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FLIN FLON: A SINGLE ENTERPRISE COMMUNITY

1927 - 1946

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Flin Flon: a single enterprise community 1927-1946

by

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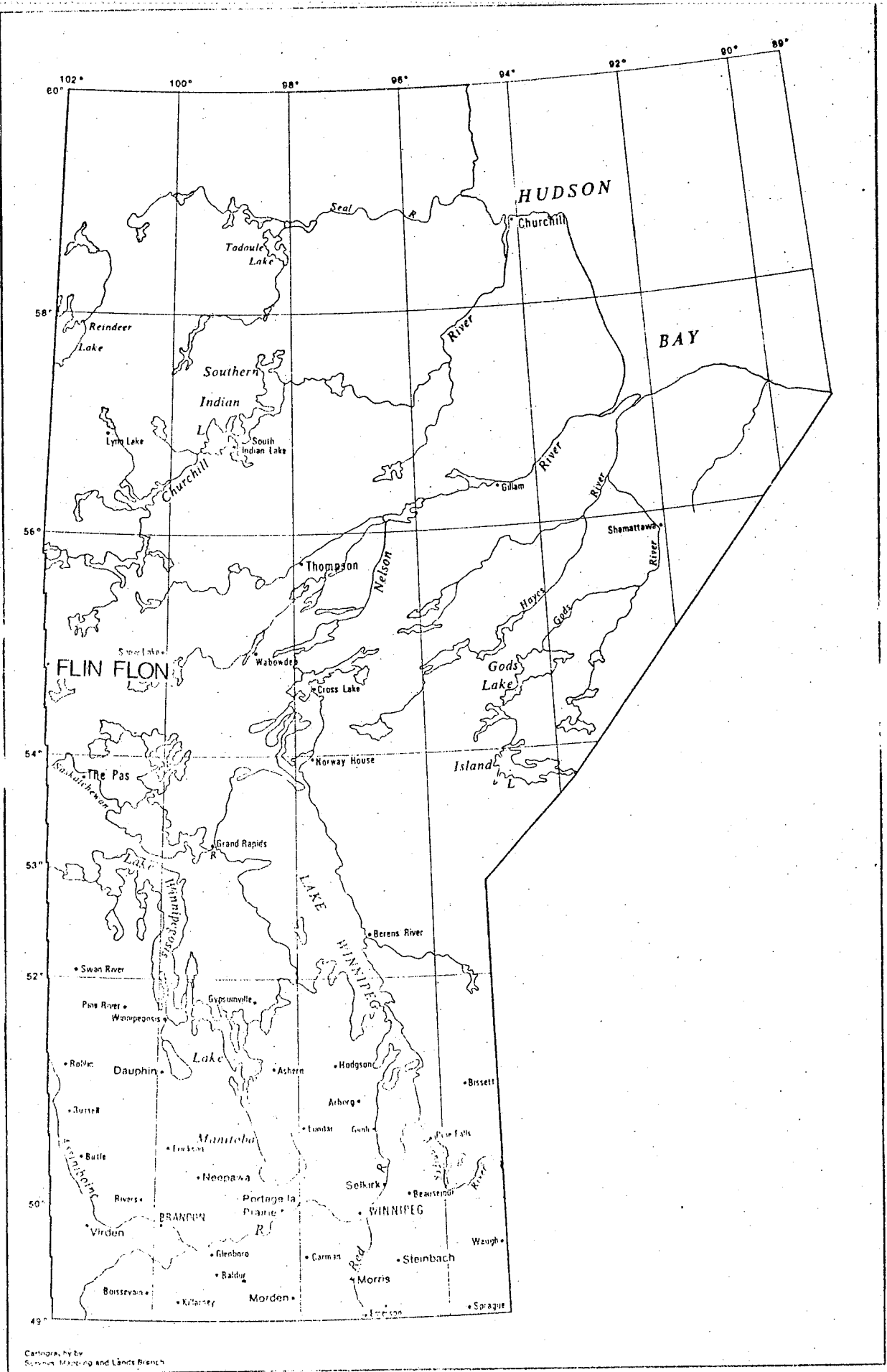
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LOCATION MAP

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## INTRODUCTION

The study, "Flin Flon; A Single Enterprise Community", was undertaken to illustrate the development of an urban society in Manitoba's northern frontier, in the years 1927-1946. In doing so, the thesis portrays the growth of Flin Flon from a primitive mining camp into a booming industrial town of approximately seven thousand inhabitants.

The underlying theme of the study is to present Flin Flon as representative of urban expansion in the region beyond the limits of the southern population belt. In this manner, it is possible to describe the community as a model of Canadian, resource-based, communities. It is, as a consequence, one of many communities that have encouraged the settlement of the frontier regions of the country.

The resource-based, frontier community within the Canadian context is generally either the product of a single industry or single enterprise activity. The single industry community allows for the development of a resource based community around several enterprises. The single enterprise community, such as Flin Flon, evolves from one enterprise. The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Limited is the enterprise responsible for the development of Flin Flon. Its livelihood, and therefore the livelihood of Flin Flon, is dependent upon the exploitation of the resource wealth located within the district.

Flin Flon is representative of the extractive type of resource orientated, single enterprise community. As such, it is the most common form of resource-based single enterprise community. It is,

however, one of four types that can thus be classified. Included in this number with the extractive communities are lumber orientated communities, fishing communities and hydro-electrical communities, all of which, to one degree or another, have fostered the expansion of the Canadian urban frontier with the establishment of single enterprise, resource-based communities.

Beyond the resource-based communities lie several other, very broad classifications of single enterprise communities. The manufacturing, administrative-defense-service, transportation and the construction type of single enterprise community, like the resource orientated communities, have at their base the single enterprise. They are, however, not as frontier orientated as the resource community and are therefore usually located within heavily populated regions.

The study of Flin Flon as an example of the expansion of the Canadian urban frontier is presented in the text of the thesis in a chronological manner. This type of format allows the study to illustrate specific periods of community growth or stagnation in the framework of the overall evolution of the community. This is particularly important in the discussion of the single enterprise community as it helps to demonstrate patterns or themes in Company-community relations.

The first period discussed deals with the establishment of a single enterprise model and its application to the early history of the Flin Flon region. It assesses the historical patterns of growth and attempts to demonstrate their significance in terms of the development of Flin Flon as a single enterprise community. In this manner,

the early period describes the resource base of the community and its growth in relation to that base. Chronologically, the discussion deals with a period from roughly 1900-1927, when the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company was incorporated.

The incorporation of the "single enterprise" presents a natural starting point for the second period of the study. This analyzes the growth of the community from 1927-1934 and presents it as the construction and organizational phase of development. It also allows for the illustration of community response to Company activity. The seven year period is regarded by the study as the formative years of the community and as such emphasis is placed on the long range effect of Company policy upon the community.

The third section of the study deals with the events and circumstances surrounding the one month of June 1934. The Flin Flon strike, during the summer of 1934, is evaluated as both an economic and social response to the patterns of growth within the community. The importance of this particular phenomenon of strike within the single enterprise community, lies not only in its effect on the community but also in the fact that it is a deviation from the norm within developing single enterprise community. These factors combined with the strike's significance in terms of creating a watershed in the relations of Company and community, elevates it to perhaps the most important event in the evolution of the community.

The period from 1934-1946 is evaluated in the thesis as the time when Flin Flon comes of age. The study reflects upon this stage of growth as the maturation of the community. It is characterized by

the tendency on the part of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Ltd. to isolate itself from community affairs while at the same time allowing or encouraging the community to accept more responsibility. This period, and indeed the whole study, culminates with the Act Incorporating the Town of Flin Flon in 1946.

The evaluation of Flin Flon as a single enterprise community is concluded with a comparative study of characteristics generally accepted as traditional within the single enterprise community. On this basis, it is finally possible to determine the level of Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's involvement in the growth of the community.

This thesis, then, depicts the development of Flin Flon, as an example of urban growth within Canada's northern frontier. As a contribution to the study of Canadian single enterprise communities, it hopefully helps to illuminate the phenomenon of urban expansion as well as encourage the continued investigation of the process.

"Flin Flon: A Single Enterprise Community 1927-1946", is the combined efforts of many interested individuals. Over the course of its preparation, my gratitude to those involved in its completion can only in a small way measure the appreciation that is intended. I would specifically however, wish to thank the staffs of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, the Provincial Library of Manitoba, the Elizabeth Dafoe and Engineering Libraries, University of Manitoba, and the University of Winnipeg Library, for their unselfish assistance in fulfilling my continued requests for information.

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CHAPTER 1

The Single Enterprise Community; A Model and Its Application to  
Flin Flon

A special and somewhat distinctive feature of the Canadian urban scene is the relatively large number of communities that owe their existence to an industrial enterprise. While it is estimated that as high as ninety percent of the total Canadian population inhabits a narrow strip of arable land that parallels the international border,<sup>1</sup> the remaining ten percent falls largely into the category of the single industry community.<sup>2</sup> By definition, the single industry community can be determined as having a large percentage of its basic labour force employed in one dominant industrial activity and where employment is dependent upon the functioning of that activity.<sup>3</sup>

Although this definition would not entirely restrict the single industry community to the area beyond the reaches of the southern belt of settlement, it would effectively eliminate metropolitan communities wherein the labour force may be dominated by commuters.<sup>4</sup> By the same token, it makes allowance for both the dominant industrial activity and the various service industries that evolve in the community as a result of, and for the maintenance of, the primary industry.

The process of establishing the quantitative measure for the "large percentage of the labour force" involved with the single industry necessary to qualify, by definition, as a single industry community has been generally accepted at seventy-five percent as proposed by Rex Lucas in Minetown, Milltown, Railtown.<sup>5</sup> This, seemingly arbitrary

selection takes into consideration various civilizing aspects of the community such as a newspaper office or hotel and public baths by allowing a twenty-five percent portion of the labour force to be involved in such enterprises. At the same time, this percentage requires that a minimum of three-quarters of the same labour force be involved in the dominant industrial activity or at least dependent upon its continued functioning for their employment.

Based upon the seventy-five percent factor, Flin Flon qualifies by definition as a single industry community. According to the 1951 Canadian Census, Flin Flon had a total labour force of 4,013 men and women, of which 3,796 were wage earners.<sup>6</sup> Statistics supplied by the provincial Department of Mines and Natural Resources for the same year indicate that an average of approximately 2,700 people were employed by the mining enterprise in Flin Flon.<sup>7</sup> This information on the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's employees, although close to the seventy-five percent margin, does not include enterprises such as the Hudson Bay Air Transport Co. Ltd., or the Island Falls Power Plant, both of which are subsidiary of the mother company and both of which would contribute to the single industry status of Flin Flon. In the final analysis then, the town of Flin Flon as incorporated in 1946, meets the criteria established for its single industry status by 1951 which would suggest that the same would hold true for the period prior to 1946.<sup>8</sup>

In keeping with the theme of the single industry community, a further offshoot has evolved which becomes a specialized form of single industry community. This is the single enterprise community,



which must satisfy the definition of a single industry community as well as meet its own requirement.<sup>9</sup> Assuming that a particular community has seventy-five percent of its labour force engaged in a dominant industrial activity, it would also require to have that dominant activity initiated and controlled by a single enterprise in order to qualify as a single enterprise community.<sup>10</sup> The single enterprise, be it an industry, government agency, defense establishment or a transportational network must, by virtue of its dominance in the economy of the community, be actively involved in the community itself.<sup>11</sup> This involvement may out of necessity or choice be exercised as employer, landlord, storekeeper, town council, recreation director and perhaps even as the fire department.<sup>12</sup> The totality of the enterprise in the life of the community generally dictates the type of single enterprise community that evolves. In most cases in the single enterprise community, there is an acceptance of a limited amount of company involvement as a matter of course, whether it is in the form of housing, recreational activities or company stores. But in other cases a "closed" single enterprise community has developed because of the company's total control of facilities within the community.<sup>13</sup>

The universal feature of the single enterprise community is the predominance of company-owned family dwellings.<sup>14</sup> In the first stage of community development, the accommodations are generally restricted to bunkhouses or tents, owned and maintained by the enterprise. As the settlement develops a resemblance of permanence, individual houses are constructed by the company in order to attract a stable working element to whom the houses are rented. With the passage of time, agreements

are generally reached whereby the employee has the option to buy the company house. This evolutionary trend, being the norm in Canadian single enterprise communities, is an extremely important method of maintaining a viable work force and correspondingly a viable community.

Other major characteristics of the single enterprise community, which are not as traditional or all encompassing as company housing, are the company-owned retail general store, hotel, recreation center, playgrounds, water works, church buildings, hospitals and possibly the company-supported school. In addition to these physical features, the company in many cases indirectly controls many of the personal and social aspects of the lives of its employees. This would in some instances, also include political representation in the community or at the provincial or federal level.

In general then, the single enterprise community must be a single industry community in which the industrial activity of the community is under the complete control of a single enterprise. The characteristics which, on occasion, evolve from these circumstances, such as company-owned housing or retail outlets are basically indicators of the type of single enterprise community that may exist. So while on the one extreme, a single enterprise community may exist with simply a goodly proportion of the labour force involved in the single enterprise, it may also function under conditions in which the enterprise has the authority to restrict civil freedom within the boundaries of territorial law.

The community of Flin Flon, already assessed as a single industry community, also meets the necessary requirements to qualify as

a single enterprise community. The one dominant enterprise active in the community in the period under consideration is the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company.<sup>15</sup> The statistics provided by the Department of Mines and Natural Resources which were referred to in the context of the single industry community, pertain strictly to the operation of the single mining company,<sup>16</sup> and therefore indicate that approximately seventy-five percent of the labour force was indeed involved in its operations.<sup>17</sup> As a consequence, Flin Flon can be determined to function as a resource orientated, extractive, single enterprise community under the supervision of a private enterprise.

The resource-based single enterprise community is but one example of the phenomenon that has resulted in the growth of the Canadian urban frontier.<sup>18</sup> They, like the manufacturing, administrative-defense-service and transportational or construction single enterprise communities meet the basic requirements of definition but as resource-based communities they have features that make them unique. In other words, the forestry, fishing and extractive single-enterprise communities are perhaps a truer form of single enterprise community because of their greater reliance on the company responsible for their existence. This situation is primarily due to the location of the resource that is essential to the development of the community. While, for example, a manufacturing enterprise would situate itself in close proximity to its market, the resource enterprise would by necessity have to restrict its location to the site of the resource. As a result of this location factor, a resource enterprise is often forced to pioneer the frontier of a specific region in order to obtain its commodity.

The location of resource orientated single enterprise communities has perhaps best been delineated by Ira Robinson in New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier.<sup>19</sup> While the bulk of Canada's population is concentrated in a thin belt that parallels the international border, it has been estimated that at least ten percent resides in isolated resource orientated frontier communities.<sup>20</sup> These communities can be categorized into three distinct groupings, which generally correspond to various physiographic features of the country.<sup>21</sup> The Canadian Shield, which possess the majority of Canada's mineral wealth, is the most populated region in terms of resource orientated single enterprise communities.<sup>22</sup> The Northern Cordilleran mountain range in the upper coastal region of British Columbia has the second largest grouping while the Interior Plains region ranks third in the number of resource orientated single enterprise communities.<sup>23</sup> The isolated or frontier nature of the three regions - particularly the Shield area of northern Canada - increases the chances of a paternal relationship between the community and the enterprise that is responsible for its existence.

The community of Flin Flon is located on the Canadian Shield and therefore falls into the most populated physiographic region of Canada, in terms of single enterprise communities. Even the most populated area however can be evaluated as having given rise to isolated frontier communities, which, without the presence of an exploitable resource, would not necessarily have developed. In the case of Flin Flon, the resource industry is extractive, based on the mineral wealth of the Shield and, while this is the dominant resource industry active

in the Canadian Shield region, it combines with the forestry industry to give the Shield its premier position in resource-based single enterprise communities.<sup>24</sup>

The obvious connection between the resource and the location of the resource-based community is the dominant factor in its development. The resource itself, however, is generally not influential in determining the type of community that evolves. The exception to this rule is a situation wherein the resource is deemed to be of enough value to warrant its development but its treatment or exploitation, because of the cost and expertise involved in its development, demand a large single enterprise's participation. In other words, unless the type of resource find is beyond the scope of single industry as compared to single enterprise development, the community will usually evolve as a multi-enterprise community based on the single industry of the resource.

Combined with the expenditure on the exploitation of the resource itself is the expenditure involved in the development of the process by which the resource can be made profitable. This includes such facilities as transportation, power and, of course, the construction of the community itself. The major feature in this vein that influences the involvement of the single enterprise is the general isolation of the region in which the resource is found. The enterprise must, in most cases, pioneer the frontier and implement its own system of transportation, power supply and community growth. This, like the expense involved in the profitable exploitation of the resource, would demand a large enterprise with the capital and the expertise, as well as the political power, to initiate the development of the resource.

The isolation of the region in which the single enterprise community develops is, as a rule, maintained because of past resource exploitation. A region such as the Canadian Shield most actively warrants development because of its resource wealth and while one form of development may lead to another method of resource exploitation it does not necessarily foster a high level of permanence. In fact, it is possible to suggest that the exploitation of a particular resource reinforces the isolation of the region. So while it could be argued that the fur trade introduced agriculture which in turn introduced mineral or forest exploitation in Manitoba, it would be possible to also determine that these industries because of their economic base, maintained the frontier nature of the region. The fur trade, for example, required a large uninhabited countryside in order to expedite the exploitation of the region's fur wealth; similarly agriculture and forestry require large tracts of open land in order to function properly. The continued evolution of resource-based industries has helped to produce a situation which is favourable to the single enterprise community in the resource region.

The historical neglect of the frontier region in which the majority of the single enterprise communities are found is a contributing factor to their evolution. History maintains that early interest in Canada was primarily due to its potential resource wealth and while permanent settlement eventually followed, it too was based on the resource wealth of the country. The continued isolation of various regions in Canadian history because of resources or the lack of them is an important factor in the eventual dominance of the single enterprise

community in the resource field. The relationship between historical precedent and contemporary single enterprise communities is indeed a factor in the growth of communities such as Flin Flon.

Single enterprise communities, such as Flin Flon are the products of three factors that play a large role in their evolution as single enterprise communities. The resource and the type of development necessary to make it profitable combines with the continued isolation of the particular region in which the resource is located to promote the rise of the single enterprise community. The application of this thesis to the community of Flin Flon effectively illustrates that had it not been for the eventual participation of the single enterprise in the resource development of the area, that the mineral wealth and subsequently, the community itself, would not have developed as it did. Thus, the major function of the single enterprise in community development is in providing the method through which that development may take place.

### Isolation

The historical precedent of isolation which contributes to the final evolution of Flin Flon as a single enterprise community began with the first expedition in search of the passage to the riches of the East Indies. Commencing in 1576 and continuing through until the first fur trading venture in the area of northern Manitoba in 1659, the region had significance in terms of development, only in as much as it impeded travel to the Indies and forced exploration of the northern reaches of Canada.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, the interest of the first explorers of the northern region of Manitoba was firstly with the east and then

perhaps more as a consolation, with the potential of the Canadian frontier. This meant that the Canadian north acted as a buffer for the alleged northwest passage. It was not until the resources of the frontier were appreciated that it warranted investigation.

The fur, agricultural, lumber and mineral wealth of Manitoba can be illustrated as the initiators of the area's development. Introduced by the explorations of those involved in the search for the northwest passage, the series of resource development schemes continued to contribute to the isolation of the region. So, while in the case of the northwest passage, outposts were established merely out of necessity for the realization of the final objective,<sup>26</sup> in the resource period of the region's development, outposts were established in a fashion so as to allow for the fullest possible exploitation of the resources, which meant the continued isolation of the area.

The fur trade era can be characterized by the rivalry of two countries, three companies and all the individuals who were actively involved in the pursuit of furs. Originally orientated towards Hudson Bay, the competition forced the traders inland. As they moved towards the interior of the northern Manitoba region they established outposts which served to extend the frontier further west. Encouraged by the efforts of Henry Kelsey, Anthony Hendry or the Sieur de la Verendrye a series of posts connected by a growing inland transportation system quickly emerged. The whole basis of the system however depended upon open access to the fur bearing areas of the north. This consequently meant that while the posts of the Northwest or Hudson's Bay Company served as the connection between the traders and the market, it also



ensured that the traders could move within the interior unimpeded by settlers or communities of settlers. Hence, the nomadic nature of the traders and the limited settlement potential of the outposts helped to maintain the isolation of northern Manitoba.

The connection between the fur trade era and the agricultural development of Manitoba is based upon the generating of interest in the settlement possibilities of the frontier. The Earl of Selkirk, for example, initiated his settlement schemes on the inspiration of the travels of Alexander Mackenzie.<sup>27</sup> While Mackenzie himself was introduced to the potential riches of the countryside, he also introduced those riches through his writings to potential settlers.

The division between the fur trade industry and that of agriculture can fairly accurately be drawn at 1869 when Rupert's Land and the North-West territory were formally transferred to the Dominion of Canada. Where the companies and individuals of the fur trade era pursued the wealth of the furs at the expense of all else, the Dominion government sought a policy of settlement at all costs.

Settlement of the farming population in northern Manitoba was almost non-existent. Those settlers who were associated with Selkirk's expeditions traversed the province by way of the Nelson River to Lake Winnipeg and eventually landed at the proposed site of settlement at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in southern Manitoba. This trend continued through the first half of the nineteenth century until the importance of the northern route into the province began to lose its dominance as the major route of traffic.<sup>28</sup>

Although the northern clay belt, between the Nelson and Churchill

Rivers was considered arable, the farming of the north was not viewed as a profitable venture.<sup>29</sup> The short growing season and the lack of facilities acted as deterrents to all but a few hardy individuals. The adventurous had, in some cases, taken to the farming of the pioneer fringe but this was generally the exception rather than the rule.<sup>30</sup> The agricultural industry tended to funnel potential settlers into the southern reaches of the province away from the north and thereby maintained the relative isolation of the north.

The major exception to this isolating role of agriculture was its attempt to maintain the Hudson Bay connection. As early as 1879, charters had been obtained from parliament authorizing the survey of potential rail routes to Hudson Bay.<sup>31</sup> Several proposals were presented for the route's advantages and significantly these appeals became one of the factors involved in the eventual construction of a rail connection to Hudson Bay.<sup>32</sup>

The railway combined with river transport to further open the north to commercial enterprise. Most noticeable among these was the forestry industry.<sup>33</sup> When the rail connection to The Pas was completed in 1908, it became economically viable to establish industry that had previously been out of the question due to the lack of a transportation system. The lumber industry was quick to take advantage of the rail connection and in 1909 the first sawmill began operations in The Pas region.<sup>34</sup> Two years after it had started operation, the mill was cutting thirty-five million feet annually. But, like its predecessors in the resource exploitation business, the forestry industry contributed to the relative isolation of the region. The Finger Lumber Company,

at The Pas, required large tracts of uninhabited land in order to facilitate the cutting of timber. So, while the forestry company established a working population in the region, it still acted as a deterrent to settlement on timberland, which would interfere with business.

The powers of government in northern Manitoba, like the powers of industry, played a major role in the under-development of the region. Spurred by either economic or continental prizes, the governing forces neglected to implement the policies necessary to foster the growth and expansion of the north. The settlement of the region was determined to be of importance if, and only if, it contributed to the attainment of the original policy objective. While the governing forces and their policies may have changed with the passage of time, the effect was essentially the same; isolation.

The period that involves the first attempt to govern the northern area of Manitoba covers almost a two hundred year period from 1670-1870. The laws and regulations of the various trading charters combined with the laws of survival to dictate the rules of the land. This encompassed both rival countries and rival charters to fragment the universality of government in the new region. In all cases, however, whether the subject of consideration is The Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay or The North-West Company, policy was largely fostered by the fur industry and resultingly, that policy like the industry, encouraged the isolation of the region.

With the 1870 take-over of the Hudson Bay region by the Dominion government, the policy towards the western frontier drastically changed. The federal government's objective of developing permanence

in western settlement, although distinctly different from the policy of the fur trade era, had a similar impact on northern development. The Dominion government was eventually willing to concede limited control of the region to the provincial government while they maintained absolute dominance in terms of policy procedure. In this sense the federal government pursued its National Policy of encouraging agricultural settlement through the process of railway construction. The National Policy in turn, limited northern development because it was concerned more with transcontinental growth than with the regional growth of northern Manitoba. While the Dominion government promoted such projects as railway development in the north, their objective was to provide east-west transportation routes rather than encouraging northern growth. In the case of the Hudson Bay route, for example, the appropriation of \$500,000 for the construction of a bridge across the Saskatchewan River in The Pas was deemed more essential for the eventual shipment of western grain to market than for the development of the northern region of Manitoba.<sup>35</sup> The needs of the north were secondary to those of the country which was defined by the National Policy. Consequently, while the north did obtain indirect benefits from federal policy, in comparison to the fertile south, it remained in relative isolation.

The limited activity of the federal government in the development of northern resources can be demonstrated as early as 1857.<sup>36</sup> It was however not until the last decade of the century that a geological survey team of the Department of Mines ventured into the northern Manitoba region. They surveyed and sampled the mineral wealth in and around the

area of Cross, Pipestone, Wekusko (Herb) and Athapapuskow Lakes.<sup>37</sup>

Essentially, however, federal interest in the northern Manitoba mineral wealth remained supervisory until well into the twentieth century.

This would infer that they were interested in the development of the mineral wealth but unwilling to instigate the process of development.

Had the Dominion government taken a more active role in the pursuit of northern Manitoba's resource wealth, its status of isolation would have been considerably reduced.

The provincial government's involvement in the development of the north was extremely limited. By 1912 the boundaries of the province had been extended to their present configuration, although the Dominion government retained responsibility for the natural resources of the area.<sup>38</sup> The authority that the province did exercise prior to 1930 was implemented through the establishment of a regional government headed originally by Commissioner J.A. Campbell who was to act as the area supervisor and direct northern development from The Pas.<sup>39</sup> The Commissioner's official tasks were to oversee the country north of the Saskatchewan River, reaching to Hudson Bay, including the administration of justice, supervision of the schools of the district and the area's health conditions. The job was facilitated by funding from the provincial legislature, in the way of supply bills; but, like the province, the Commissioner was greatly impeded by the federal government's retention of the rights to the province's natural resources.

The provincial government constructively participated in the development of the northern railway network. Unlike the federal government, however, the province was ultimately concerned with the development

of the resource wealth of the north. It encouraged railway construction in the hopes of eventually influencing the development of the potential riches within its boundaries. In this case, the provincial government did achieve a considerable degree of success but had the power of development been vested in the province instead of the Dominion the course of northern expansion would have been better defined. Indeed, the provincial government's role in the continued isolation of the north was only the direct consequence of the Dominion government's refusal to consent to the wishes of the province.

The application of the theory of isolation to the specific case study of the Flin Flon region is relatively appreciable in terms of the settlement patterns of northern Manitoba. The original outposts that were established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in conjunction with the fur trade continued to be the foundations of settlement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Important in this respect and also because of their proximity to the eventual site of Flin Flon were Norway House, Cumberland House and The Pas.<sup>40</sup> The three formed the basis of the northern community and became the sub-metropolises of the southern communities into the northern frontier.<sup>41</sup>

Norway House, located on Little Playgreen Lake, was the important stopping place on the route from York Factory to Lake Winnipeg. Originally known as Jack River post, it provided both a rest stop for the early traveller as well as becoming the inland headquarters for the fur trade.<sup>42</sup> Cumberland House, established on Sturgeon Lake as a result

of fur trade rivalry, essentially remained a depot of the fur trade. From 1821 onwards, its major role was in the westward expansion of the process of settlement.<sup>43</sup> The Pas, on the other hand, played a major role in the development of northern Manitoba. Its contemporary history goes back to the 1730's and the adventures of La Verendrye; but even prior to Fort Paskoia, its role as a natural outpost or center had been exploited by the Indians.<sup>44</sup> While it continued to develop as an outpost, a civilizing influence was maintained through the Church of England's Devon Mission. The village's growth depended upon the transient population of those involved in the fur and fishing industries until, in the twentieth century, lumbering and mining supplied a somewhat more static population.

The three communities were the major centers of settlement in the Flin Flon region prior to the mineral discoveries of the twentieth century. They owed their existence to resource exploitation but they owed their under-development or stagnation to the continued forced isolation of the region within which they were located. As a result of this isolation, Norway House, Cumberland House and The Pas were the most significant survivors of the fur trade era.

The limited growth of the region of northern Manitoba is an extremely important factor in the evolution of the single enterprise community. It illustrates the fact that, for a variety of reasons, the development of a particular resource in the area, unless government operated, would have to be almost totally self-sufficient. This would by necessity, include transportation or the implementation of a method of transportation, power and the erection of facilities both for the

operation of the enterprise and the maintenance of those involved in its functioning. The most probable form for this to occur is through the single enterprise, once it determines that the resource warrants development.

#### Composition of the Ore

The mineral belt of northern Manitoba occupies a strip of territory about one hundred and twenty-five miles in length from west to east and varying in width from twenty-five to fifty miles. The Flin Flon ore body which is situated at the southeast end of Flin Flon Lake is composed of pyrite sphalerite and chalcopyrite. Gold and silver are associated with the pyrite while native copper is found in leaf form in the upper sulphide zone.<sup>45</sup> The mineral composition of this section of the Canadian Shield was of considerable importance in the development of the region's resources. Other discoveries in the area prompted only a low level of development because of the nature of the ore's concentration. The Anisk and Wekusko Lake claims are two such examples where the ore was discovered but the costs of development did not warrant further investment after the initial discovery.<sup>46</sup> The Schist Lake claim, located only four miles north-west of the Flin Flon orebody is another example of how the type of mineral deposit defeated the developers. This particular claim actually underwent five years of development between 1915-1920 before it was decided to abandon the project.<sup>47</sup>

The Flin Flon orebody having a similar composition to those previously abandoned claims, did itself defeat three development companies before being brought under the control of the Hudson Bay Mining and



Smelting Company. In the final analysis, if the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company had not been connected to the American firm of Complex Ores Recoveries Company, which was the party responsible for finally determining a method whereby Flin Flon could be made profitable, it may have also been defeated by the concentration of the ore. In the end then, the type of mineral find at the Flin Flon camp demanded large scale expertise as well as investment in order to facilitate its development.

### The Mineral Discovery

The mining industry in northern Manitoba began operations in 1912 with the discovery of free gold on the north shore of Amisk (Beaver) Lake.<sup>48</sup> The discovery led to an influx of potential prospectors who staked over 1,200 claims in the following year in and around the lake region. Within this area, there are numerous lakes that form a natural transportation route leading to Flin Flon, Schist, Athopuska, Copper, Cranberry Lakes (three in number), Elbow Island, Ried, Sandy and Wekusko (Herb) Lakes. Given the influx of prospectors, the mineral wealth of the area and the accessibility through the water system of one district to another, it is possible to determine how the initial find at Amisk Lake could encourage the development of further discoveries. This indeed was the case for in 1914 gold was discovered at Wekusko (Herb) Lake and in 1915 claims were made in both the Schist and Flin Flon Lake regions of copper ore discoveries.<sup>49</sup>

The Flin Flon orebody was discovered in 1915 by Tom Creighton in the company of five associates; Dan Milligan, Isadore and Leon Dion and Jack and Dan Mosher.<sup>50</sup> The men had begun their prospecting in the

Amisk Lake region in 1912 and slowly worked their way across into the Flin Flon Lake area by the winter of 1914. The financing of the expedition appears to have been two fold; apparently Creighton was funded by a group of businessmen from Prince Albert, Saskatchewan while Dan Mosher was financed by J.E. Hammell of Toronto. The rest of the group relied on their own resources to maintain the necessary supplies in the field.

The summer of 1915 was a period of preliminary trenching and assaying to determine the wealth of the find. It was also in this period that Dan Mosher brought Hammell into the camp in order to finance further digging. With Hammell's backing, samples of the ore were sent to the Amisk Lake assessment office and on this basis in August of 1915, Dan Mosher registered two claims at the government office in The Pas under the names of Unique and Apex.<sup>51</sup>

During the winter of 1915-1916, work on the site was confined to surface sampling and cross trenching. Work off the site, in terms of further financing, was handled quite successfully by Jack Hammell. The winter saw the formation of an all Canadian Syndicate consisting of Hammell, lawyer Alexander Fasken, prospector Dan Mosher, hotelman Frank Currie and a gentleman named Hugh Ryan.<sup>52</sup> The Syndicate in turn sought and obtained the financial backing of the American Syndicate of Hayden-Stone who sponsored the winter activity of two diamond drills on the property.<sup>53</sup> The option of Hayden-Stone on the property expired in July of 1916, so after several months and 6,000 feet of drilling the Flin Flon claims returned to the Canadian Syndicate.

In the summer of 1916, the federal government, as a response

to the mining activity in northern Manitoba, despatched several engineers into the region to investigate potential hydro-electric sites.<sup>54</sup> Their positive report on the Churchill River was of great significance for the future mining interests of the Flin Flon region. It meant that the rivers of the north held the capacity to produce a minimum of fifty-thousand horse power which when harnessed, could effectively maintain a large scale mining operation.

The Canadian Syndicate operated the site on their own financing until the spring of 1917 when David Fasken formed with a group of associates, the Great Sulphide Company, and retained the option on the property.<sup>55</sup> At this point, two of the original prospectors - Dan Milligan and Isodore Dion - sold their 17% interest in the claim to the Company. This, combined with a further 18% interest allocated by the Canadian Syndicate and the remaining original prospectors, to give the Sulphide Company a 35% interest in the strike. The drilling obligation of the Great Sulphide Company that offset the value of the 18% interest in the claim, began in March of 1917 and continued until July 1918 when a total of forty-four holes, representing 25,664 feet had been completed.

As the option of the Great Sulphide Company drew to a close in the summer of 1918, the major question facing the financiers was whether the property was worth further investment. Studies had been made of the bore data and the comparative costs of developing the facilities necessary for the extraction and treatment process. The engineers reports in the summer of 1918 warned not only of the high costs for a low return of mineral value, but also, of the problem of draining

Flin Flon Lake, the high flux and fuel costs and the principal problem of the large outlay of capital for railway and power facilities.<sup>56</sup> For the Sulphide Company in 1918 the predicted costs of development exceeded the assumed returns from the mineral extraction. The major problem for the Pasken interests was therefore not so much the costs of development but the fact that in 1918 the methods by which they treated the mineral did not warrant the investment towards development. By the summer of 1918, the Flin Flon site had returned to the financial backwoods of northern Manitoba.

The year 1920 found J.E. Hammell in the offices of the Mining Corporation of Canada. He persuaded the corporation to take up 25% of the option on the Flin Flon strike. The other 75% of the operating option was taken up by Colonel William Boyce Thompson who, like the Mining Corporation of Canada had been quite active in the Cobalt silver camp.<sup>57</sup> Together they outfitted a force of approximately one hundred and eighteen men to commence both diamond drilling and underground excavation on the Flin Flon property. While work was continued on the ore body, the question of economical transportation arose again. The provincial government got into the act of participating in the development of the province's mineral resources, when the member from The Pas - Edward Brown - who was also the provincial treasurer, promised his constituents a railroad into the Flin Flon claim.

In hopes of encouraging the early construction of the rail connection, The Pas Board of Trade under the influence of J. Hammell and associates, extended invitations to the Manitoba Legislative Assembly, asking that they travel to the Flin Flon claim so that they would "legislate

intelligently for the needs of the north".<sup>58</sup> The "legislative junket" appeared successful for the Assembly decided that if sufficient guarantees for development of the property were extended from those involved in its development, then the House would give consideration to the financing of the rail line.

Encouraged by the possibility of a government sponsored rail line, the Mining Corporation of Canada and Colonel Thompson sought the advice of their engineers as to the problems that defeated the Great Sulphide Company.<sup>59</sup> The report received from the engineers was equally as optimistic as the provincial government's proposal. It was determined that the Flin Flon region contained an "encouraging" amount of siliceous flux for the treatment of the ore, while on the question of coal, the engineers reported that a possible transfer of title to a supply near Hinton Alberta would cover their needs.<sup>60</sup> The question of possible power sites had not been remedied but like the flux situation it was assessed "encouraging" with the investigation of two possible sites underway; Island Falls on the Churchill River and Birch Rapids on the Sturgeon-Weir.

The Mining Corporation of Canada purchased 65% interest in the Flin Flon property on March 31, 1921.<sup>61</sup> The corporation had actually purchased the twelve original claims that had been consolidated by the Hammell group of Creighton, Dion and Jack and Dan Mosher. The only issue that therefore remained to be solved before full scale extraction could begin was the problem of treating the ore. Throughout the summer of 1921, work had been done on the electrolytic extraction of copper but the standard roasting procedure did not yield an economical recovery of

copper. The problem persisted with no solution in sight as it seemed as if the need had surpassed the technology.

The property underwent very little development in the years from 1921-1925. Nothing could effectively be accomplished without the final processing of the ore so conditions remained stagnant while the experimentation continued. Finally, in 1925, one of the consulting engineers with the Mining Corporation of Canada took the problem to the American firm of Complex Ores Recoveries Company.<sup>62</sup> The American corporation analyzed the ore samples from the Flin Flon site and determined that their treatment might indeed make the mine a commercial success.

As a result of the testing, Mr. C.V. Whitney approached the Mining Corporation of Canada for permission to examine and sample the ore body at the Flin Flon camp.<sup>63</sup> The examination involved the shipping of fifty tons of ore to the test center in Denver. Further observations were made by the representatives of the Whitney interests on the possible sources of hydro-electric power in the area. It was determined that ample, reasonably cheap power could be obtained by the erection of a power plant at Island Falls on the Churchill River.

