NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.
NAME OF AUTHOR/NOM DE L'AUTEUR: Peter Vasiliadis

TITLE OF THESIS/TITRE DE LA THÈSE: Dangerous Truth: Interethnic Competition in a Northeastern Ontario Goldmining Community

UNIVERSITY/UNIVERSITÉ: Simon Fraser University

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/GRADÊ POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE: Ph.D.

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADÊ: 1985

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE: Dr. Noel Dyck

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

DATED/DATÉ: January 31, 1985

PERMANENT ADDRESS/RÉSIDENCE FIXÉE: 6 Averill Crescent Willowdale, Ontario M2M 2A8
DANGEROUS TRUTH:
INTERETHNIC COMPETITION IN A NORTHEASTERN
ONTARIO GOLDMINING COMMUNITY

by

Peter Vasiliadis
B.A., University of Toronto, 1976
M.A., York University, 1978

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in the Department
of
Sociology and Anthropology

Peter Vasiliadis 1984
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
December 1984

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.
APPROVAL

NAME: PETER VASILIADIS

DEGREE: DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

TITLE OF THESIS: DANGEROUS TRUTH: INTERETHNIC COMPETITION IN A NORTHEASTERN ONTARIO GOLDMINING COMMUNITY

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

CHAIRPERSON: G. MARILYN GATES

NOEL DYCK
SENIOR SUPERVISOR

HERIBERT ADAM
EXAMINING COMMITTEE

MICHAEL KENNY
EXAMINING COMMITTEE

IAN WHITAKER
EXAMINING COMMITTEE

REGNA DARNELL
EXTERNAL EXAMINER
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

DATE APPROVED: January 29, 1985
PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend
my thesis, project or extended essay (the title of which is shown below)
to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or
single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the
library of any other university, or other educational institution, on
its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission
for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted
by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying
or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed
without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

Dangerous Truth: Interethnic Competition in a Northeastern Ontario
Goldmining Community

Author: ____________________________

(signature)

Peter Vasiliadis

(name)

January 31, 1985

(date)
ABSTRACT

DANGEROUS TRUTH:
INTERETHNIC COMPETITION IN A NORTHEASTERN
ONTARIO GOLDMINING COMMUNITY

by Peter Vasiliadis

This dissertation examines the interrelated basis of ethnicity and class within the changing framework of institutions, policies and personalities in the goldmining community of Timmins, Ontario. Principally this involves an analysis of the historical and contemporary structure of ethnic relations in correlation with local and national criteria in order to demonstrate the persistent feature of intergroup competition in this area. This study will serve to refute the traditional models of Canadian ethnic studies and provide a more complex basis for the examination of ethnic communities.

The methodology utilized is principally one of extended participant observation and large-scale interviewing within the Finnish, Croatian, Ukrainian, Italian, English and French Canadian ethnic communities in Timmins. Information gathered by these means has been correlated with archival research and local newspaper records. This permits an in-depth survey of interethnic and class relations in the community between the period 1909 to 1982.

The degree to which members of an ethnic population will subscribe to ethnic or class ideologies is shown to be altered by the shifting context within which they must operate in relation to other ethnic communities. Each community must compete with attempts by other communities to revise situationally the context and gain support for its local claims to economic
and political resources, both material (jobs and political power) and symbolic (culture and heritage). They will gain, or lose, in competition or alliance with other communities, especially in relation to national policy and dominant group control of the rules of conventional order. While the thesis shows that the competition has at different times been garbed in the clothes of class consciousness and revolution, in the new myths of the classless society and harmonious community accommodation, and now in a more explicit ethnic idiom, all are shown to be situational responses to contextual change.
Acknowledgements

Many are the number that have contributed to this study. As a start I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Professor Noel Dyck for his unflagging editorial aid and encouragement throughout the production of this dissertation. I would also wish to express my gratitude to the other members of the committee, Professor Michael Kenny and Professor Heribert Adam, for their comments as well those of Professor Gerald Gold, director of the York-Timmins Project, and my project colleagues. I also acknowledge the aid provided by the personnel of the 'Timmins Museum and National Exhibition Center' and the 'Ukrainian Historical and Cultural Museum'.

