147] A collective agreement was eventually signed later in the year.

This union was also chartered to cover other workers such as those in the building trades, bus drivers and dairy and restaurant workers but lack of union organizers hindered their organization. "These groups, it seems, though anxious to become unionized have not had enough assistance to interest the remaining workers of these individual groups and consequently those already in have allowed their dues to fall into arrears."[148] In many areas such as hotels and restaurants, the number of workers was too small to permit successful organization. While Local 598 volunteers had been active in the Sudbury Organizing Committee and had encouraged workers to unionize, "the Congress, however, did little or nothing to service these groups and in time the organization drifted to the point where complete disintegration was imminent."[149] In May 1946, Mine Mill decided to intervene by forming the Sudbury & District General Workers Union, Local 902, especially to organize laundry workers and others in small establishments. This union ceased to function shortly after its establishment but was reorganized in May 1947.

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[147]PAC, MG 28, I, 103, Volume 63, File 23, February 28, 1945.

[148]PAC, MG 28, I, 103, Volume 94, File 6, Letter from Steele to Conroy November 15, 1944.

[149]Mike Solski, op.cit., p. 120.

> We are making this application for a General Workers Union because it seems to be the only solution to the problems which are confronting small units of workers. I have given the situation a great deal of thought and believe that separate charters for small groups cannot serve either the workers of the Congress as invariably they fall apart or lose the social dynamic to keep them alive and functioning. At the present time I have an organizational committee and members in each of the following industries: laundry and dry cleaning, taxi drivers, warehouse men and truck drivers, building trades, lumber and building supplies, store clerks and the beverage rooms.[150]

In the fifties, Local 902 represented 55 different groups of workers in small manufacturing, building, transportation and service establishments in Sudbury. With the help of the State, Mine Mill proved to be an effective agent of class formation in Sudbury in the 1940s. After World War II, most of the industrial workers were unionized and others in various establishments were either organized or would soon be. Although it would not attempt to enter municipal politics as it had in 1943, Carlin was reelected in 1945.

These struggles reveal that left to themselves workers in the City of Sudbury, still employed and dispersed in relatively small commercial and service establishments would probably not have been able to organize. It took the leadership and efforts of Mine Mill to organize a large part of the working class in Sudbury and indeed in the Sudbury Basin.

The Sudbury working class was thereby transformed over the years from a group of unorganized men and women into a social and political force that had proven its capacity to compete for power

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[150]PAC, MG 28, I, 103, Volume 85, File 11, Letter from Harvey Ladd, Mine Mill organizer, to Conroy, May 5, 1947.

with the haute and petite bourgeoisie in order to gain a certain amount of control over its living and working conditions.

Summary and conclusion

International Nickel's expansion from 1926 to 1942 transformed Sudbury from a town of 9,000 to a city of nearly 40,000 inhabitants making it one of the largest centers in the province. Population increase resulted from the influx of thousands of workers and their families who opted to live in the western, northwestern and northern sections of the city as well as in the developing areas of Gatchell, McKim and Minnow Lake. Population was the most visible result of Inco's expansion. But the latter was part of a more fundamental change in the structure of and relationships between social classes in the Sudbury Basin.

The haute bourgeoisie's ranks were augmented by the arrival of national and provincial insurance companies, retail and whoslesale operations. While lumbermen declined in importance, International Nickel's monopoly of the world market made it the driving force in the Sudbury Basin both feared and revered. Some sectors of the petite bourgeoisie, such as garage and hotel owners, insurance and real estate agents increased in numbers and influence while others, such as small commercial establishments decreased not being able to survive the competition of the large chain stores and outside capital such as Eaton's. Large and middle-sized owners had to hire a greater number of managers, superintendents and foremen to supervise and co' ol its labour force. Overall, merchants and rentiers continued to be the dominant force within the petite

bourgeoisie. One of its main institutions, the Board of Trade, experienced a serious decline of membership in the thirties which eventually led to its merging with the new Businessmen's Association into the Sudbury Chamber of Commerce. The petite bourgeoisie's hold on Council was challenged by members of the working class who managed to elect a greater number to aldermanic positions. Council struggled with the financial difficulties created by the Depression and with labour militancy during the thirties and forties. Its concern with labour was not always negative as some mayors received and gave support to the labour movement. The petite bourgeoisie pursued its promotion of Sudbury. As a consequence growth created a serious dilemma as the tax base proved to be insufficient to finance the growing need for public services.

The structure of property holdings changed during this period. There was an increase in public properties and in working class ownership; the petite bourgeoisie's share of properties remained constant while that of the haute bourgeoisie declined slightly.