On the basis of their test results the Whitney group secured the option on the property from the Mining Corporation of Canada in the fall of 1926.<sup>64</sup> This allowed them additional time to examine the ore from the property while at the same time consider the other variables involved in the development of the claim. The construction of a hydro-electric plant at Island Falls was estimated to cost four million dollars.<sup>65</sup> The transportation problem was solved when the provincial government was

persuaded to issue a charter for the Manitoba Northern Railway.<sup>66</sup>

Once again the test results were the drawback to the development of the property. The Complex Ores Recoveries Company required more material and more time for examination of the ore under the treatment process. As a result, the option on the property was renewed in 1926 by the Whitney organization and testing continued. Another three hundred tons were shipped to the Denver plant through the water connection to The Pas and then by freight train south. The testing in Denver finally concluded with a modified electrolytic extraction method.<sup>67</sup> What, in essence, had been developed was a system whereby technicians could control the flotation period so that they could extract different minerals at different intervals of the treatment.

The decision to attempt to apply the system developed in Denver was made by the Whitney interests, and in March of 1927 a pilot mill with a thirty ton capacity began operations in Flin Flon.<sup>68</sup> The treatment of the ore in the test mill ran with few complications through the summer of 1927 until in October the results of the process showed a better return than that which had been obtained in Denver. A problem still existed, however, in the recovery of the gold value from the ore and a two month lease extension was granted to the Whitney organization to study the situation. During the course of the extension, it was determined that the commercial value of the ore warranted its exploitation and in December of 1927 the Whitney group obtained a Dominion charter in partnership with the Mining Corporation of Canada and the Newmont Mining Corporation under the name of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company to develop the claim.<sup>69</sup>

The actual working of the claim was to be carried out through the company of the Flin Flon Mines Limited which was directly related to and controlled by the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company.<sup>70</sup> In addition to the original group of ten claims much larger holdings were secured by 1927 embracing in all some one hundred and fifty-three claims having an area of nearly six thousand acres. These were held under twenty-one year Crown leases which were renewable by the Company when not in default, for successive periods of twenty-one years.<sup>71</sup>

The authorized capital of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company upon its formation in 1927 was 2,500,000 shares of no nominal or par value.<sup>72</sup> Of these, the Whitney interests of New York held 500,000 shares while its partners the Newmont Mining Corporation and the Mining Corporation of Canada held 350,000 and 150,000 respectively.<sup>73</sup> The remaining 1,500,000 shares were sold for cash, with the exception of 325,000 which were allotted to the Mining Corporation of Canada.

A business office was established in Winnipeg to handle the local workings of the Company while head office was set up in Woodstock, Ontario.<sup>74</sup> A major portion of the Company's dealings however, were executed from the New York office of H.P. Whitney. Facilities were also maintained in the field at Flin Flon and The Pas to direct the operation of the camp.

The physical appearance of the camp in December of 1927 was that of a primitive frontier mining camp. Aside from the test plant facilities, there were two shaft sites in operation, both of which gave the outward appearance of motorized log cabins. Dam construction had also begun in 1927 to drain the area in which the ore was found. These



activities combined with the surface trenching of open pit mining to complete the mining industry's development in the Flin Flon camp at the close of 1927.

Any evidence of community development in the camp was almost as primitive as the mining facilities. Several log cabins had been constructed to house the men involved in the building and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.<sup>75</sup> Only one of the log structures remained privately owned in 1927 and that, which had originally belonged to Leon Dion and his wife, was sold in 1927 to Jack Hone who turned the cabin into a general store. The Hone's store combined with the Royal Bank's appearance in December, 1927 and the Northland Drug Company from The Pas to form the only three active enterprises in the camp other than the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company.<sup>76</sup>

The Royal Bank of Canada established its wicket in a corner of the general store on December 12, 1927, while the Northland Drug Company occupied a building that was owned and maintained by the mining enterprise. Both the Bank and the Drug Store developed with northern personnel and backing, as the Bank brought its management in from The Pas while the Drug Store was, in effect, an outpost of the main store in The Pas. Characteristically, then, they, plus the general store, were frontier orientated.

Evidence of community planning can be observed as early as 1922. Two of the Mining Corporations of Canada's consulting engineers, when compiling a report on the facilities necessary to develop a profitable mining enterprise, noted:

"It will of course be desirable to have the townsite location determined early so that some of the better and more permanent buildings to be built may be utilized during the construction and development period."<sup>77</sup>

Owing to the difficulty in the treatment of the ore, thoughts of community or permanent structures took second place to the problem of profitable processing.

In 1927, with the firm commitment of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company to the development of the property, the enterprise established the Community Development Company and proceeded to subdivide the area into a potential townsite.<sup>78</sup> What was eventually to become the main street of the community was surveyed and the process of building housing units for employees was begun in 1927 under the guidance of the Development Company. Although this activity retained the primitive aspects of a frontier camp it was the beginning of a predominantly Company orientated community.

### Conclusion

The initial emphasis on Company involvement in the community was facilitated by the three characteristics that made the profitable processing of the Flin Flon orebody a single enterprise venture. The influence of the continued isolation of the region and the composition of the orebody combined with the mineral resource itself, to restrict the type of industry that evolved in Flin Flon to that of the well financed single enterprise. In that sense, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company was the first and only mining industry to have determined that through their modified process of electrolytic extraction that it would

be feasible to develop the structures necessary to process ore in the Flin Flon camp. Consequently, they obtained a guarantee for a rail connection, built a preliminary treatment plant, drew up plans for hydro-electrical sites and finally considered the establishment of a community, all to facilitate their exploitation of the Flin Flon orebody.

The transformation of the mining camp into a functioning community was a process that had its foundation in the pre 1927 period. The evolution was largely orientated around the industrial concern of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company and would continue to be so. Indeed, the pre 1927 period had set the stage for the community's over-dependence upon Company initiative.

CHAPTER II

## The Construction and Organizational Phase of Growth: 1927-1934

The incorporation of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in 1927 marked the beginning of a definite commitment on behalf of the Company to develop the mine site. Its preliminary testing facilities were expanded upon, to include by 1930 a fully operational industrial plant as well as a community of approximately 2,000. This pre-production period, was largely controlled by the desire to develop the facilities expedient for the exploitation of the orebody. It consisted of the employment of a large work force on a somewhat temporary basis.

When the treatment facilities began production in the summer and fall of 1930 it was necessary for Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting's emphasis to shift away from construction to organization. In this manner they attempted to cope with the burgeoning population of a growing community. The problem of maintaining both a mine site and a townsite fell to the Company as the sole responsible authority in the Flin Flon camp.

The role of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting in the 1927-1934 period of Flin Flon history was twofold; construction and organization. The level of Company participation, however, in the continued day to day maintenance of the region can be assessed through various measures, the most illustrative of which includes mining facilities, power, transportation, the townsite, the responsible authority and community facilities. The analysis of these factors suggest an overriding dependence upon the

Company on the part of the district which eventually culminates in the labour trouble of 1934.

The process of development in the Min Flon camp was necessarily orientated around the mine and the treatment plant; but, as has been suggested in the previous chapter, factors of transportation, power and community development were contributing influences on the type of community that evolved. The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's participation in the factors effecting the development of the camp reflect its interests in the viability of the mineral wealth of the mine. It is also however, illustrative of a definite commitment towards the expansion of the area, which is maintained through the firm's involvement in the construction of mining facilities, hydro electric power site, the promotion of transportational routes and community development.

The totality of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting's involvement in the process of development substantiates the claim that it was the responsibility of the single enterprise to facilitate development.<sup>1</sup> Its role as a pioneer in the frontier fringe of the resource-laden district of northern Manitoba influenced the level of its involvement. In the early stages of development, the Company can be viewed simply as an industrial enterprise, experimenting with the feasibility of expansion. Once expansion is assured by the commitment of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting, it then became a question of developing the necessary facilities to effect the growth of the firm, which, because of Company involvement, gives rise to the definition of a "company town".<sup>2</sup> As the facilities matured, so did the Company's role as overseer within the community, to a more congenial position which may be expressed as

"paternalistic". The paternalistic relationship between the Company and the community continued through the life of the exploitable resource. As the relationship evolved, it reflected the needs and the demands of both the Company and the facilities and can therefore be expressed from one extreme to the other. In this sense, the paternalistic relationship could be viewed as either of a very liberal character or, as restrictive as a powerful dictatorship. The position of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting in Flin Flon appears to portray the whole continuum of paternalism at one time or another.

The decision to develop the Flin Flon mine, and consequently the transportation routes, a source of hydro-electric power and the community of Flin Flon are indicative of the expansion or construction phase of growth. At this point, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting represents a developing company, primarily concerned with providing the facilities through which the firm will eventually be capable of exploiting the mineral wealth of the district. Indeed, the construction phase of development, while building for the potential wealth of the mine is perhaps more concerned with the immediate or short range plan of providing the necessary equipment whereby the resource can be made profitable.

When the mine facilities are operational, then the concern of the Company is directed towards the organization of the community that it neglected during construction. Thus once potential profits are assured, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting and Company addresses itself to the seemingly secondary problem of maintaining the townsite.

### Mining Facilities

The Flin Flon Mine was to be worked by two mining methods; underground and open-pit. The original orebody which was discovered in 1915, was covered by approximately fifteen feet of water and fifteen to ninety feet of overburden.<sup>3</sup> On this basis, the decision was made when the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting took over the option on the property, to mine the upper three hundred feet of the orebody by open pit and the balance by underground mining.<sup>4</sup>

The processing of the ore was to be carried out in the mill, copper smelter and electrolytic zinc plant. This, the "plant" aspect of the mine, was to be laid out on an area 6,600 feet square. In early 1928, the design of the plant was completed but construction work at the site did not begin until March of 1929.

The general plan of work called for construction to be completed by the end of 1930. This was a terribly optimistic estimate as the crews found themselves competing against distance, short building seasons and the generally unfriendly elements of the northern bush. Indeed, at the beginning of 1929, very little construction work had been started at Flin Flon and with the exception of living quarters, a warehouse and a section of the maintenance shops, most of the effort had been funneled towards readying the equipment and supplies for the boom of 1929-1930.<sup>5</sup> In the period between March 1929 and October 1930, all the various units of the plant had been completed and both the underground mine and the open pit had been prepared for production. This was accomplished in part by transporting approximately 82,991 tons of material and 1,846 men to the Flin Flon camp.<sup>6</sup>

The open pit aspect of the Flin Flon Mine entailed the draining of Flin Flon Lake in order to allow access to the ore. Dam construction was started early in 1927 across two narrow necks of water.<sup>7</sup> Mine wastes were loaded onto barges and transported to the dam location where it was applied to the building of the dams. The dams were finished in 1930 and the process of draining the portion of Flin Flon Lake where the ore was located was completed in May of the same year.<sup>8</sup> This left the dredging and the removal of the overburden, which was completed by 1932, allowing uninterrupted open-pit mining from that time onward.<sup>9</sup>

Upon taking up the option on the property in November 1927, the Whitney interests established two permanent shaft sites which constituted the workings of the underground mine. The main shaft was situated about five hundred feet east of the surface outcrop while the second shaft known as Number 3 Shaft was located about fifteen hundred feet south of the original outcrop. Both shafts were in working order by 1928 but the amount of ore extracted was limited by the lack of equipment.<sup>10</sup>

On March 1, 1929 the first pick was struck in the ground to mark the beginning of construction on the facilities for the permanent treatment plant. The construction of living quarters, warehouse facilities, offices and the various shops had been partially completed prior to the beginning of work on the plant. The erection of steel for the plant buildings started in the summer of 1929 and continued through the winter. At the same time, equipment was installed in the processing buildings in order to facilitate the early completion of the projects. The construction



was completed in 1930 and the various aspects of the treatment plant swung into operation. In July 1930, the first load of ore passed through the mill;<sup>11</sup> on October 27, 1930 the first zinc was passed through the electrolytic plant;<sup>12</sup> and finally in November of 1930 the first concentrates were smelted in the copper smelter.<sup>13</sup>

### Power

The possibilities for hydro-electric power sites in and around the Flin Flon district were evaluated by the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company at three potential locations; Island Falls on the Churchill River, Birch Rapids on the Sturgeon-Weir and Whitemud Falls on the Nelson River. By 1928, Birch Rapids had been eliminated, which left Island and Whitemud Falls as the only two feasible sites. The question of determining the better location was of course based on development costs and the potential output of the individual sites.

The location of Whitemud Falls was the major factor working against its development. It was situated approximately one hundred and sixty miles from the mine site. This distance would have required additional effort on the part of the Company, in terms of transporting the material to the site as well as the laying of the transmission line to the plant. Although the Whitemud plan was actively promoted by the provincial government in preference to Island Falls and the fact that more power could be harnessed at Whitemud, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company withdrew their application for development rights at the site in September of 1928.<sup>14</sup>

The site chosen for the development of hydro-electric power was Island Falls on the Churchill River. The Churchill River Power Company

was incorporated by the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company as a subsidiary company to handle the development and operation of the power project.<sup>15</sup> The development was facilitated by an agreement between the Dominion of Canada, the Province of Saskatchewan and the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company whereby the Company was granted a fifty-one year lease on Churchill River power at the Island Falls site.<sup>16</sup>

Preliminary work at the site was done during the summer and fall of 1928 by way of freighting supplies and establishing work camps. The natural and cheapest means of transportation was by winter hauling, but in order to be in a position to receive supplies and commence work on the project, it became necessary to establish a summer route over which some five hundred tons of camp and miscellaneous supplies were delivered.<sup>17</sup> The winter of 1928-1929 saw approximately twenty-five thousand tons of material hauled from the mine to the power site - a distance of sixty-nine miles. By March of 1929 over eighty percent of the total material and equipment needed for the construction of the power plant was at the site.<sup>18</sup>

Construction on the actual site got underway in May of 1929. The contract for the construction and engineering work of the project was handled by Fraser Bruce Engineering Company while the installation of the 58.9 miles of transmission line was handled by the firm of Lang and Ross. The power project, while not totally completed, began to supply electricity to Flin Flon in April 1930.<sup>19</sup> On June 12, 1930 all the operations at Flin Flon were working on Island Falls power.<sup>20</sup> The total cost of the development project was cited at \$27,000,000,<sup>21</sup> while the manpower involved in the scheme was on an average, estimated at close to eight hundred.<sup>22</sup>

Transportation

In 1925, when the Whitney interests were experimenting with the feasibility of developing the claim, they approached the provincial government to obtain a guarantee for rail construction into the mine. This guarantee was assented to in April of 1926 by way of an "Act Authorizing the Granting of Aid to a Railway into the Flin Flon Mines".<sup>23</sup> The provincial government had, in effect, guaranteed the bonds necessary to finance construction while the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company agreed to contribute \$250,000 towards the cost of the railway.<sup>24</sup> As a result, the Manitoba Northern Railway Company, let the contract for the line to the Dominion Construction Company, who began work on the line in January 1928.<sup>25</sup>

The interlude between the Act of the provincial legislature and the actual completion of the line was almost two and a half years. So while a solution to the problem of transporting goods the eighty-seven miles from The Pas railway station to the Flin Flon site was apparently attained, its realization was still in the future. In this two and a half year period, the shipment of materials for the operation of the mine as well as construction purposes had to follow what was essentially a canoe route in the summer and a roadway across the frozen north in the winter.<sup>26</sup>

The rail line to Flin Flon began about 4.5 miles northeast of The Pas, where construction branched off the Hudson Bay Railway and continued almost directly north. The rails were laid over frozen muskeg with a sufficient gravel base to prevent thawing. As the line stretched past Cranberry Portage, the difficulty involved in laying the

track was increased by rock blasting which became essential to cut a path for the rail. The unusual terrain and the forbidding climate which hampered the crews of the construction company, prompted the employment of a large scale work force which, at its peak, numbered approximately twelve hundred men.<sup>27</sup>

The golden spike which marked the completion of the Flin Flon branch line was driven in September of 1928 by Premier Bracken.<sup>28</sup> By October, the line had "been completed sufficiently" to allow for the movement of freight. The major factor working against the early utilization of the line was a contract dispute between the contractors and the Canadian National Railway. This meant that until July 1929, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company was transporting freight under temporary freight schedules negotiated with the contractors.<sup>29</sup>

The completion of the railway to the mine site also alleviated many of the problems involved in the work at Island Falls. Initially, freight was transported over the Flin Flon route - again most frequently the winter route - and then an additional sixty-nine miles of overland travel to the power project site. With the completion of the rail line to Flin Flon, the one hundred and fifty mile overland route from The Pas was cut to sixty-nine miles.

#### Community

#### The Townsite

Shortly after the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's decision was made to develop the mining property, negotiations were started with the Dominion government to locate a suitable permanent

townsite. In 1928 the federal government authorized the establishment of a townsite of six hundred and twenty acres to be administered by the Department of Railways and Canals.<sup>30</sup> This first attempt to regulate the development of the community of Flin Flon did not get much further than the survey. With the transfer of natural resources to the provincial government in 1929 went the responsibility for the development of the townsite.<sup>31</sup>

The circumstances of community growth in the period when it was under the jurisdiction of the Dominion government was haphazard. While the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company had limited success in attempting to regulate growth between 1927-1929, the federal government fell far short of effectiveness in its schemes to control the development of the mining community. In both cases, however, it appeared as though the influx of men into the district had overburdened the regulatory guidelines for community growth.

The federal government's survey of 1928 had set aside a townsite east of Ross Lake, a distance of approximately two miles from the plant site. The selling of lots was to be the responsibility of the Canadian National Railway, as the site chosen was on the railway company's right-of-way.<sup>32</sup> This scheme, although doomed from the federal government standpoint because of the natural resource transfer, was destined to failure because of the single enterprise nature of the developing community. It meant that while the plan had the authorization of the federal government it still had to be implemented in a district which was effectively under the control of the single enterprise.

The arrangement that would have facilitated the development

of the Ross Lake townsite was an agreement between the Canadian National Railway and the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company on the matter of responsibility for development and continued maintenance of the community. An agreement of this nature, which could not be reached in 1929, would have been equally unattainable in 1928 when the only difference was the influence of the federal or provincial government.<sup>35</sup> It was therefore unlikely that either government could have implemented an agreement concerning the development of the Ross Lake Townsite.

The influence of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in controlling the development of the community in the pre-transfer period achieved a limited amount of success because of its over-riding authority in the mining camp. As compared to the federal government or the Canadian National Railway, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company had the incentive as well as the method, through the twenty-one year lease, to develop the property as they saw fit. This meant that the construction of bunkhouses or the rental of property to individuals for construction purposes all fell within their jurisdiction. Hence if the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting felt that a particular building obstructed their right of way to a workable orebody, they were then justified in having that building removed.<sup>34</sup> In the same sense, if an individual was deemed an undesirable, then that individual's chances of finding accommodation in the camp were extremely low.<sup>35</sup> While the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company controlled the property of the Flin Flon camp, they could dictate or regulate the growth of the camp.

The original townsite that did develop in the mining camp, did so directly adjacent to the mine. Although the Company did not

appear to have a planning scheme to regulate this growth, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that in 1928 the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company had attempted to influence the expansion of the townsite through the Community Development Company. This entailed the encouragement of the growth of a temporary townsite on property that was removed from the mining facilities.

The first stage of expansion in the Flin Flon camp involved the development of buildings in and around the orebody. This had serious repercussions as when the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company attempted to expand or consolidate its facilities it found that its development was impeded by recently constructed log cabins. The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company, therefore, had its surveyors plot out several lots on the property adjacent to that on which the orebody was found. They then encouraged the movement of structures from the mine site property onto the temporary townsite which was a distance of half a mile.<sup>36</sup>

The position of the Flin Flon townsite was at the "temporary" state developed by the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in 1929 when the federal government, through the transfer of the natural resources, shifted the administration of the community to the province.<sup>37</sup>

Interestingly enough, however, a second townsite had appeared on the local scene at Mile 83 of the Flin Flon Railway line. This area, later known as Channing, was established in 1928 by members of the railway construction crew.<sup>38</sup> It had developed its own business section consisting primarily of lumber yards, cafes and at its peak, bawdy houses.<sup>39</sup> The businessmen of Channing were sufficiently optimistic to believe that the

permanent townsite, when chosen, would be at Mile 83.

The announcement of the change in government administration for the townsite of Flin Flon on May 30, 1929 had important results for the evolution of the community. In the first place, the question of a permanent townsite, still unresolved, was passed onto the shoulders of the provincial government. Secondly, with the problem now under provincial jurisdiction, the boundary question could play a significant role in the solution. In either case, the provincial government was presented with a problem that was directly related to its long sought goal of resource management.

The provincial government's position, with regard to the already established townsite, was very much similar to that of the federal government. Indeed, while respecting the established rights of the Company to limit or restrict certain business ventures, the province's approach to the problem was delineated by the Minister of Mines in 1929, when he said,

"...none of the townsites of ... Flin Flon<sup>40</sup>  
... will be closed in the ordinary sense."

The Minister's reference to not being a closed town in "the ordinary sense" appears to apply to the province's attempt to implement the Dominion's solution to the townsite question. The Ross Lake townsite scheme was once again presented to the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company as a possible permanent townsite.<sup>41</sup> The previously unattainable compromise remained so, as neither side could agree on the method for the sale of lots or the arrangement of the townsite. The temporary townsite consequently remained the disputed townsite. As such, it remained under the unofficial control or administration of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting



Company. Until an agreement could be reached with the provincial government establishing a permanent townsite under the supervision of an authorized administrator, the Company acted as the "temporary" responsible authority.

In the early years of development in the Flin Flon camp the matter of provincial boundaries created very few problems, as the mineral rights of the district were controlled by the Dominion government. In 1929 the problem of the development of a resource that straddled the Manitoba-Saskatchewan provincial boundary was realized. The impact of such a possibly volatile situation on the townsite question was limited to the emergence of the "Tobacco Road" or "Halfway" district as a potential site for vagrants or undesirables.<sup>42</sup> As the region continued to develop many individuals moved into this "Halfway" area to avoid paying taxes.<sup>43</sup> The direct result on the townsite issue of this occurrence was that not only were the numbers of ratepayers reduced but that the community was paying for the policing of the area.

The townsite question received further input when in October of 1929 the Flin Flon Board of Trade was formed. The role of the Board of Trade, while primarily limited to community improvement schemes, was influential in the townsite issue as spokesman for the needs of the community. In 1929 for example, the Board of Trade sought relief for the problems of street impassability and sewage disposal, which in turn illustrated the condition of the temporary townsite.<sup>44</sup> In other words, the action of the Board of Trade suggests that the temporary townsite, established and maintained by the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company was less than adequate for the needs of the population.

The position of the townsite was further complicated in May of 1930 when it was suggested by The Northern Mail that the decision had been made to establish a new townsite at Mile 84 on the Flin Flon Railway line.<sup>45</sup> While the Mails' inference that the "lack of proper sanitary facilities as well as the smoke nuisance" of the temporary location seems to substantiate the claims of the Board of Trade, the prediction seemed a little premature. Indeed, although it was seemingly based on speculation, their forecast of the site of the new townsite was almost identical to that which the Dominion and Provincial governments attempted to establish.

In October of 1930, with the commencing of smelter operations at the Flin Flon plant, the townsite issue received added impetus. The heavy fumes of sulphur emitted from the smelter and the expectation that with steady operation they would only get worse, the problem of a new townsite was brought to the fore.<sup>46</sup> The Company's response to the agitation brought on by the smelter fumes was to refer to a report issued in the winter of 1930, which laid the ground work for the moving of the townsite to Mile 83. The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting, however, defaulted on establishing a date when the move would take place and therefore simply reshelved the problem.<sup>47</sup>

As conditions in the temporary townsite worsened through the winter of 1930-1931, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company approached the community to determine what action would be acceptable to alleviate the over crowding, lack of community planning and generally insanitary conditions of the temporary townsite.<sup>48</sup> The opinion of local businessmen did little to achieve an overall plan for the growth of the community.

The interviews conducted by the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company with representatives of the business section of the townsite established preliminary estimates for the cost of utilities and various other services - i.e., street paving - but the prevailing opinion suggested that the community would gladly avail itself of the Company's recommendation on the townsite question. It would therefore appear that the citizens of the community were prepared to accept whatever decision was made with regard to the townsite, providing that there was a definite improvement in the status of the community. In other words, once a basic standard of comfort was attained, the people were "confident of fair treatment at the hands of the company" on the townsite issue.<sup>49</sup>

The final solution to the townsite question was a proposal that was submitted to the community by the provincial government in July of 1931. Premier Bracken presented the suggestion to a meeting of towns people while on a summer visit to the community. This gave rise to a second meeting on July 7, wherein the government's solution to the townsite question was unanimously accepted and the immediate future of the community was described as that of a "restricted town".<sup>50</sup>

The Flin Flon Town Planning Scheme of 1931 established a townsite of approximately three miles square.<sup>51</sup> The business area of the community was maintained along Main Street but the new Planning Scheme called for all businesses to be located on this property. The rest of the townsite was to be comprised of residential lots which would be controlled by survey. This meant that the responsible authority had the power to open to settlement any area of the townsite other than the business section by the surveying and selling of lots.

the responsible authority in the townsite was established by the 1931 Planning Scheme as a holding company consisting of representatives of the provincial government, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company and the community.<sup>52</sup> It was the task of the holding company to implement the scheme, which included: the survey of lots, the setting of prices, the forced adherence to the survey and the provision of adequate utilities. The holding company officially became the Community Development Company on August 22, 1931 when an indenture was signed and agreed to by the provincial government, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company and the Community Development Company.<sup>53</sup>

The responsibility of having the temporary townsite realign itself with the permanent townsite was a major task. An estimate in the Flin Flon Miner of October 22, 1931 predicted that roughly ninety percent of the buildings in the community would have to be moved.<sup>54</sup> The C.D.C. was presented with the problem of attempting to make order from disorder.<sup>55</sup> Some buildings were required to be moved a matter of feet while others had to be completely relocated in order to satisfy the survey.<sup>56</sup> In some cases - particularly in unauthorized business districts - the C.D.C. was forced to close the enterprises down because they were operating outside of the business district but still within the townsite.<sup>57</sup>

By April of 1932 the majority of houses on the townsite had been moved in compliance with the regulations of the town planning scheme.<sup>58</sup> The provision of utilities and other services was made increasingly more available as order permeated the community. The systematic, and continued growth of the community was maintained by the establishment of permanence in the previously temporary townsite and

through the allocation of authority to control or regulate future development on the three mile square townsite. The floundering of the community was finally terminated by the acceptance of responsibility for its welfare by the townspeople, the Company and the provincial government.

### The Responsible Authority

The growth of the community of Flin Flon was greatly influenced by the policies of the responsible authority at any given time. This, although an obvious occurrence in all communities, is greatly accentuated in the case of resource-based frontier communities such as Flin Flon. The reason for this phenomenon - as was outlined in the previous chapter - was primarily due to the isolated nature of the community. The situation, however, does not remain one of constant dependency; for once the basic services are supplied the role of the responsible authority diminishes. In the early stages of community development, the community was dependent upon the responsible authority for its survival but as the amenities of life began to appear, the role of the authority is relegated to maintaining the services. As this occurred the position of the responsible authority was further displaced by the specialized interests of various organizations which grew to represent different segments of the community.

The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company, by virtue of its agreement with the Federal government in 1927, had obtained a lease on the property in and around the Flin Flon claim, which entitled it to surface rights on some six thousand acres of land. As a result, the

Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company, under governmental supervision, was the sole authority on the leased land. The participation of the federal and provincial government in the method of development in the Flin Flon camps was largely restricted to that of a supervisory role and even then, it was subject to approval by the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. While this was not necessarily specified in the Company's lease, it became the reality of the situation when neither government could implement a permanent townsite plan. It therefore became the prerogative of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company to influence the growth of the community even though it had no legal authority to administer the townsite.

The construction or expansion phase of the community existed from 1927 until 1930 when the plant began production. During this period and for a short time after, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company exercised its authority by letting contracts for construction and wood cutting and by maintaining the necessary staff to proceed with the mining enterprise. Even the small private businesses that developed in the community towards the end of this period, although not directly under the corporate thumb of the Company, were indirectly answerable to the responsible authority.

The initial growth of the community was based around Company structures that were primarily used to accommodate the men employed in the services of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. The rudimentary tent and small cabin camp that had existed at the Flin Flon strike since the early 1920's finally gave way in 1929 to a large complex of dormitory-style buildings owned and maintained by the Hudson Bay Mining

and Smelting Company.<sup>59</sup> These consisted of ten large bunkhouses each with a capacity for over sixty men, nine four roomed cottages for Company officials, a boarding house and a staff house. In addition, the Company's complex included a large mess hall and a modern hospital with two wards and seven beds.<sup>60</sup>

The lease of Company property to individuals interested in erecting their own accommodation or business was also practised in the Flin Flon camp under the authority of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. The residential district of the community grew by leaps and bounds in the summer of 1928. The Flin Flon Miner estimated that a total of thirty residences per month had been erected in the community.<sup>61</sup> These were described as mostly lumber structures which could be moved when and if the need arose. The privately owned homes were developed along the northern portion of Main Street which kept the inhabitants within a half mile of the mine site while still on Company property. The rent paid for the use of the land was apparently nominal while permission to build was the major obstacle to those who wished private accommodations.<sup>62</sup> The privilege to erect a privately owned residence was subject to review by the Company and if the individual was of redeemable character, he was granted a licence to a lot on Company property.<sup>63</sup> This practise meant that the Company had the final say in the building of structures on their land. Although seldom exercised, this right to restrict buildings or individuals from settling in the Flin Flon camp was the option of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company.

The evolution of private business in the community was a more closely guarded feature of the 1927-1930 period. The original three

enterprises present in 1927 were joined by four more in 1928 and by Christmas of 1929 there were in total approximately thirty-six business ventures in the community that were independent of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company.<sup>64</sup> The continued growth of this aspect of the community was taken to represent the permanent and stable nature of the community by the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. With this in mind, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company practised a program of screening applicants prior to granting permission to open a business establishment. They purposely sought individuals who would participate in the development of the community. The Company selected applicants that met both their commercial and social needs. The prospective businessmen like the new home owner in the residential section of the community, received a license and location. Attached to the license was a copy of the rules and regulations of the townsite as well as the reminder that the Company reserved the right to eject those who engaged in "undesirable activities."<sup>65</sup>

The result of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's policy of controlling occupancy on the temporary townsite was the growth of communities beyond the reach of the Company. This phenomenon which is a familiar occurrence in single enterprise communities, developed for two reasons in the Flin Flon district; one because of the restrictive type of townsite that developed on Company property, and, secondly, because of speculation on the location of the permanent townsite. The two prime examples of this method of outgrowth occurred at the "Halfway" or "Tobacco Road" and Mile 83.

The "Halfway" area which has been described as the boundary



area between Manitoba and Saskatchewan, developed contrary to the wishes of Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. As the community of Flin Flon developed, a certain number of individuals settled or squatted in Saskatchewan, across the border from the Company community, on the property that became known as the "Halfway". While the squatters who settled on land leased by the Company were eventually moved into the community, others remained and created a haven for those interested in evading Company control. The "Halfway", as it developed, became not only a refuge for those who wished to escape the scrutiny of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company but also for those who sought the pleasures of its red light district. Indeed, because of its reputation as a less than moral community, the first detachment of R.C.M.P. officers in the Flin Flon region established its post in the "Halfway" district.<sup>66</sup>

Mile 83, which was approximately three miles from the temporary townsite, developed originally as a construction camp. The crews of the Dominion Construction Company, who were involved in the building of the railway, had established themselves at this position in 1928. The community at Mile 83 grew around this nucleus and developed a business section that consisted of mostly service industries, with the exception of Beaver Lumber, which exploited the lumber stands of the area.<sup>67</sup> The community at Mile 83 developed a reputation similar to that of "Tobacco Road" with its fairly loose moral activity, but there continued to exist a business element who maintained that the permanent townsite would be best suited to Mile 83.<sup>68</sup> Its speculative hopes were practically dashed when in June of 1929 fire consumed much of the community.<sup>69</sup>

The temporary townsite that maintained its position as the

dominant community did so because of company involvement. While the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company controlled the industry of the region, it, by acclamation also became responsible authority and therefore maintained control of the community. Its influence in community development, however, exceeded that of simply supplying housing accommodation or permits to establish structures on Company property. The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company had indirectly accepted the responsibility for the maintenance of the community when it allowed development on Company property. Correspondingly, as long as it functioned as the responsible authority within the community, the provision of community services would be one of its duties.

The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's legal authority to administer the community was somewhat suspect. Its charter granted the Company surface rights on the property on which the townsite was developing but it did not grant administrative control. Its role as administrator apparently came about as a result of the conflict on the decision of a permanent townsite. Because of the void that remained within administrative control and the fact that the townsite had flourished on Company property, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company "temporarily" functioned as the responsible authority.

In the period 1927-1931, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company attempted to fulfill the requirements of the booming community. This originally entailed the establishment of an area suitable for the temporary townsite. The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company was actively involved in the clearing of the district that it had designated as the townsite during the winter of 1928-1929. This included the blasting

of rock, the levelling of the land and the survey of lots which were then allocated to potential tenants.<sup>70</sup> Once the tenant was established on the property it was, according to the license issued, the eventual responsibility of the Company to provide electricity, water and proper sewage facilities.<sup>71</sup> All of this was done for a "nominal fee" by the Company.

The condition of the townsite was not, however, living up to the original expectations of the Company. It became overcrowded, insanitary, and almost impossible for the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company to keep pace with the demands of the uncalculated growth. While programs of improvement were still afoot, such as sidewalk construction or the gravelling of roadways, the regulation of such essential services as sewage disposal or water supply fell far short of adequate.<sup>72</sup> This paved the way for the evolution of a second organized body in the community which to a small degree competed against the responsible authority in the matter of community development.

The Flin Flon Board of Trade was organized in October of 1929. Its participation in the development of Flin Flon was primarily as an intermediary between the needs of the community and the willingness of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company to fulfill these needs. The Board of Trade attempted to influence Company policy on issues such as the lack of schooling facilities and adequate medical service as well as lesser programs such as the campaign for a local recording office.<sup>73</sup> In most cases, however, the Board of Trade appeared to function as a subsidiary of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. In this respect their input into Company policy was by way of requests which were subject

to approval by the Company.<sup>74</sup>

The position of the responsible authority in the community was more clearly defined in May of 1931 and then later in August of the same year. The Community Development Company, which had operated as the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's community planner since 1927, was officially chartered as a corporate body by the provincial government, on May 18, 1931.<sup>75</sup> To paraphrase the charter; the C.D.C. was entitled to carry on the business of a land company from that day forward. Its position in the community was further augmented on August 22, 1931 when an indenture was agreed upon by the provincial government, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company and the Community Development Company, allowing the C.D.C. to act as the local authority under the provisions of the Provincial Town Planning Act.

The Community Development Company had as of August 22, 1931 officially replaced the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company as the responsible authority in the community. Technically the C.D.C. was to act as the holding company suggested by Premier Bracken in the spring of 1931, until such time as the inhabitants made application for the incorporation of the municipality. The Community Development Company was to be composed of three representatives from each of the provincial government, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company and the community. The provincial government, however, feeling that the community would be adequately administered under the Provincial Town Planning Commission which was responsible for the supervision of the scheme, revoked its right to appoint three Commissioners.<sup>76</sup> In their place, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company appointed two more representatives.

Consequently the working C.D.C. comprised three community representatives and five Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company representatives.

Under the agreement signed in August of 1931, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company surrendered surface rights to the property which was included in the new townsite. In return the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company was to receive the deed to the property occupied by the mine and its associated buildings, so that the plant would not form part of the townsite.<sup>77</sup> As a result, the C.D.C. obtained the rights to facilitate the sale of townsite lots as well as the authority to conduct the further survey and division of the townsite as the need arose. The money collected from the sale of lots was to be applied to the maintenance of the townsite, by the authority invested in the C.D.C.

The role of the Community Development Company in supervising the continued growth of Flin Flon was decisive. The first public meeting of the C.D.C. was held in September of 1931 in order to "get (the) sentiment of the people".<sup>78</sup> The rates for the sale of lots were established at eighty dollars per foot for business lots, forty dollars per foot for warehouse lots and an arrangement whereby residential lots were sold on time payments with a fifty dollar down payment, was finalized.<sup>79</sup> The meeting corresponded with the commencement of the survey of the new townsite. This project was to include the territory from the temporary townsite to Ross Lake, or the former proposed townsite. The sale of these lots finally began on September 15, 1931 and of three hundred and nineteen residential lots surveyed, three hundred and nine were sold by the first part of the year.<sup>80</sup>

The monies collected on the sale of townsite lots was applied to local improvements. This included draining and ditching projects in the fall of 1931,<sup>81</sup> road and water main work as well as a major spring clean-up in the spring of 1932,<sup>82</sup> a sewage disposal project in the summer of 1932,<sup>83</sup> fire prevention work in the fall of 1932,<sup>84</sup> and relief projects in the spring of 1933.<sup>85</sup> The improvements undertaken by the C.D.C., during its existence as the responsible authority, actually exceeded its income from lot sales and on two or three occasions it was forced to seek outside funding in the way of bank loans.<sup>86</sup>

The major undertaking of the C.D.C. as responsible authority was the organization of the permanent townsite. This meant that under the Town Planning Scheme all residential buildings were to be located in subdivided areas while all businesses were to be situated in the one business area provided by the scheme.<sup>87</sup> The C.D.C. co-ordinated the relocation of a large percentage of the original townsite to comply with the permanent townsite survey. It issued licenses to those who wished to move themselves or offered at a fee to move those who could not, but by both methods they had quickly relocated the bulk of the community by the spring of 1932.<sup>88</sup>

The role of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in the operation of the C.D.C. appears strikingly obvious. That it was a type of transitional authority between the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's period of control and municipal status is coloured by the fact that its Board of Directors was composed of approximately sixty-two percent Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company appointees. Similarly, the influence of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company is further

depicted by the fact that the Company provided the office space for the Town Manager in their general office.<sup>89</sup> Less blatant examples of cooperation could include the sharing of Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's equipment - including the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting's fire brigade<sup>90</sup> - and the provision of services such as man power to the community. In any case, the C.D.C. was a fairly effective halfway between Company and community, although it still represented the paternal relationship between the two.