Above all I wish to make my thanks to the people of Timmins who were good enough to welcome me into their homes and offer me ready access to their thoughts and information. They were never less than courteous and kind to a questioning stranger. Without them this study would have been impossible. I hope it will be of service to them -- whatever their interests.
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF MAPS, FIGURES AND TABLES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.- INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-The Canadian Basis of Ethnicity</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Class Models of Ethnicity</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Objective Models of Ethnicity</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Subjective Models of Ethnicity</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-The Setting and The Fieldwork</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.- FOUNDATION OF THE CAMP</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-The Beginning of Interethnic Competition</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Restructuring the Camp</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Mine Domination and the Rise of Class</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Class and Ethnic Radicalism</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.- PANETHNIC CLASS SOLIDARITY</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Alliance</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Finnish and Ukrainian Socialists</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-The Union</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1912-1913 Strike</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.- THE COLLAPSE OF CLASS SOLIDARITY</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Strike Aftermath</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Desertion Under Fire</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Radical Resurgence</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ethnic Ostracism</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Anglo Reintegration</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.- THE EXTENSION OF ETHNICITY</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ethnic Hall Progressives</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ethnic Enclaves</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Gatekeeping, Blindpigging and Highgrading</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-The Founding of Workers Co-op</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.- CLASS SEGMENTATION</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Local Ethnic versus General Class Radicalism</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1928 Hollinger Fire: The Revival of Class</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-The Radical Takeover of Workers Co-op</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.- ETHNIC COMMUNITY DIVISION</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Loyalty</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Finnish Reaction</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ukrainian 'Prosvita' Organization</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Croatian Hall</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. RADICAL CONCILIATION</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Workers Co-op: Class or Ethnicity?</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Union and Town Council Activity</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- French Canadian Reaction to Radicalism</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Loyalty and Reaction</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Reconciliation</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Mine Mill Union Revival</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. POSTWAR CLASS FAILURE</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Mine Mill in Crisis</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 1953 Strike</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Ethnic Radical Failure</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. COMMUNITY BREAKDOWN AND REVIVAL</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Mine and Ethnic Decline</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- French Canadian Accomodation</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Separation</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. ELITE REACCOMMODATION</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Renegotiation</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- French Language High School</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- La Ronde</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Municipal Bilingualism and the Elite</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Museum and The Pioneers</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bilingual Symbolism</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. ETHNICITY AND THE NEW ACCOMODATION</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Ethnic Reactions to an Increasing Bilingual Framework</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Timmins Ethnic Festival Committee</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Ethnic Festival Groups</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Finnish Ethnic Association</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Croatian Hall and Cultural Committee</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Ukrainian Museum</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Mosaic Cultural Club</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. THE HERITAGE FESTIVAL</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. APPENDIX</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII. REFERENCES CITED</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIGURES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Province Of Ontario</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Northeast Ontario</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Municipality Of Timmins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Major Mines Of The Porcupine Camp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Timmins Ethnic Enclaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Organizations and Abbreviations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Town Of Timmins Institutions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ethnic Institutions In The Porcupine Camp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Mountjoy, Tisdale And Whitney Townships: Ethnic Populations 1921-1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Town Of Timmins Ethnic Population 1921-1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. The Institutional Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. The Fieldwork Experience</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This thesis examines the social, economic and political organization of ethnic communities within a Northeastern Ontario mining community. Specifically, it traces the historical and contemporary basis of ethnic competition at the community level as a continuing response both to local and national factors and interests. The main ethnographic task of the thesis is to demonstrate that, contrary to a widely held but mistaken notion (Woodsworth 1909; Porter 1965:60), social, economic and political contention has not been largely restricted to a bipartisan contest between the so-called 'charter groups' of English and French Canadians but that the so-called 'other' ethnic groups have been a persistent feature of social life in at least one Canadian community, namely, Timmins, Ontario. The chief analytical purpose of the thesis is to demonstrate how existing theoretical approaches to the study of ethnicity, here defined as a subjective socio-political and symbolic phenomenon (Cohen 1974b:94, 97), and of class, occupationally defined social conflict groups (Dahrendorf 1959:138), in Canadian society have systematically tended to overlook the existence of interethnic competition of the sort that has and continues to occur in Timmins (Ogmundson 1977:254). A more appropriate approach to the study of ethnicity is suggested and employed in this thesis.