The influx of mine, smelter and refinery workers changed the structure of the working class. The sexual division of labour became more pronounced as more women entered the labour force especially during World War II as hundreds of women workers invaded the male preserve of the mines. During and after the Depression, the Communist Party and the International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers served as agents of working class formation. While the Communists did not encounter much success and ceased to be

active in the city after 1936, Mine Mill succeeded, with the support of the State, in organizing a large proportion of the working class. Its success can be measured by the fact that in the forties the Sudbury working class was able to challenge property owners for political power and for the right to negotiate better working and living conditions. After World War II, Sudbury was still largely controlled by the petite bourgeoisie but in many ways it had become a Union City where the local elite had to contend with the workers' organizations and power.

CONCLUSION

The preceding social historical investigation into the social of the railway, mining and lumbering region known as the Sudbury Basin has shown property and labour to be two fundamental dimensions of social class. While its focus has been on the town and city of Sudbury, especially concerning the question of property, the thesis has analyzed the formation and structure of and the relationships between three social classes throughout much of the Basin - the workers, the petite and haute bourgeoisie.

Sudbury's beginnings as a frontier settlement and development as a merchant town are related in large part to the actions of the Canadian and American haute bourgeoisie of railway, mining and lumber, especially in their ownership of vast tracts of land. Canadian Pacific and Canadian Copper each managed to establish a dominant position in Sudbury by acquiring most of the village's and the surrounding townships' land between 1883 and 1890. In the case of Canadian Copper, ownership of the major mining properties proved its major asset in successfully competing against other mining companies in the Sudbury Basin. Its intellectual property of a refining process, through its affiliation with Orford Copper, assured it of a near monopoly of the North American nickel market. Mond, Canadian Copper's only serious rival in the early twentieth century, managed to establish itself in the Basin through acquisition of numerous properties as well as its ownership of a proven refining method.

Canadian Pacific's ownership of land within the boundaries of

the village and the town gave it an important voice in Sudbury's physical development; the selling of properties in the downtown core added greatly to its capital base. The remaining land in Sudbury and the surrounding township of McKim was originally purchased by individuals and families who became prominent members of the local petite bourgeoisie. Many lumbermen who accumulated capital from their logging and milling operations in the District eventually invested some of it in Sudbury properties. Some of them, most notably W.J. Bell, remained part of the local élite for many decades. Proprietorship of land was therefore an essential element in the making of Sudbury's haute and petite bourgeoisie. Land was but one type of property from which accrued various rights. It was however most important as it permitted its owners, in the case of mining and lumber, to own and develop means of production: mines, smelters, hydro-electrical plants, sawmills and lumber camps.

The local petite bourgeoisie owned different types of property: mostly commercial and residential from which they obtained revenue and which gave them the right to hire workers. Many were small property owners but some, like Frank Cochrane, managed to become employers of an important labour force as the surrounding mining and lumber camps expanded after the turn of the century. Ownership of private properties within the town did provide an important right, that of voting for and being elected to Council and thereby deciding on the type and extent of development in the community. It is no coincidence that most of the mayors and elected officials in Sudbury, from 1883 to 1946,

were important property owners or that members of the local bourgeoisie were the main decision makers in many aspects of community life. Throughout the period studied, they consistently owned at least 70 per cent of the total value of assessed properties.

By contrast, Sudbury's working class, which made up the majority of its population, was mostly propertyless and therefore could not exercise the many rights which accrued to the haute and petite bourgeoisie. The majority of workers and their families were not even proprietors of one of the basic means of reproduction: housing. Most lived in rented dwellings the conditions of which were oftentimes deplorable. The petite bourgeoisie's control of Council seemingly inhibited construction of available and affordable housing for workingmen in Sudbury. This lack of property prevented many workers - most of whom were part of the floating and stagnant sections of the population - from occupying elected positions on municipal public bodies and therefore of possibly orienting the development of the community in alternative ways. Lack of property was the product and the very condition of the reproduction of the structure of social class. It ensured that a large group of men and women would be obliged to sell their labour power to owners of mining, railway, lumber, commercial and service enterprises.

Structures of labour

Selling one's labour power to private owners of the means of production constituted throughout this period of Sudbury's history

the fundamental structure of the working class. The only exception was a series of cooperatives established by Finnish workers for a brief period in the late 1920s. While this fundamental relationship between owners and workers remained intact, there were changes at other levels: types of occupations, gender-based divisions of labour and the ethnic composition of the working class.

The occupational structure also underwent changes due to technological transformations: teamsters and liverymen were replaced by truck, bus and taxi drivers; carriage salesmen by automobile agents. The majority of occupations within Sudbury were highly concentrated in the railway, commercial and service sectors, as the town was mostly a service and distribution center. Outside the town limits, various mining and lumber occupations prevailed. After 1928, the occupational structure within Sudbury changed when mine, smelter and refinery workers started to reside in the city.

Changes in the gender-based division of labour were similar to those taking place in the Canadian labour force: more women became wage workers but most of them were segregated in a restricted number of occupations. Women were employed in area mines only briefly during World War II. Otherwise, they were waitresses, maids, nurses, teachers, secretaries, saleswomen and clerks. After World War I, Sudbury's working class became more ethnically diversified when East Europeans were employed in mining and lumber camps. After 1920, a growing proportion of workers were neither French nor English.