The inadequacies of the C.D.C. - like those of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company - helped to produce another force in the community, the Ratepayers Association.<sup>91</sup> Distraught over a C.D.C. decision to increase garbage and water rates, the Association was formed in November of 1932, to represent the "average lot holder" in dealings with the Community Development Company. What in effect was happening in the community was that the first organized voice was being raised against the responsible authority. The repercussions of this incident ramified as the Ratepayers did not stop with agitation over water or garbage rates.

The indenture signed in 1931, with regard to the formation of the C.D.C., carried a clause that stated that once the community had a population of seventy free holders or that number with their lots paid for, they then could petition the provincial government for incorporation as a municipal district.<sup>92</sup> In the winter of 1933 the feeling that the community was preparing for incorporation was illustrated by the circulation of not one but two petitions for incorporation.<sup>93</sup> The Community Development Company and the Ratepayers Association had both drawn up petitions

and were in the process of obtaining local approval. The C.D.C. petition appeared to be more representative of the "old guard" of the community, including Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's officials while the Ratepayers were seemingly more concerned with the average employee or businessman. The major differences, outside of class or support, were the fact that the C.D.C. petition sought the appointment of a Town Manager and no payment for the mayor and councillors while the Ratepayers Association thought that the mayor and council would be enough of a governing force and that they should receive repayment for lost wages.<sup>94</sup>

The collision between the two organizations was highlighted by the animosity that they displayed towards one another. The C.D.C. treated the Ratepayers as second class citizens while the Ratepayers, and most particularly their Chairman, Gordon Smith, viewed the C.D.C. personnel as "cockroach businessmen".<sup>95</sup> Although the tension between the two groups never completely subsided,<sup>96</sup> they were able to put aside their differences long enough to participate in the Citizens Committee, which was charged with the responsibility of formulating the letter of patent.<sup>97</sup> This Committee which was composed of the Executive of the Ratepayers Association, the town members of the C.D.C. and a committee of five chosen from the community, finally agreed upon the text of the patent and had it forwarded to the provincial government in August of 1933.<sup>98</sup>

The result of the letter was the charter of incorporation issued from the Legislative Assembly on the 15th of August 1933.<sup>99</sup> This was followed by a series of amendments to the original letter,<sup>100</sup> which



finally culminated in an Act Respecting the Municipal District of Flin Flon, assented to on March 19, 1935 but in force from October 31, 1934.<sup>101</sup> The conclusion to the municipal district's question was that the community was granted official status as a municipal district with the right to elect a mayor and council, provide essential services and generally assume the responsibilities of the Community Development Company as the responsible authority.

The future position of the Community Development Company was fairly well defined by the incorporation of the community as a municipal district. No longer was the C.D.C. the responsible authority in the community. Its Commissioners tendered their resignations as of December 1, 1933 and turned whatever business had been under its jurisdiction over to the responsible authority of the council.<sup>102</sup> As a result, the municipal district also assumed responsibility for the outstanding obligations of the C.D.C. This, however, was not the end of the C.D.C., as it became a tool of the municipal council, responsible in part for the continued maintenance of the community. The Control of the C.D.C. had finally passed to the municipality with the resignation of its Commissioners and the appointments of trustees in 1934-1935, to manage its affairs.<sup>103</sup>

The municipal council, which was to consist of a mayor and six councillors, assumed control as the responsible authority of the community on October 4, 1933.<sup>104</sup> The vehicle of this change was the first municipal election, which witnessed a slate of thirty-six individuals competing for twelve possible public positions.<sup>105</sup> The 1,218 registered voters returned one mayor, six councillors and five school trustees.

The major issue that confronted the new council was the immediate problem of funding. While their first by-law dealt with the rules and regulations of the council, by-laws two through five inclusive - dated November 18 to December 6 - created tax and licensing schemes which were to provide the method whereby they could act as the responsible authority.<sup>106</sup> It would therefore appear, that a broader economic base was essential for the functions of council.

The position of the community was such that when the council assumed the responsible authority it also assumed the most demanding current problem, relief. The depression had hit the single enterprise community. The problem was not one of lay-offs or lack of work with the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company but the fact that the continued influx of men into the community exceeded the demand for workers. Hence the council, with the authorization of the Company, found itself in a position where it was advertising the fact that there was no additional work in Flin Flon. For these individuals already in the community without employment, the council organized work projects,<sup>107</sup> and sought maximum provincial aid in alleviating the problem.<sup>108</sup> As in other communities, however, the depression persisted regardless of the efforts of individual municipal or town councils.

The municipal council's efforts in organizing and maintaining the community, followed the lead of the C.D.C. While the C.D.C., for example, had unofficially established business, warehouse and residential districts, the council went further to the point of passing a by-law restricting certain sections of the community for specific use.<sup>109</sup> In the case of utilities or public services, the council continued the

tradition of relying on the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company for the provision of such items as electricity and water at a nominal fee.<sup>110</sup> This relationship between the responsible authority and the Company was maintained in other ways as well; the borrowing of equipment,<sup>111</sup> the use of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's facilities,<sup>112</sup> and even the use of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's expertise and contacts in making municipal purchases.<sup>113</sup> In most cases the sharing of equipment was facilitated at the request of the council. There was no official agreement whereby the Company had to maintain specific services to the community, outside of perhaps a moral obligation.

The municipal council, unlike the C.D.C., was the elected representative of the community. In this sense, they were in theory, an identity responsible to the people alone. Council's relationship with the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company had evolved into a working partnership in which council played the role of a somewhat unequal partner. So in practise, the town council was responsible to the people while at the same time it worked within a framework of give and take with the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company which at times also made it responsible to the Company. This relationship between the Company and council was part of the evolving trend of community dependence upon the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. It had begun with the complete dependence on Company policy during the construction phase and shifted to the transitional relationship between the C.D.C. and the Company during the early stages of community organization. With the incorporation of the municipal district, the relationship had reached a type of quasi partnership. At this point the council was still dependent on the Hudson

Bay Mining and Smelting Company for utilities or its twenty-five percent of the education costs, but it now met with the Company as an important partner in the maintenance of the District.<sup>114</sup>

### Community Facilities

The Municipal District of Flin Flon had blossomed into a community of approximately four thousand by the summer of 1934.<sup>115</sup> This, when compared to an estimate of the population during the winter of 1927-1928 when the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company officially took up the option on the property, shows an increase of three thousand seven hundred and thirty individuals.<sup>116</sup> To depict the exact place of origin for the total population present in Flin Flon by the summer of 1934 is a difficult task,<sup>117</sup> but one premise can be made; that they were of both Canadian and European origin. The Company seemed to take pride in the fact that a "considerable number" of men had been recruited from the farms of Manitoba and Saskatchewan.<sup>118</sup> The recruiting apparently worked best when the farms were not producing well and therefore the added income from a man working the mine was incentive enough to persuade a good number to relocate. The European influence on the population prior to 1934 is just as difficult to estimate, but it had been referred to as a "very large percentage" by Company officials.<sup>119</sup> This is partially upheld by the large number of men attending English language classes which were taught to individuals of Ukrainian, German, Dutch, Polish, French, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish extraction in 1929.<sup>120</sup> Another indication of the large number of Europeans is the evolution of organizations catering strictly to Europeans.<sup>121</sup> In any case, whether Canadian, European or even American, while the mine and townsite grew,

and the responsible authority evolved, the facilities within the community also had to grow to accommodate the increasing population.

The provision of utilities such as water, electricity and sewage disposal originally was the responsibility of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. What was determined to be an adequate supply of water was located and developed by the Company at Embury (Trout) Lake.<sup>122</sup> This, and the nearby Cliff Lake, were protected as of June 23, 1930 by local regulation intended to maintain the two areas as safe sites for water production.<sup>123</sup> The water from the two lakes was delivered by wagon to the community until the first pipes were laid and operable in November 1932.<sup>124</sup> The original source of electricity in the community consisted of a gas generator that supplied the needed power for construction. It, of course, was replaced in 1930 by Island Falls power which eventually provided electricity for the whole community. Sanitary sewage disposal was complicated by the use of the outdoor privy but by 1934 the plant as well as parts of the community had been connected to a sludge sewage plant at the mine site.<sup>125</sup> The three utilities continued to be company operated in 1934. In return for a nominal fee, the community was therefore provided with the utilities essential for its continued growth.

The maintenance of services, such as fire and police protection as well as hospitalization, was confronted at one time or another by both the Company and the responsible authority. Essentially, while the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company had its own fire brigade from the beginning, the community did not develop its force until January of 1933 and therefore relied on the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company for

fire prevention from 1927-1933.<sup>126</sup> Even when the community had developed its own corps in 1933, it still maintained a close working relationship with the Company's fire brigade through the borrowing of equipment. Police protection, on the other hand, was officially not a problem of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. They had controlled the townsite through their tenure of responsibility with restrictive measures but the area outside of their property had become the concern of a two man detachment of R.C.M.P. in 1930.<sup>127</sup> By 1931, with the incorporation of the C.D.C., the community appointed its own police force that worked in conjunction with both the Manitoba Provincial Police and the R.C.M.P. The local force became the town police in 1933. They continued to rely on R.C.M.P. support to maintain order in the District. The majority of offences that they dealt with were drunkenness, juvenile disorder and the bawdy houses of Mile 83, Halfway or the Callinan Hill.<sup>128</sup>

Medical care is of particular importance in a mining community and was always treated with concern. The case in Flin Flon is no different, with the first hospital in the camp being established as early as 1917.<sup>129</sup> The sporadic working of the claim left the area without an official hospital until 1927 when the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company erected a Company hospital to care for both its employees and the community in general.<sup>130</sup> Special rates of a dollar a month was however available to employees.<sup>131</sup> The Company hospital provided all the medical care for the community until 1930 when Dr. P. Robertson established a sixteen bed unit.<sup>132</sup> Together the Robertson and Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company hospitals continued to provide medical care for the

district until the late 1930's.

Education also had special significance in the single enterprise community. The development of schools implied the presence of families, exactly what the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company had sought for a permanent and stable community. The first classes conducted in the community started in the fall of 1929.<sup>133</sup> The school board which had also started in 1929 went through the process of developing classroom space in the United Church, the Catholic Hall, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company staff house and, of all places, a pool hall.<sup>134</sup> The use of several different facilities continued until the fall of 1932 when the new ten room school was opened, courtesy of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company, the provincial government and the community. The continued maintenance of the new facility was officially seventy-five percent community and twenty-five percent Company responsibility.

The wide cross-section of ancestral backgrounds in the population was well represented through the community's religious organizations. The first organized church service in the district occurred in 1919, when an Anglican minister from The Pas conducted worship in a cook's shack.<sup>135</sup> From 1919 to the summer of 1934, the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, United, Lutheran, Salvation Army and Presbyterian churches had all been active in the religious life of the community. Some, like the Anglicans, held their services in any available structures until a parish hall was constructed; and others, like the Presbyterians, had a visiting missionary for a period of years before the construction of a church. All in all, however, the amount of religious activity in the

community seems disproportionately large when compared to the population figures. This occurrence seems to suggest that religion was one form of escape from the dominance of the single enterprise.

Another method of expressing individuality in the single enterprise community was through recreation. While drinking, gambling and the bawdy houses may have provided some relief or relaxation for community members, the first actual organized effort to implement recreational programs occurred in 1927.<sup>136</sup> The organization of the Flin Flon Skating and Hockey Club culminated in 1928 with the opening of an outdoor rink. Funding for construction was contributed by both the men in the camp and the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. The spring of 1928 witnessed the re-organization of the Skating and Hockey Club into the Flin Flon Athletic Association. This was done primarily to give the organization a wider scope in community sport. The further evolution of the Association took place in the fall of 1928 with the organization of the Flin Flon Community Club as the successor to the Athletic Association. The years that followed saw the construction of a club house with facilities for badminton, basketball, dancing and other activities. The Community Club continued its operation through annual membership fees of \$5.00 as well as being "sponsored by the Company".<sup>137</sup> The charter of incorporation for the Flin Flon Community Club was issued in 1933 and although it restricted membership to "any white male" it generally attempted to fulfill the off hour needs of the community.<sup>138</sup>

A final contributing factor to the atmosphere of the community must be considered to have been the organizations that were separate from both company and community authority. Under this category would be



included the Canadian Legion founded in 1929, Masonic Lodge 1929, Boy Scouts 1929, Knights of Columbus 1930, North Star Rebekah Lodge 1930, Regular Fellers 1933 and the Girl Guides in 1934.<sup>139</sup> Fairly evenly divided between women's and men's clubs, these organizations helped to provide a common denominator for the population's free time. They also aided in the growth of a community identity which was becoming more and more separate from the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company.

### Conclusion

The role of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in the 1927-1934 history of Flin Flon was both industrial and community orientated. At the industrial level their total commitment to the mining enterprise is illustrated by their participation in the development of mining facilities, power and transportation apparatus. Within the community however the level of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's involvement fluctuated from totality to a type of guardianship. In both cases the Company's role within the region was paramount, slowly, however, being eroded at the community level by various factors.

The industrial organization of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company had been honed into production by the summer of 1930. It had developed the necessary facilities and services essential to the profitable exploitation of the Flin Flon orebody. Further expansion of the industrial facilities in the post 1930 period was dictated by the orebody itself but once the essential criteria for production was established the Company's construction phase had all but terminated.

The participation of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in the growth of the community of Flin Flon was largely the result of its

total dominance in the industry of the region. The temporary townsite, which had its roots in the Company bunkhouse style of housing, was partially responsible for the dominating role that the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company played in the community. This townsite which lasted from 1927-1931, came under the jurisdiction of the Company because of the role of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in the district. When an agreement on the site of the permanent townsite could not be reached, the Company as the major force in the area and having surface rights to the temporary townsite property, attempted to organize or administer the community.

In August of 1931 when the Community Development Company replaced the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company as the responsible authority for townsite administration, it was intended to act as a transitional body between Company and community control. In essence, however, the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company still controlled a large portion of C.D.C. policy.

The municipal council which replaced the C.D.C. as responsible authority in August of 1933, established a community-based townsite administrator. The co-operation of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company however, was essential to the maintenance of the municipal district. In this vein, the Company still retained much of its earlier control of townsite affairs. The option to intervene in townsite affairs was now, however, the prerogative of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. No longer were they bound by their direct association with the responsible authority to develop community facilities.

The dependence upon the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company

for community services and the method through which they influenced townsite policy brought to the fore reaction sentiments. First the Board of Trade and then the Ratepayers Association, both sought to channel dissatisfaction into working organizations. The culmination of this activity occurred in June of 1934 when community resentment was funneled into the Flin Flon strike.

CHAPTER III

## Reaction; The Flin Flon Strike, 1934

The summer of 1934 witnessed the culmination of employee dissatisfaction with the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. The June labour dispute was more than just a protest against working conditions, it was representative of the growing discontentment within the townsite towards the single enterprise nature of the community. The walkout signified a turning point in Company-community relations which became expressed in the further isolation of the H.B.M. and S.

The course of development in the Flin Flon camp had been a rather smooth process of community growth. The transition from a remote mining camp to a blossoming municipality was carried out with very little opposition. Indeed, once the campaign against the "company town" had subsided, the vocal reaction to the method of expansion was limited to sporadic cries of unfair treatment at the hands of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company.<sup>1</sup> This, in part, is displayed by the ratepayers objection to water and garbage rates in 1933 or even earlier in the history of the community with a labour-management dispute in May of 1929.<sup>2</sup> In both cases, however, because of the dominant position of the Company in the community, opposition to H.B.M. and S. policy eventually disappeared. The suppression of this opposition by the Company, resulted in the further questioning of an individual's freedom within the community.<sup>3</sup> As a consequence, the undercurrent of community thinking would appear to have been not as docile as perhaps suggested by the lack of visible reaction to Company policy.

In June of 1934, the passivity of the community was broken by the call to strike. On June 9th, the demands of the employees of the H.B.M. and S. were presented to, and rejected by, Company officials. The result was that some 1,300 workers walked out of the mine and processing facilities in support of the rejected ultimatum.<sup>4</sup> The demands of the workers resulted from the events of the previous five years and portrayed their growing frustration with the special conditions of the single enterprise community.

### Background

#### Labour Troubles

The summer of 1934 illustrates the cleavage between management and labour in the Flin Flon camp. It was not, however, the first occasion of labour unrest in a seemingly peaceful mining community. Enough evidence of earlier disputes can be found to imply that, while 1934 may have been the watershed of relations, all may never have been well between the Company and its employees. Indeed, it was suggested by Alex Stewart, a local strike organizer, that the 1934 conflict had its roots in a labour dispute of 1929.<sup>5</sup>

The 1929 conflict originated with the treatment of carpenters in the employ of the H.B.M. and S.<sup>6</sup> A group of approximately sixty men had been continually mistreated by their foreman during the course of construction at the mine site. This included bullying, fist fights and unwarranted dismissals. The men finally presented W.A. Green, mine superintendent, with a petition asking for the resignation of the foreman, one L.I. Latimer. Green's treatment of the incident was one example of the Company's approach to labour-management conflicts; he dismissed all

who had signed the petition. Green apparently sided whole heartedly with the foreman, maintaining that the sixty men released were participating in "foul tactics" and that the Company would "not tolerate" such activities.

Similar incidents, in which labourers were mistreated by management personnel, apparently occurred with regularity. Examples of foremen abusing the men under their command were found in various issues of the Flin Flon Miner. By way of letters to the editor, miners anonymously berated their bosses and the demands that they inflicted upon their employees. One such example referred to a request for a "beer party".<sup>7</sup> The miner refusing the foreman's suggestion, found himself suffering the harassment of the foreman until he was finally dismissed. The incident, however insignificant, is indicative of a certain amount of animosity between labour and management.

Labour representation came to Flin Flon surprisingly early in its development. By way of the Independent Labour Party, the Northern Manitoba Prospector's Association, and the Flin Flon Miner's Association, the employees of the H.B.M. and S. had a variety of outlets for their views and opinions as both labourers and miners. The Independent Labour Party was organized in the community in June of 1930.<sup>8</sup> It met with amazingly little opposition from the H.B.M. and S. and even hosted a speaking tour of prominent party men in July of 1930.<sup>9</sup> It has been suggested by the Labour Leader that the reason for Company complacency to the Labour Party's activity was because it had infiltrated their ranks and promoted their own representatives as major figures.<sup>10</sup> The use of the Labour Leader as an accurate source of the labour conflict, while

suspect, still portrays a relative degree of labour-management animosity in the Flin Flon camp. The two local Associations, on the other hand, appeared to have the support of the Company.<sup>11</sup> The Flin Flon Miner's Association and the local chapter of the Northern Manitoba Prospector's Association were viewed as more acceptable factors by the Company because they channeled the worker's energy into recreation or education.

In conjunction with the arrival of the Independent Labour Party in Flin Flon, there also appeared the first evidence of unionization.<sup>12</sup> At a meeting held under the auspices of the I.L.P., an organizer of the International Union of Mining and Smelter Workers addressed the audience with regard to unionization.<sup>13</sup> W.T. Ryan's presence in Flin Flon did not sit well with the H.B.M. and S. and although the Northern Mail suggests that as a result of his visit, that a Flin Flon delegate to the union would be appointed in the near future, it was apparently squashed by the Company.<sup>14</sup>

A second effort towards unionization was attempted in 1932. W.A. Green was approached by A. Stewart with a proposal for the formation of an "industrial body".<sup>15</sup> The mine superintendent informed Stewart that any effort to organize by the men, would result in dismissals. The subject was apparently dropped until such a time as the conditions in the community warranted the risk of organization. At this time - apparently in 1933 - the men formed secretive groups of five into a local chapter of the Mine Workers Union of Canada.<sup>16</sup> Aided by outside help - i.e., the Workers Unity League or the Canadian Defense League - the workers maintained their union through the winter of 1933-1934 despite threats and

actual violence on the part of "Company goons".<sup>17</sup>

In 1934 the H.B.M. and S. had compiled enough evidence to move against the union organizers. During May and June, they dismissed approximately twenty-seven men for their union involvement.<sup>18</sup> Officially the Company declined to give a reason for the discharges but rumour suggested that the movement for organization was largely responsible.<sup>19</sup> The H.B.M. and S. had reacted in a manner similar to past labour-management problems. Labour organizers had traditionally found themselves on the losing end of labour-management disputes in the Flin Flon camp.

#### Community Troubles

The community of Flin Flon's first organized effort to influence Company policy in the townsite resulted in the formation of the Board of Trade. As has been illustrated, however, the Board of Trade tended to function more as an arm of the H.B.M. and S., than as an independent organization. Acting as something of a self-appointed mediator between Company and community, the Board of Trade worked within Company guidelines for community improvements. In the period of 1929-1931, the Board of Trade was the only organization, outside of the H.B.M. and S., that contributed to policy formation within the Community. Their input however was more atuned to the problems of the commercial community and was therefore an ineffective method of securing policy change for the average worker.

In 1931, with the evolution of the Community Development Company, the H.B.M. and S. employees combined with the community at large, received a 37.5% voice in policy formation. This however did not mean



that 37.5% of their demands were carried out, it simply meant that they had the opportunity to express their community grievances through their three representatives on the governing board.<sup>20</sup> The C.D.C. actually worked in conjunction with the H.B.M. and S. in an attempt to develop an adequate community.

The Ratepayers Association, founded in 1932, gave the community at large a vehicle through which grievances could be aired. It maintained this position through the incorporation of the municipality and functioned as perhaps the most militant section of vocal displeasure with community affairs until the evolution of the Mine Workers Union. The Ratepayers Association attacked the C.D.C., H.B.M. and S. and the municipal council over garbage, water and electrical rates, the condition of the streets, the sulphur fumes from the smelter and the "levelling" off of taxes.

The H.B.M. and S. Company's relations with the various community organizations were actually twofold; supportive and non-supportive. The Company maintained an active role in the C.D.C. throughout its history but almost totally avoided dealing with the Board of Trade or the Ratepayers Association. Of the two - the Board of Trade and the Ratepayers - the H.B.M. and S. was far more tolerant of the Board of Trade than the Ratepayers. This was primarily due to the opposition that the Ratepayers provided to Company policy. In either case, however, the Company appeared to ignore the two organizations and dealt with them only when there was no alternative.

Such was the position of local organizations when the union movement of H.B.M. and S. workers began to evolve. Community grievances

became union grievances. They picked up the cry of high utility rates,<sup>21</sup> inadequate sewage disposal, poor water systems and nauseating smelter fumes,<sup>22</sup> and added them to their list of working grievances. The situation within the community and the lack of action in alleviating the poor living conditions supplied the miners with further incentive to demand changes from the H.B.M. and S.

#### Economic Troubles

Directly related to problems designated as "Community Troubles", the economic situation of the miners in Flin Flon revolved around their inability to meet day to day living costs on their salaries. The H.B.M. and S. workers found themselves contending with rising prices and falling salaries. The Company in their opinion had taken advantage of a return to prosperity while failing to pass on corresponding benefits to its employees. Indeed, the H.B.M. and S. continued to raise utility rates, the municipality and the province continued to raise taxes and the mine workers, themselves were subjected to a 1932 pay decrease.<sup>23</sup>

In July of 1932, the H.B.M. and S. instituted a pay cut of 18% for single men and 15% for married men - with an exception of one percent for each child.<sup>24</sup> The men apparently willingly accepted the decrease in order to keep the mine functioning. By 1934, however, the miners cited a rise of 75% in gold prices, an increase in copper prices of 3 1/2 cents, as well as, proportional increases in zinc and silver as the justification for a return to the pre 1932 wage scale.<sup>25</sup> Their determination in this respect was even further heightened by the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Annual Reports which showed a profit of almost

eight hundred thousand dollars in the first three years of operation.<sup>26</sup> While this was not conclusive in terms of returns on invested capital, the miners maintained that the profit shown in production should result in further employee benefits.

The situation in the Flin Flon camp was further aggravated by the unemployment problem. Potential workers had continued to arrive in Flin Flon in hopes of finding employment with the H.B.M. and S. Although the average number of men employed with the Company had increased by almost four hundred from 1930-1934, there was still a problem of dealing with the unemployed in the community. This consequently entailed the provision of relief for those without work.<sup>27</sup> As of December 1, 1933, one third of the relief costs were assumed by the Municipality and was raised by local taxes - the balance was provided by federal and provincial government funding.<sup>28</sup> This in turn affected the rate-payers of the community as the relief costs became their tax burden.

The earning capacity of the Flin Flon mine was further reduced in May of 1935 when the provincial government imposed a wage tax of two percent on all wage earners.<sup>29</sup> The H.B.M. and S. employees cited this as another reason for a return to their former wage scale, claiming that their earnings were further restricted by provincial taxation.

The municipal government, like its provincial counterpart, had to accept partial responsibility for relief spending. The provincial government's two percent wage tax was countered by a rise in the municipal tax rate of two and a half percent.<sup>30</sup> In both cases, the move was primarily dictated by an increase in relief expenditures and a decrease in other revenues. The Manitoba Department of Labour's Annual

Reports seem to verify this with an estimate that the twelve month expenditure on relief in the Municipal District of Flin Flon from April of 1933 to March of 1934 was approximately seven thousand dollars more than the total expenditure for the previous two and a half years.<sup>31</sup>

The 1932 pay decrease and the growth of municipal and provincial relief expenditure were the results of the depression that had gripped the western world in the early thirties. Although the single enterprise community was perhaps not as hard hit by the economic disparity of the period, it was still affected by world prices. Indeed the 1932 pay cut was actually justified by the H.B.M. and S. as a method of forestalling the closure of the plant which was deemed to have been a possibility because of the decline in base metal prices.<sup>32</sup>

It remains to be mentioned however that Flin Flon because of its single enterprise nature and its production of base metals such as gold and silver, was far less affected by the depression than most other urban centers. In the final analysis Flin Flon's population of 4,500 was much more secure because of their resource dependence than they readily believed.

The conditions of the depression brought to the Flin Flon worker an overall reduction in earnings. Based on the move by the H. B.M. and S. to ensure profits as well as on increased provincial and municipal tax schemes to support the relief rolls, the miner found himself struggling to keep his head above water. This was made far more intolerable when it was believed that the H.B.M. and S. was short changing its employees through its perceived profit-making.

The StrikeThe Demands

The situation at the Flin Flon mine which was characterized by labour-management animosity, the closed town nature of the community, the less than tolerable living conditions of the townsite, the decrease in wages and the added burden of the depression finally erupted in June of 1934. The workers' attempts to organize into an effective bargaining agency had been partially successful during the winter months of 1933-1934. So much so, that when the H.B.M. and S. dismissed suspected union organizers on the 8th of June, the local branch of the Mine Worker's Union of Canada was prepared to call for strike action within twenty-four hours.<sup>33</sup>

The Mine Worker's Union of Canada had become something of a secretive force in the lives of Flin Flon miners. Its origin appears to have resulted from the intervention of the Workers Unity League in the organization of the H.B.M. and S. workers. In the winter prior to the strike call a group of Flin Flon miners had sent word via letter to the Worker's Unity League in Winnipeg, asking for help in the organization of the mine workers.<sup>34</sup> In response to the request, the W.U.L. sent M. Sago and E. Ewardson to the mining community.<sup>35</sup> They in turn organized a branch of the Canadian Labour Defense League as well as secret groups of men into the Mine Workers Union of Canada which had a close affiliation with the W.U.L.<sup>36</sup> It was estimated by Sago that the W.U.L. had organized some seven hundred men in this fashion.<sup>37</sup> Sago's interpretation of the events of the strike are definitely one-sided and should be viewed as representative of the Union's analysis of the situation. It is no surprise

then, that when the dismissal of workers occurred on June 8th, that the local branch of the M.W.U.C. was powerful enough to implement strike action.<sup>38</sup>

The Workers Unity League which fostered the growth of the M.W.U.C. in the Flin Flon camp was an organization founded in 1930. It was established as the representative of the Communist Party in the organization of previously unorganized industries.<sup>39</sup> The W.U.L. had in affiliation three organizations which were in existence prior to the establishment of the League; one of which was the Mine Workers Union of Canada.<sup>40</sup> Outside of the M.W.U.C. the League was active in the organization of the logging, shipping, longshoring and the fishing industries. In total, prior to its organization of the Flin Flon miners, the W.U.L. carried Canadian union memberships of approximately forty thousand.<sup>41</sup>

The activity of the local branch of the M.W.U.C. on Saturday, June 9th was apparently precipitated by the Company's move to rid itself of union organizers. Although the strike leaders later admitted that a strike was planned for "some time" during the summer of 1934, they maintained that the walkout on the ninth was a sudden decision based on Company dismissals.<sup>42</sup> The first reaction of the union to the Company's move was the calling of a meeting on the eighth.<sup>43</sup> The meeting consisted of several small gatherings with each department of the mine being formed into a group and appointing a leader. Grievances were discussed and a committee, composed of group leaders was chosen to present the demands of the union to the management.

The strike committee of twenty, presented the demands formulated at the Friday meetings, to W.A. Green on the morning of the ninth.<sup>44</sup>

Accompanying the demands was a letter of introduction to the superintendent from the M.W.U.C. and their elected officials. The text of the letter maintained that the delegation had no authority to negotiate the demands and that a reply to the union's grievances must be presented to the committee not later than 3 p.m. The introductory letter went on to say that the union hoped that the demands would be acceptable and therefore eliminate the possibility of any "unpleasantness".

The demands, as drawn up on the eighth and presented to Company officials on the ninth, were as follows:

1. Recognition of the Mine Workers Union of Canada.
2. That no discrimination against anyone because of union activity occur and that all those discharged without just cause be reinstated.
3. That the pay deduction of 18% single employee, 15% married employee and 1% for each child, cease at once.
4. That the number of those employed not be reduced by lay-offs.
5. That pay day be twice a month, approximately every 15 days.
6. That the eight hour day be instituted with time and a half for overtime up to sixteen hours, double time for all time in excess of sixteen continuous hours.
7. That nothing be touched or tampered with after an accident until investigated by the departmental committee.<sup>45</sup>

The question of assessing the support of the strike committee presents a problem in accuracy and definition. The H.B.M. and S. employed on the average between 900-1,300 workers in 1934. It was, however, suggested by The Labour Gazette that 1,073 workers were affected by the

walkout.<sup>46</sup> This is taken to mean the total number of employees working for the H.B.M. and S. at the time of the strike. Of this total, something less than one hundred men remained on duty at the mine after the walkout.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, excluding both management personnel and those who remained on the jobs, this would leave approximately 973 workers to participate in the conflict.

The strike committee that met with Green on the ninth claimed to be representative of approximately 700 workers who belonged to the local.<sup>48</sup> The missing two hundred odd employees apparently - according to union representatives - joined the union on the tenth, after the strike was called.<sup>49</sup> The union, therefore, claimed almost 70% support of the workers at the time of the meeting with Green and an amazing 100% on the following day.

Those opposed to the union naturally presented a much different picture of the strength of the local. Based on interviews conducted by Premier Bracken in July of 1934, it would appear as if the union had overestimated its strength. The Bracken interviews, however, tend to represent the pro-Company position of the community and should be considered somewhat one-sided. George Bridgmen, President of the Board of Trade, for example, claimed that 75% of the men were not in total support of the union.<sup>50</sup> This would imply that the strike committee had the support of only 280 of the workers. Another interview expresses a similar opinion, in that the union was representative of only 240 militant workers and not the 900 claimed by union representatives.<sup>51</sup>

The problem of arriving at a realistic figure of union supporters is further complicated by the fact that the definition of support varied



considerably. In this sense, it was again suggested by the Bracken interviews that a large percentage of the men signed union cards only on the basis of regaining the wage cut.<sup>52</sup> The support of these individuals revolved around the one grievance of the wage deduction and the other demands such as union recognition were of little importance. Consequently, a large number of men were registered union members, with little interest in unionization.

A further problem is presented by the number of workers who for various reasons were not fully responsible for the signing of union cards. This would include the men who were coerced into joining the union through threats of violence and those who, because of a language barrier, were not aware of exactly what they were signing.<sup>53</sup> In both cases, these individuals would add to the total number of union members but they would not necessarily support the strike committee's demands.

In the final analysis of how many of the workers actually supported strike action, two sides must again be presented. The decision to strike, upon the rejection of the strike committee's demands, was made at the June 8th union meetings. According to union officials, the decision was unanimous but according to the Bracken interviews, unanimous of only 200-240 workers.<sup>54</sup> The individuals involved in the vote appear to have been representative of the departmental groups rather than the all inclusive union membership. So while the union claimed total support for strike action, the reality of the situation was that the department representatives totally supported strike action. Correspondingly, as has been suggested by the divergence of views on the union position, it could be safely assumed that similar differences would have been reflected

in the strike vote if they had had the opportunity.

W.A. Green's response to the union's demands was to refuse recognition of the strike committee, the Mine Workers Union of Canada and under the conditions presented to consider their demands.<sup>55</sup> On this note, the workers of the H.B.M. and S. walked off the job. Based on the decision of the department representatives of the M.W.U.C., the facilities of the H.B.M. and S. were vacated at 6 p.m. on Saturday, June 9, 1934.

The strike committee was quick to act on its pledge to strike. Even before the official walkout at 6 p.m., pickets had been established around the mine and the facilities of the H.B.M. and S., denying employee access to the property.<sup>56</sup> The transition to strike force was smoothly carried out with very few incidents. The strike committee had guaranteed the safety of Company property by allowing a protective group of twenty to remain on the property in order to keep the mine drained and the machinery under surveillance. They also attempted to help maintain a measure of order within the community itself by requesting that beer parlors and liquor stores close for the duration of the strike in order to keep the men "under control".<sup>57</sup> On behalf of local merchants an appeal was made to the workers by the strike committee, asking them to pay their bills in order that the business community might carry on.<sup>58</sup> And finally, to ensure a continued water supply, electric power and lighting, an agreement was reached between the strike committee and the Company to maintain these services.<sup>59</sup> To implement this scheme, the men engaged at both the power house and the water supply plants were allowed to go to and fro without interference.

The reaction of the H.B.M. and S. to the strike call appeared to be one of surprise. Believing that they had rid the Company of union activists through the dismissals of the previous weeks, R.H. Channing Jr., president of mining operations for the H.B.M. and S. and R.E. Phelan, general manager of the Flin Flon mine, had both left Flin Flon just prior to the walk-out.<sup>60</sup> This left W.A. Green in charge of the operation at the time of the ultimatum. Green's position was reflected through his rejection of the grievances; most specifically, recognition of the union.

The community, as represented by the municipal council and the Flin Flon Miner, seemed to express bewilderment at the walkout. The council sought to remain as "an absolutely neutral body" in an endeavour to present the facts in a manner befitting the responsible authority. It hoped that its neutrality would serve its chosen role as mediator.<sup>61</sup> The Miner expressed a similar desire to mediate. Through its editorials, it presented the opinion that the struggle was perhaps "inevitable", in view of the rise in metal prices and the continued wage cut. In this sense the editors felt that the miners grievances were real problems and should be discussed as such.<sup>62</sup>

The Flin Flon Miner's role during the labour dispute appeared perhaps surprisingly, almost totally independent of either Company or union influence. Edited by Lois A. Schell, the policy of the Miner reflected the sentiments of its editor without catering to either party involved in the strike. Its participation in the dispute as an impartial observer therefore became an important indicator of the position of the conflict.

The organization of the workers continued through the weekend of the ninth. Mass meetings were held on both Saturday and Sunday evenings to discuss union strategy.<sup>63</sup> The major issue confronting the union was the apparent arrival of a special train on Monday the eleventh, carrying what was believed to have been scab workers. An appeal was passed for increased picketing at the plant site, as well as for a large turn out for the arrival of the 7:15 from Winnipeg. A confrontation was brewing; 300 strikers lined the tracks at the station while another 200 manned picket lines at the mine.<sup>64</sup> The peace of the Flin Flon strike had previously been broken only once; this occurred late Sunday evening when a lone worker tried to crash a picket line.

The picketers were quite surprised and rather distressed when the 7:15 turned out to be carrying eighteen R.C.M.P. officers, R.H. Channing and a Winnipeg journalist.<sup>65</sup> Instead of scab workers, the strikers wondered if they had been countered with an R.C.M.P. strike breaking force. Premier Bracken attempted to relieve the volatile situation through a June eleventh press release, in which he stated:

"... The presence of the police is not to be regarded as a threat to the strikers so long as they conduct themselves within the law."<sup>66</sup>

Fear of a possible repeat performance of R.C.M.P. strike-breaking tactics was now an underlying force in the Flin Flon strike.<sup>67</sup>

The official Company statement in response to the walkout was issued on June 10th.<sup>68</sup> In a combined effort by Channing and Phelan, the Company reaffirmed the stance taken by Green on the ninth. They "would under no circumstances" recognize the workers union nor their demands as presented to the mine superintendent. It was becoming clear

that the major obstacle to conciliation, as far as the Company was concerned, was the workers organization. Phelan perhaps more so than Channing characterized Company sentiments in his emphatic denunciation of the union when he claimed that "...their affiliation with the Workers Unity League classed them with Red organizers."<sup>69</sup>

Based on correspondence with Attorney General W.J. Price of Ontario, Phelan maintained that the M.W.U.C. was not concerned with the betterment of the miners working conditions but rather "world revolution". Stating that the Communist International at Moscow was the governing body of the Communist Party in Canada and, therefore, controlled the W.U.L. and its affiliate the M.W.U.C., Phelan was willing to close the plant for ten years before recognizing such a union.