Timmins is a major goldmining center with a population of 45,000 situated 700 kilometres north of Toronto. An examination of the scant sociological literature on Timmins (Clark 1966; 1971; 1973; Lee and Lapointe
1974; 1979) indicates the area to be evenly divided between English and French Canadian residents. But, as I soon found on beginning my fieldwork, there were also present (and unacknowledged by other researchers) longstanding ethnic communities of Italians, Finns, Ukrainians and Croatians, as well as a number of smaller ethnic communities. These ethnics (a general term I will apply to non-English and non-French Canadian ethnic communities) have been and continue to be, in spite of a recent decline in actual numbers, of importance to the social, economic and political structure of the community. This terminological distinction between ethnics, English and French Canadians is a rather gross-simplification but necessary because although as social scientists we can accept that English and French Canadians are members of specific ethnic groups (McCormack 1981:38; Anderson 1982:17) and can be included with all other ethnic Canadians under the rubric of ethnic group and culture, we also recognize that the charter groups do not wish to be identified as ethnic groups (Jackson 1975:25; Palmer 1975:151). It is this particular fact which is at the basis of Canadian ethnicity (if not Canadian ethnic studies).

The distinction is important to this thesis because a major question that can be asked throughout this study is the intentionality of charter group actions and government policies in controlling ethnic 'access', or right of admission, to political and economic power. I wish to make clear that I will not be talking about some Machiavellian plot but rather a problem created by both the direct policies of government (Avery 1975; 1977; 1979) and a certain measure of informalized ideological myopia which is induced by the primary fact of English and French Canadian majority status and dominance (Baer and Lambert 1982:173).

The concept of majority status is prescribed by numerical superiority. Dominance, however, need not be the result of an actual numerical majority.
Rather it is a consequence of the control of the rules of order and normative conformity of the nation state and host society (Schmerhorn 1970:12; Kallen 1982:110). Though it is perhaps an innappropriate example it is useful to remember that the whites in South Africa are in a minority position but they are the dominant group through their control of coercive power. In Quebec the English Canadians were also a dominant group, at least until the last few decades, in spite of their relatively small population. Numbers are not of direct importance though they certainly played an important part in the initial development of dominant status in Canada. With the large influx of immigrants into Canada, however, the majority status of English and French Canadians was threatened which has necessitated that the majority group (or groups) act in its (or their) own elite and dominant group self-interest. There is nothing which is conspiratorial in this phenomenon; the ethnics are not the 'good guys' and the Anglos and Francos the 'bad guys'. Conditions being reversed there is no doubt the ethnics would be quick to apply coercive restrictions and normative proscriptions to their benefit and against all others. What is interesting is the fact that these conditions have been largely ignored by social researchers, especially on the community level where this process is most operational.

In Timmins this has produced a phenomenon in which, despite the regional importance of the ethnic communities, local history and existing sociological research into the area (Clark 1966; 1971; 1978; Lee and Lapointe 1974; 1979) has methodically relegated them to minor supporting roles as 'assimilated' (large-scale structural and cultural changes of the ethnic community to those of the host society) or 'accommodated' (culturally assimilated to the host society without being fully accepted by that society) by the dominant English and French Canadian communities (Wirth 1945:358; Burgess 1947:403; Park
Local English and French Canadian elite groups, which are in the process of revising local history to emphasize the status and principal roles of the English and French Canadian communities, make little mention of ethnic participation (Tremblay 1951; Porcupine Camp 1959; Rocheleau 1978). This procedure has been relatively effortless since many of the records of past class and ethnic conflicts, which would have supported ethnic claims to local status, have been destroyed or hidden. They are replaced by fictional anecdotes which represent Timmins as being virtually classless and supposedly having experienced an effortless accommodation of all groups throughout its history. Yet preliminary fieldwork and a reading of more sophisticated historical accounts made it clear that these were recent attempts to obscure past conflicts for, at different times in the past, Timmins was considered one of the most militant and ethnically radicalized communities in Canada (Avery 1979:73; Abella 1973:86-110).