As lumbermen, railway and mine owners increased the forces of

production especially after introduction of hydro-electricity at the turn of the century, the labour process was gradually transformed. To control and supervise its workers, the haute bourgeoisie and some members of Sudbury's petite bourgeoisie hired a growing cadre of managers, supervisors, bosses and foremen. Mine owners especially introduced scientific methods and no doubt scientific management into their operations; as a result, an ever increasing number of university trained personnel were hired in mining. The first casualties were prospectors who largely disappeared from the local mining scene by the 1920s. Smelter workers were especially affected by the numerous technological transformations in smelting methods. If mine work was mechanized at a slower pace, it became much more dangerous than smelting particularly in periods of speeded-up or increasing production. These overall transformations in the forces of production brought about changes in the social relations of production.

Class formation

The concept of class formation has been employed to identify processes of association, organizations and consciousness whereby classes define and promote their various interests. The haute bourgeoisie of mining, lumber and railway promoted its interests mostly through the traditional political parties and the State. Lumbermen were especially active in party politics at various levels. Along with mine and railway owners, they had easy access to the decision making centers of the State be it in Canada or the United States. For close to twenty years, Sudbury's bourgeoisie had

an influential representative - Frank Cochrane - in both Ottawa and Toronto. Many members of the local petite bourgeoisie - most notably Charles McCrea - were also active and influential in party politics and State affairs; through Council, Board of Trade and the traditional parties they lobbied both levels of the State to further their class interests. They obviously controlled the local levels of the State - township, town and city Coucils - thereby regulating their common afairs such as land, commerce, industry and law enforcement.

There is no evidence of any type of working class organization in the nineteenth century. It is highly probable that the earliest formation of the working class occurred in some areas of associational life such as the boarding houses, taverns, sports events and lodges where workers discussed their common interests. But evidence for this is lacking. The first known attempts at union and political organization by workers occurred just prior to World War I. These became more frequent during and shortly after the War as evidenced by the increasing number of unions in the area and the active involvement of socialist parties in municipal and provincial politics. These first attempts managed to limit somewhat the bourgeoisie's unfettered exercise of rights over labour. There is sufficient evidence - for example the workers' testimony at the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations hearings - to indicate that the local bourgeoisie did not hesitate to employ repressive measures against labour to ensure that their property rights were not hindered. This was certainly the case prior to and even during

the 1920s. But with the Depression and especially World War II, labour's organizational drive and capacities greatly increased due in large part to the leadership and work of the Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers.

By 1946, the formation of the Sudbury working class was certainly well advanced: not only were lumber, mine and smelter workers unionized but so were service and municipal employees in the Sudbury General Workers' Union. Organization of workers in the city of Sudbury proved to be a long struggle because of their fragmentation in small service and commercial establishments.

From a large unorganized and anonymous group in the nineteenth century, Sudbury's workers had managed to organize themselves to the point where they were able to challenge the local bourgeoisie for political power and to negotiate with the haute bourgeoisie for rights to improve the conditions surrounding reproduction of their labour power.

These classes were certainly not homogeneous. Ethnic, religious, political and social differences as well as growing internal stratification were a common characteristic of each class. Of the three classes studied, workers certainly had to wage the longest and most difficult battle to organize and defend their interests.

While the analysis has focused on the very different types of organization within each social class, there were examples of cross-class associations in Sudbury such as churches, sports, lodges and even political parties. These were not highlighted in

the thesis because others have employed this approach to focus on community instead of class in Sudbury.[1] There is no doubt however that such cross-class organizations were important, at various periods, in stabilizing social relations of production.

The State, at all levels, proved to be an extremely important agent in the history of Sudbury's social classes. While the preceding analysis could not focus more extensively on its multifaceted role, it did show how it transformed property from public to private ownership for the purpose of capital accumulation (mines, lumber, railway, hydro-electricity), how it used its own ressources to develop private property (expansion of H.E.P.C. into the North), how it intervened at various times (Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, Housing Acts, Workmen's Compensation, Order in Council PC 1003) to stabilize and control social relations of production. As the capitalist mode of production was being reproduced on a progressively expanding scale, the State itself correspondingly expanded its scale of operations. Study of class thus needs to incorporate an analysis of the State at all levels.

In conclusion, this social historical investigation of property and class in Sudbury and the surrounding Basin has shed new light on the history of this mining region. Hopefully it has also contributed to shed some light on the thousands of workers whose labour power and struggle to organize were essential elements in the history of Sudbury's development from 1883 to 1946.

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[1]See for instance D.M. LeBourdais, op.cit; Graeme S. Mount, op.cit; Gaétan Gervais, op. cit; Charles Dorian, op.cit; G.E. Higgins and F. Peake, op.cit.

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