Channing presented a milder position of Company policy. While reaffirming the statement that the Company would not recognize the union, Channing supported his position by claiming that the union was not representative of the mine workers and therefore did not have the authority to speak on their behalf.<sup>70</sup> He went on in his statement to reflect on the friendly relationship that had existed between the Company and its employees. Channing attempted to illustrate Company "generosity" by claiming that the H.B.M. and S. had offered full time employment to 1,200-1,300 men at wage levels comparable to anywhere in the world, during times of depression. The president's amiable approach to the problem can best be characterized by his declaration that after the men returned to work, the Company would be more than willing to consider any questions affecting their welfare.

While Phelan presented the hard line to the workers and Channing was somewhat more conciliatory, the official statement of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company was a six point rejection of union demands:

1. That the H.B.M. and S. would not recognize the strike committee.
2. That the Company would not recognize the M.W.U.C.
3. That the Company was prepared to pay twice a month.
4. That the Company had been more than fair with its employees; offering employment, reasonable wages ....
5. That the Company would consider negotiating after the men returned to work.
6. That the Company did not believe that the demands were from a majority of Company employees but were the result of outside Communist agitation.<sup>71</sup>

Accompanying the six point rejection was a reaffirmation of Company policy. This entailed the defense of H.B.M. and S. methods of operation which, at least, forced the Company to justify its treatment of its employees.

The Company admitted the 1932 pay cut but justified it by stating that the deduction was comparable to other industries. The H.B.M. and S. cited a total wage reduction of 20-30% for railway employees and a similar adjustment of 35% in the wheat farmers' earnings, as an indication of world wide reaction to the depression.<sup>72</sup> It further claimed that while the reduction was 15-18%, the cost of living in February of 1934 as estimated by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, was 36% less than what it was prior to the wage cut. The real value

of H.B.M. and S. employees salaries was therefore - according to Company officials - larger than what it had been prior to pay cut.

While official statements flew back and forth, conditions in the community continued to be surprisingly relaxed. Channing and other Company officials moved among the picketers with seemingly little resistance or objection. Indeed, sentiments between employer and employee almost appeared friendly. The Flin Flon Miner reported joking and kibitzing between the president and the strikers with little of the animosity portrayed by official demands or notices.<sup>73</sup> A further reflection of this atmosphere was illustrated by Channing's willingness to allow the pay schedule to be met as usual.<sup>74</sup>

The striking miners received further numerical support when, on the eleventh, some two hundred women and several of the unemployed joined the strike force. Wives and mothers of the strikers organized themselves into an auxiliary strike committee in an attempt to lend moral, direct support to the workers.<sup>75</sup> They began a program of canvassing for funds and providing coffee for night time pickets. The unemployed volunteers on the other hand became actively involved in picketing and helped to ensure a continuance of available man power.

#### The Quarrel

On June 14, the Miner carried the strike committee's reply to the statement of the H.B.M. and S. The workers attempted to refute Channing's claim that employees had been generously treated by the Company. They pointed out, that based on the seventy-five, fifty and forty-two cent hourly pay scale of the H.B.M. and S., that a man working thirty days a month and twelve months a year, would make \$1,762.20,

\$1,180.80 and \$991.80 respectively, which was in their opinion far below the Ontario average.<sup>76</sup> This, they felt, did not justify Channing's claim that Flin Flon wages were "comparable" to other mine's pay scales.

The strike committee also objected to Channing's use of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics figures. They claimed that nowhere in Flin Flon could room and board be obtained for \$24.00 as suggested by Channing's figures on the reduced cost of living.

Other issues refuted by the strike committee concerned Channing's allegations that the union was not representative of the workers and that the H.B.M. and S. had been "fair" to its employees. On the union question the strikers maintained that they had 90% support of the workers. This estimate was based on the small number of men who were not actively involved in strike measures.<sup>77</sup> The fair policy of the H.B.M. and S. referred to by Channing was attacked on the basis of the 1932 pay reduction. The committee maintained that the Company had promised that when conditions improved, they would pay wages equal to those prior to 1932. Conditions had improved, in part; 1934 metal prices were superior to those of 1933 but only gold had increased beyond the 1929 prices.<sup>78</sup> For this reason the strike committee felt that the Company's promise of restorations should be redeemed and that, until such action was taken, the workers were being cheated.

The most damning of the Company's allegations, however, was difficult for the strike committee to completely disprove. This was the H.B.M. and S.'s belief that the demands of the strike committee were the result of outside communist agitation. Even the possibility of an association between the union and communist activists raised anti-



union feelings within both the Company and the community. If the charges were to be refuted, the union had to do so beyond a shadow of a doubt, before it could be absolved of the taint of the scar of possible "Red" involvement.

The major indictment presented by the H.B.M. and S. was the association among the Mine Workers Union of Canada, the Workers Unity League, the Communist Party of Canada, and the Third International of Moscow. The connection was initially suggested by R.E. Phelan. The affiliation of the M.W.U.C. with the W.U.L. was information that he found easily obtainable. Not only was it recorded by the Department of Labour publication, Labour Organizations in Canada, it was also a fact readily admitted by M.W.U.C. organizers in Flin Flon. P. Barclay of the M.W.U.C. for example, when interviewed by the municipal council, was quoted as saying, that they had been "affiliated with the W.U.L. (since) 1931".<sup>79</sup> For the connection between the W.U.L. and the Communist Party of Canada, Phelan relied on information supplied by Ontario's Attorney-General, W.J. Price. Responding to a request for information on the W.U.L., Price informed Phelan that:

"The Communist International at Moscow is the governing body of the world organization. The Communist Party of Canada is the Canadian section of the Communist International and the Workers Unity League is the name for the Communist Party of Canada's activities in the industrial fields."<sup>80</sup>

Price also confirmed the Moscow connections and therefore had convinced Phelan that communism was behind the walkout. The important issue however, appeared to be not the accurate determination of communism in Flin Flon but rather the suggestion of "Red" infiltration. In other

words, Phelan was more interested in the possibility of communism in the community than the proving of the same.

The municipal council's response to the allegations made by the H.B.M. and S. was to investigate the charges in the hope of alleviating the "Red scare". Mayor Foster was given the authorization by the council to inquire into the status of the M.W.U.C. On June 11, Foster sent a telegram to W.J. Major, Attorney General of Manitoba, requesting information on whether the M.W.U.C. were political or if they were "affiliated with any political organization". Major forwarded a reply to Foster, as well as forwarding the initial telegram to the Federal Department of Labour. The correspondence from the Attorney General read in part:

"...Affiliated in 1931 with Workers Unity League of Canada which organization was the Canadian section of the Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow..."

while the Deputy Minister of Labour, W.M. Dickson replied:

"...Affiliated in 1931 with Workers Unity League .... However the officers claim only fraternal relations with the Russian body maintained since 1932 ..."81

The community's fears were becoming reality. Even if the possibility of communist agitators existed, the striker's position became largely unacceptable within the community.

The council's activity was not strictly limited to correspondence. Also on June 11, they received a delegation of union representatives in the council chambers.<sup>82</sup> Presenting the union cause were A. Stewart, A. Hay, Chandler and Cavanagh (local organizers of the M.W.U.C.), J. Coleman (associated with the Winnipeg branch of the W.U.L.) and P. Barclay

(associated with the Calgary branch of the M.W.U.C.). The council's questions ranged in scope from the possibility of having an appointed Board of Arbitration settle the strike to the nature of the strike vote.<sup>83</sup> Four or five important points, however, came out of the meeting; that the W.U.L. was referred to as "the big brother" of the M.W.U.C.; that the M.W.U.C. was a government chartered organization, but that the local unit was not; that there were no outside men on the executive council of the strike committee nor were there any in the local; that the strikers were not prepared to accept a Board of Arbitration or Conciliation; and, finally, that good feeling still existed between the organizers and the council.

The position presented by Barclay to the council on the question of the affiliation of the M.W.U.C. was an admission of the connection with the W.U.L.: but was also a definite denial on other connections - especially with any communist organization. Barclay claimed that both the Company and the council were concentrating on the political aspects of the M.W.U.C. to the detriment of the miner's needs. Rightly or wrongly, his point was that Flin Flon was slowly slipping into the hysteria of the anti-communist movement.

The question of the charter of the M.W.U.C. is directly related to the aforementioned association between the W.U.L. and the M.W.U.C. Barclay claimed that the M.W.U.C. was registered and therefore chartered, by the Department of Labour in 1926. The local unit, although organized, had not, according to Barclay, met the full requirements for the issuing of a charter and was therefore not an officially chartered unit. In retrospect, this meant that under government guidelines, the M.W.U.C. had

fulfilled the requirements for, and was sufficiently independent to warrant the granting of the charter.

The Union's position on outside agitators presents an interesting question in semantics: The claim that no outsiders were members of the local or the executive council, did not imply that they were not involved in the organization. The participation of James Coleman, for example, is proof enough that outside help was enlisted. The involvement of Mitchi Sago is also evidence that, although he was not a member of the local, he did participate in the organization of the workers.

The committee's position on the question of arbitration or conciliation reflected its need to be recognized by the H.B.M. and S. Their refusal to submit to government intervention implied that they hoped to deal directly with the Company and as a consequence be recognized by the Company as a bargaining agent. The strike committee presented a determined front that was clearly characterized by a belief in one on one confrontation.

The final conclusion that can be drawn from the meeting on the eleventh, is the friendly nature of the proceedings. This is, perhaps, best illustrated by the council's offer of aid in helping the committee obtain access to the facilities of the Community Club. It was agreed by the council to assist the union in persuading the Community Club's executive to allow the local use of the hall for union meetings. It is important to illustrate here that the meeting of the council and the strike committee took place prior to the response of the Attorney General and the Deputy Minister of Labour. So while all appeared well between the community and the committee, suspicions were

not completely dispelled by union reassurances of no communist affiliation. Indeed, once a reply to Mayor Foster's inquiries had been received, the situation was not so cordial.

The strike committee, perhaps realizing the shift in sentiment against alleged communist agitators, issued a statement in an attempt to quell the disapproval. On June 14, the local branch of the M.W.U.C. emphatically denied the communist connection.<sup>84</sup> They claimed affiliation with the W.U.L., the Amalgamated Mine Workers Union of New Brunswick and other unions which had "succeeded in improving bad conditions everywhere"; but they denied affiliation with any form of communism. They did not, however, deny an earlier communist connection nor did they attempt to illuminate the fact that the connection was merely "fraternal" since 1932.<sup>85</sup>

Just as sentiment within Flin Flon was becoming more and more polarized, it was also the case outside the community. Public opinion on the labour dispute appeared most concerned over the involvement of the R.C.M.P. Positive concern for the strikers prompted apprehension about possible strike breaking action by the R.C.M.P. On the negative side, the communist bogey was generally thought to warrant the presence of the R.C.M.P.

In the Manitoba legislature, the Independent Labour Party, led by John Queen, S.J. Farmer and H.F. Lawrence, presented the Premier with the case for collective bargaining.<sup>86</sup> In essence, they requested Bracken use the influence of the provincial government towards "forcing" the H.B.M. and S. into recognizing the principle of collective bargaining.<sup>87</sup> The three I.L.P. members also "expressed regret" at the presence of the R.C.M.P. in Flin Flon. Bracken assured them that the purpose of the

force was to ensure law and order and not to act as strike breakers. Thus, they received little satisfaction from Bracken, short of his promise to consider their request.

Further reaction to the government's policy was voiced by various other labour organizations. The Bracken Papers contain well over a hundred petitions from union organizations as far away as Guelph Ontario, Bellevue Alberta and Glace Bay Nova Scotia; but the most significant in terms of impact was that of Noranda Quebec. The Noranda Mines local of the M.W.U.C. had voted for strike action on June 11, with the following sentiment.

"...Here is real support for Flin Flon. We are launching a national campaign to support these heroic struggles of the metal miners and smelter workers".<sup>88</sup>

All the labour protests, including Noranda's, demanded the immediate withdrawal of the R.C.M.P. Once again, fear of the R.C.M.P. strike-breaking tactics appears to provide a great deal of impetus for the protest.

The final charge in the denunciation of Bracken's handling of the early stages of the strike, with particular emphasis on the involvement of the R.C.M.P., came from the Workers Unity League. The opinion of the W.U.L. was expressed by M. Sago, when he claimed that the R.C.M.P. were sent to Flin Flon for "scab recruiting and strike breaking purposes".<sup>89</sup> The W.U.L. felt that not only were the R.C.M.P. in the services of the H.B.M. and S., but that even "honest" John Bracken had been "hired" by the bosses.

Positive support for the action of the Bracken government or the H.B.M. and S. was not nearly as obvious as the dissent of the protestors. Generally, the positive reaction was restricted to politicians

or other government officials who sensed a real problem in the possibility of communist involvement. This feeling was expressed by B. Stitt (federal M.P. for the area), W.J. Price (Ontario Attorney General) and most emphatically by Colonel Webb, Mayor of Winnipeg.<sup>90</sup> Mayor Webb, convinced that the strike leaders were communists, recommended to Mayor Foster, plans for "...their immediate departure by the first boat from Churchill..."<sup>91</sup>

Such was the opinion both locally and nationally as the strike entered its second week. The workers had established a rather efficient organization as a result of the assistance of experienced organizers. By the end of the second week, the combined organizational force of Barclay and Coleman had been augmented with the arrival of Mabel "Mickey" Marlowe (secretary of the Manitoba section of the Canadian Labour Defence League) and Cecil Zuken alias William Ross (M.W.U.C. organizer).<sup>92</sup> The facilities established by the union included a strike fund, which was reported to amount of several thousand dollars, a soup kitchen under the supervision of the women's auxiliary and, around the clock picketing schedules, which included the provision of coffee, coats, sweaters, etc. With organization came a level of militancy. Non-participating workers who had previously been chastised by name calling, were becoming more and more subject to violence. The "scab" label had been applied to more than one dwelling in the community.<sup>93</sup>

The second week of the strike also witnessed what could be assessed as the watershed in public sentiment. It was becoming fairly obvious that the conflict was no longer the demands of the miners but rather the political implications of communist involvement. This was

perhaps best illustrated in the pages of the local newspaper. Up until that point, the Flin Flon Miner appeared to express the opinion that the miners grievances were of more importance than the speculative involvement of communist agitators. During the second week of the strike, the Miner published correspondence with W.M. Dickson, R.B. Russell, and J.S. Woodsworth's personal secretary that allayed any doubt on the sympathy of the local press.

The telegram from Deputy Minister Dickson was a reply to a request from Mayor Foster for a clarification of the affiliation of the W.U.L. with the Red International. Dickson referred the Mayor to the second National Congress of the W.U.L. in 1933, at which time they declared their desire to maintain and develop fraternal relations with the Red International of Soviet Russia.<sup>94</sup> This amendment to the 1932 constitution, by which the W.U.L. had claimed to have broken ties with Moscow, helped confirm Foster's worst fears.

The two letters from the offices of J.S. Woodsworth and R.B. Russell, which had been solicited by Foster and were printed in full in the Miner, supported the claim by Dickson.<sup>95</sup> The association was drawn between the W.U.L. and Moscow by both letters. They maintained that while there may have not been "direct affiliation" the two still worked "hand in hand". The opinion of the two pro-labour activists on the subject of communist involvement in the W.U.L. had a far reaching effect on the Flin Flon situation.

The anti-communist movement, supported by the letters of Dickson, Russell and Woodsworth; gathered momentum. In a supplement to the same edition of the Miner in which the correspondence was printed, Councillor



Mainwaring jumped on the band wagon with a denunciation of the union because of its association with the "revolutionary movements of Russia". The Councillor went on to say that in his opinion it was the responsibility of the council to

"...open the eyes of the people to the terrible consequence of countenancing with revolutionary tactics..."<sup>96</sup>

A further blow to the union came by way of an organized effort from the community to "stamp" out communism and its adjuncts. This took the form of a Canada First Union or officially, the Anti-Communist League of Flin Flon.<sup>97</sup> The founding meeting which took place on June 18th, elected officers and passed a constitution of some twenty-six resolutions - all pertaining to the expulsion of communism from the community. The most pointed of the resolutions was number twenty-three, which declared,

"Membership shall be open to all free white males or females 21 years of age who openly avow their opposition to communism..."<sup>98</sup>

The attack on communism carried some rather blatant racist overtones. Support rallied around the League and within three days of its organization, it boasted a membership of three hundred.<sup>99</sup>

Last but not least, the Flin Flon Miner's editorial of June 28th, revealed the growing sentiment in the community. The question was no longer one of whether or not communist agitators had infiltrated the community, but rather the necessity of getting rid of them. The Miner combined with representatives of commercial and fraternal organizations in an effort to protect the virtue of Flin Flon by asking the strike

committee to persuade non-resident communist agitators to leave the district.<sup>100</sup> The power of the local press had rallied against the intruders in order to prevent "women and children (from) suffering" needlessly. It had become apparent that the balance of opinion had shifted against the M.W.U.C.

### The Battle

The stage was being set for a major confrontation on June 23rd when R.H. Channing, in the belief that a large percentage of the men were prepared to return to work, issued a statement which he hoped would encourage the move.<sup>101</sup> Channing's statement re-iterated the original H.B.M. and S. position. The one major exception was a guarantee to the men that those who were taken back by the Company would not be discriminated against because of their participation in the strike. Reinforced by a statement from Bracken with regard to protection against union retaliation, the proposal carried some weight. The men were slowly becoming more and more disillusioned with the drawn out strike. Many had decided to leave town for its duration, while still others attempted to take a more neutral stance by resigning their union memberships.<sup>102</sup> The possibility of returning to work without the fear of penalty or retaliation was apparently becoming alluring.

The M.W.U.C. responded to the Channing statement with one of their own. Meeting in a closed session on the twenty-fourth, the local branch of the M.W.U.C. revised their original demands to exclude recognition of union status.<sup>103</sup> This major change was further revised on the twenty-fifth, when they announced that union recognition was still a factor but

that it no longer represented the most important plank in their platform. It now occupied the last position in their series of demands.<sup>104</sup> The implication of the union's revision would suggest that they were faltering under the combined pressure of Company and the community at large. The local branch of the M.W.U.C. was fighting to gain legitimacy, while at the same time hoping to preserve something of their identity.

The H.B.M. and S. combined with local businessmen in the hopes of taking advantage of the situation of uncertainty that existed within the community. Hoping to capitalize on the union's seemingly wishy-washy revisions and the fact that they honestly believed that the majority of men were willing to return to work, the two announced plans for a June thirtieth secret ballot on the question of returning to work. Arrangements were made to poll the employees of the H.B.M. and S. at the Community Hall between the hours of 9 a.m. and 5 p.m.<sup>105</sup> To ensure a peaceful vote, Mayor Foster was called upon to swear in one hundred special constables.

The assessment of the situation in Flin Flon by the Company was proven drastically wrong on the morning of the vote. The Community Hall became the scene of the bloodiest conflict in the strike.<sup>106</sup> Members of the M.W.U.C., aided by the women's auxiliary, formed a solid picket line at the entrance to the Hall. Armed with eggs, mud and pepper, the group was determined to prevent the vote from taking place. As the men came within range of the Hall they were pelted with missiles. If they persisted in gaining entrance to the building, the women in the group violently attacked the voter, ripping and pulling at his clothes and hair.

Approximately one hundred and forty men braved the onslaught

to register a vote. They were badly manhandled, even though the special constables attempted to escort them safely into the building. The presence of the constables actually did more to provoke the strikers than to ensure peace. Even the combined efforts of the R.C.M.P. and the special constables could not control the crowd and Mayor Foster was forced to close the poll at 2:30 p.m.

The council, realizing the gravity of the situation, immediately went to work on the problem of maintaining peace in the community. Foster quickly went about getting in touch with Bracken to request protection. In a telephone conversation on the evening of the thirtieth, Foster expressed concern for the lives of the citizens of Flin Flon, saying that the "situation (was) very, very grave."<sup>107</sup> In a follow up telegram on the first, the Mayor demanded from the Premier "at least" fifty additional trained R.C.M.P.<sup>108</sup> Foster's persistence resulted in the arrival of eighteen R.C.M.P. on the first and an additional forty on the fourth. This gave the community the protection of over ninety constables by July 4.<sup>109</sup>

The reaction of the H.B.M. and S. to the outbreak of violence was summarized by Channing when he assessed the situation as now being a struggle "between law and order and communism". This was interpreted by the Flin Flon Miner to imply that Channing was "washing his hands of the whole affair".<sup>110</sup> The inference was that the H.B.M. and S. believed that their position was that of law and order and as such warranted the protection of the government. The Company maintained that the R.C.M.P. should have exercised their authority and arrested the agitators so that work could have returned to normal.

The Mine Worker's Union, on the other hand, felt that the vote held on the thirtieth was yet another example of coercion by the H.B.M. and S.<sup>111</sup> As such, they refused to knuckle under to such tactics and stepped up their campaign with increased picketing. Community sentiment, however, dealt another blow to their efforts when the Community Club executive ordered them to vacate the Hall. Further animosity developed with the union's refusal to comply with the wishes of the Club. They claimed that the H.B.M. and S. had instigated the action to further undercut the union's position.

The strike was no closer to being settled than prior to the scheduling of the June thirtieth ballot. If anything, it highlighted the fact that the majority of workers, if not in agreement with union demands, at least respected or feared the power of the M.W.U.C. Labour militancy was in the air. With the arrival of R.C.M.P. reinforcements, the question of violence became more pronounced. During the first week of July, the friction between strikers and the constables finally erupted into a series of arrests. At week's end, a total of sixty-five people had been arraigned on charges that ranged from intimidation to obstruction of police.<sup>112</sup>

The concern of the community over the friction that had developed was portrayed in a full page "appeal to reason" in the Miner.<sup>113</sup> Stating that there was nothing to be gained from prolonging the strike, the press asked the workers to disband the union and return to work. Summarizing the position of the strikers, the appeal went on to suggest that the conflict had degenerated into a police-union affair and that the H.B.M. and S. was no longer the principal opponent.

Mayor Foster continued his own appeal for law and order. His demands for intervention by the Premier or the Attorney-General finally fell on attentive ears. Bracken, partially as a result of the Mayor's pressure and partially because of public opinion, travelled to Flin Flon on the seventh of July in hopes of settling the conflict. The Attorney General, W.J. Major, also reacted to Foster's appeals. He issued an order calling for the arrest of the strike leaders.

The outside lobby for action in the Flin Flon conflict which combined with the pleas from Mayor Foster, arose primarily from labour organizations in Winnipeg. The Independent Labour Party continued their pressure on the Premier for government intervention, while the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council now made the demand for a commission to intercede in the dispute.<sup>114</sup> It would appear as if their action was founded on the hope of obtaining an impartial hearing on the grievances of the strikers. The anti-communist hysteria may have also prompted this type of pro-union action in the name of fairness.

Premier Bracken's arrival in the community on July 7th marked the beginning of the end for the strikers. He immediately set out to determine a solution to the conflict through a series of interviews with individuals ranging from the council to the Elks Club.<sup>115</sup> His supposedly "impartial" position was compromised by the fact that he had interviewed approximately ten community groups as well as Company officials before even considering the strike committee. And even then, the committee had to make the move to request an audience with the Premier in order to express their views.

Generally speaking, substantial opposition to the M.W.U.C.

was reflected by an overwhelming majority of groups interviewed by Bracken. The opinion presented was that the men were either forced or fooled into siding with the M.W.U.C. and that a large percentage of them now realized the error of their ways and wished to return to work. Based on these interviews, which were classified as "confidential" by Bracken, was his assertion that 847 of the men were willing to return to work while 220 were still adamant in their rejection of the Company's proposal.<sup>116</sup>

The strike committee, which eventually met with Bracken at 5 p.m. on July 8th, was composed of five members who by the Premier's own request were neither W.U.L., Canadian Defense League, M.W.U.C. representatives or outside agitators.<sup>117</sup> Claiming the support of 824 employees, the committee demanded that Bracken force the H.B.M. and S. to recognize the bargaining rights of the union. The Premier appeared to listen objectively to the striker's presentation but after two days of anti-strike talks, including a two hour session with Channing, his decision, it was later suggested by the union, was already made.

On the evening of Sunday, July 8th, Bracken issued his statement based on conclusions that he had drawn from the two days of discussions.<sup>118</sup> Essentially, what the Premier had determined was that, in his opinion, the majority of the men were willing to return to work and on that basis should be allowed to do so. To a large degree, his statement was a reiteration of what Channing had said on June 23. The exception was that Bracken now declared that the government would protect the men and their families if they decided to return to the job. Bracken encouraged the men to return to work on the terms offered by Channing.

The mine he said, would be opened on the following morning.

The position of the strikers was vastly undercut by the government's involvement. Not only was the mine to be reopened with the support of the province but because of the Attorney-General's participation, the majority of strike leaders were sitting in jail. Coleman, Zuken and Marlowe, principally, but local organizers such as Alex Stewart, had all been locked up because of their "illegal" deeds during the previous weeks. The strike committee however refused to roll over.

The operations of the H.B.M. and S. resumed activity on the morning of the ninth. Between 700 and 800 men were reported to have returned to work.<sup>119</sup> With the assistance of the R.C.M.P. and led by R.H. Channing and W.A. Green, the men marched past the continuing strikers. Another one hundred men were reported to have returned to the job later that same day, bringing the total to some nine hundred men.

The remaining strikers fought the return to work call with a further challenge to Company authority. Meetings were held and plans made to distribute a petition in an effort to reclaim the support of the workers who had returned to work.<sup>120</sup> Efforts were also made at the provincial level by labourite supporters, to lend moral support to the faltering local. This was expressed primarily through a mass rally. Held at the Manitoba Legislative Building, the rally denounced government involvement as being co-ordinated by the H.B.M. and S. Regardless of the support that the union received, their goal was becoming less and less attainable. With a total of almost nine hundred men on the job, the H.B.M. and S. could carry on without the strikers. Indeed, approximately



140-200 new men had been hired by the Company to replace those who remained out.<sup>121</sup> The M.W.U.C. had lost almost all its leverage in the continuing struggle.

On July 14, the strike committee finally succumbed to the inevitable and voted 201 to 18 in favour of ending the strike.<sup>122</sup> In a last ditch effort to prevent discrimination against strikers the committee sent a telegram to the Department of Labour asking for government arbitration. While on the one hand, they had admitted defeat, the committee still sought a final hearing on their grievances. Complaining, in one last breath, that a hundred and seventy men had been discriminated against, the local requested the establishment of a Board of Arbitration to investigate their claims.<sup>123</sup> The Deputy Minister of Labour pounded the final nail in their coffin when he replied that it was impossible to set up a Board of Arbitration because the Industrial Disputes Act clearly did not apply to men who were no longer in the employ of the company.<sup>124</sup> With its leaders awaiting trial, its forces cut down by more than 75%, the mine in operation and the refusal of government arbitration, the local branch of the M.W.U.C. really had nothing left to stand on.

Having clearly defeated the M.W.U.C., the H.B.M. and S. went about dealing with the men's grievances.<sup>125</sup> The workers received some consolation when the Company announced that, effective from July 9, they would receive a 50% reduction in the 18% wage cut. The H.B.M. and S. also announced a reduction in light charges and a twice a month pay cycle. They had broken the back of the union and perceived that a settlement - however small - would help to restore the status quo.

The most interesting concession dealt with a Company statement dated July 16.<sup>126</sup> R.H. Channing informed the miners that the H.B.M. and S. had long been considering the formation of a "welfare committee" to represent the men in "collective bargaining with the management". Channing stated that the H.B.M. and S. had shelved their plans for the Company union when evidence of outside union activity was detected. Now that the M.W.U.C. was defeated, Channing was prepared to reconsider the formation of the worker's committee.

The H.B.M. and S. proposal for the worker's committee was acted upon on July 20th when over 90% of the employees eligible, voted for the seventeen positions on the "Workmens Welfare Board".<sup>127</sup> The nominations for which the men voted were prepared by the Company and, like the governing rules of the body, appeared to be designed in the best interests of the H.B.M. and S.<sup>128</sup> The most interesting of these regulations was number three, which in part stated:

"There must be 12 out of 17 members of the Committee who shall be British subjects..."

The Company established union appeared to be a front through which the H.B.M. and S. controlled the racial as well as the political aspirations of their employees.

For the strike leaders there was no "Welfare Board". Coleman, Zuken and Marlowe were all sentenced to terms ranging from one to two years.<sup>129</sup> Local organizers were sentenced to the blacklisting of the H.B.M. and S. as well as in some cases, prison terms of six months to a year. All in all, they had helped the workers of the H.B.M. and S. receive a 50% reduction in the wage cut, a reduction in light charges and a twice a month pay cycle while at the same ensuring the tightening of

the Company's grip on its employees. The Company union with all its rules and regulations, was destined to fill a previous void in H.B.M. and S. authority.

### Conclusions

The 1934 labour dispute was an inevitable climax to the 1927-1934 period of growth within Flin Flon. As a result of the industrial and community involvement of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company the 1934 conflict can be seen as a reaction to its dominance within the district. The Company's continued suppression of labour influence in policy formation led to the development of union militancy. At the community level, a similar trend developed whereby the H.B.M. and S. controlled to a large extent, the provision of community services. The combined dominance of the Company in both industry and community evoked a rise of self-determination amongst its workers, which erupted into a full scale labour dispute.

The influence of the single enterprise nature of the community on the strike has a rather unfortunate irony; in as much as it precipitated the strike but it also dictated the settlement. The strike in the single enterprise community is a rather unusual occurrence. From the outset, the gains that can be achieved by the walkout are largely those that the Company feels least strongly about. In other words, the final settlement of the strike was based on the concessions that the union was willing to concede on its original demands.

The impact of the labour dispute in the single enterprise community is all-inclusive. With the majority of the community's work

force out of work, local customs fall prey to the strike sentiment. The initial reaction was one of excited anticipation but this quickly gave way to foreboding doom as the cash flow within the community dried up. As this occurred, feeling within the community became polarized between those who were adamant strikers and those who went along with the most vocal strikers until such a time as the economics of the strike forced them to re-consider their position. Within the community itself, the service or commercial industries were perhaps hardest hit by the labour dispute. Their sentiment eventually sided with the Company as they pushed for a quick end to the walkout. The same can be said of the local government. With the council unable to collect taxes and concerned about the death of the community, they joined forces with the Company to encourage the workers to return to the job. The Company therefore combined with the council, commercial community and the financially troubled strikers to forge a solution to the conflict.

The structure of the community allowed the Company to deal with strike leaders in a most final manner. Their refusal to re-instate strike organizers was perhaps the most conclusive method of ridding the community of potential agitators. With no job available to them, the displaced strike leaders were forced to look elsewhere for employment. This because of the structure of the community, necessitated their leaving the community.

In the end then, while the employees of the H.B.M. and S. received minor concessions from the Company, it was the Company that made the greatest gains. They had rid themselves of potential trouble makers while at the same time, established an organization which would continue

to displace radical workers within the Company. The Workmen's Welfare Board also afforded the H.B.M. and S. the privilege of isolating itself from many of the workers demands. Indeed, the Welfare Board eventually served the Company as a buffer between the community at large and itself.

CHAPTER IV

## Maturation; 1934-1946

The return to work of approximately nine hundred men by July 13 and the final submission of the strike committee on July 16, 1934, marked the end of an era in the history of Flin Flon. The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company, as a result of the strike, had re-organized its position within the community. The labour dispute had allowed the Company to establish the Workmen's Welfare Board which permitted it to insulate itself from various dealings with the community.

The trend of Company isolation continued throughout the 1934-1946 period. In part, it helped to force the community to develop its own services and programs. The Company eagerly sought to remain aloof from community affairs but at the same time, it attempted to influence the maturation of the community. In this vein, the H.B.M. and S. provided partial funding to community programs, in the hope that they were encouraging eventual community self-determination.

Flin Flon accepted the growing isolation of the Company with apprehension. Initially the community appeared uncertain of its position within the relationship but with the passage of time and the continued "partial funding" of the H.B.M. and S. it became more readily acceptable. All in all then, under the watchful eye of the Company, Flin Flon blossomed towards town status.

The summer of 1934 was a period of intense frustration in Flin Flon. The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's hard line with the

strikers, the influx of men hoping to find employment in the mine and the desperate economic situation of the community at large were all contributing factors to the stagnation of development. The Company's refusal to reinstate some two hundred men in their former positions within the plant, caused a large turnover in community residents.<sup>1</sup> This was in part further augmented by the Company's hiring of three hundred new men to replace those who were deemed unacceptable by H.B.M. and S. standards.<sup>2</sup> The continued influx of unemployed into Flin Flon, while negated to some extent by the policies of the R.C.M.P. during the strike, was still a problem that added to the hardships of the community.<sup>3</sup> An estimate of "four hundred or more men" in need of relief by plant General Manager, R.E. Phelan in July of 1934, indicated the scope of the unemployment problem in the community.<sup>4</sup> This complicated the economic problems of the community which was already struggling with the hardships of post-strike finances. With a steadily increasing municipal debt, the community's stability became more uncertain as a result of this deficit.<sup>5</sup> All and all then, as the summer of 1934 drew to a close, Flin Flon's post-strike recovery was, by necessity, a long range goal.

#### H.B.M. and S. Operations - 1934 - 1946

##### Recovery

The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company was quick to recover from the 1934 labour dispute. By October of that year the production of metal at the Flin Flon Mine had returned to the pre-strike level.<sup>6</sup> Although the reserves had been totally depleted by the strike, the H.B.M. and S. never did attempt to maintain a large level of surplus. It was therefore not difficult to re-establish pre-strike amounts. The same

was true of employees in as much as it was not difficult to re-establish pre-strike employment numbers. While slightly over nine hundred men had returned to the plant when the strike was broken, the addition of the three hundred new employees brought the total of H.B.M. and S. workers to the approximate level of pre-strike figures. By October of 1934 then, the H.B.M. and S. had, with the exception of lost revenue from the month's shut down, returned to its former level of production.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the labour incident was so reluctantly viewed by such an irrefutable organization as the provincial Department of Mines and Natural Resources, that they proclaimed that "the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company .... operated entirely throughout the year ...." of 1934.<sup>8</sup>

#### Labour

The Workmen's Welfare Board, established as a grievance committee on July 20, was by no means an end to the labour-management struggle that had sporadically appeared at the Flin Flon Mine. Isolated incidents of suspected sabotage continued well after the elections of seventeen employee representatives to the Board. One such case, referred to as a "Mystery Blast" by the Northern Mail, occurred within the main shaft of the mine.<sup>9</sup> No explanation for the explosion was uncovered but the undertone of the report suggested some sort of sinister anti-Company element. Although possibly the consequence of anti-Welfare Board sentiment, the incident inferred that while the strike was supposedly broken and labour-management relations were once again cordial, a degree of possible animosity still existed.



The Workmens Welfare Board elected in the summer of 1934 recorded the support of ninety percent of the employees of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company.<sup>10</sup> The seventeen elected representatives each were designated on the basis of departmental representatives. Their nominations, while conducted by the Company, were meant to allow each department within the enterprise a voice in labour-management relations. This voice, although primarily designed to maintain peaceful working conditions at the mine, was also representative of the workers in the community at large. Indeed, one of the first examples of the Board's activity was in the area of community services; this involved an investigation in July of 1934 into the process of the buying and selling of lots in Flin Flon.<sup>11</sup> So while the Workmens Welfare Board was established to develop harmony within the H.B.M. and S. operations, it tended, rather typically, to see its purpose as the overall protection of the workers lot, both within the industry and the community.

The Welfare Board, as a form of "company union" was an interesting response to the demands of the workers for a collective bargaining agency. Almost diametrically opposite to the M.W.U.C., the organization attempted to work within the framework established by the H.B.M. and S. It was at the same time, representative of the Company's feelings towards outside union activity. Having broken the M.W.U.C. and its affiliates, the Company and its union were determined to retain the status quo in labour-management relations. Such was the position of affairs in Flin Flon when on October 4, 1934 the Canadian Labour Defense League arrived in the community with the objective of enlisting aid in the legal defense of the strikers.<sup>12</sup> An organized group

of hecklers dominated the meeting and succeeded in its dispersal after only ten minutes of discussion. There is no clear-cut evidence that the boisterous twenty odd hecklers were representatives of the H.B.M. and S. or the Workmen's Welfare Board; but based on the Company's policy in dealing with such organizations, it may be assumed that if they were not directly involved, that they would certainly concur in the actions of the disruptors.

The incident of October 1934 was not an isolated occurrence in the post-strike era of Flin Flon. Indeed, activity against C.L.D.L. actions in the community escalated in the early months of 1935.<sup>13</sup> Dubbed by the Flin Flon Miner as "The Vigilantes", an individual or a group of individuals attacked both the organization and its suspected members in the community.<sup>14</sup> The methods of the vigilantes involved the defacing of public property in protest against the C.L.D.L. as well as the branding of individual citizens through the posting of bills identifying them as C.L.D.L. members. An outspoken few denounced the name calling by the vigilantes and demanded, through letters to the editor of the Miner, that

"...the 'vigilante' take the trouble to find out the truth before posting advertisements in public places...."<sup>15</sup>

Augmented by the fact that the Flin Flon Anti-Communist League continued to operate as an identifiable force in the day to day life of many Flin Flon citizens, the vigilante was not completely out of character.<sup>16</sup> With a little speculation it is possible to see a connection, however small, between the vigilante and the Anti-Communist League. Based on a letter from A. Ostry directed towards the vigilante in the Miner of

March 14, 1935, an assumption can be made that the C.L.D.L. was perceived as a communist organization by the vigilante. In that vein, it is possible to assume that if any one organization was behind the vigilante, that it would most likely be the Anti-Communist League. A further assumption, based on the dual membership of many Anti-Communist League members in the Workmen's Welfare Board, would lead to the possibility of the "Company unions" participation in the anti-C.L.D.L. activity.<sup>17</sup>

In keeping with the theme of continued anti-Communist activity in Flin Flon, was the reference by the Miner, to possible Klu Klux Klan activity in the community. An editorial, commenting on "the burning of a fiery cross" at the midnight hour on May 12, 1935, suggested Klan involvement in the anti-communist movement of Flin Flon.<sup>18</sup> Even if the cross burning was a hoax, it is significant enough to imply that if the Klu Klux Klan was not officially involved in the post-strike, anti-communist movement, the suggestion of its involvement categorized feeling in the community. The fact that an individual or a group of individuals would attempt to duplicate Klan activities would imply that the anti-C.L.D.L. - anti-communist sentiment was a very real and disturbing concern. A second mention of K.K.K. involvement in Flin Flon however, lends credence to the possibility of organized Klan activity. In a letter to the editor of the Miner signed by "K.K.K.", it was stated that they had

"....come to this town to do some work  
and know (sic) ones (sic) stopen (sic) us ...."<sup>19</sup>

Again, as was the case with the "vigilante", accurate assessments of who

was responsible for this type of activity are impossible to make. One thing, however, is definitely clear; that the Anti-Communist League with its Workmen's Welfare Board association was the pre-eminent anti-communist agency in the community. On that basis then, it may be possible to suggest a direct connection between the cross burning and the League, as well as an indirect connection with the Workmen's Welfare Board.