On the national level a similar process, carried out through such government policies as bilingualism and multiculturalism, has already expropriated economic and political power (as well as historiography) to the benefit of the English and French Canadian 'charter' groups on the basis of their proprietary claims which are said to give them rights over immigrant (noncharter) groups (Porter 1965:60; Ossenburg 1966; Peter 1981:57, 64; Dahlie and Fernando 1981:1). The ethnics were identified as cultural anomalies or "ethnic groups" and denied full access to the economic and political process; ethnic communities were effectively hindered from behaving as political interest groups.
A major outcome of this policy has been that many scholars engaged in Canadian ethnic studies have accepted a cultural and apolitical definition of ethnicity (Porter 1965:60; 1975:294; Stevenson 1977:279; Robbins 1975:285; Driedger 1975:159; O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplowska 1975; Barry, Kallin and Taylor 1976). This proscribed definition served to characterize ethnicity, ethnic groups and ethnic communities within the Canadian social sciences as circumscribed cultural anomalies with few links to the Canadian environment.

Ethnicity can, however, be an important basis for understanding the social, economic and political process within a particular community, even within a mining community where class has often been accepted as the ultimate and perhaps only appropriate framework for community analysis (Innis 1936; Philbrook 1966; Lucas 1971; Forcense 1975:29; Robbins 1975; Clement 1981; Glenday 1981). Though there has been a tendency to ignore class in Canadian ethnic studies (Dahlie and Fernando 1981:2), in part because it is seen as too political a criterion, there has been an equal tendency to ignore ethnicity in the study of mining communities (Innis 1936; Forcense 1975:29; Clement 1981; Glenday 1981), in large part because ethnic relations were not seen as being sufficiently political. Yet, as will be shown in this study, even in mining communities ethnicity may supercede class as a basis for political interest and action.

As a result I have chosen to give analytical primacy to the political dimension of ethnicity following Cohen's (1974b:94, 97) assertion that social research on ethnicity must focus on its political and symbolic organization. Ethnicity will thus be examined as a subjective socio-political phenomenon within a limited sphere of public action. On this basis it is no longer a static concept equated solely to the socio-cultural basis of an individual immigrant or all the supposed members of an ethnic group. Ethnicity must be
clearly distinguished from static analyses which seek to examine it only within a single timeframe or set structural basis (e.g., cultural). Rather it must be examined as a dynamic and processual system which can integrate even such supposedly divergent concepts as class (van den Berghe 1981:244).

There is no reason to give either class or ethnicity an overriding analytical importance they do not always merit, for under certain circumstances the relationship between ethnicity and class is so close that they may appear to be indistinguishable. Some social scientists have recognized this phenomenon by creating new terms of analysis, such as "ethclass" (Isajiw 1975:129). This term, however, becomes superfluous because under other conditions ethnicity and class may appear to be in unalterable opposition (Avery 1979:141; van den Berghe 1981:244). What occurs is not a change in definition but a change in the relationship between ethnicity and class within a particular situation and context.

The 'situation', as an analytical concept, is the circumstance and objective conditions which affect or surround an individual or group. My version of situation, though similar, is not the same as that defined by Gluckman (1940:9) which is more properly related to Cohen's (1974b:132) concept of 'social drama'. My definition focuses instead on the actor and group's cognitive and structural ascription as they attempt to organize their social relationships to fit a given social context.

Situational response can only occur in relation to such a 'context' (i.e., the conformity or conventional behaviour which controls the situational response in accordance with custom, rules or prevailing opinion). The context determines which of an individual's or group's identities, ties or interests will be an appropriate response to those changes which are introduced by an
The alteration of the context (van den Berghe 1967:14; 1970:12). The context defines the available 'resources', the sources of supply or support (eg. jobs and political office) that are used by an individual or group to meet the needs of a particular situation, and the manner in which they are to be acquired. The dominant groups, through their primary control of the state (Schermerhorn 1970:12; Kallen 1982:110), introduce both an implied conformity (norms and values) and direct policies (biculturalism and multiculturalism) which provide the primary contextual framework within which groups are differentiated, particularly along ethnic and class lines, and sets the basis for competition (i.e. political and economic power) between interest groups (Nagata 1980:208).