Even as the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company and its associated Union, the Workmen's Welfare Board, worked towards their goal of continued production at the Flin Flon Mine, all was not entirely well between the two. Although they could reach an agreement on the question of C.L.D.L. activity in Flin Flon, they began to struggle with the basic premise of management-labour relations. A report dated January 1935, by the Department of Labour, indicated that the Employee's Welfare Board was not completely satisfied with the operating agreement between the Company and itself. A conflict had developed over the jurisdiction of the Board and they, in attempting to settle the dispute, appealed to the Department of Labour for a definition of the working relations between themselves and the Company.<sup>20</sup> The Departmental reply helped to alleviate the problem, and re-established the working co-operation between the two organizations.<sup>21</sup>

Politically, autonomous labour representation re-appeared in the community in the early spring of 1935. Alex Stewart a former M.W.U.C. local organizer, was unanimously nominated to represent the local branch of the Independent Labour Party at the general meeting of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in May of 1935.<sup>22</sup> The convention for the Nelson

constituency, which was held at The Pas, added an element of legitimacy to the labour party and in part may explain why there was little vocal opposition to the nomination.

Labour-management relations appeared to be on the upswing when in August of 1935, the primary objective of the 1934 strike was finally attained. R.E. Phelan made the announcement that effective September 1, 1935 the 1932 wage cut would be removed and that the 1929 pay scale would be restored.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps more a result of the international demand for metals than of the negotiations of the Employee's Welfare Board, the pay increase, at least, reflected a state of well-being at the Flin Flon Mine.

In June of 1936, the employees of the H.B.M. and S. experienced their first large scale lay-off. A temporary arrangement, while new hoisting equipment was installed at the main shaft, the three hundred odd employees affected by the shut-down looked upon the situation as more of a vacation than a labour problem.<sup>24</sup> The executive of the Employee's Welfare Board did not attempt to alleviate the shut-down without pay. In fact, it appeared as if they acquiesced in the decision of the H.B.M. and S., which made paid layoffs impossible.

Further wage increases came the way of H.B.M. and S. employees with increased regularity after 1935. In October of 1936 and April of 1937, for example, wages were increased by approximately five percent. This, together with fairly regular cost of living bonuses, helped to keep the miner content and on the job.<sup>25</sup> The payment of such schemes by the H.B.M. and S. was largely made possible by the continued rise in gold prices. The contented miner was therefore a product of the

resource-based industry in Hlin Flon. That is until the outbreak of World War in 1939. At that point, with the steadily increasing movement of men overseas, the major labour problem in the mind of the Company became not one of contentment but of shortages.

The most accurate figures on H.B.M. and S. employees involved in the armed forces during the war years were published in the H.B.M. and S. Annual Reports. The figures indicate that the Company had hired 2,847 new employees to replace those overseas.<sup>26</sup> For the year 1942 alone, approximately 1,384 new workers were hired to alleviate the large labour loss. To compensate for such a drastic change in employment, the H.B.M. and S. brought in seasonal workers such as farmers during the winter months and actively took advantage of new legislation, which allowed women to be employed in surface mining operations.<sup>27</sup>

The employment of farmers in the operations of the H.B.M. and S. was not a new arrangement. For years the Company had prided itself on its value to the economic expansion of the prairies through its employment of "farm boys". The situation brought about by the labour shortage, however, forced the H.B.M. and S. to hire farm help on a seasonal rather than permanent basis. In 1942 for example, some two hundred farmers were employed for the winter months only, returning to the farm in time for spring planting.<sup>28</sup>

Women quickly filled the vacancies of "their men overseas" in the operations of the H.B.M. and S. Although they were restricted by law to specific jobs within the plant, their numbers increased relative to the decrease in man power. In 1944, as an example, a war time peak of two hundred and thirty-five women were on the H.B.M. and S. payroll,

compared to one hundred and twenty-three in 1945 when the gradual return of manpower began.<sup>29</sup> The local women, like the farmers, helped during the shortage of labour but did not totally alleviate the problem.

The 1946 Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Annual Report stated that:

"Labour supply became adequate for the first time in several years."<sup>30</sup>

The problem of attaining the necessary man or women power to meet war contracts had had a detrimental affect upon war time production at the Flin Flon Mine.<sup>31</sup> The shortage was cited by the H.B.M. and S. as being responsible for a drastic cut back in the amount of underground development which in turn limited the relative amount of ore processed during the 1939-1946 years.

While problems of labour shortages continued to affect production, dissatisfaction over labour representation also began to re-threaten the Flin Flon Mine. The Employee's Welfare Board's tenure as representative of H.B.M. and S. employees was not without opposition. In general it was viewed with much distaste by organized unions throughout industry - most specifically the mining industry. Perhaps the best evidence of the animosity between the "Company union" and independent organizations was that expressed by the Mine and Smelter Worker's Union of Sudbury.<sup>32</sup> Declaring the Board to be an "anti-labour organization" they maintained that it was a "company tool" used to discriminate against employees. This type of name-calling persisted on and off for a period of some years before any actual steps were taken by the independent unions to compete against the Employee's Welfare Board for the representation of Flin Flon miners.

The campaign by outside unions finally came to Flin Flon during the winter of 1944. A paid union organizer was on hand at the community hall in February of 1944 to promote the cause of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.<sup>33</sup> Apparently addressing a full house, Larry Bennett spoke of the benefits of the brotherhood, claiming that the international union and its affiliation with the Canadian Congress of Labour could offer H.B.M. and S. workers far greater security and support than could the "company union".

The attack on the Welfare Board escalated with further intrusions of union representatives. In April of 1944, for example, meetings were again held at the community hall by representatives of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.<sup>34</sup> This time, however, greater legitimacy was added to their cause with the presence of M.L.A. Berry Richards. The opinion was expressed at the meeting that "labour must organize for strength" and that the Canadian Congress of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations could provide far more strength in terms of solidarity than could the Employee's Welfare Board.

By July of 1944 the Employee's Welfare Board's position as a collective bargaining agent had been slowly eroded. Beginning with the formation of a local branch of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter workers<sup>35</sup> and the Independent Brotherhood of Electrical Workers,<sup>36</sup> the support of the Employee's Welfare Board receded. By the end of the calendar year, a total of six local unions had been established at the Flin Flon Mine as well as the "North of '53 Trades and Labour Council" with a membership of nine hundred and forty-three men.<sup>37</sup>



The acceptance by the Employee's Welfare Board of the new union movement at Flin Flon appears to have been very gradual. Indeed, based upon copies of telegrams and letters directed towards the provincial government, it would seem that the Board fought right down to the end to maintain its position as the sole bargaining agent of the mine.<sup>38</sup> With the support of the H.B.M. and S. the Welfare Board continued to present itself as the only active union organization in the community. The Company apparently supported this position, but it did not do so as vehemently as may have been expected. Indeed the impression given, was that by 1945 the H.B.M. and S. had attempted to isolate itself from the "Company union". Its interests were apparently no longer solely in maintaining the Welfare Board as a buffer against community demands. The H.B.M. and S. had therefore largely secured its insulated position at the expense of the Welfare Board.

The Employee's Welfare Board finally submitted to the inevitable in April of 1945. A board of trustees was elected to wind down the affairs of the Board and a resolution was passed giving the trustees the authority to assist the "North of '53 Trades Labour Council" in its endeavours.<sup>39</sup> While this was the final nail in the coffin of the Board, it was also illustrative of the growing trend towards independent unionization. The National War Labour Board, with its granting of bargaining powers to the American Federation of Labour in 1944, added to the legitimacy of the independent union movement. This helped pave the way for the acceptability of unionization. It also helped sway sentiment away from the Employee's Welfare Board in 1945.

The North of '53 Trades and Labour Council continued to grow

and by 1946 it represented 1,414 members in seven different unions at the Flin Flon Mine.<sup>40</sup> It had apparently taken over the position of the Employee's Welfare Board with little or no opposition from Company officials and continued to foster labour support. Partial explanation for H.B.M. and S. acceptance of independent unionization was due to the activity of the National War Labour Board as well as the necessity of war time production. Unionization had, by 1946, achieved a relative amount of respectability, the lack of which almost single handedly defeated earlier efforts of organization during the summer of 1934.

The achievements of the Employee's Welfare Board indicate a great concern for the welfare of the workers. This however did not necessarily apply to their relations with the H.B.M. and S. Illustrative of this phenomenon is the Board's involvement in ventures concerning workers leisure time, proper money management and community improvement schemes. Their dealings with Company officials, which outside of the January 1935 conflict, appeared almost totally subservient to H.B.M. and S. policy. Admittedly certain benefits were granted to the workers, but the concessions were not necessarily the result of the Welfare Board's activity. In other words, the Employee's Welfare Board appeared to have done more for H.B.M. and S. employees outside of the Company's realm than it had done in terms of labour-management relations.

The Flin Flon Community Club is a prime example of the Board's activity in attempting to provide adequate community services for H.B.M. and S. employees. Organized in 1928, the Community Club was closed in July of 1934 with all activities suspended until the end of the labour dispute when the re-organization of its hierarchy could be effected.

In October of 1934, the facilities of the Community Club were re-opened. The newly-created Board of Directors was representative of both the H.B.M. and S. and the Employee's Welfare Board; two Company officials and three Board representatives.<sup>41</sup> It was their responsibility to maintain and direct the major recreational facility in the community for the benefit of H.B.M. and S. employees.<sup>42</sup> This included the construction of a curling and skating rink, tennis facilities and other sport orientated enterprises.

An interesting undertaking of the Employee's Welfare Board was an attempt to educate its members in the management of their money. This was especially significant because of the fact that during the 1934 labour dispute, many blamed the militancy of the miners on poor money management.<sup>43</sup> The activity of the Board in this regard was focussed on the formation of an employee's co-operative store.<sup>44</sup> The charter for such an enterprise was obtained in May of 1936.<sup>45</sup> It covered the buying, selling and dealing in groceries, dry goods, hardware and other merchandise, all to the benefit of H.B.M. and S. employees.

The Employee's Welfare Board's participation in community improvement schemes reflected the short-comings of the community. Of primary concern to the Board, were water and sewage regulations,<sup>46</sup> but attempts were also made to have the municipal council participate in the sponsorship of community recreation.<sup>47</sup> In its dealings with the council, the Board aptly represented H.B.M. and S. employee interests within the community. It functioned as a source of mine input into municipal affairs which helped to off-set the commercially dominated municipal council.

Most of the concessions granted by the H.B.M. and S. during the life of the Employee's Welfare Board have the appearance of being Company inspired proposals. A prime example of this occurrence was the holiday with pay scheme that was awarded to the employees of the H.B.M. and S. in January of 1937.<sup>48</sup> Stated briefly, the plan granted salaried employees vacations with pay. What it meant was, that all employees on an hourly rate of pay and with a record of three years continuous service, would be entitled to vacations with pay.<sup>49</sup> The overall impression created by the concession and the method by which it was granted is that the Employee's Welfare Board acted as the go-between from the Company to the men only in terms of passing on the information. In this vein the H.B.M. and S. informed the Employee's Welfare Board of its decision so that it could appear in the Board's newsletter, the Bulletin, and thereby be passed on to the men. There was no evidence of the actual soliciting of the proposal by the Board; rather, it simply accepted the generosity of the Company.

Hospitalization or medical care was always an important issue for H.B.M. and S. officials. Their concessions to the workers seem to verify their concern for employee health care. As early as 1927 with the establishment of the Company Hospital, a plan was instituted giving employees the benefit of low cost medical care.<sup>50</sup> Further additions were implemented to this benefit scheme in 1940 with Non-Occupational Accident Sickness Benefit Plan<sup>51</sup> and again in 1944 with an overall Health Plan.<sup>52</sup> All medical plans incorporated by the H.B.M. and S. appeared more than adequate to meet the needs of their employees. They, however, were implemented more with the thought of healthy and

happy workers then with appeasing union demands.

The various other schemes dedicated to employee welfare that were launched by the H.B.M. and S. were the Retirement Pension Plan in 1940, the Group Life Insurance Plan, also in 1940, and a University Scholarship Plan in 1945.<sup>53</sup> Most of these advances in worker welfare were made during the life of the Employee's Welfare Board and, while they participated in the formulation of the final product, these like the Vacation Plan and the Health Plan, all appeared to be the product of H.B.M. and S. initiative. The total assessed value of these schemes was determined to be an average annual outlay of \$235.00 per employee.<sup>54</sup> Again, however, they were the product of an enlightened management rather than union initiative.

The North of the '53 Trades and Labour Council which officials took over from the Board in April of 1945 actually maintained the status quo in labour-management relations in the period 1945-1946. No major innovations were made in terms of Company concessions and the mine continued to function in basically the same manner as it had with the Employee's Welfare Board as director of labour issues.

### Facilities

The mining and service facilities of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in and around the community of Flin Flon grew with the increased demand for metals.<sup>55</sup> As the Company's operation expanded in size, so did its number of employees; from approximately 1,300 in 1934-1935 to a high of 2,174 in 1946.<sup>56</sup> Included in this number were employees engaged in services with the Hudson Bay Exploration and

Development Company Ltd., Hudson Bay Air Transport Ltd., Emergency Metals Ltd., Cuprus Mines Ltd. and the Northern Manitoba Power Company, all subsidiary companies of the H.B.M. and S.

The Flin Flon Mine continued to employ the bulk of H.B.M. and S. workers despite the diversification. Generally speaking, the majority of work at the mine site functioned around the main shaft. This was, however, augmented in 1941 with the opening of another major shaft, the south main shaft, and the closing of open pit operations.<sup>57</sup> As well as processing this ore, the Flin Flon plant was also involved in the treatment of Sherritt Gordon, Flin Flon Gold and Cuprus Mine's ore. Despite labour shortages during the war years, the production of the plant continued to increase up until 1943, with ore treatment levels rising from 4,400 tons daily in 1936 to 5,200 tons in 1941 and finally, to a high of 6,150 tons in 1943. The ore treated after the peak year of 1943 dropped to a low of 4,994 in 1946, largely as a result of inadequate labour supply.<sup>58</sup>

The Hudson Bay Exploration and Development Company Ltd., though having its headquarters at the mine site, was primarily involved in exploration. Incorporated in 1937 the H.B.E.D. was responsible for the location and the development of new mining properties.<sup>59</sup> During the course of 1937-1946, this included investigations in British Columbia, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon.

The Hudson Bay Air Transport, like the H.B.E.D., although headquartered in Flin Flon, was mostly involved outside of the community. Incorporated in 1930, the H.B.A.T. Company was largely responsible for air transport to and from various prospecting sites as well as the

freighting of equipment to and from Island Falls and other bush camps.<sup>60</sup>

Emergency Metals Ltd., was organized by the H.B.M. and S. in 1942 as a war measure to operate the Mandy Mine property located four miles southeast of Flin Flon.<sup>61</sup> The H.B.M. and S. had purchased a majority of shares in the mine in 1942 with the intention of shutting it down completely but with the inflated war demand for metals, the decision was made to reopen the shaft.<sup>62</sup> The Mandy Mine was operated by Emergency Metals Ltd. from 1943-1944 when, with the depletion of treatable ore, it was closed.

In 1943 the Cuprus Mines Ltd. was organized by the H.B.M. and S. to mine an ore body eight miles southeast of Flin Flon.<sup>63</sup> The ore mined at Cuprus was shipped by road to the treatment plant at Flin Flon. This mine, however, had limited potential and it never actually attained the volume of production that H.B.M. and S. officials had anticipated.

The Northern Manitoba Power Company was incorporated as a subsidiary of the Churchill River Power Company Ltd., which was itself a subsidiary of the H.B.M. and S. The primary purpose of the Northern Manitoba Power Company was to act as the middle man in the sale of Churchill River power to the community of Flin Flon.<sup>64</sup> It succeeded in maintaining this service from 1937-1946 with a steadily increasing number of patrons.<sup>65</sup>

### Services

The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's participation in the development of community services primarily reflected their

involvement in the maintenance of the municipal district. Direct contributions to education, recreation, provision of utilities, municipal financing and housing as well as indirect provision for such services as equipment leasing, gravelling and the loaning of personnel, all highlighted H.B.M. and S. involvement in the community. At times solicited and at other times given freely as a contribution, the H.B.M. and S.'s aid to community welfare emphasized the continuing relationship between the Company and municipality.

In terms of education, the twenty-five percent contribution of the H.B.M. and S. to the school budget continued through to 1946.<sup>66</sup> In addition, the Company took it upon itself to contribute further funding, equipment and manpower to meet the growing demand for educational facilities.<sup>67</sup> Included in this was the Company sponsored building of the Ross Lake School in 1935, which was rented to the community at a cost of one dollar per year, as well as a "reasonable option agreement on property" to be used for schooling purposes.<sup>68</sup> The contributions of the H.B.M. and S. to education increased proportionately to the number of students enrolled in Flin Flon schools. With the student population at 1,421 in 1946, four schools and five additions had been largely constructed out of H.B.M. and S. coffers.<sup>69</sup>

Recreation in the isolated mining community of Flin Flon was funded in three ways; membership or subscription, H.B.M. and S. contributions and municipal contributions. In all cases, whether for the construction of an outdoor rink or maintenance costs of the Community Club, H.B.M. and S. financing appeared to be the major source of funds beyond memberships or subscription fees. In the case of the Community



Club for example, during the process of reorganization in the fall of 1934, money contributed was based on the number of memberships guaranteed. User subscriptions totaled approximately 50% of the costs while H.B.M. and S. contributions totaled 25% and the remaining 12 1/2% came from the municipality.<sup>70</sup> With the construction of the outdoor rink in the winter of 1935, funding revealed a similar pattern, with user subscriptions totalling \$7,000, H.B.M. and S. contributions \$6,000 and that of the municipality \$5,000.<sup>71</sup> As the community continued to grow the influence of service clubs became more and more pronounced in the field of recreation. While the Rotarians and others contributed generously to the development of playgrounds and parks etc., the proportional contributions of the municipality and the Company varied very little.<sup>72</sup>

The most significant example of H.B.M. and S. involvement in the leisure time of the community was its development of the Phantom Lake Beach area. Originally a popular summer spot, the management of the property was taken over by the H.B.M. and S. when it obtained the rights to do so from the Saskatchewan provincial government in 1939.<sup>73</sup> The development of the area entailed the draining of swamp land, the dumping of sand to form an attractive beach and sand bottom and the overall landscaping of the area including campsites, community kitchens and bath houses. Available to the community as a summer resort, the Phantom Lake Beach area did much to add

"....to the health and happiness of the residents of Flin Flon and is much appreciated as shown by the large and constant patronage during the summer months."<sup>74</sup>

The involvement of the H.B.M. and S. in the provision of

utilities for the community had always been an important contribution to Flin Flon. While the Company continued to supply electrical power, water and sewage disposal facilities to the community, its services were rendered at nominal fees to the municipality. In the case of electrical power for example, while the Northern Manitoba Power Company handled the distribution to the community, the H.B.M. and S. developed a tradition of paying the municipal account. By way of example, the H.B.M. and S. paid \$8,814.89 in 1935 and \$7,854.19 in 1938 which totalled the municipal bills for the given years.<sup>75</sup> Water and sewage disposal on the other hand was paid for by the municipality but their usage was not nearly as large as electrical costs.

The H.B.M. and S. because of the realignment of the town planning scheme in 1931, escaped the bulk of municipal taxes. Payments were still made on small parcels of land that were within the townsite district but, all in all, the Company's legal obligation for municipal funding was nominal. This however does not mean that the H.B.M. and S. did not financially support the municipality. In fact, H.B.M. and S. voluntary contributions to the municipality covered the spectrum from \$125 for office furniture,<sup>76</sup> to \$25,000 for civic improvements.<sup>77</sup> Indeed the \$25,000 civic improvement cheque became a yearly grant to the municipality. This type of financial support of the municipality was described by Mayor Steventon in 1944 as the

"...biggest event in the history of the town and further indication of the keen interest shown in the welfare of the Municipal District by the officials of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company."<sup>78</sup>

The H.B.M. and S.'s involvement in the housing issue in the

period 1934-1946 primarily concerned the post-war shortage of homes for returning veterans. Under the specifications of the National Housing Act, the H.B.M. and S. undertook to construct fifty houses on the old townsite area to help alleviate the apparent shortage.<sup>79</sup> The new subdivision became the priority property of returning veterans and, with the H.B.M. and S. holding the mortgages, it was quickly filled.<sup>80</sup> In addition to these homes constructed by the H.B.M. and S., it also purchased twenty prefabricated houses from the War Assets Corporation, to use as temporary dwellings during the crisis.<sup>81</sup> The seventy new units did indeed help relieve the situation in Flin Flon.

The discussion of services rendered by the Company would not be complete without mention of the small day to day benefits that the presence of the H.B.M. and S. bestowed upon the community. This included a working co-operation in the repair of streets,<sup>82</sup> maintenance of bridgways,<sup>83</sup> the provision of wood supplies,<sup>84</sup> as well as the gravelling of roadways.<sup>85</sup> In terms of expenses, these services were small but they were indicative of the method in which the municipality relied upon the Company for continued day to day operations.

#### Municipal Operations - 1934-1946

##### Recovery

Recovery after the labour dispute within the municipality involved a re-assessment of municipal financing. Primary consideration was given to business, relief and municipal spending, all affected as a result of the month shut down. These three areas, perhaps more so than others, came under the scrutiny of the municipal council as a consequence of the conditions in the post-strike era of financing.

Generally, they were the concerns of the council that were highlighted as a result of the labour dispute.

Business suffered within the community specifically because of the lack of cash flow. This was a problem that may have, in part, led to the eventual walkout, and therefore, had its origin in the pre-strike days. The situation, as it was assessed by Mayor Foster in 1934, stemmed from a growing complacency on the part of the consumer over easy credit in the business community.<sup>86</sup> This continued growth of credit, with questionable repayment capacity, forced the business section of the community to go on a cash only basis.<sup>87</sup> While this approach prevented further debt among the miners, it also meant that, as a result of the strike and the lack of cash, the debts of H.B.M. and S. employees would continue to go unpaid. The municipality's role in all of this was a campaign directed towards the post-strike miners. They encouraged the settlement of the debt situation as quickly as possible. This approach applied not only to the business community but also to the payment of outstanding taxes. The municipality maintained that the payment of back taxes was essential for the community to continue to function as a municipality. In this vein, the council developed a scheme for installment payments, which it hoped would rehabilitate municipal finances.<sup>88</sup> The cry quickly went up requesting citizens to "Pay Something on Your Taxes Now."

On the question of relief, the municipal council's problem was tied to the lack of funds. This, of course, resulted from outstanding tax payments and the growing need for relief by individuals who could not or would not be rehired by the H.B.M. and S. In a report

by the District Engineer of pre- and post-strike relief figures, V.H. Campbell determined that "the relief situation had been aggravated by the recent strike."<sup>89</sup> Pre-strike relief figures were established at forty-four families and eighteen single men, as compared to post-strike figures of ninety-seven families and one hundred and forty-seven single men. The council's solution to the problem of increased relief costs was to promote tax payments in order to finance continued relief projects.<sup>90</sup>

The major problem, however, confronting the municipality was expenditures. Assuming that installment tax schemes and other methods of obtaining capital were successful, the question of priority spending arose. Naturally, relief was a first consideration but following that, new and old directions in spending had to be re-evaluated. The community was entering a new phase of growth as a result of the "Company union", and the return to work sentiment. As a consequence, the council had to determine, for example, whether spending would be more valuable in the area of recreation or civic improvements. To this end, they had to assess their position in terms of H.B.M. and S. policy and determine what should concern municipal government. By way of example, the re-organization of the Community Club was a case in point.<sup>91</sup> Primarily serving H.B.M. and S. employees, the council debated their responsibility for its funding over a period of months until public pressure forced them to agree to the sponsorship of approximately one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month. Such situations made for an overall re-assessment of municipal vs. H.B.M. and S. responsibility.

Municipal recovery from the labour dispute of 1934 was an important element in the continued expansion of the community. While deficit spending was a major issue of contention for years within the council,<sup>92</sup> it was finally relieved in 1941 when the municipality became debt free.<sup>93</sup> The significance of continued municipal spending - whether deficit or not - on local projects is illustrated by the continued growth of the community and as a consequence, the continued growth in the demands of the population. Increasing from a figure of roughly 5,000 in 1934 to a total population of 7,595 in 1946, the community's service had to keep pace with the burgeoning population statistics.<sup>94</sup> Education is but one example of the growing demands that the increasing population placed upon the municipality. An increase from 433 pupils in 1934 to 1,421 in 1946 meant that the demand for educational facilities would have increased proportionately to the population and as a consequence, increased municipal spending.<sup>95</sup>

#### Municipal Responsibility

The question of the municipality's responsibility for services within the community is founded upon the assumed responsibility of the H.B.M. and S. Generally, the two combined on most projects to allow community development to have co-sponsorship. This was the case in such essential services as education, recreation and, to a lesser extent, hospitalization.<sup>96</sup> The contribution of each party to community development was necessary for the growth of the community but incurred problems that otherwise would not have existed. This involved the determination of responsibility for specific services and the price paid to achieve the

regulation of services.

The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's participation in community growth was given quite liberally. The donations, loans and services provided by the Company all helped to relieve the municipality of certain expenses, but also cultivated a growing dependency on the H.B.M. and S. for municipal aid. The offshoot of this was a sometimes violent reaction to an alleged control of the municipal council by the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company.

The 1935 council experienced the first post-strike reaction to H.B.M. and S. involvement in municipal affairs.<sup>97</sup> The situation had developed wherein the council was split into two opposing groups based on allegiance. One group, represented by Mayor Mainwaring, was accused of being a friend to the businessman, while the other faction, which consisted of H.B.M. and S. employees, primarily favoured Company isolation. The conflict evolved around the question of municipal policy formation. The Mayor on the one hand believed that municipal issues should be resolved by the municipal council. The opposition on the other hand, argued that this policy was favourable to the business section of the community and that the council should be following a more conciliatory path allowing policy formation to be a joint Company-council project.

The conflict further developed with the resignation of a municipal councillor in July of 1935.<sup>98</sup> The two factions immediately sought a replacement; with the Mayor maintaining that the council should follow the advice of the community, and the opposition promoting the cause of another H.B.M. and S. employee. The appointment went to an

H.B.M. and S. employee, much to the chagrin of the commercial community. Their reaction was quickly felt when the Ratepayer's Association began the circulation of a petition calling for the rescinding of the appointment or the overall resignation of the council.<sup>99</sup> The pressure brought to bear by the community eventually forced the hand of the Company employees in council and the resignation of the councillor was tendered two months after his acceptance.<sup>100</sup> The Ratepayer's Association as representative of the community interests of H.B.M. and S. employees had on this occasion defeated the Company interests within the community, as represented by Company men on the municipal council.

The significance of the 1935 council crisis can be illustrated through the opinions expressed in letters to the editor of the local newspaper.<sup>101</sup> On two such occasions, citizen sentiment was negatively expressed over the appointment and the resulting majority of H.B.M. and S. employees on the council. The scheme was defined in one of the letters as an attempt by the H.B.M. and S. to eventually make Flin Flon a "Company Town" through the influence of its employees in the municipal council. The writer further maintained that

"...the town will shortly go into bankruptcy with the resulting appointment of a town manager and R.E. Phelan generously lending a few thousand American dollars to put his town on its feet ...."<sup>102</sup>

Although the appointed Company employee to the council had resigned in November of 1935, the question of the possibility of a Town Manager remained in the minds of many. The issue was again raised in 1938 when the community at large viewed the municipal council with much dissatisfaction.<sup>103</sup> Public sentiment, however, was not unanimous



and the proposal never went beyond the editorials of the Flin Flon Miner. The influence of anti-H.B.M. and S. feeling, in the lack of support for a Town Manager, is difficult to assess and under the circumstances the issue was probably overshadowed by the evolving international crisis. Whether the opinion expressed in 1935 was of any significance or not, the realization or fear of Company control of municipal government was a very real concern.

The formulation of municipal policy was influenced by the council's obligation to the community as well as its reaction to H.B.M. and S. community programs. All in all, the council accepted its duties of the maintenance of the community, with the support of the H.B.M. and S., while at the same time remaining conscious of the Company town syndrome. The council and the community were fully aware of the positive and negative aspects of H.B.M. and S. contributions. They attempted to control or completely eliminate the one while at the same time retain and profit from the other.

#### Municipal Issues

Municipal issues in the period of 1934-1946, naturally covered a wide variety of subjects. Included in this number were the two most visible topics, highway construction and municipal expansion. Each appeared to occupy a considerable amount of council's time, newspaper space and lobbying on behalf of the community. Their significance in terms of community problems represent a growing population in search of an adequate transportation route and a well regulated townsite.

In the isolated mining community, transportation played an

extremely important role in the elimination of distances, both real and perceived. The railway was one obvious advantage in this regard; but with the increase in population and the need for varied passenger transportation, the community rallied around the issue of road connections to the south.<sup>104</sup> The position of Flin Flon on the Manitoba-Saskatchewan border meant that two possible sources of support for highway transportation existed. With this in mind the community pressed its demands on both sides of the provincial boundary.

The highway campaign received its initial impetus from the Flin Flon Board of Trade during the winter of 1935-1936.<sup>105</sup> The Board met with the idea of centralizing the support for a Flin Flon highway in February of 1936. Their original proposal concerned the continuation of the Mafeking highway through The Pas on to Flin Flon. This would have meant an all Manitoba highway connecting north with south and increasing the benefits of north-south accessibility. The proposal drafted by the Board of Trade and supported by the municipal council was forwarded to Premier Bracken. Bracken's response was based on the lack of funding and the fact that a definite commitment had not even been given to The Pas for highway connection let alone the additional eighty-five miles to Flin Flon.<sup>106</sup>

The result of Bracken's refusal was the consideration of a Saskatchewan highway connection. In that vein, Flin Flon representatives approached the Saskatchewan provincial government to discuss the possibility of a roadway connecting Flin Flon with the Number 3 highway to Melfort via Nipawin.<sup>107</sup> Premier W.J. Patterson advised the highway committee that if the federal government would give some assistance in

matters of equipment, that the work might be undertaken.<sup>108</sup> This was a direct contrast to the declaration by the Manitoba government, which in part had stated that the road building in mining areas of the province was "adequate".<sup>109</sup>

With the possibility of the Saskatchewan government's participation in the completion of a Flin Flon highway, sentiment in the community became optimistic. The highway committee met with community representatives of Melfort, Prince Albert and Saskatoon in an attempt to draft a mutually acceptable campaign for the roadway.<sup>110</sup> This proposal was presented to a March 1936 conference in Regina; after which the Saskatchewan government promised to complete a summer survey from Nipawin to Beaver Lake Road in order to facilitate the development of the highway.<sup>111</sup>

The response in Manitoba to the activity of the Saskatchewan government varied. While Bracken finally committed himself on the connection to The Pas, he still refused to consider the Flin Flon section.<sup>112</sup> In central Manitoba, however, public opinion was massing against Bracken's position. Led by Swan River, the attack centered on the loss of capital, if Saskatchewan went ahead with its proposal.<sup>113</sup> Complaining that the Manitoba government was "doing little if anything about it", the Swan River Star and Times hoped to solícite Manitoba support for the all-Manitoba highway.

The preliminary survey of the Nipawin-Flin Flon roadway was completed in the summer of 1937, with the recommendation for "immediate construction". The recommendation went unheeded. It took the Saskatchewan government until the summer of 1938 to complete the Beaver Lake Road which

was termed "the first stretch of the Flin Flon to Nipawin Highway" by the Miner.<sup>114</sup> Flin Flon, however, persisted in its search for a southern highway connection.

During the winter of 1939, Manitoba re-entered the highway battle. In February, at a meeting held in Swan River, some fifty delegates representing thirteen towns, from Flin Flon to Brandon, met and formed the Manitoba Number 10 Highway Association.<sup>115</sup> Saskatchewan quickly countered in April with the On-to-Flin Flon-Association.<sup>116</sup> Both groups ardently pushed for provincial government commitments on the highway question. The one-upmanship went on and on with perhaps the Manitoba Association becoming most vocal in its declared American support for the Number 10 route.<sup>117</sup> Flin Flon, of course, concerned with only obtaining the highway connection, played one against the other.

A definite commitment by the Manitoba government for the eventual construction of the highway north of The Pas was issued in February 1942.<sup>118</sup> The one stipulation was that Bracken intended to use displaced Japanese labour from the Pacific coast, on the project. The council, thinking that the importance of the highway far outweighed the danger of "enemy aliens", endorsed the government's position.<sup>119</sup> The H.B.M. and S., however, vetoed the plan, but promised full co-operation in the completion of the highway following the termination of hostilities. The much sought-after highway finally became a reality in 1950 with the opening of the Flin Flon highway to The Pas.

The expansion of the municipality, like the construction of the highway, seemed to be an endless campaign. With the continuing demand for lots and home sites, the municipal council was required to initiate

the opening of townsite property to survey and development. The original Town Planning Scheme of 1931 had set aside areas which, at the discretion of the Responsible Authority, could be opened to settlement. This scheme was generally followed with the opening, in 1935, of the Ross Lake Subdivision,<sup>120</sup> Mile 84 in 1936,<sup>121</sup> Callinan subdivision in 1937,<sup>122</sup> the Birchview Extension in 1942,<sup>123</sup> etc. The major interruption to this established system was the revision of the Town Planning Scheme and the problem of the Saskatchewan boundary area.

The Town Planning Scheme of 1931 first came under attack in 1935.<sup>124</sup> The municipal council discussed the possibility of approaching the provincial government to amend the original plan. The amendments sought concerned the acquisition or exchange of lands between the H.B.M. and S. and the municipality. The council maintained that it would be to the benefit of the community if certain designated mining lands were allowed to be included within the townsite. The issue, however, seemed to pass, as no action was taken on the question of revisions until August of 1937.<sup>125</sup> At that time, the council made application to the Municipal Commissioner of the Province to establish a new Town Planning Scheme.

The reply from the Commissioner's office, dated the first of October 1937, authorized the complete revoking of the 1931 scheme and the implementation of the changes sought by the council.<sup>126</sup> The primary change in the plan was the revision of rights to specific pieces of property. As a result, the council obtained property previously in the control of the H.B.M. and S. in the industrial trackage area. Further changes resulted in the extension of the business area which also

came into effect through the 1937 revisions.

The Saskatchewan boundary area continued to be a major source of frustration for the municipal council until 1944. The "Tobacco Road" district represented an added burden to municipal government because of the benefits its residents enjoyed in Flin Flon without being liable for local taxation.<sup>127</sup> Settlement in the area had been a method of avoiding municipal responsibilities for years. The municipal council did not, however, take steps to gain influence in the settlement until 1936. Discussion centered around the possibility of extending the boundaries of Flin Flon to include the boundary area.<sup>128</sup> The one proviso that proved to be detrimental to the cause was that the council was willing to assume responsibility for the area providing that the land would be transferred to Manitoba.

The issue of schooling for the children of residents in the boundary area brought the problem to the forefront. With approximately forty children from the district attending Flin Flon schools in the years 1935-1936, the council contemplated the levying of a tax of fifty dollars a year per family to cover the expense.<sup>129</sup> This idea however, was dropped when a representative of the Saskatchewan government agreed to make yearly grants to the Flin Flon school district.<sup>130</sup> As the boundary community continued to grow in size and numbers, the problem was perceived by the council to be much more than just a question of education.

In 1941, the municipal council made application to the Saskatchewan government for the lease of the boundary area.<sup>131</sup> The application was not acted upon until the summer of 1942 when the Saskatchewan govern-

ment gave the local council control over the area.<sup>132</sup> The control, however, was conditional on the approval of the residents in the district. This was not easily attained. Although initially satisfied with the agreement, the residents petitioned the Saskatchewan government in November of 1944 for the establishment of a separate village.<sup>133</sup> First steps towards this end were taken almost immediately, as the Saskatchewan government surveyed a townsite for the area.<sup>134</sup> The boundary district, consisting of approximately three hundred and fifty residents appeared to be lost to the municipal council.

A delegation of municipal council and school board representatives made one final attempt at attaining an agreeable solution to the boundary area problem when they presented their cause to the Saskatchewan government.<sup>135</sup> This set the stage for further meetings in March of 1945. An agreement was finally reached between the residents in question and the municipal council.<sup>136</sup> The "Tobacco Road" district officially came under the jurisdiction of the municipal council by way of this agreement between the Saskatchewan government, the municipal council and the representatives of the district.

### Municipal Services

The provision of community services to Flin Flon was a task that largely fell to the municipal council. Working in co-operation with the H.B.M. and S., the council attempted to provide the facilities which would allow the community to develop into a model frontier community. Although somewhat subservient to the company's policy and dependent upon it financially, the municipal council helped to alleviate much of the isolation of the community. Its participation in police and

fire protection, education, municipal maintenance, garbage, water and sewage facilities and hospitalization schemes all contributed to community development which eventually culminated in the 1946 Act incorporating the Town of Flin Flon.

The role of law enforcement within the community was drastically altered by the labour dispute of 1934. The influx of R.C.M.P. officers during the summer of 1934 helped to undercut the position of the municipal force and pave the way for the signing of an agreement, in December of 1935, whereby Flin Flon became the first municipality in Canada to be policed by the R.C.M.P.<sup>137</sup> The municipal force, which was still maintained by the community, worked in conjunction with the R.C.M.P. throughout the 1934-1946 period. Together they helped to oversee the expansion of the frontier community into an "orderly place to live." Indeed, based upon police records, the bulk of their work involved charges of drunkenness and minor assault, occasionally augmented by prostitution charges.<sup>138</sup>

The municipal fire department was not officially organized until July of 1937.<sup>139</sup> Previously, the force had been strictly a volunteer organization, headed by the combined Police and Fire Chief. Augmented on occasions by H.B.M. and S. manpower and equipment, and aided through service club donations, the fire protection force of Flin Flon was well respected.<sup>140</sup> Perhaps due to the efficiency of the force more than anything else, the community withstood major fires that might have completely destroyed the largely wooden community.

Education, unlike fire or police protection, continued to be a financially co-operative venture between the municipality and the Company.



The community's role in providing educational services involved both municipal funding and the establishment of adequate facilities. The School Board, established in 1927, provided the necessary organization through which the educational efforts of the community were funneled. The major issue confronted by the Board in the 1934-1946 period was the expansion of the community and the resulting increased demands for school facilities. Prompted by these demands and funded by the H.B.M. and S., municipal taxes and federal-provincial contributions, the community erected four schools and several additions in the twelve year period.<sup>141</sup>

The category of municipal maintenance deals primarily with the upkeep of the roadways within the community. This includes municipal responsibility for gravelling,<sup>142</sup> surfacing,<sup>143</sup> street lighting,<sup>144</sup> and street signs.<sup>145</sup> Also included in this type of service were projects that concerned the outward appearance of the community. The municipality became involved in almost yearly cleanup schemes. The council, with the aid of various service clubs, developed a community beautification project to maintain the esthetic appearance of the municipality.<sup>146</sup>

The municipality's involvement in the provision of services for garbage-water and sewage disposal varied with the stage of evolution of the community. Water and garbage services were generally undertaken by the council through the letting of contracts to individuals within the community. Their method of providing these services varied from the sale of tickets, good for a pail of water, to complete household service once the pipes were laid. The final step in the evolution of municipal garbage and water programs took place in January of 1943 when

the council decided to take over the contracts for the provision of these services.<sup>147</sup> The council purchased the needed equipment from the previous operator and moved into a new area of community services.

Sewage disposal, like garbage and water service, had come into the sphere of municipal control by June of 1937.<sup>148</sup> Previously a service provided by the H.B.M. and S., sewage disposal was undertaken at a municipally owned disposal plant in 1937.<sup>149</sup> The service was not without its problems - especially in the minds of local residents - but the summer of 1937 marked a major change in the dependence of the municipality for essential services on the H.B.M. and S.

Hospitalization in Flin Flon was provided through the Company, Private and General Hospitals. All were at least partially funded by individuals or businesses.<sup>150</sup> They were also, however, dependent upon paying clients and in the case of the Private and General Hospitals, generous, donations from the municipal government. With the opening of the General Hospital in 1938, medical services became more clearly defined in terms of Company and community. This was partially illustrated in 1940 when the Company Hospital began to treat men only.<sup>151</sup> By that time however, hospital care was sufficiently provided to the community by the Private and General Hospitals, allowing the Company facility to treat specifically industrial accidents. This is but another example of Company isolation; permitting the municipality to take over community projects.

The continued evolution of the community naturally prompted the question of town status. The growing population and the corresponding increase in the demands for municipal services prompted the municipal

council to endorse a petition in favour of the change of status in October of 1945.<sup>152</sup> The amending process of the municipal charter was finally completed on April 13, 1946 and the territory which had comprised the municipal district was officially named "The Town of Flin Flon".<sup>153</sup>

### Conclusion

The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's role in the growth of Flin Flon during the years 1934-1946 was one of continued isolation. It allowed the Employee's Welfare Board to undertake the day to day community issues while it maintained essential services. Even these, however, were supplied by the H.B.M. and S. only as long as the community could not implement their own programs. The Company actively encouraged the municipality to become self-sufficient.

Of the services supplied by the H.B.M. and S. only the contribution to education was established by law. The rest of the programs were either solicited by the community or supplied willingly by the Company in order to offset the financial burden of the municipal government. The position of the H.B.M. and S. in this regard, presents an interesting contrast, where, on the one hand it desired to influence community independence but on the other it felt a responsibility - particularly in lieu of taxes - to contribute to the well being of the municipality.

The impact of the various other organizations within the community is illustrative of the dominating role played by the H.B.M. and S. The Employee's Welfare Board, the municipal council and the Board of Trade all more or less coalesced with Company policy. The only major

opposition was the Ratepayer's Association. They tended to reflect the community interests of H.B.M. and S. employees and as such were usually more militant towards total Company domination. All in all though, the four organizations eventually succumbed to Company policy and were forced to work within the framework of H.B.M. and S. contracts.

In the final analysis, Company policy continued to influence the direction of community development but it did so with the hope of encouraging community self-determination. H.B.M. and S. participation in development was perhaps less complete than it had previously been but it was still the major force in municipal affairs.

CHAPTER V

## Flin Flon; the Single Enterprise Community

The single enterprise community as defined in Chapter I, displays certain characteristics that are dominant traits of the one industry community. They are generally accepted as the universal norm of the single enterprise community and allow for an evaluation of the role of the enterprise within the community. An analysis of the company's participation in town planning, housing, retail outlets, recreation, community institutions, protective services and utilities, illustrate the amount of influence or control the enterprise maintains within the townsite.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore possible, on this basis, to determine the nature of the single enterprise community; whether it is a "closed company town" or a "model company community".

The traditional approach towards town planning, housing, retail outlets, recreation, community institutions, protective services and utilities within the single enterprise community varies from total company control to effecting a minor influence. Town planning, for example, as a characteristic of the single enterprise community, usually illustrates the changing role of the company. In most cases, the company initially controls town planning. As the community expands the influence of the company lessens, as it passes the authority for town planning to some form of holding company and eventually to the community itself. Housing, like town planning, begins as the total domain of the company. With the growth of the community, the industry either continues to maintain solid control of housing or it almost totally

rejects this characteristic. In the Canadian sphere of single enterprise communities the trend is usually towards the latter. The position of the company in relation to retail outlets in the twentieth century Canadian single enterprise community, generally tends not to be a major characteristic. Private commercial enterprise appears to be more or less encouraged in the traditional Canadian company community. Recreation and community institutions are always factors of high level company participation. This is primarily the result of the desire of the company to maintain a stable, family orientated, happy community. To achieve this goal, they offer a large collection service, geared towards community satisfaction. Protective services and the provision of utilities are two features that are originally the sole concern of the company. By and large however, as the community expands, the tendency within the Canadian single enterprise community has been towards community take over of these services. This is particularly true in the case of sewage disposal or water provision but in other areas such as the provision of electricity, the company out of necessity, retains control.

A generalized account of traditional features of the single enterprise community is largely dependent upon a number of variables that tend to influence the development of any specific pattern. Included in this number would be factors of location, topography, climate, time period and the policy of the participating industry. The assessment of traditional single enterprise community features would therefore depend upon the aforementioned variables which could conceivably alter or greatly influence the development of consistent trends.

In the case of Flin Flon, both traditional single enterprise features and other variables involved in its development, have contributed to its growth. From the inception of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Ltd., in December of 1927, until the official incorporation of Flin Flon as a town in April of 1946, the northern frontier had witnessed a phenomenon that had become more and more the norm in northern urban expansion. The characteristic dependence upon a single industry for the fostering and maintenance of the frontier society was a symbiotic relationship essential for both the industry and the society that it nurtured. Directed by the resource foundation of the industry, Flin Flon had blossomed into a resource dependent, single enterprise community.

The extent to which the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company participated in the growth and the maintenance of the community varied considerably during the nineteen year period. Initially, during the construction phase of the industry, the Company functioned as the employer attempting to develop the facilities necessary for production. The steps taken to establish a community at this stage of expansion were meant to be only temporary arrangements. The major goal of the H.B.M. and S. Company Ltd., between 1927 and 1930, was the commencement of production. The "temporary townsite" was merely the most expedient method of housing the approximate 1,000 men involved in the building phase.

With the beginning of production in 1930, it was necessary for the Company to establish order in the townsite. This, the organization phase of development, found the H.B.M. and S. actively attempting to structure life within the community. Partially as a result of problems

surrounding the nature of the "temporary townsite" and partially because of the Company's dual role as both employer and responsible authority, re-organization in the community was essential. The task of attempting to introduce order in a previously unordered society required a dominating force. The H.B.M. and S. in the absence of any effective political authority, provided this force, and through its involvement attempted to facilitate the growth of a model community.

The culmination of the organization phase of growth was the strike of 1934. The strike was a reaction to the single enterprise nature of the community and demonstrated the sentiments of the workers towards the Company's role within the community. This episode forced a re-evaluation of the relationship between the Company and the community it spawned. Indeed, the 1934 strike, while largely unsuccessful from the striker's standpoint, compelled the H.B.M. and S. to reconsider its dominant role in the life of Flin Flon.

The post-strike period from 1934-1946 was a period of maturation for Flin Flon. Having outgrown the original total domination of the H.B.M. and S., the community developed a more congenial working relationship with the Company. The H.B.M. and S. tended to transfer its former responsibilities towards community established organizations. In this manner, the Company concentrated on its economic position, while allowing the community to take over the reins of development. As this relationship matured, H.B.M. and S. participation in community affairs became more supportive as compared to directive in the pre-strike era. The Company provided the base while the community provided the structure for continued development.



The role which the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company played in the nineteen year history of Flin Flon can be categorized by the level of its involvement in community growth. As briefly stated, four obvious divisions occurred; the construction phase from 1927-1930; the organizational phase from 1930-1934; a period of reaction in 1934; and the maturation phase from 1934-1946. Loosely based on these divisions, an understanding of the Company-community relationship must incorporate a study of primary factors that are characteristic of the single enterprise community. This would include a demonstration of the Company's involvement in town planning, housing, retail outlets, recreation, community institutions, protective services and utilities. The summary analysis of Flin Flon as a single enterprise community is, therefore, a study based upon an assessment of the overall participation of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in factors generally accepted as dominant issues in single enterprise communities.

#### Town Planning

Town planning as a characteristic of the single enterprise community reflects a host of variables that inevitably dictate the final layout of the community. Factors such as topography, size of the population, the industrial base of the community, the time period in which the community was initiated and, of course, the sentiments of the company involved in the planning, all contribute to the process of town planning in the single enterprise community. Based upon these variables, there is generally no pre-determined scheme of town planning that could be classified as the norm in the single enterprise community. There are, however, similar trends in single enterprise community planning that

reflect the contribution of the various factors instrumental in the growth of this type of community.

Town planning in the single enterprise community generally follows an evolutionary trend from total company control to a subsidiary holding company's control to eventual community control. The variables involved in town planning, however, usually dictate the planning schemes followed in the community. This would mean that the tendency for a single enterprise community to follow any given trend in planning is secondary to the variables that influence town planning.

The "temporary townsite" is a phenomenon that is generally associated with the first stage of community growth. Developed primarily as a result of expediency, the "temporary townsite" is meant to accommodate the men involved in the construction phase of the single enterprise community. In the case of resource-based communities, the "temporary townsite" is always located within close walking distance of the industrial plant. Established by the company and designated as a temporary arrangement, this initial effort at community planning is usually a primitive, unorganized "hodge-podge" of bunkhouses intended to fulfill the immediate needs of the industry.

Such was the case of the Flin Flon "temporary townsite". It consisted of several log structures that were grouped around the mining facilities of the H.B.M. and S. All but one of the buildings were company owned; the majority of which were used to house the men involved in the construction of the plant. The H.B.M. and S. was quick to realize the impediment of a housing project so close to the mine site. In 1928, they attempted to relocate the "temporary townsite" on property

further removed from the mine site.<sup>2</sup> This, however, was not completely accomplished until July 1931, when the Flin Flon Town Planning Scheme was initiated to establish a "permanent townsite" for the community.<sup>3</sup>

The "temporary townsite" established by the H.B.M. and S. produced problems that are generally accepted as typical of such housing schemes. Once constructed, the temporary site becomes more or less permanent. This is the result of continued additions which tend to simply contribute to the size of the town site, thereby giving it a more permanent appearance. The problem was further compounded by the conflict between the H.B.M. and S. and the government as to the final location of the permanent townsite. The "temporary townsite" consequently extended its usefulness over approximately four years, until the over crowding of its limited facilities forced its dissolution.

With the implementation of the Town Planning Scheme in 1931, the "temporary townsite" was abandoned and the "permanent townsite" was laid out. The application of the planning scheme was largely dictated by the problems of planning a single enterprise community. It was, however, no longer the primary concern of the H.B.M. and S. to overcome the problems of town planning. The authority for the implementation of the Town Planning Scheme was passed to the Community Development Company.<sup>4</sup> It represented a subsidiary holding company that filled the gap between H.B.M. and S. control of town planning and community control. Initially representative of H.B.M. and S. policy, the Community Development Company eventually came under the control of the municipality in 1934 with the incorporation of the community.<sup>5</sup>

The factors of topography, population, time period of growth

and the sentiment of the responsible authority, determined the shape and size of the permanent townsite. The three mile square area that was set aside as townsite property in 1931 was developed according to these variables. Perhaps the most significant of these was the demands of population. Their requests for the inclusion of a particular area within the town plan or for the expansion of the subdivided townsite to accommodate an ever increasing population, were very influential in the decision to alter the composition of the townsite. In the final analysis, however, it was the option of the responsible authority to determine where and when the community would grow. This opinion was in part influenced by the location and the topography of the subdivision or street expansion proposal. The Town Planning Scheme was therefore laid out according to the demands of the population by the responsible authority in accordance with the physical geography of the area. The culmination of these factors produced a somewhat divided community that has grown without an overall general development plan.<sup>6</sup> Largely as a result of rock outcropping and water barriers, Flin Flon developed in a rather arbitrary, ad hoc manner. The Town Planning Scheme of 1931 and its minor revisions of 1937 provided the means for growth but not a comprehensive plan of growth.<sup>7</sup>

A final factor that is associated with planning in resource based single enterprise communities is the exhaustibility of the resource. A largely unmeasurable variable, the unpredictability of the ore supply in the Flin Flon mine may have influenced the evolution of the community. In this sense, H.B.M. and S. policy formation was based upon the continued practicality of mining the Flin Flon ore. At

the same time, sentiment within the community may have reflected a similar short range approach to its expansion. This is particularly true for individuals who had been associated with other single industry communities and found themselves unemployed with the depletion of the resource.

### Housing

Company ownership of housing facilities is a common characteristic of the single enterprise community. Cited as "the universal hallmark of the single enterprise community", company housing is an accurate indicator of the level of company control within the community.<sup>8</sup> The dominance of the company in the single enterprise community usually varies in direct proportion to the amount of company owned housing. In other words, the community with a large percentage of company owned dwellings, tend to be more representative of the "closed company town" than the community with a smaller percentage of company homes.<sup>9</sup>

The discussion of company owned housing in the single enterprise community should distinguish between family and single men's dwellings. The reason for this, particularly in the extractive industry, is that the bunkhouse method of housing for single men is generally the only feasible method of accommodation in an isolated situation. As the community grows and reaches a certain level of permanence, the family dwelling replaces the bunkhouses as the most important housing unit in the community. When this occurs, and if the company retains ownership of a large percentage of the family units, then it can generally be assumed that the community is to a large extent controlled by the company.

The bunkhouse method of housing was established in Flin Flon during the construction phase of development. Designed to house the men involved in the building of the plant facilities, the bunkhouse style of accommodation was retained long after the construction phase had ended. The bunkhouse method of housing applied to both workers and Company officials. This type of arrangement remained in effect until 1946. "Ten spacious bunkhouses", which accommodated over sixty men each were provided for employees while a large bunkhouse style staff house, with accommodations for approximately forty-eight single men was provided for management personnel.<sup>10</sup>

Evidence of Company owned family dwellings at Flin Flon is sparse. One example of such an occurrence involved the provision of "nine four roomed cottages" for the use of H.B.M. and S. officials and their families.<sup>11</sup> These, like the bunkhouse style of housing, were available from 1930-1946. The cottages were the only indication of continued Company ownership of family dwellings within the Community. On one other occasion the Company financed the construction of a post-war housing project but the homes were sold at cost, to returning veterans and not retained as Company housing.<sup>12</sup>

Private ownership of housing appears to have been the pattern of family accommodation in Flin Flon. This would suggest that the H.B.M. and S. encouraged this type of arrangement, for outside of the few reserved cottages for management personnel, facilities for family accommodations were not provided. Indeed, the Company originally offered, for extremely low monthly rental payments, property within the townsite so that employees and their families could construct their own housing

facilities.<sup>13</sup>

The housing situation in Flin Flon indicates that most Company owned housing was primarily restricted to single men's dwellings. In this vein, Flin Flon, as an example of a single enterprise community, was not characterized by a predominance of Company owned housing. This would in turn suggest, that based on this lack of Company owned family dwellings, that Flin Flon was not an example of a "closed company town". Indeed if the assessment by Single Enterprise Communities in Canada is correct, Flin Flon would appear to be a rather loosely controlled Company community.

#### Retail Outlets

A characteristic that in many single enterprise communities has been as dominant a feature as company housing is the company store. As a retail outlet, owned and operated by an industrial enterprise whose clientele is almost exclusively composed of its employees, the company store has developed a reputation which represents the worst aspect of the single enterprise community.<sup>14</sup> This reputation, based on the monopoly of the company store, derives from the abuse of its power.

In most cases, the company store is originally intended to fill a void in the community. Perhaps, because of the isolation of the community or its distance from trade centers, it is meant to replace a reluctant service industry. Largely the result of the desire on the part of the company to maintain control of its workforce, the store becomes more and more reliant on credit which is based upon the right to collect for debts from the company's payroll. As this situation

develops, the employee's savings capacity is largely undercut by his continued indebtedness to the company. This in turn binds the employee to the company by restricting his freedom of movement through company access to his wages.

Flin Flon, while isolated and far removed from trade centers, did not develop the need for the company store. Almost before the incorporation of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company, retail enterprises were capitalizing on the growth of the mining community. Jack Hone's general merchandise store, established in 1926, was the first to take advantage of the Flin Flon market.<sup>15</sup> Hone was closely followed by the Northland Drug Company, the Royal Bank of Canada and others until by 1930, Flin Flon had a business section two blocks long.<sup>16</sup>

The activity of private enterprise in Flin Flon was the result of both the nature of the northern frontier as well as the policy of the H.B.M. and S. The method of northern expansion or the extension of the northern frontier seems to be illustrative of the application of the metropolitan theory of urban growth.<sup>17</sup> This would imply that Flin Flon grew as a dependent of a local trade center, which in turn was dependent upon a larger trade center. Flin Flon's relationship with The Pas, some eighty-three miles south, would suggest this type of arrangement. The Pas, by J.M.S. Careless's definition, would qualify as a sub metropolis of Winnipeg, supporting the immediate needs of Flin Flon. As a consequence, The Pas played a major role in aiding the development of the Flin Flon community; supplying not only a trade center but also an extension of the amenities of life.

The role of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in the expansion of the private business sector of the community, indicates a



desire on the part of the Company to develop a traditional, private enterprise orientated business section. In the town's formative stage, the H.B.M. and S. allowed the growth of private business within the "temporary townsite". As the population grew and shifted to the "permanent townsite", business sections were laid out along Main Street in a district that was strictly reserved for commercial enterprise. The populating of this downtown section was both encouraged and controlled by the Company. The issuing of building licenses to prospective operators of commercial establishments allowed the H.B.M. and S. to screen applicants and restrict occupancy to those deemed acceptable. At the same time, the reasonable monthly rates for property rental and the provisions of services such as utilities, were attractive incentives to many potential store owners.

An interesting phenomenon, that is somewhat atypical in the isolated resource based community was the development of business establishments by former H.B.M. and S. employees. Included in this number were individuals who capitalized on the growing community and its commercial needs. Perhaps as a result of a particular desire to fulfill a life long dream or simply because of a void in commercial services, individuals who formerly worked for the Company bought out established enterprises or simply developed their own.<sup>18</sup>

One feature that is associated with the company store aspect of the single enterprise community, appeared in the Flin Flon community; that of credit. While it was not associated with a H.B.M. and S. Company store, credit was still available fairly regularly in the community's business establishments. Indeed, the overused system of deferred payment,

for goods or services, was an element that emphasized one of the drawbacks of an isolated single enterprise community. With nowhere to turn, except to its own business community, who offered credit based on the assumption that a relatively high employment rate ensured payment, the individual citizen quickly accepted the credit payment system. Late payments or a total abuse of the credit system also quickly became a feature of the Flin Flon commercial community. In the end, this became a contributing factor to the financial difficulties of the community leading into the 1934 strike, which in turn forced a total re-evaluation of the credit system.

The control of the business section of the community was a feature that was subtly maintained by the H.B.M. and S. and the Community Development Company through the issuing of business licenses. While there never was a "company store" as such, the right to restrict the establishment of commercial enterprises, gave the H.B.M. and S. a significant degree of influence in the commercial section of the community. This, it appears, was the goal of the Company; to develop a functional commercial community independent of the H.B.M. and S. but at the same time, regulated by the H.B.M. and S.

### Recreation

A dominant feature in the single enterprise community is the company's high level of participation in recreational activity. The overriding explanation for this is the fact that the company, hoping to maintain a healthy, happy community, encourages the pursuit of leisure time activity. This is particularly true in the case of the newly

formed community, wherein recreational services provide the needed social interchange that tends to develop a community-wide feeling of belonging. Recreation, therefore, becomes an agent of community solidarity which is generally fostered and encouraged by the company in order to satisfy the needs of a displaced population.

The policy of the company in the encouragement of recreational activity usually involves the provision of the necessary facilities or organizations whereby the activity can take place. In this manner, the company develops the community club or the skating club, allowing their eventual operation to be carried out by some sort of community committee. While the company may maintain a representative on the committee, the recreational demands of the community are usually funneled through the community representatives who attempt to either develop the services or approach the company for further facilities.

Sport usually receives the greatest amount of attention in the hierarchy of leisure time activity. This generally reflects the demands of a young and growing population that tends to be more easily relocated in the single enterprise community. Following sport, the recreational interests of the company community generally include craft groups, cultural groups and social welfare or church groups.<sup>19</sup> In the majority of cases, these activities would be co-ordinated around the company sponsored community or recreational club.

The Elin Flon Skating and Hockey Club represents the first organized effort within the community to provide for the leisure time activity of H.B.M. and S. employees. Initiated by employees in 1927, the activity of the Club was funded by the Company.<sup>20</sup> Upon its

reorganization in 1928 into the Flin Flon Athletic Association, the H.B.M. and S. provided the major portion of its revitalization. Its further revision into the Flin Flon Community Club is illustrative of the effort of the H.B.M. and S. to co-ordinate recreational activity within the community into a single organization. The Community Club is a perfect example of the method of leisure time organization within a single enterprise community. The H.B.M. and S. provided the organizational structure as well as the club house. The Board of Directors, consisting of both employees and management personnel, provided the programs that were designed to meet the needs of the community.

The epitome of Company involvement in recreational activity of the single enterprise community was the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's role in the development of the Phantom Lake resort area. Designed primarily to provide a recreational outlet for the summer time activity of H.B.M. and S. employees, Phantom Lake became a vacation haven for Company workers. Open to all community members on a day to day basis, the resort and camping facilities were restricted to H.B.M. and S. employees. The value of such an undertaking, in the estimation of the H.B.M. and S., was determined to increase the health and happiness of the community.

The recreational interests of the H.B.M. and S. were perhaps the most paternalistic features of the single enterprise community. Viewed as essential for the satisfaction of the employee and his family, productive leisure time was the key to a contented community. If the individual was busily involved in after hours activity, it generally implied that he was satisfied or at least content with his position

within the community.

### Community Institutions

Community institutions such as schools, churches, hospitals and libraries are essential elements of a permanent, stable community. In the single enterprise community, they, like recreational facilities, help to ensure a relatively contented population. This is particularly the case in the isolated resource-based community, where an individual's association with a school or a church might be his only contact with the world outside of his work. The community institution also invokes a sense of familiarity within the single enterprise community. The church, for example, allows the individual the opportunity to avail himself of familiar teachings within a familiar setting. It would, therefore, aid in the transition from one community or location to another.

Education, within the single enterprise community, is generally a reflection of the recognition of the importance of children's welfare. It is also, however, a means to satisfy the educational criteria of parents and thereby establishes a positive factor in favour of the community. The company, therefore, provides the best educational facilities possible in the hopes of producing good future employees, as well as an attractive feature for a potential employee and his family.

The contribution of the H.B.M. and S. to the educational facilities of Flin Flon reflects the general trend of single enterprise communities. The Company was a large factor in the quality of Flin Flon schooling. Its earliest contribution consisted of ad hoc funding and the provision of school room space. As the community grew, so did the

input of the H.B.M. and S.; eventually settling upon a yearly contribution of twenty-five percent of the total educational costs. The Company's role did not however stop with this legal obligation. Indeed, the H.B.M. and S. continued to provide materials and other services to update Flin Flon's educational facilities. Like many single enterprise communities, Flin Flon's quality of education exceeded that of similar sized, multi-industry communities. This was the result of the participation of the H.B.M. and S. in its financing. Indeed on top of the twenty-five percent contribution, much of the annual \$25,000 donation from the Company to the municipality, went to maintaining the quality of schooling in the community.

The position of Company support or sponsorship of religious institutions in Flin Flon also followed the norm in Canadian single enterprise communities.<sup>21</sup> The H.B.M. and S. took little or no direct action in the promotion of religious activity within the community. Beyond providing temporary sites for church service, the Company remained quiet on the issue of contributing to church affairs.<sup>22</sup>

On the negative side, however, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the H.B.M. and S. attempted to restrict religious activity to that which it deemed acceptable. In this regard, it appeared to promote the cause of the white anglo-saxon protestant by the discrimination against the non white,<sup>23</sup> non British,<sup>24</sup> Jewish,<sup>25</sup> Japanese,<sup>26</sup> and German<sup>27</sup> citizens within the community. The Company's apparent campaign against these groups, suggests an overriding belief on the part of the H.B.M. and S., that the typical British-Canadian citizen was a far more acceptable community member.

The health care situation in the single enterprise community generally reflects a very similar concern to that of education. Next to housing and schools, the hospital is usually the most important feature in the company community. In the case of the isolated extractive community, the hospital's significance is even further heightened by its almost total responsibility for the health care of the community.

The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company perceived the need for medical care within the community as early as 1927.<sup>28</sup> As in most company hospital schemes, a dual system of medical care was established for employees and non-employees. The cheaper rates offered to employees were part and parcel of the concern that was expressed by the H.B.M. and S. to provide adequate services for its workers and their families.

The history of the Company hospital is very illustrative of the changes that occurred in the relationship between the H.B.M. and S. and its employees. Initially cited as amongst "the finest and most up to date institutions of its size in the west",<sup>29</sup> the Company hospital in 1930, bore out the norm of single enterprise communities with its bigger and better health care facilities.<sup>30</sup> As the community grew and other hospitals appeared in Flin Flon, the Company hospital was no longer expected to keep pace with the growth in population. Ideally, the fourteen-twenty bed Company facility operating in 1930 and expanded in 1935, served H.B.M. and S. needs well into 1946. Indeed, while the Company enlarged the medical care schemes and facilities for its employees, it also appeared to attempt to absolve itself of the direct control of the workings of the health program. A prime example of this phenomenon was the turning over of the Company hospital to the management of the Employee's Welfare Board in 1944.<sup>31</sup>

H.B.M. and S. policy with regards to health care, illustrates the establishment of an essential service which through time is maintained but which leaves the direct control of the Company. In other words, it would appear as if the H.B.M. and S. relieved itself of the management burden of health care as soon as it was feasible to do so. It may be possible to argue in this context that the Company hospital was established out of necessity but not out of choice. In this sense, the Company realized the significance of health care services but not necessarily Company operated services.

The provision of library facilities can be found in most company communities. The establishment of a recreational and educational center of reading material appears to be founded in the company's perception of what is needed within the single enterprise community. A well-informed or even well-educated population is usually the final goal of company community, library schemes.

The library in the single enterprise community, if under the tutelage of the company,<sup>32</sup> is usually closely connected with the recreational aspect of the community. In this respect, a portion of the community hall or sports complex gives way to a public library that is originally sponsored by the company. The continued maintenance of a regular turn over in reading material is therefore the priority of one or two interested citizens who usually are dependent upon private funding of the community.

Elin Flon's library history represents an interesting collection of determined citizens to obtain a facility worthy of being called a library. The only apparent connection to the H.B.M. and S. of



these efforts was through the Community Club. The first library and reading room was established in the Community Club shortly after its completion in 1929. Donations of books and magazines were "invited" from the community while user fees of fifty cents for club members and two dollars for non members, constituted the funding.<sup>33</sup>

Totally independent of H.B.M. and S. influence was the growth of "private" library facilities. These were the result of the formation of interest groups concerned with the availability of reading material. The combination of the "private" libraries and the Community Club library provided the community with a reasonable level of library facilities.<sup>34</sup> All in all, however, the participation of private interests in library schemes far outweighed the involvement of the H.B.M. and S.

#### Protective Services

The norm in the provision of protective services in the single enterprise is generally a case of co-operation between either the provincial government or the incorporated municipality and the company. An agreement is usually reached between the concerned parties to participate in the provision of services for the good of all. Depending on the circumstances, this agreement may take the form of a contract or simply represent a loosely based cost or equipment sharing arrangement.

In most examples of single enterprise communities, particularly the isolated centers, the first initiative towards protective services is the move by the company to defend itself from fires or other disasters which could possibly destroy the whole economic base of the community. In time, these services are usually expanded to correspond with the growth of the community. The well-protected, single enterprise

community, then becomes a symbol of the "model" community.

The dominance of the company in the protection of the community is usually not the issue in the single enterprise community. What is the issue, however, is the assurance by the company of adequate protective services. So while it does not necessarily have to provide the facilities, the enterprise in the company community usually attempts to maintain a fairly respectable record of fire and police protection.

An efficient system of fire protection is essential in the frontier, resource-based community. This is particularly true in areas where timber stands have encouraged the construction of wood frame buildings. The consequence of an uncontrolled fire under these circumstances would be devastating, ruining both the industry and the community. It has, therefore, become standard procedure in the single enterprise community for the company to establish and generally maintain a fire brigade.

In the case of Flin Flon, fire protection was provided by the H.B.M. and S. as early as 1927. Largely to protect its own interests, the Company had constructed a fire barrier, incorporated a volunteer fire fighting service from among its employees and supplied fire protection equipment for both the mine facilities and the community. From its incorporation in 1927 until a municipal force was formed in 1933, the H.B.M. and S. voluntarily co-ordinated the only fire protective service in the community.

With the incorporation of the municipality of Flin Flon in 1933 a decision was made by the elected officials to develop a municipal fire brigade. As of October 1933 the community seemingly had the benefit of

two fire fighting forces, even though there was considerable overlapping of equipment and manpower. The co-operative arrangement between the two crews is perhaps best illustrated by the municipal council's refusal to consider purchasing equipment for the municipal fire department because they already had "access to the Company hose".<sup>35</sup>

As the community continued to increase in size, its two fire fighting services became more and more independent. In time, the municipality accepted a far greater role in the provision of a fire fighting force. With the 1937 donation by the Rotarians of a "brand new fire truck" and the ensuing erection of Flin Flon's first "fire hall", the municipality largely took over the maintenance of fire protection within the community.<sup>36</sup> This, however, was not a strict arrangement whereby the H.B.M. and S. would not aid the community in fire fighting; but rather a situation wherein the municipality accepted more responsibility with the blessing of the Company.

Unlike fire protection, the situation of policing the company town usually falls to a provincial or federal law enforcement agency. In this respect, it leaves the company free of the responsibility of crime protection, other than perhaps the provision of its own watchman. The arrangement to incorporate government police services generally involves the signing of a contract between either the company or the municipal council and the government agency. Indeed the role of the federal government in providing police protection is so paramount that for the most part "policing in Canadian company towns is carried out by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police".<sup>37</sup>

Flin Flon, like the majority of single enterprise communities, eventually came to rely on the R.C.M.P. It took time and the impact of the 1934 strike to develop this dependence. The role played by the Manitoba Provincial Police and the meager municipal force helped to retard the movement towards the R.C.M.P., while the labour conflict of 1934 was perhaps the major catalyst. All and all though, the passive role of the H.B.M. and S. was characteristic of the Company's lack of involvement in police protection within the single enterprise community.

The Manitoba Provincial Police department was responsible for the policing of the district on a full time basis until its demise in April of 1932. It was supported by the R.C.M.P. in the community until its replacement by the federal law enforcement agency. The R.C.M.P. then totally took over the policing of the area until 1933, when the municipal council saw fit to establish a municipal force. The Flin Flon force consisted of a Police Chief with the power to enlist deputies as the need arose. The R.C.M.P., therefore, with the superficial assistance of the municipal police force provided the community with police protection from 1933 onward.

As a result of R.C.M.P. involvement in the policing of the community during the 1934 labour dispute, the municipal council sought and obtained the services of the force as a regular policing agency. The agreement in force from April 1, 1935, established a very closely observed precedent in the history of single enterprise communities.<sup>38</sup> The tradition of maintaining a central police agency in the isolated single enterprise community was a feature that Flin Flon pioneered.

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services. For a nominal fee, the municipality is usually supplied with these services. Finally, when and if the municipality becomes a town or city the usual practise has been the selling of the company facilities that are independent of the industrial plant, to the community.<sup>39</sup> While this evolution of services represents the norm in Canadian single enterprise communities, it is again important to stress that both the quantity and quality of services are factors that are largely dictated by the outlook of the company. The final implication is that the transition from company to community control of utility services, depends upon the attitude of the enterprise.

The development of a street plan in the single enterprise community is greatly influenced by the position of the townsite. If and when a regulatory plan for the expansion of the community is implanted, the maintenance of roadways and the provision of such services as street lighting become important community issues. Prior to the development of a permanent townsite plan, the community is founded around the industry in such a manner that negates the necessity of roadways within the community. When a plan for the laying out of the townsite is developed, then the question of roadways becomes significant.

In the case of Flin Flon, 1931 is the year from which permanent street planning becomes an issue.<sup>40</sup> The responsibility for street work rested with the Community Development Company. They established plans of draining and ditching as well as the laying out of a street network corresponding to the official Town Planning Scheme. The monies retained from lot sales were intended to provide the funding for these services, while the H.B.M. and S. voluntarily supplied the work force. The

Company provided at cost the equipment, the blasting or clearing of rock, gravel for roadways and a rather primitive street lighting program. A similar arrangement was later developed with the municipal government and even later with town officials, whereby the Company provided street maintenance service to the community at the request of the responsible authority.

The participation of the H.B.M. and S. in the community's street program was clearly defined by the 1931 incorporation of the Community Development Company. The responsibility that it might have held was shifted to the C.D.C. The H.B.M. and S. had officially removed itself from involvement in the responsibility of street maintenance. Its continuance in road work was done at the request of the C.D.C., the municipality or the town, for a cost and with no legal obligation to provide such services. In other words, the role of the H.B.M. and S. in the street maintenance program evolved as a type of beneficiary arrangement, offset by a nominal fee and maintained by a moral obligation of the Company to the community.

Sewage disposal in the single enterprise community is a feature that develops with the expansion of the community. Initially, in most cases, the outdoor privy provides adequate disposal for the small isolated community. As the population increases, the problem of maintaining a sanitary townsite becomes directly related to the disposal of wastes. In the case of the resource orientated community, the problem becomes an extension of the disposal of industrial wastes. It has, therefore, become the norm for the company's facilities to treat both industrial and community wastes until such a time as the burden of

community wastes disposal overloads the system. At this point, provision for community disposal facilities are encouraged by the company.

The H.B.M. and S. provided the necessary sewage disposal facilities from 1934-1937. The C.D.C., however, acted as the agent for the services provided by the Company. As in the case of street maintenance, with the incorporation of the C.D.C. in 1931, it accepted the responsibility for the regulation of the sewage disposal system. So while the C.D.C. maintained the process of sewage disposal, the H.B.M. and S. provided the treatment facilities. The Company continued to offer this service through the C.D.C. until such time as the population had exceeded the capacity of the treatment plant. The community was then encouraged to accept the responsibility for its own sewage treatment facilities.<sup>41</sup>

The question of sewage disposal in Flin Flon was, in fact, the legal responsibility of the C.D.C. or the municipal or town council. The voluntary participation of the H.B.M. and S. in the program was a necessary element in the evolution of a community operated treatment plant. Their role was clearly defined when they stated in 1934;

"...that while they would continue to handle sewage from the town, they would only do so on the understanding that the Ross Lake District Plant would be in operation before June 31, 1937, as at that date this service to the town would be discontinued."<sup>42</sup>

The provision of water to the community in the single enterprise setting is defined as the "most important public utility provided".<sup>43</sup> In most cases, a water source located by the company for industrial purposes is adapted to meet the needs of both the industry and the



community. As the community expands, the original service of a well or water carts is replaced by water pipes; while at the same time the company may encourage the municipality to accept the responsibility for water services. Very much similar to the situation of sewage disposal, water provision is a service that is usually maintained by the company until such time as the demands of the population exceeds the level of efficiency.