Nevertheless the context and basis of competition will be affected and altered by local-level situational responses within which individuals, families, work groups, neighbourhoods, ethnic enclaves and ethnic communities must operate in relation to other like groups. Thus each community's attempt to confirm its status in Timmins must compete with attempts by other communities to gain support for its claims to economic and political means. Each community will gain, or lose, in competition or alliance (i.e. a coalition or close association to promote common interests and mutual benefits) with other communities and in their ability to circumvent the attempts of others. This has been the historical experience of ethnic and class relations in the Timmins area: neither ethnicity nor class alone has predominated but rather a conditional relationship featuring both factors has developed between groups and their interests.

The subchapters which follow will delve into a theoretical examination of ethnicity and class in Canadian ethnic studies, the different models of ethnicity employed by scholars and the strengths and shortcomings of these
approaches. This will then lead into chapters which examine the foundation of
the Porcupine Camp and its division between immigrant miners and Anglo -
Franco elites, the creation and maintenance of ethnic and class
consciousness, the building of ethnic community enclaves and their division
into ethnic class and cultural supporters, the failure of ethnic class
exponents after World War II, the creation of an alliance between ethnic,
English and French Canadian communities, the beginning of a breakdown of that
alliance and the splitting of the communities into new interest groups which
are presently re-aligning to contest for economic and political resources,
notably through an attempt to control local historiography.

The Canadian Basis of Ethnic Studies

In the 1960s and 1970s ethnicity became one of the most important
topics for students of Canadian society. In few other countries in the world
were ethnic studies to receive such attention. These studies are of three
general types, class based (concerned with rank recognition or occupationally
defined conflict groups), objective (based on a compilation of general traits
and government statistics) and subjective (dealing with the process of
changing or situational ethnicity) (Goldstein and Bienvenu 1980:2; Kallen
1982:58). These types can be further distinguished as either accepting
ethnicity as a basis of analysis (objective and subjective), if only
nominally, or completely rejecting it (class). The class and objective models
have received the most attention but they have also created the greatest
problems because of certain innate deficiencies.

Class Models of Ethnicity

Class models of ethnicity are divided between liberal and Marxist
analyses. While for the liberals class is based primarily on a measurement of
subjective attitudes (rank recognition) or income (Forcse 1975:14), for the
Marxism is defined in terms of objective relations to the modes of production and distribution (Johnson 1972:142). As Marshak (1975:2) emphasizes, they are both sides of the same coin; the liberals accepting current society and its survival and the Marxists rejecting it and anticipating its final demise. Both refuse to accept that ethnicity has any importance except to distract from the far more important criteria of class.

The liberal theories, known variously as 'liberal expectancy' (Glazer and Moynihan 1975:6-7; Gordon 1975:88) or 'evolutionary universalism' (Clairmont and Wien 1976), propose that over time the unjust elements of class conflict and division will diminish in favour of the universal principles of merit, achievement and equality (Hunter 1981:230). Although ethnicity is partially recognized as an independent variable, it is also largely accepted as a sub-element of class. Marxist models, on the other hand, provide a more clearcut class conflict perspective which, it is felt, will lead to a final class revolution and the demise of all classes in a new classless society. Ethnicity is of little importance to this perspective except to obscure or hinder what is considered to be the inevitable class interest and struggle.

The major proponent of the liberal view of class in Canada was John Porter who himself was following an American sociological tradition (Lynd and Lynd 1929; Whyte 1943; Vidich and Bensman 1960). In his seminal work, The Vertical Mosaic (1965), he placed the concept of ethnicity in a position where it was effectively an appendage of class; a form of class conflict worthy of identifying only the better to eradicate it. The title of his book indicated his perception of the relationship between class and ethnic group. The English and French Canadians, though recognized as ethnic groups, were given added recognition as 'charter groups' and as such acquired added status and a political and class dimension that other ethnic groups were denied. The nation
was depicted as having been founded (and continuing to operate) on the basis of the English being the conquerors (and their holding high social class positions) while the French were the conquered and holding low social class positions (except in politics). Cultural pluralism was perceived as a form of class control by the charter groups over the immigrant groups hindering their entrance into the elite structures and access to economic and political power (1965:60). 5