The H.B.M. and S. Company's provision of water services was in effect from 1930-1946. Initially, it accepted full responsibility for the service but the C.D.C. and later the municipality or town took over the authority to maintain the service. The H.B.M. and S., however, retained the mechanism to provide the water while the responsible authority arranged for its distribution. This remained in effect from the incorporation of the C.D.C. in 1931 until 1946. The Company's provision of water for the community was maintained with a nominal fee that helped to offset the costs of adapting the industrial source to the community.

As in the case of water supply, electricity is often developed by the company for its use in its industrial endeavour and as a consequence, is also applied to the community. The provision of electricity in the single enterprise community is often done "free of charge".<sup>44</sup> In this situation, the company has developed its own source of electricity, had it brought into the industrial facilities and as an after thought, developed a supply for the community. The benefit of such an arrangement to the isolated single-enterprise community far exceeds the cost of its provision to the company.

The H.B.M. and S. supplied the community with electricity through the use of generators until the transmission line from Island Falls was operable. In April of 1930, electricity from Island Falls reached Flin Flon. The Company shortly thereafter applied this source of electricity to the community. With the incorporation of the C.D.C. in 1931, they accepted the responsibility of distributing H.B.M. and S. electricity to the community. The Community Development Company continued to purchase community power from the Company until 1937 when the H.B.M. and S. instituted the Northern Manitoba Power Company to facilitate the sale of electrical power within the community. Apparently the H.B.M. and S., from 1935 onward, met the electrical needs of the community free of charge.<sup>45</sup> This service, beyond and above the legal obligations of the Company, covered costs from \$6,000-\$8,000 on a yearly basis. True to the form of the single enterprise community, post 1935 electricity was "free of charge".

### Conclusions

The role of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in the growth of Flin Flon varied considerably, depending upon the time period and the services that are considered. All in all though, it would appear that as early as 1931, with the incorporation of the Community Development Company, the H.B.M. and S. had attempted to relieve itself of community responsibility. At the same time however, with its vested interest in the C.D.C., the H.B.M. and S. retained the final say in community projects - if and when it decided to exercise its authority. With the incorporation of the community into a municipality, the role of the Company within the community was further reduced.

Essentially, it still offered services and funding to the community but beyond its legal obligation for education and the nominal municipal tax that it paid, the H.B.M. and S. was no longer bound to develop community services.

The H.B.M. and S.'s participation in town planning, housing, retail outlets, recreation, community institutions, protective services and utilities generally reflects a growing trend, within the context of the four stages of growth, of Company isolation. With the exception of essential services such as utilities or fire protection, the Company had attempted to shift more and more responsibility towards the community. This is particularly true after 1934 when the H.B.M. and S. re-assessed its role in the community and developed the Workmen's Welfare Board as its response to the demand by employees for more involvement in Company or community planning.

The community itself as a definition of a single enterprise community, is an extremely loosely based example. Not nearly as restrictive as a "closed company town" nor as open as a "model" pre-planned "company community", Flin Flon in the period 1927-1946 lies somewhere in between the extremes; shifting more towards the latter with the passage of time. This is a phenomenon that can largely be demonstrated through a survey of the position of the Company's involvement in areas which characteristically illustrate company participation in the single enterprise community.

## Conclusion

The single enterprise community, with its dependence upon the activity of the lone enterprise, be it an industry, government agency or transportation system, has become a highly visible, urbanizing feature of Canadian society. Whether located in the resource laden frontier of the Canadian north or in the industrial belt of the southern reaches of the country, the relationship between the single enterprise and the community it spawns is one that gives rise to the definition "single enterprise community". Flin Flon is a case in point. The association between the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company and the community of Flin Flon, reveals specific traits or patterns that are generally representative of the "typical" single enterprise community. While deviations from the norm do indeed occur, the basic premise of Company participation in community development remains the underlying theme of community expansion.

In the Canadian context, the growth of the traditional, resource orientated, single enterprise community, illustrates trends of development that can be evaluated as "typical" of this type of community. The historical neglect, brought about by various events, maintains the resource region as an isolated, uninhabited area. The demands of the fur trade or the lumber industry in the resource region help to encourage its continued isolation. The National Policy of the Dominion government, including the retention of control of Manitoba's natural resources until 1930, also further isolated the Flin Flon district. In 1915, and eventually by 1927, the course of development for the Flin Flon mineral claim was pre-determined by the historical pattern of continued northern under-

development. The necessity of the participation of a large scale mining enterprise in the development of the claim was even further encouraged by the mineral deposit itself. This combination of continued isolation and the need for high quality, mineral processing expertise, generally ensured the participation of a single enterprise in the Flin Flon camp.

The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Limited constructed the necessary facilities, including a rudimentary community, to allow for the profitable exploitation of the mineral find. The period from 1927-1930 was typically characterized by the erection of a processing plant as well as the "temporary townsite". The evolution of the community on the "temporary townsite" property adjacent to the mine, created the problems that forced the Company in 1930-1934 to organize or re-organize the community side of its development. This in turn, again typically, gave rise to a subsidiary holding Company, the Community Development Company. Largely responsible for H.B.M. and S. activity within the community, the C.D.C. operated as the responsible authority for townsite affairs. With the development of the municipal council, however, the C.D.C. had fulfilled its purpose and from 1933-1934 the council took over townsite affairs.

The labour dispute of 1934 represents not only a major watershed in Flin Flon's growth, but also a tremendous deviation from the norm of developing single enterprise communities. The strike was primarily a reaction to the dominance of the H.B.M. and S. in both the community and industry of Flin Flon and it forced the Company to re-evaluate its position in relation to the community. The result was an increasing tendency on the part of the Company to isolate itself from community

affairs. The Employee's Welfare Board aided in the withdrawal of the Company by accepting the responsibility of Company dealings with the community. By and large, the Welfare Board came to represent a type of middle man between the community and the Company.

As a watershed, the strike allowed the H.B.M. and S. to revise its role within the community from that of a directly responsible authority to a more secluded philanthropist. In other words, the Welfare Board took the brunt of community pressure for Company participation in development schemes, leaving the H.B.M. and S. free to portray itself as community guardian. In that sense, the Welfare Board acted as a buffer between the Company and the community, enabling the H.B.M. and S. to concentrate itself within the industry.

The Flin Flon strike is also significant in terms of a relative deviation from the "typical" single enterprise community. It can be explained in part, by the evolving, moderating role of the H.B.M. and S. Under normal circumstances in the single enterprise community, a labour dispute would be quickly suppressed by the iron grip of the company; but in Flin Flon, the H.B.M. and S. had already begun to re-align its position within the community and was therefore already isolating itself. While the H.B.M. and S. certainly attempted, and eventually succeeded in crushing the strike action, the Company, in June of 1934, was not in the position to avoid the confrontation. The isolating tendency of the Company had therefore already begun to evolve and the post strike period of the Employee's Welfare Board, was simply an accentuation of this tendency.

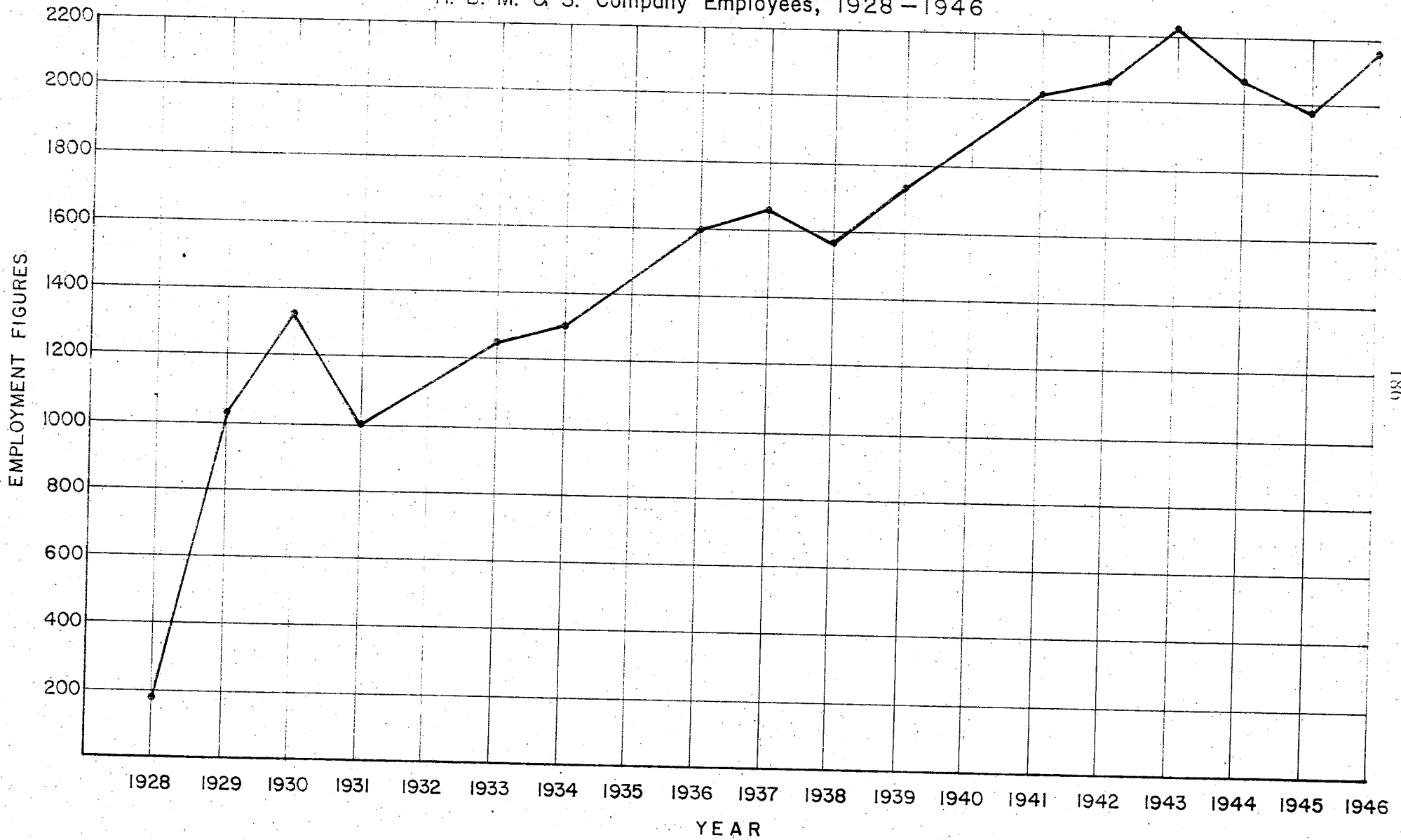
The period from 1934-1946 in the expansion of the community

witnessed the continuing isolation of the H.B.M. and S. This withdrawal forced the municipality to accept the responsibility for its own affairs and allowed the H.B.M. and S. the best of both worlds; a labour force without the problems of maintaining it. While the Company continued to offer support to the municipality, it now did so with the understanding that it was no longer principally responsible for its maintenance. The H.B.M. and S. by 1946 had re-established its primary interest in the operation of the mining facilities at Flin Flon.

In conclusion, a final assessment of H.B.M. and S. policy in regard to community development during the nineteen year span under consideration, is necessary. It would appear that as an overall evaluation of Company participation in the growth or regulation of the community, that it was given somewhat reluctantly. From the beginning, the Company accepted responsibility for community affairs only as a last resort and when it saw no alternative. When it became possible for the H.B.M. and S. to rid itself of this responsibility, it did so, through the C.D.C., the municipal council, the Employee's Welfare Board and eventually the town council. In the interim however, providing that Company policy was not interfered with, the H.B.M. and S. became more and more receptive to the idea of transferring community responsibility to other organizations. In the end though, the labour dispute of 1934 must be seen as the point from which Company policy became committed to a greater degree of isolation from community affairs. The reluctance of the H.B.M. and S. can therefore be assessed as the norm in Company policy in the post-strike period.

Fig. 1

H. B. M. & S. Company Employees, 1928 - 1946

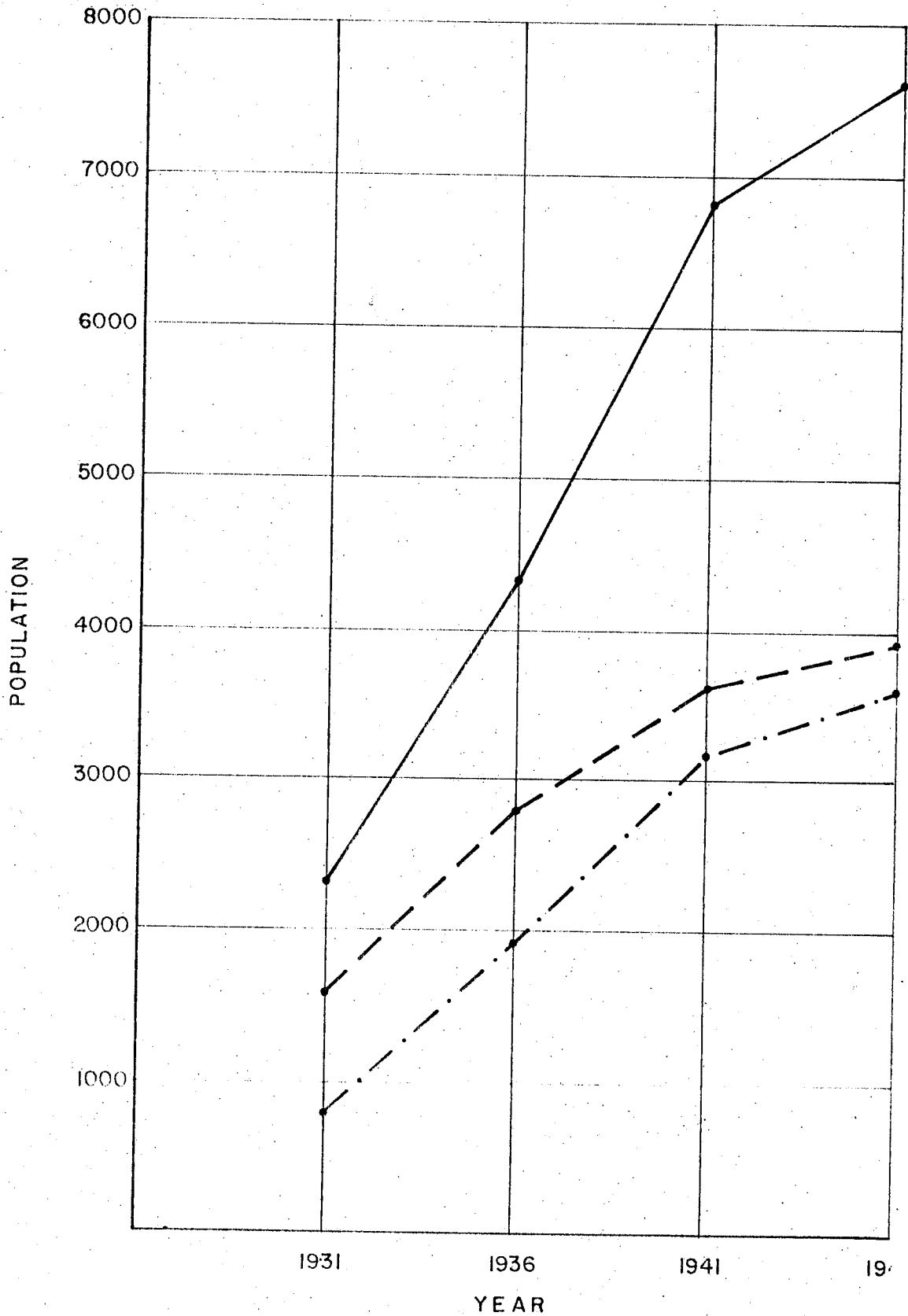


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SOURCE: Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources; Annual Reports, 1928-1946  
H. B. M. & S. Co.; Annual Reports, 1928-1946

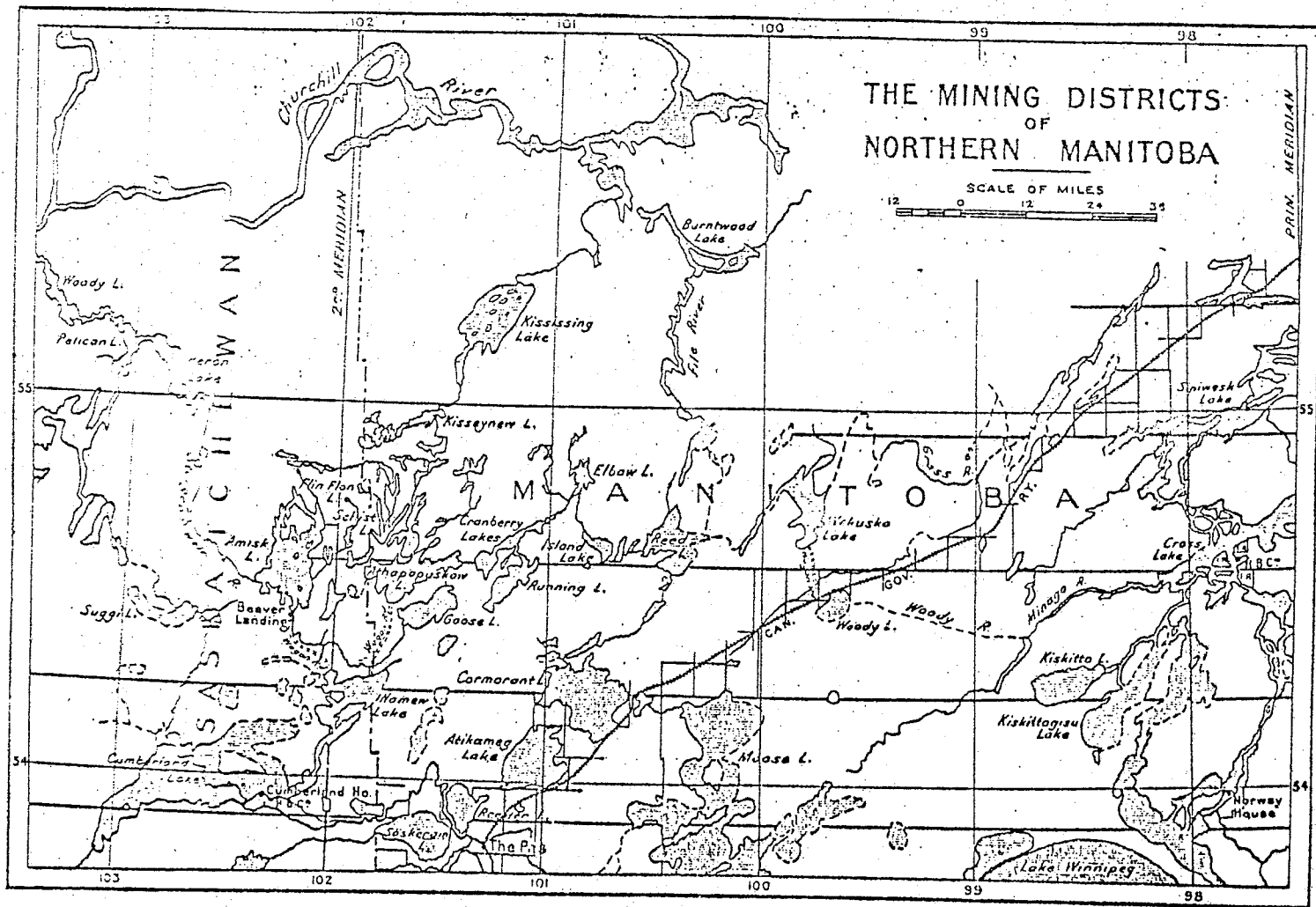


Population of the Municipal District of Flin Flon, 1931 - 1946



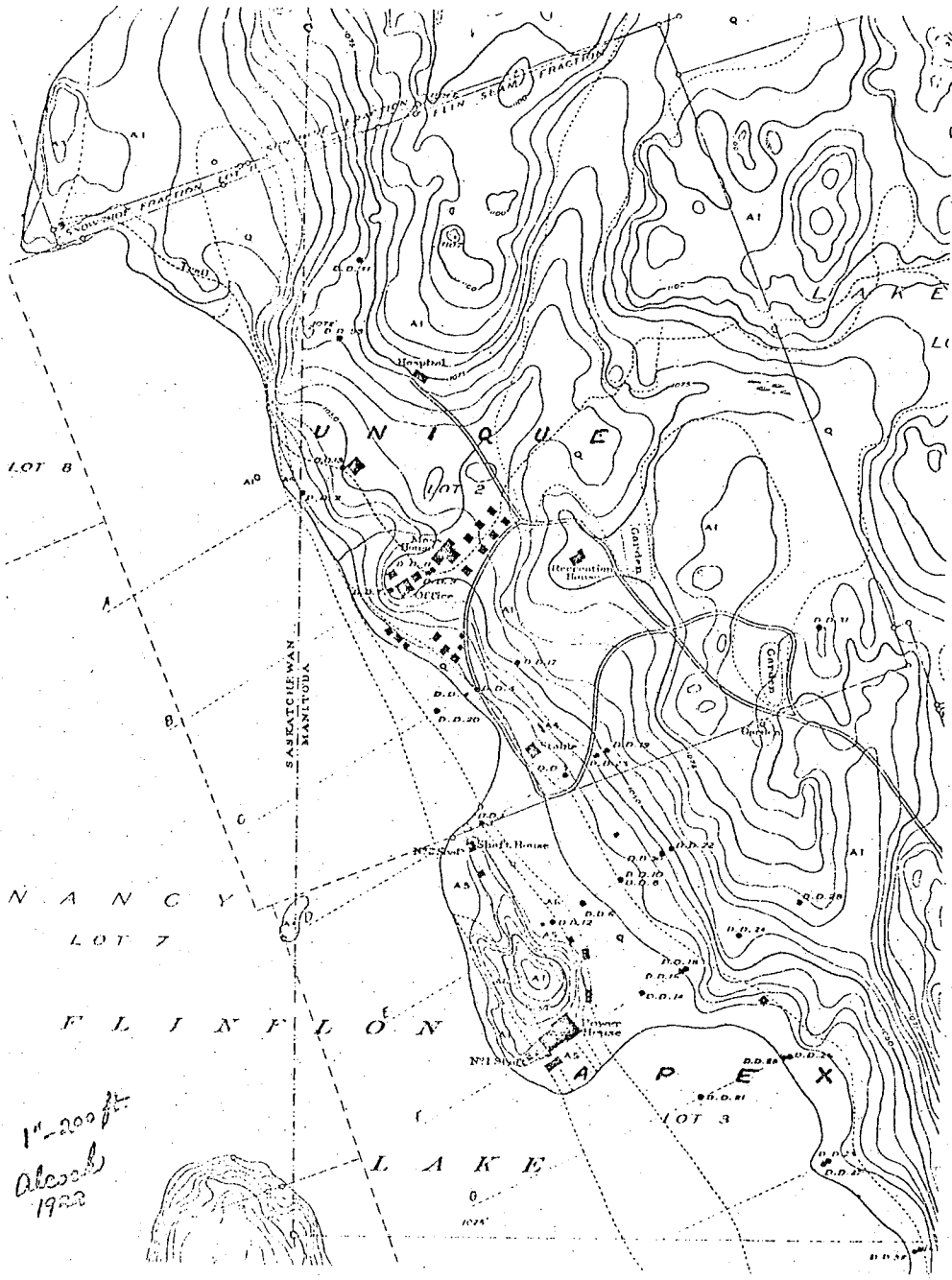
SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics  
Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1936  
Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1946

— Total  
- - - Male  
- . - . - Female



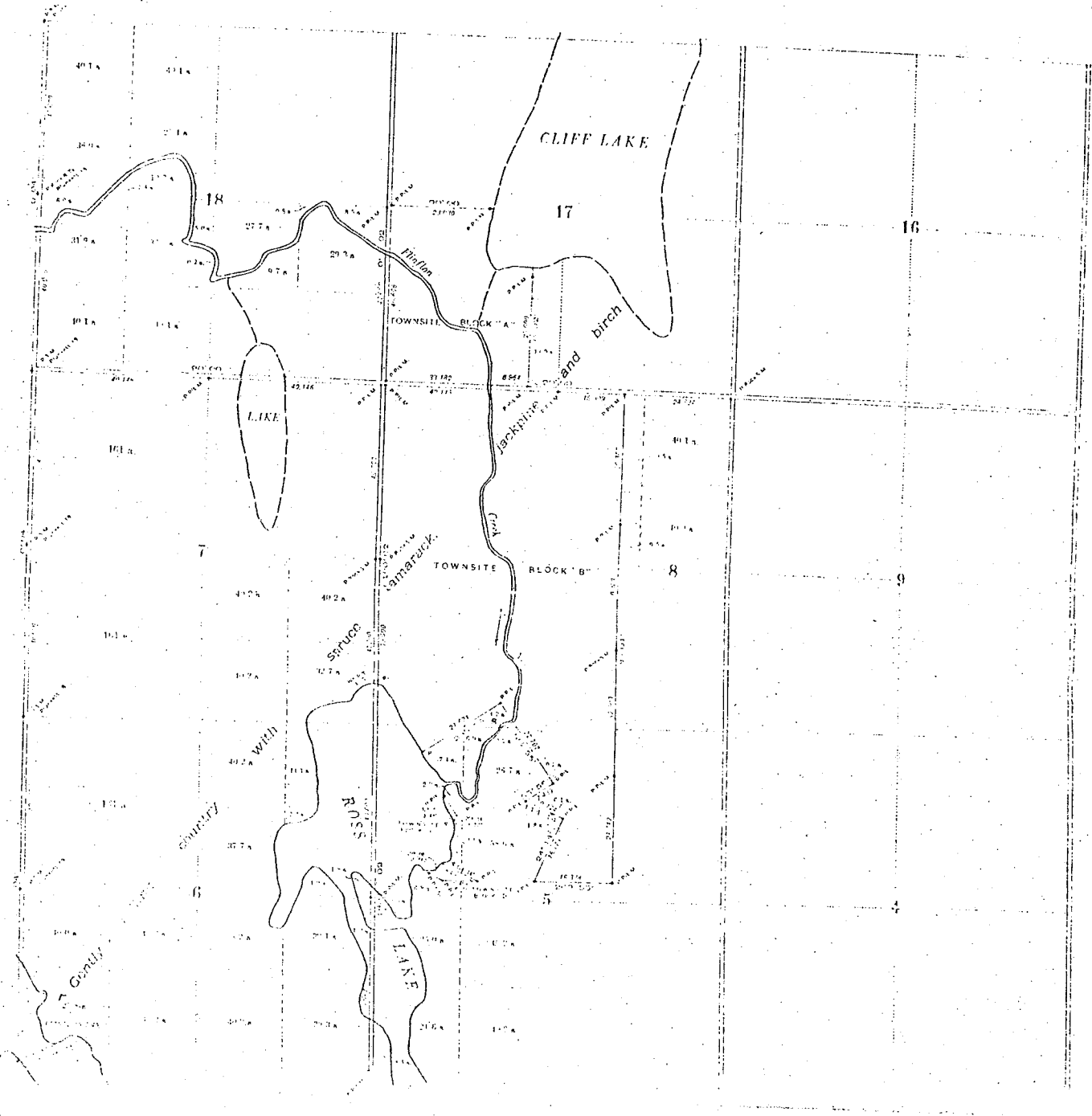
SOURCE: Manitoba, Department of Mines and Natural Resources

Fig. 3 The Mining Districts of Northern Manitoba



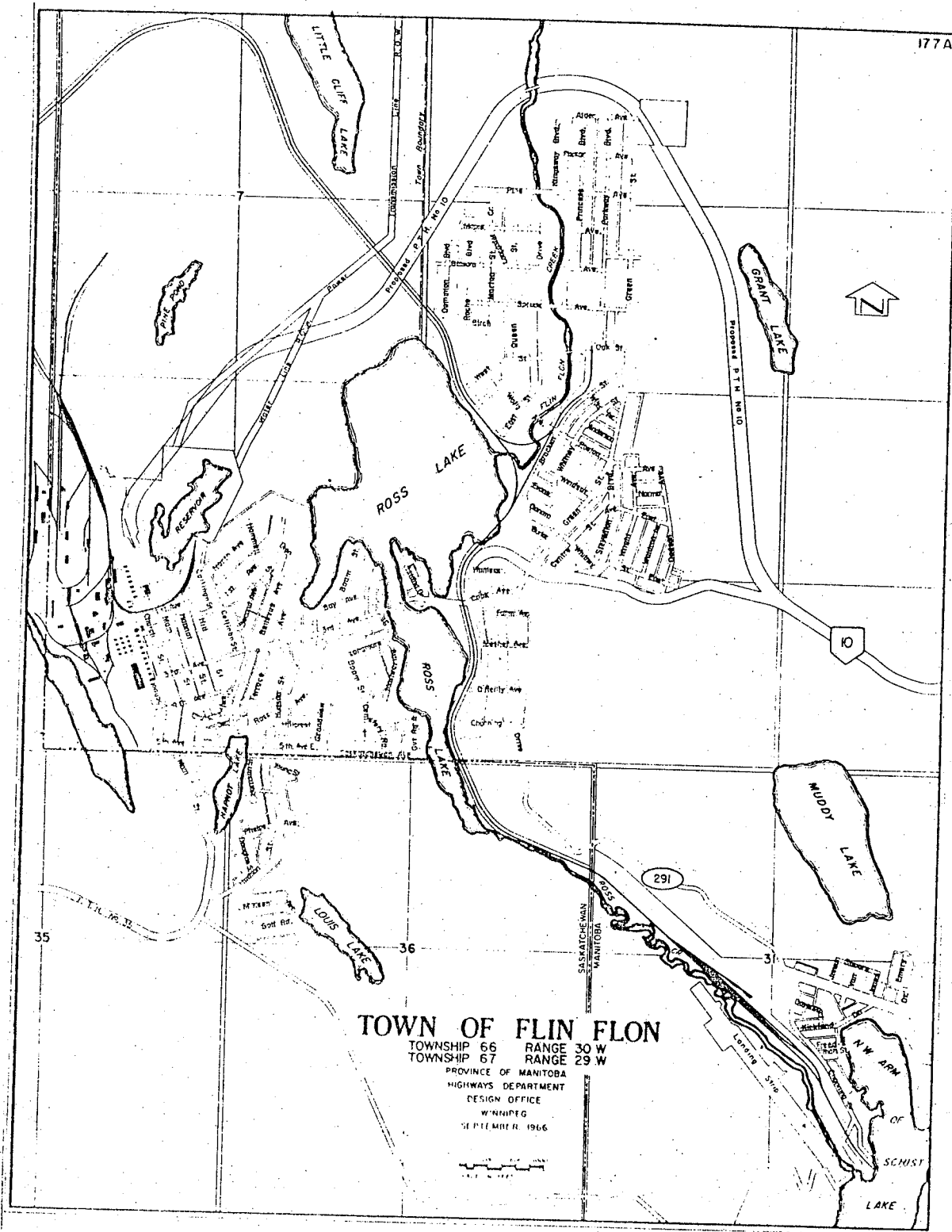
SOURCE: Canada Geological Survey, Summary Report, 1922, Part C, in V. Hedman et. al., Flin Flon

Fig. 4 Townsite of Flin Flon, 1922



SOURCE: Canada, Department of Interior in V. Hedman et. al., Flin Flon

Fig. 5 Townsite of Flin Flon, 1929



SOURCE: Manitoba Highways Department in J. Warkentin and R. Ruggles. Historical Atlas of Manitoba.

Fig. 6. Townsite of Flin Flon, 1966

FOOTNOTES

Chapter One

1. Ira M. Robinson, "New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier", University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 73, 1962, p. 1.
2. This percentage is based on the findings of the Queen's University Institute of Local Government publication Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, which suggests that in 1953 approximately 165,000 lived in such communities.
3. See; Hilory M. Archer, "A Classification and Definition of Single Enterprise Communities", M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969, p. 76.  
Single Industry Communities, Occasional Papers, Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1977, p. 3.
4. This is something of a distortion of a definition presented by the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in Single Industry Communities. The Department recommends that a definition of single industry communities exclude communities which are "within commuting distance of another area or areas". This somewhat regimental definition would in many cases contradict the definition presented in the text of this paper which allows for a single enterprise community to exist within commuting distance of other communities providing it still meets a minimum labour percentage ratio.
5. Rex A. Lucas, Minetown, Milltown, Railtown. University of Toronto Press, 1971, p. 16.
6. The 1951 Census was chosen to illustrate the point because of it being the most recent accurate census after the incorporation of the town of Flin Flon in 1946. See Table XVI, Canada Census, 1951, Vol. VII.
7. See; Manitoba, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Annual Report, 1952.
8. Again, this assumption is based on the best available statistics, which apply to 1951.
9. An exception to this particular rule would be a situation in which the single enterprise was involved in a number of industrial activities in the community in equal proportion and therefore eliminating the dominant function theory.
10. The terms "company town" and/or "new town" have in the past also been used to describe the single enterprise community.
11. See; Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, A Report by the Institute of Local Government, Queens University, 1953, p. 111.

- ; James B. Allen, The Company Town in the American West, University of Oklahoma Press, 1966, p. 6.
- ; Victor John Parker, The Planned Non-Permanent Community: An Approach to Development of New Towns Based on Mining Activity, 1957, p. 12.
- ; Ira M. Robinson, op. cit., p. 41.
- ; Harry W. Walker, "Canadian New Towns", Canadian Planning Review, Vol. 4, 1954, p. 80.
12. Harry W. Walker, "Canadian New Towns", Canadian Planning Review, Vol. 4, 1954, p. 83.
  13. The closed single enterprise community is not nearly as pronounced in the Canadian context as it is in the United States. For an example see; "The Company Community in the American Coalfields", The New Statesman, 30, October 1927.
  14. Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., p. 3.
  15. See the incorporation of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company on p. 25.
  16. See; Manitoba, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Annual Report, 1952.
  17. This again refers to the combined operations of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company, Hudson Bay Air Transport Company Limited and the Island Falls Power Plant.
  18. Examples of single enterprise communities and their functions; resource based communities such as Flin Flon, Manitoba (mining), Kapuskasing, Ontario (forestry), Blacks Harbour, New Brunswick (fishing) as well as manufacturing (Ajax, Ontario), administration - defense - service (Jasper, Alberta) and transportation or construction (Gander, Newfoundland). For a detailed survey see Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., Appendix 1, p. 289.
  19. Gilbert A. Stelter also attempts to delineate the pattern of resource based single enterprise communities in "The Urban Frontier in Canadian History", Cities in the West: Papers of the Western Canadian Urban History Conference, edited by A.R. McCormack and Ian MacPherson, October, 1974.
  20. Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., p. 5.
  21. For a detailed description of these regions see N.L. Nicholson and Z.W. Sametz, "The Region of Canada and the Regional Concept", Resources for Tomorrow, Ottawa 1961, pp. 367-383.
  22. The Canadian Shield which comprises almost half of the land area of Canada, stretching westward from Labrador to Alberta and the North West Territories, consists of scattered areas of settlement.

23. As the oil and natural gas wealth of the Interior Plains Region - which includes the prairie portion of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba - becomes increasingly more important it may result in the growth of its single enterprise communities.
24. See; Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., Appendix 1, p. 289.
25. The reference to 1576 refers to Sir Martin Frobisher's expedition while 1659 designates Radisson and des Groseillier's fur finding mission into the area west of Lake Superior.
26. See; Thomas Button in F.H. Shofield, The Story of Manitoba, Vol. 1, Winnipeg, 1913, p. 32.
27. D.M. Duncan, A History of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, Toronto, 1908, p. 55.
28. H.A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History, revised ed., Toronto, 1973, p. 34.
29. F.H. Kitto, Manitoba Canada, Its Resources and Development, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 1918, p. 18.
30. Margaret McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones, Toronto, 1928, p. 63.
31. Charles R. Tuttle, Our Northland, Toronto, 1885, p. 23.
32. Ibid., p. 446.
33. The fishing industry also made great strides as a result of the rail line to the south. For an example of its growth see; H.C. Grant, The Commercial Fishing Industry of Manitoba, Economic Survey Board, Province of Manitoba, April, 1938.
34. Russ Rothney, "A Brief Economic History of Northern Manitoba", p. 36.
35. Morris Zaslow, The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870-1914, Toronto, 1971, p. 219.
36. John Warkentin (ed.) The Western Interior of Canada, 1964, p. 146.
37. Manitoba, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, First Annual Report on Mines and Minerals, 1928, p. 15.
38. See; The Report of the Royal Commission on the Transfer of the Natural Resources of Manitoba, 1929.
39. Morris Zaslow, op. cit.; p. 221. For further details of Campbells involvement in the north see John A. Campbell, Papers and Correspondence, Manitoba Provincial Archives.
40. See; Figure 3, The Mining Districts of Northern Manitoba.



41. See; J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXXV, March 1954, p. 30.
42. Isaac Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, Toronto, 1913, p. 143.
43. Russ Rothney, op. cit., p. 14.
44. Billie Lamb Allen, Dew Upon the Grass, Saskatoon, 1963, p. 31.
45. See; George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p. 5.
46. Manitoba, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, First Annual Report on Mines and Minerals, 1928, p. 48.
47. F.H. Kitto, The Hudson Bay Region, p. 31.
48. Ibid., p. 28.
49. See; Schist Lake discovery in F.H. Kitto, The Hudson Bay Region, p. 31.  
; Flin Flon Lake discovery in Manitoba, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, First Annual Report, p. 48.
50. There is some confusion as to whether or not Creighton and company were actually the discoverers of the Flin Flon orebody. It is believed by many that an Indian guide named David Collins, brought the orebody to the attention of Creighton. Creighton and company however, registered the claim while Collins eventually was credited with the discovery of the Don Jon deposit, near Thompson.  
See; Canada, Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Memoir 105, "Amisk-Athapapuskow Lake District", p. 57.  
; Canada, Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Summary Report, 1930, Part C, p. 58.  
; V. Hedman, et al., Flin Flon, p. 11.
51. Valerie Hedman, Loretta Yauck and Joyce Henderson, Flin Flon, Altona, 1974, p. 12.
52. Fasken like many of those involved in the mining frontier of northern Manitoba had interests in **the** Ontario mining field at Cobalt.
53. The Hayden-Stone interests were Charles Hayden and Galen Stone of New York. The two were American financiers who were persuaded by Hammell to invest \$50,000 in development of the property in the winter of 1915-1916. They maintained a passing interest in the Flin Flon claim until the end of 1917; see Valerie Hedman, Flin Flon, p. 18.
54. Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 16.
55. George Cole, Flin Flon, p. 55.
56. See Ernie Neelands report in Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 18.
57. Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 28.
58. Hudson Bay Herald (The Pas Herald and Mining News), September 17, 1920.

59. Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 28.
60. Siliceous flux refers to the rock that is added to an ore to assist in its reduction by heat. The process of fluxing generally prevents the formation of oxides. For a description of the material used in the fluxing process at Flin Flon see; R.C. Wallace "Mining and Mineral Prospects in Northern Manitoba", Northern Manitoba Bulletins, p. 24.
61. Ibid., p. 32.
62. George Cole, Flin Flon Mines, p. 56.
63. Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney was the son of Harry Payne Whitney - a generally well endowed entrepreneur who had a large interest in North American mining speculation. The data compiled by Scott Turner and other mining Corporations of Canada engineers was first received by H.P. Whitney and then forwarded to Roscoe Henry Channing who was in charge of the Whitney mining interests. Channing verified the potential of the Flin Flon claim, which then prompted the sending of C.V. Whitney to Flin Flon to negotiate with the Mining Corporation of Canada.
64. Ibid., p. 56.
65. Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 39.
66. George Cole, op. cit., p. 62.
67. For a complete account of the process see; United States, Bureau of Mines Technical Paper No. 499, "Treating a Complex Ore".
68. George Cole; op. cit., p. 63.
69. The Newmont Mining Corporation was an American firm with headquarters in Delaware. Harry Payne Whitney was the instrumental party that brought them into the partnership of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. The Whitney interests retained a 50% share of the partnership while the Newmont Mining Corporation held 35% and the Mining Corporation of Canada 15%. For details see; George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, p. 3.
70. F.H. Kitto, The Hudson Bay Region, p. 31.
71. See Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Limited, Department of Corporate Affairs.
72. Ibid.
73. George Cole, op. cit., p. 17.
74. It would appear as if the Mining Corporation of Canada was influential in this decision to locate the head office at Woodstock.

75. It has been estimated that over 1,000 men were involved in the process of transporting and constructing the mill facilities at the camp in 1927.
76. Valerie Hedman, Flin Flon, p. 74.
77. Ibid., p. 34.
78. The Community Development Company originally functioned as an arm of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. It was essentially the parent Company's method of establishing living accommodation for its employees. The Community Development Company did not become a significant organization, itself, until 1931 when the workers of the Flin Flon camp filled elected positions on its board. It agreed in principle with the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company in July of 1931 to carry out the organization and administration of the townsite. For details see; Valerie Hedman, Flin Flon, p. 74.

## Chapter Two

1. The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company is also referred to as the H.B.M. and S. or the Company throughout the text of the study.
2. The term "facilities" is meant to apply to a wide range of Company produced elements, including the community itself.
3. The "overburden" refers to the material that covered the orebody, i.e., mud and clay.
4. Northern Lights, Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Ltd., Special Edition, June 1977, p. 20.
5. W.A. Green, "Construction Work at Flin Flon", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p. 86.
6. Ibid., p. 86.
7. Northern Lights, H.B.M. and S., Special Edition, June 1977, p. 20.
8. Estimated pump output for the period of drainage was roughly 4 billion gallons. For details see; M.A. Roche, "Flin Flon Oper Pit", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p. 91.
9. M.A. Roche and J.P. Caulfield, "Mining Methods and Problems at Flin Flon", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p.91.
10. George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p. 129.
11. R.E. Phelan, "History of Flin Flon Mine up to Construction", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p. 70.
12. J.D. Carr and M.K.T. Reikie, "The Flin Flon Zinc Plant", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938.
13. J.H. Ambrose, "The Flin Flon Copper Smelter", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p. 402.
14. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, John Bracken Collection, "Premier's Office Correspondence", Box 22.
15. Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Ltd., Annual Reports, First Annual, December 31, 1928.
16. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, John Bracken Collection, "Premier's Office Correspondence", Box 25.
17. Some 19 miles of portage roads as well as docks and barges were built in the summer and fall of 1928. For details see; W.A. Green, "History of Development and Organization at the Flin Flon Mine", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p. 4.
18. George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p. 127.

19. There is some question as to the exact date when electricity was introduced to Flin Flon from Island Falls. The date of April 1930 is based on a report by W.A. Green, General Superintendent for H.B.M. and S. For details see; W.A. Green, "Construction Work at Flin Flon", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p. 78.
20. W.A. Green, "History of Development and Organization at the Flin Flon Mine", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p. 6.
21. W.A. Green, "Construction Work at Flin Flon; in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, 1938, p. 86.
22. R.W. Davis and M.F. Huffaber, "Island Falls Power Development on the Churchill River", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, p. 486.
23. Manitoba. Statutes. 16 Geo. V., C. 39. "An Act Authorizing the Granting of Aid to a Railway into the Flin Flon Mines".
24. The Pas Herald and Mining News, November 18, 1927.
25. The Manitoba Northern Railway Company was a subsidiary of the Canadian National Railway.
26. The original summer route from The Pas was by way of the Saskatchewan River to Sturgeon Landing and then by canoe to Flin Flon Lake, the total distance being 130 miles by steamboat and 60 miles by canoe. This route was shortened by a summer road, 17 miles in length built by the Provincial government from Sturgeon Landing to Lake Athapapuskow. The winter road, a total of 90 miles in length, was the most frequently used route for the transportation of freight.
27. Valerie Hedman, Loretta Yauck and Joyce Henderson, Flin Flon, Altona, 1974, p. 64.
28. The Prospector and Northern Manitoban, September 28, 1928.
29. H.B.M. and S., Annual Reports, First Annual, December 31, 1928.
30. See; Field Notes of Township 67, Range 29W., "Survey of Proposed Townsite of Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Ltd.", by J. Waldron, March 14-April 22, 1928.
31. See; Report of the Royal Commission on the Transfer of the Natural Resources of Manitoba, 1929.
32. The Pas Herald and Mining News, January 11, 1929.
33. The 1929 agreement refers to the attempt by the Provincial government to implement the Federal governments plan of developing a community under the auspices of the C.N.R.
34. The Royal Bank for example was moved by Linn tractor to a new site because it stood in the way of a shaft sinking project in 1928.
35. Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 78.

36. The Pas Herald and Mining News, February 1, 1929.
37. This also included the administration of Cranberry Portage and Sheridan. For details see; The Northern Mail, May 30, 1929.
38. Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 62.
39. Flin Flon Archives, "Old Flin Flon Mine", The Mineral Frontier 1927-32, unpublished paper by Raymond B. Aboud, February 1972.
40. The Northern Mail, April 24, 1929.
41. Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 77.
42. The "Tobacco Road" or "Halfway" district was on the Saskatchewan side of the border, opposite the temporary townsite.
43. This is based on a memorandum written by W.A. Green, General Superintendent, on December 4, 1944.
44. Flin Flon Archives, File; Board of Trade, 1929-1948.
45. The Northern Mail, May 3, 1930.
46. The Northern Mail, October 31, 1930.
47. According to the H.B.M. and S. Annual Report of 1930, they had planned to implement the move in the fall of 1930.
48. Flin Flon Miner, April 2, 1931.
49. Flin Flon Miner, April 2, 1931.
50. Flin Flon Miner, July 9, 1931.
51. Minutes of the Responsible Authority for the Flin Flon Town Planning Scheme, 1932.
52. The appointment of representatives from the community appears to have been an after thought as they were included by a rider which was attached to the original order.
53. A copy of the indenture was located in the Flin Flon Town Hall.
54. Flin Flon Miner, October 22, 1931.
55. The Community Development Company is also referred to as the C.D.C. throughout the text of the study.
56. Flin Flon Miner, November 5, 1931.
57. Flin Flon Miner, February 25, 1932.

58. Ibid., April 21, 1932.
59. The Pas Herald and Mining News, February 1, 1929.
60. Flin Flon Miner, January 18, 1930.
61. Ibid.
62. Only one reference to the amount of rent paid for the use of Company property was located and that set the figure at fifty cents per month. For details see; Flin Flon Miner, September 3, 1931.
63. Flin Flon Miner, March 5, 1931.
64. See list of businesses in Valerie Hedman, op. cit., pp. 75-76.
65. Flin Flon Miner, March 5, 1931.
66. Flin Flon Archives, File; R.C.M.P.
67. Flin Flon Miner, March 22, 1929.
68. Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 75.
69. The Northern Mail, June 5, 1929.
70. The Pas Herald and Mining News, February 1, 1929.
71. Flin Flon Miner, March 5, 1931.
72. The Northern Mail, September 27, 1929.
73. See; school and medical facilities in Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 77. ; recording office in The Northern Mail, November 29, 1929.
74. See for example the question of regulating business hours in the community; Flin Flon Miner, May 28, 1931.
75. A copy of the charter was located in the Flin Flon Town Hall.
76. Flin Flon Miner, July 15, 1932.
77. In lieu of this arrangement, whereby the mine became exempt from providing funding to the community, the H.B.M. and S. was required to pay to the school district a sum equivalent to 25% of the cost of education each year.
78. Flin Flon Miner, September 3, 1931.
79. See; business and warehouse lots in Flin Flon Miner, February 8, 1932. ; time payments in Flin Flon Miner, September 3, 1931.
80. Flin Flon Miner, February 18, 1932.

81. Ibid., February 18, 1932.
82. Ibid., April 21, 1932.
83. Ibid., July 5, 1932.
84. Ibid., December 1, 1932.
85. Ibid., March 16, 1933.
86. See for example; Flin Flon Miner, August 18, 1932.
87. Flin Flon Miner, September 10, 1931.
88. See licensing in; Flin Flon Miner, March 10, 1932.
89. Flin Flon Miner, March 10, 1932.
90. Ibid., January 5, 1933.
91. Ibid., November 3, 1932.
92. Ibid., January 9, 1931.
93. Manitoba, Sessional Paper Number 37, "Copies of Petition and all Correspondence . . . . Relative to the Incorporation of Flin Flon as a Municipal District", March 17, 1933.
94. Ibid.
95. Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 85.
96. An interesting reference was found in an editorial of the Flin Flon Miner which suggested that in the spring of 1933 that "men" - presumably members of the Ratepayers Association - were afraid "to speak their mind lest they lose their jobs". For details see; Flin Flon Miner, April 16, 1933.
97. Flin Flon Miner, July 20, 1933.
98. Ibid., August 3, 1933.
99. A copy of "An Act Respecting the Municipal District of Flin Flon", dated August 15, 1933 was located in the Flin Flon Town Hall.
100. A copy of the amendments, dated October 2, 1934 was located in the Flin Flon Town Hall.
101. Manitoba Statutes. 24 Geo. V., C. 76. "An Act Respecting the Municipal District of Flin Flon".
102. Minutes of the Responsible Authority for the Flin Flon Town Planning Scheme, 1933.



103. Minutes of the Municipal Council, January 2, 1935.
104. Ibid., October 4, 1933.
105. Flin Flon Miner, September 21, 1933.
106. Municipal District of Flin Flon By-Laws, November 15, 1933 - December 18, 1961, By-law Number 2 - Number 5.
107. Flin Flon Miner, October 19, 1933.
108. Ibid., December 14, 1933.
109. See for example; Municipal District of Flin Flon By-laws, By-law Number 6, December 13, 1933, which deals with the industrial district.
110. Flin Flon Miner, December 29, 1933.
111. Ibid., February 14, 1934.
112. Ibid., April 12, 1934.
113. Ibid., July 24, 1934.
114. See reference note 78 for education agreement.
115. Minutes of the Municipal Council, May 23, 1934.
116. The figure of 270 men in the camp during the winter was located in a report of The Pas Herald and Mining News, March 2, 1928.
117. H.B.M. and S., Annual Reports, Fifth Annual, December 31, 1932.
118. It is "difficult" to make an accurate assessment because even the census material does not distinguish between the community and the district.
119. W.B. Paton, "Safety and Welfare at Flin Flon", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, p. 311.
120. See examples of English classes in; The Northern Mail, November 4, 1929, January 18, 1930, January 22, 1930.
121. See for examples the Sons of Norway Lodge in The Northern Mail, March 19, 1930 or the "Vasa Order" Lodge in The Northern Mail, April 26, 1930.
122. R.E. Phelan, "History of Flin Flon Mine Up to Construction", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, p. 80.
123. The Northern Mail, June 23, 1930.
124. Ibid., November 3, 1932.
125. R.E. Phelan, "History of Flin Flon Mine Up to Construction", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, p. 80.

126. The Northern Mail, January 5, 1933.
127. Interestingly enough the first R.C.M.P. detachment occupied a building owned by the H.B.M. and S.
128. The bawdy house story in the Flin Flon community presents a rather intriguing tale. It was suggested by Val Hedman, on the basis of her research for Flin Flon, that a number of local dignitaries were involved in the trade. Included in this number were a one time police chief as well as members of council.
129. This was "Duffy's Hospital", of which evidence can be found in the photograph section of P.A.M.
130. The Northern Mail, January 18, 1930.
131. W.B. Paton, "Safety and Welfare at Flin Flon", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, p. 318.
132. The Northern Mail, October 1, 1930.
133. Ibid., October 23, 1929.
134. Also included in the list of temporary classrooms was the Anglican Church, Salvation Army Church and the Pioneer Store.
135. Approximately, 150 men attended the first organized service. For details see; Valerie Hedman, op. cit., p. 309.
136. Minutes of the Flin Flon Community Club, October 1, 1930 - January 26, 1943, January 29, 1931.
137. Ibid., June 25, 1931.
138. A copy of the Flin Flon Community Club charter was located in the Flin Flon Town Hall. The underlying "W.A.S.P." theme found within, seems to be connected to the H.B.M. and S., as over the years 1927-1946 it can be observed on three or four different occasions. One of course is this reference to "any white male", a second referred to the H.B.M. and S. refusal to allow Japanese labour to build the road from The Pas, a third was their continued effort against "communists" and a fourth was their treatment of "believed" Nazis in the community during W.W. II. All of this is reflective of the Company's belief, that in the final analysis, it was H.B.M. and S. responsibility to maintain the character of "its" community.
139. See a general description of each in; Valerie Hedman, op. cit., pp. 259-308.

## Chapter Three

1. This reference to a campaign against the "company town" reflects the sentiments of The Pas newspapers. For details see; The Pas Herald and Mining News, December 7, 1928; The Northern Mail, April 18, 1929, April 24, 1929.
2. The Northern Mail, May 20, 1929.
3. The Flin Flon Miner, April 6, 1933.
4. The actual figure on how many men were involved in the strike is at best an approximation. The H.B.M. and S. employed on the average 900-1,300 workers in 1934. With the exception of management personnel and those who stayed on the job to prevent the destruction of property, all heeded the call to strike. It was estimated by the Labour Gazette that 1,073 men were actually involved in the walkout. For details see; The Labour Gazette, Vol. XXXIV, 1934, p. 625.
5. The Northern Mail, June 23, 1934.
6. Ibid., May 20, 1929.
7. The Flin Flon Miner, April 26, 1934.
8. The Northern Mail, June 30, 1930.
9. This refers to the July 14, 1930 visit of J.S. Woodsworth and T.W. Bird. For details see; The Northern Mail, July 14, 1930.
10. The Labour Leader, May 23, 1935.
11. See; Flin Flon Miners Association in The Flin Flon Miner, February 18, 1932.  
; Northern Manitoba Prospectors Association in The Flin Flon Miner, March 5, 1931.
12. The Northern Mail, June 23, 1930.
13. The Independent Labour Party shall also be referred to as the I.L.P.
14. This assumption is based on the fact that no further reference was found to indicate that the union actually was formed. It could therefore be suggested, based on the Company's treatment of the question of unionization, that the H.B.M. and S. would have done everything in its power to disuade its growth. For details see; The Northern Mail, June 23, 1930.
15. The Northern Mail, June 23, 1934.
16. This is based on an interview with Mitchi Sago. For details see; Irving Abella, David Millar (editors), The Canadian Worker in the Twentieth Century, Toronto: 1978, pp. 277-280.

17. Ibid., p. 279.
18. The Northern Mail, June 23, 1934.
19. Ibid., June 12, 1934.
20. This did not mean that the miners dominated the community's commissioners on the C.D.C. On the contrary, the first representatives to the Board of Commissioners appointed by the community, consisted of two business men and one community employee.
21. The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.
22. The Northern Mail, June 23, 1934.
23. The Flin Flon Miner, June 21, 1934.
24. Ibid., June 21, 1934.
25. Ibid., June 14, 1934.
26. Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company, Annual Report, 1931-1933.
27. Relief expenditure had increased from \$5,777.64 in the period October 1, 1930 - March, 1933 to \$12,681.65 in the period April 1, 1933 - March, 1934. For details see; Manitoba, Department of Labour, Annual Reports, "Review of Unemployment and Relief", 1935, p. 3.
28. The Flin Flon Miner, December 14, 1934.
29. Ibid., June 21, 1934.
30. Ibid., April 12, 1934.
31. Manitoba, Department of Labour, Annual Reports, "Review of Unemployment and Relief", 1935, p. 3.
32. V. Hedman, L. Yauck, J. Henderson, Flin Flon, Altona: 1974, p. 123.
33. Winnipeg Evening Tribune, June 11, 1934.
34. See interview with M. Sago in Irving Abella, David Millar (editors), The Canadian Worker in the Twentieth Century, Toronto: 1972, p. 278.
35. The Workers Unity League shall also be referred to as the W.U.L.
36. S.M. Jamieson, Times of Trouble, Ottawa: 1968, p. 229.
37. Irving Abella, op. cit., p. 279.
38. The Mine Workers Union of Canada shall also be referred to as the M.W.U.C.
39. S.M. Jamieson, op. cit., p. 235.
40. Canada, Department of Labour, Labour Organizations in Canada, Ottawa: 1934, p. 138.

41. D.J. deBeer, The Flin Flon Strike, 1934 (unpublished paper), p. 3.
42. The Northern Mail, June 12, 1934.
43. Winnipeg Evening Tribune, June 11, 1934.
44. The Flin Flon Miner, June 9, 1934.
45. The seven demands of the strike committee have been paraphrased from The Flin Flon Miner, June 9, 1934.
46. The Labour Gazette, Vol. XXXIV, 1934, p. 625.
47. The Northern Mail, June 11, 1934.
48. The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.
49. Ibid., June 14, 1934.
50. Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
51. Ibid., Number 808.
52. Ibid., Number 807.
53. Again based on the Bracken interviews, examples of threats of "tar and feathering" or getting "licked", as well as a claim by the German Canadian League that most German employees "didn't know what they signed", were located. For details see; Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
54. See; union officials in The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.  
; Bracken interviews in the Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
55. The Flin Flon Miner, June 9, 1934.
56. Ibid., June 14, 1934.
57. Ibid., June 14, 1934.
58. The merchants eventually went on a cash only basis.
59. The Northern Mail, June 12, 1934.
60. Winnipeg Free Press, June 11, 1934.
61. The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.
62. Ibid., June 28, 1934.
63. Ibid., June 14, 1934.
64. The Northern Mail, June 12, 1934.

65. Ibid., June 12, 1934.
66. Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
67. See for example Estevan Saskatchewan or Corbin British Columbia in S.M. Jamieson, Times of Trouble, pp. 220-221.
68. The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.
69. Ibid., June 14, 1934.
70. Ibid., June 14, 1934.
71. The six points of the Company's position have been paraphrased from The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.
72. The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.
73. See; The Flin Flon Miner, June 11-13, 1934.
74. The Flin Flon Miner, June 21, 1934.
75. Ibid., June 14, 1934.
76. This was based on a report in The Cobalt Northern Miner, referred to in The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.
77. This is at best an estimate.
78. Gold had risen from \$20.67 in 1929 to \$35.00 per ounce in 1934. Copper had fallen from 16¢ a pound in 1929 to 8¢ in 1934 - this however was still a rise of 3 1/2¢ over what it had been. Similar proportional changes also held true for zinc and silver. See for details; Winnipeg Free Press, June 11, 1934.
79. The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.
80. Ibid., June 14, 1934.
81. See both the initial letter and the replies in The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.
82. Minutes of the Municipal Council, June 11, 1934.
83. See a copy of the transcript in The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.
84. The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.
85. This is based on the report of the Department of Labour in Labour Organization in Canada, Ottawa, 1932.
86. Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
87. Winnipeg Evening Tribune, June 11, 1934.

88. Ibid., June 12, 1934.
89. Winnipeg Free Press, July 11, 1934.
90. See; B. Stitt in The Flin Flon Miner, June 14, 1934.  
; W.J. Price in The Northern Mail, June 15, 1934.  
; R. Webb in The Northern Mail, June 23, 1934.
91. The Northern Mail, June 23, 1934.
92. Marlowe had arrived in Flin Flon on June 23 while Zuken was present by June 16.
93. See for example; The Northern Mail, June 15, 1934.
94. The Flin Flon Miner, June 21, 1934.
95. Ibid., June 21, 1934.
96. Ibid., June 21, 1934.
97. Ibid., June 21, 1934.
98. Ibid., June 21, 1934.
99. The Northern Mail, June 21, 1934.
100. Winnipeg Evening Tribune, June 27, 1934.
101. Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
102. See; leaving town in Winnipeg Evening Tribune, June 16, 1934.  
; resignations in Winnipeg Free Press, June 29, 1934.
103. The Northern Mail, June 25, 1934.
104. Ibid., June 26, 1934.
105. The Flin Flon Miner, June 28, 1934.
106. Ibid., July 2, 1934.
107. V. Hedman, op. cit., p. 126.
108. Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
109. Winnipeg Free Press, July 9, 1934.
110. The Flin Flon Miner, July 5, 1934.
111. Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
112. Winnipeg Free Press, July 7, 1934.

113. The Flin Flon Miner, July 5, 1934.
114. Ibid., July 5, 1934.
115. Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Numbers 807, 808.
116. Ibid., Number 807.
117. Ibid., Number 807.
118. The Flin Flon Miner, July 12, 1934.
119. Ibid., July 12, 1934.
120. Alderman Penner of Winnipeg was one of the driving forces behind this effort to reorganize the union. For details see; The Flin Flon Miner, July 12, 1934.
121. Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
122. The Flin Flon Miner, July 19, 1934.
123. Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
124. Ibid., Number 807.
125. The Flin Flon Miner, July 26, 1934.
126. The Northern Mail, July 16, 1934.
127. The Flin Flon Miner, July 26, 1934.
128. Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
129. See; The Northern Mail, October 30 - November 13, 1934.



## Chapter Four

1. The figure of two hundred men is at best an estimate. It is based on a report from the local unit of the Mine Workers Union of Canada as well as on a letter located in the Bracken Papers, from a M.W.U.C. member to his parents in British Columbia. The M.W.U.C. report suggested that "approximately 170 men" were "discriminated against" while the union member's correspondence maintains that the figure was closer to two hundred.  
See; M.W.U.C. report in the Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, File 807.  
; correspondence in the Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, File 807.
2. W.B. Paton, "Safety and Welfare at Flin Flon", in George Cole, Flin Flon Mine, p. 312.
3. See R.C.M.P. control of freedom in the strike bound community in Valerie Hedman, et al., Flin Flon, p. 124.
4. See; the telegram from Phelan to the Honourable W. Major, Attorney General in the Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, File 807.
5. Examples of borrowing to meet municipal obligations were located in the Municipal District By-laws. Figures of \$1,000, \$1,500, \$2,000 and \$3,800 were borrowed from the Imperial Bank of Commerce on various occasions. See; Municipal District of Flin Flon By-laws, Numbers 40, 66, 104 and 115.
6. Flin Flon Miner, October 4, 1934.
7. It is difficult to assess the total amount of revenue lost by the H.B.M. and S. due to the shut down. Not even the H.B.M. and S. Annual Reports, make mention of what the strike cost the Company in terms of lost profits. Based however on production figures, it is possible to determine that roughly 132,000 tons of ore went unprocessed in the thirty day period.
8. Manitoba, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Annual Report for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1935, p. 115.
9. The Northern Mail, July 26, 1934.
10. Flin Flon Miner, July 26, 1934.
11. Ibid., July 26, 1934.
12. Ibid., October 4, 1934.
13. The Canadian Labour Defense League shall also be referred to as the C.L.D.L.
14. Flin Flon Miner, March 14, 1935.
15. Ibid., March 14, 1935.

16. Ibid., February 21, 1935.
17. A prime example would be Peter McSheffrey - a later day Mayor of Flin Flon.
18. Flin Flon Miner, May 6, 1935.
19. Ibid., June 13, 1935.
20. It appears as if the "Employees Welfare Board" was interchangeable with the "Workmens Welfare Board".
21. Manitoba, Department of Labour, Annual Report for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1935, p. 24.
22. Flin Flon Miner, May 2, 1935.
23. Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Ltd., Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1935.
24. Flin Flon Miner, June 16, 1936.
25. Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Ltd., Annual Reports, 1937-1942.
26. Ibid., for the year ending December 31, 1942.
27. See; farmers in H.B.M. and S., Annual Reports for the year ending December 31, 1942.  
; legislation for women, Order in Council 715, June 21, 1942.
28. H.B.M. and S., Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1942.
29. Ibid., for the years ending December 31, 1944 and December 31, 1945.
30. Ibid., for the year ending December 31, 1946.
31. Manitoba, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Annual Report for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1942, p. 84.
32. Cited from the Union News in the Flin Flon Miner, December 19, 1936.
33. Flin Flon Miner, February 3, 1944.
34. Ibid., April 20, 1944.
35. Ibid., July 6, 1944.
36. Ibid., July 27, 1944.
37. Canada, Department of Labour, Labour Organizations in Canada, 1944, pp. 30-58.
38. Manitoba, Sessional Papers, 1944, Number 47.

39. Flin Flon Miner, April 5, 1945.
40. Canada, Department of Labour, Labour Organizations in Canada, 1946, pp. 38-42.
41. Flin Flon Miner, October 4, 1934.
42. A listing of Community Club members for November 30, 1935 shows 1,211 members of which 1,160 are H.B.M. and S. employees and 51 are town members.
43. This particularly refers to poor credit management. See the odd editorial in the Flin Flon Miner, April 19, 1934 - June 7, 1934.
44. Flin Flon Miner, September 21 and 28, 1935.
45. Ibid., May 16, 1936.
46. Ibid., February 22, 1936.
47. Ibid., September 6, 1934.
48. Ibid., January 5, 1937.
49. Northern Lights, Vol. 4, No. 5, November 1945, p. 8.
50. Northern Mail, January 18, 1980.
51. Northern Lights, Vol. 4, No. 5, November 1945, p. 9.
52. Ibid., p. 9.
53. Ibid., pp 10-12.
54. George Mainwaring, "The God that Speaks: Story of Northern Manitoba", p. 91.
55. This increased demand is illustrated through a declaration in 1940 of H.B.M. and S. operations becoming an "essential service". See; The Canada Gazette, No. 12, Vol. LXXIV, September 21, 1940, pp. 977-978.
56. H.B.M. and S., Annual Reports for the years ending December 31, 1935 - December 31, 1946.
57. Northern Lights, Special Edition - Golden Jubilee Issue, June 1977.
58. Manitoba, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Annual Reports for the fiscal years ending April 30, 1936 - April 30, 1946.
59. Northern Lights, Special Edition - Golden Jubilee Issue, June 1977, p. 26.
60. Ibid., p. 27.
61. Ibid., p. 30.

62. The Northern Mail, January 15, 1942.
63. Northern Lights, Special Edition - Golden Jubilee Issue, June 1977, p. 36.
64. Manitoba. Statutes. 3 Geo. VI., C. 97. "An Act Respecting the distribution of Electrical Energy in The Municipal District of Flin Flon".
65. H.B.M. and S., Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1939.
66. In 1943 for example the H.B.M. and S. contributed \$7,500 towards the education costs of Flin Flon.
67. The most significant donation being that of \$37,000 as an out right gift. See; Flin Flon Miner, February 5, 1942.
68. Flin Flon Miner, August 24, 1935.
69. Valerie Hedman, Loretta Yauck and Joyce Henderson, Flin Flon, p. 216.
70. Flin Flon Miner, September 6, 1934.
71. Ibid., September 20, 1934.
72. See, for example; Flin Flon Miner, June 13, 1935 and July 20, 1935.
73. Northern Lights, Vol. 4, No. 5, November 1945, p. 12.
74. H.B.M. and S., Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1939.
75. Minutes of Council, February 5, 1936 and July 19, 1939.
76. Ibid., July 17, 1935.
77. Ibid., February 21, 1944.
78. Taken from a letter from Steventon to the H.B.M. and S. dated February 21, 1944 and located in Flin Flon Town Hall under file marked H.B.M. and S.
79. Flin Flon Miner, August 9, 1945.
80. Northern Lights, Special Edition - Golden Jubilee Issue, June 1977, p. 37.
81. H.B.M. and S., Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1945.
82. Minutes of Council, July 12, 1939.
83. Ibid., September 19, 1940.
84. Ibid., October 4, 1943.
85. Flin Flon Town Hall Records, H.B.M. and S. File, Memorandum dated November 29, 1934.

86. Flin Flon Miner, April 19, 1934.
87. Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, File 807.
88. Flin Flon Miner, September 13, 1934.
89. See the letter from V.H. Campbell, District Engineer of the Department of Public Works to Bracken, dated July 25, 1934 in the Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, File 807.
90. This included wood cutting, street work and cleaning projects.
91. Flin Flon Miner, September 6, 1934.
92. See for example; the Flin Flon Miner, March 28, 1934.
93. Flin Flon Miner, October 30, 1941.
94. Census of The Prairie Provinces, 1946, Vol. 1, Population.
95. See; 1934 figure in the Flin Flon Miner, April 11, 1935.  
; 1946 figure in V. Hedman et al., Flin Flon, p. 216.
96. H.B.M. and S., and Municipal hospitalization plans developed separately but they gave dual services to the community.
97. Flin Flon Miner, March 28, 1935.
98. Ibid., July 20, 1935.
99. Ibid., August 10, 1935.
100. Ibid., November 9, 1935.
101. Ibid., September 7, 1935 and September 21, 1935.
102. Ibid., September 7, 1935.
103. See for example; the Flin Flon Miner August 11, 1938 and October 20, 1938.
104. By 1938 there were 157 automobiles registered in Flin Flon.
105. Flin Flon Miner, February 8, 1936.
106. See the letter from The Pas Board of Trade to Bracken dated March 14, 1936 in the Bracken Papers, Box 121, File 1341.
107. Flin Flon Miner, February 8, 1936.
108. Regina Leader Post, March 11, 1936.
109. Ibid., March 12, 1936.
110. Flin Flon Miner, February 22, 1936.

111. Regina Leader Post, March 11, 1936.
112. This is rather interesting as the provincial government had previously granted \$8,000 to the Municipal District for the extension of municipal roads in the direction of the proposed all-Manitoba highway and yet they refused to commit themselves to its actual construction.
113. Swan River Star and Times, March 12, 1936.
114. Flin Flon Miner, July 7, 1938.
115. Ibid., February 2, 1939.
116. Ibid., April 6, 1939.
117. This refers primarily to the interest of cities such as Minot in the Number 10 Highway proposal. See for example; Flin Flon Miner, May 30, 1940.
118. Ibid., February 26, 1942.
119. Minutes of Council, March 2, 1942.
120. Ibid., February 7, 1935.
121. Ibid., June 3, 1936.
122. Ibid., April 1, 1937.
123. Ibid., February 2, 1942.
124. Flin Flon Miner, October 19, 1935.
125. Ibid., August 21, 1937.
126. Minutes of Council, October 8, 1937.
127. Most specifically schooling.
128. Minutes of Council, May 13, 1936.
129. The Northern Mail, February 19, 1935.
130. Flin Flon Miner, August 25, 1938.
131. Ibid., November 6, 1941.
132. Ibid., July 22, 1942.
133. Ibid., November 9, 1944.
134. Regina Leader Post, November 29, 1944.
135. Flin Flon Miner, January 18, 1945.

136. See agreement in the Flin Flon Miner, April 19, 1945.
137. This is based on a letter from S.W. Horrall, R.C.M.P. Historian dated April 12, 1972, located in the Flin Flon Archives.
138. Flin Flon Town Hall Records, Police File, 1934-1946.
139. Municipal District of Flin Flon by-laws, Number 99, July 7, 1937.
140. Flin Flon Miner, August 22, 1933
141. See the school table in Valerie Hedman et al., Flin Flon, p. 216.
142. Flin Flon Miner, May 30, 1935.
143. Ibid., June 26, 1939.
144. Ibid., June 18, 1936.
145. Ibid., October 11, 1934.
146. Ibid., June 13, 1935.
147. Ibid., January 28, 1943.
148. Ibid., May 22, 1937.
149. Manitoba, Department of Health and Public Welfare, Annual Report, 1936-1937, p. 153.
150. The Company Hospital was of course financed by the H.B.M. and S., the private hospital of Dr. P.C. Robertson was much like a clinic established by Robertson himself and the General Hospital was operated by the Sisters of Charity.
151. V. Hedman et al., Flin Flon, p. 203.
152. Minutes of Council, October 1, 1945.
153. Manitoba. Statutes. 9 Geo. VI., 77. "An Act Respecting the Municipal District of Flin Flon".

## Chapter Five

1. These factors were suggested as primary factors involved in the definition of the single enterprise community by the Queens University, Institute of Local Government report, Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, 1953. With one or two modifications they tend to represent the accepted norm in studies of single enterprise communities, see for example; James B. Allen, The Company Town in the American West, University of Oklahoma Press; 1966; Rex Lucas, Minetown, Milltown, Railtown, University of Toronto Press; 1971; V.J. Parker, The Planned Non-Permanent Community: An Approach to the Development of New Towns Based in Mining Activity, 1957; Ira M. Robinson, "New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier", University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 73, 1962; Harry W. Walker, "Canadian New Towns", Community Planning Review, Vol. 4, 1954.
2. The Pas Herald and Mining News, February 1, 1929.
3. Minutes of the Responsible Authority for the Flin Flon Town Planning Scheme, 1952.
4. A copy of its authorization was located in the Flin Flon Town Hall.
5. Manitoba, Statutes of Manitoba, Vol. I & II, 1934 and 1935, Chapter 76, "An Act Respecting the Municipal District of Flin Flon".
6. "Town of Flin Flon Urban Renewal Study", Reid, Crowthers and Partners, 1966-1967, p. 32.
7. Minutes of Council, October 8, 1937.
8. Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, A Report by the Institute of Local Government, Queens University, 1953, p. 3.
9. Ibid., p. 96.
10. The Northern Mail, January 18, 1930.
11. Ibid., January 18, 1930.
12. The Flin Flon Miner, August 9, 1945.
13. Ibid., September 3, 1931.
14. This definition is a paraphrasing of two fairly authoritative studies, see; Daniel Creamer, "Legislation on Company Stores in The United States", American Federationist, April 1936, Vol. 43, No. 4, p. 365.; Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., p. 148.
15. Valerie Hedman, Loretta Yauck and Joyce Henderson, Flin Flon, Altona, 1974, p. 72.
16. Ibid., p. 76.



17. J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXXV, March 1954, p. 30.
18. An example would be O.H. Lamont who bought out Jack Hone's general merchandise store in 1930.
19. This assessment is based upon a general categorization of major activities in Flin Flon. It loosely corresponds to leisure time activity suggested in Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., p. 169.
20. Minutes of the Flin Flon Community Club, October 1, 1930.
21. Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., p. 191.
22. V. Hedman, op. cit., p. 307.
23. This refers to both the executive of the Community Club and the Employees Welfare Board. Each required a predominance of white, British subjects.
24. Referring again to the executive of the C. C. and the Employees Welfare Board.
25. This refers to an "anti-Jewish campaign" within the community, thought to be instigated by the H.B.M. and S., see; The Flin Flon Miner, September 7, 1935.
26. This refers to Channings statement against "...the location of Japanese .... anywhere in this northern....", see; The Flin Flon Miner, April 9, 1942.
27. This refers to the firing of suspected "pro-Nazi" Germans by the H.B.M. and S. in May of 1940, see; Minutes of Council, May 22, 1946.
28. The Northern Mail, January 18, 1930.
29. Ibid., January 18, 1930.
30. Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., p. 203.
31. Manitoba, Department of Health and Public Welfare, Annual Report, 1944.
32. The case is made in Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, of several single enterprise communities whose library facilities are the provision of a philanthropist, see; Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., p. 198.
33. V. Hedman, op. cit., p. 208.
34. The two libraries were opened in the 1930's, one in the Rex Theatre and the other at Mile 87, see; V. Hedman, op. cit., p. 208.
35. Minutes of Council, October 17, 1933.

36. The Flin Flon Miner, July 17, 1937.
37. Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., p. 205.
38. A paraphrased copy of the agreement was located in the Flin Flon Archives, R.C.M.P. File.
39. Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., pp. 209-211.
40. The Flin Flon Miner, September 10, 1931.
41. Ibid., May 22, 1937.
42. Ibid., May 22, 1937.
43. Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, op. cit., p. 212.
44. Ibid., p. 215.
45. The first evidence of the H.B.M. and S. paying the community's electrical bill was found for the year 1935. The practise was thereafter continued on a yearly basis. See; Minutes of Council, February 5, 1936.

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