The rapid increase in ethnic studies in the late 1960s and early 1970s only served to increase Porter's misgivings about ethnicity. He suggested that the revival of ethnicity was actually regressive because it emphasized differences and obscured the study of class which he accepted as the more important concept (1975:294). He believed that only universal standards of achievement would allow members of ethnic groups to participate equitably in the Canadian economic and political structure. In effect he expected the ethnics to accept assimilation and place their faith in universal achievement standards. Yet as Ramcharan (1982) comments in his study of non-white groups in Canadian society, this is a major problem for those groups which cannot assimilate totally because of their racial visibility. "Liberal integrationist policies that purported that universalistic achievement values in the society would allow all migrants, regardless of race or ethnicity, mobility or equality, have proven erroneous." (Ramcharan 1982:110)

Despite these criticisms I do not mean to invalidate all of Porter's insights. Members of noncharter groups do lack access and representation in the major political and economic structures of Canadian society. They are under-represented in the major spheres of Canadian society. However, Porter's analysis, restricted as it is to general categories on the national level (as well as to a specific ideology), may not always apply on other social levels,
such as on a community level. As will be shown in this study the community level can moderate government policies and dominant group norms (i.e. the context) so as to allow specific ethnic communities to develop particular situational responses to contextual change. This fact allows for a less inflexible framework of study.

Subsequent research on the Canadian corporate elite and class structure has tended to change or even challenge Porter's concept of the 'vertical mosaic'. Marston (1969:67) concedes that occupational structure and class are not necessarily important in the breakdown of residential segregation among ethnic groups, a major measure of assimilation. She accepted that there is great flexibility between income, occupation, class and ethnic group (1969:78). Clement (1975:34) reports that while the French and English Canadian corporate elite have consolidated their power base and access routes, such as through upper class schools, so that the ethnics do not penetrate these elites, the ethnics have responded by developing their own firms and corporations parallel to the main corporate structures. While preoccupied with class and the corporate economic structure, Clement is forced to concede the importance of ethnic groups in creating structures which can influence the larger society noting that "it is difficult to distinguish between the effects of social class and ethnic origin for mobility into (the) corporate elite" (1977:233). Similarly Kelly, recognizing that the major economic institutions were guarded by the upper classes, suggested that the class base of Canadian society was greatly modified by ethnicity (1975:50).

Yet Porter's supporters (Presthus 1973; Forcse 1975; Avery 1977; Clement 1977) continue to accept an overly simplified version of ethnic group, one defined almost solely by government statistical categories. Their version of ethnicity, like Porter's, is reflective of the census category of ethnic
origin, i.e. ethnicity is what ethnics have. The emphasis is indicative of many liberal (Presthus 1973; Clement 1975; Forcse 1975; Avery 1979) and Marxist (Park and Park 1962) studies which examine power and politics in Canadian society mostly in terms of large categories (big business, charter groups) including established classes (corporate elites) or class structures which are then taken as representative at all levels of examination. The categories, however, can often be better understood as collective structures which hold members together for possible action. At the national level one is likely to find a number of large institutional structures (national class or ethnic organizations) which act as the prime framework for group action but whose support waxes and wanes according to the specific interest. These institutions present themselves as the representative bodies of an interest group when in fact their support may be largely symbolic since the 'group' can rarely be called upon for general action.

Even Avery, who was one of the first to recognize the significant political role of the immigrant (1975, 1979), attempting to apply the Porterian model to a study of the Canadian immigrant proletariat in the early part of the twentieth century (1977) which saw the Canadian environment as a closed system under the precise political pressure of the charter groups and class structure (1977:16), could not diminish the importance of ethnicity as a viable criterion (Ogmundson 1977:254). His data proves that ethnicity and class are continually changing their relative position: sometimes class superceded ethnicity in importance as an organizational principle and interest while at other times the position was reversed and often they were of equal importance. Yet Avery continues to relegate ethnic groups and ethnicity to secondary status in the class system (1979:146). The relegation of ethnicity is a common feature of many of the historical studies of the radical class.
movement in Canadian society. Both liberal and Marxist historical studies address ethnic politics but treat ethnic distinctions as being of only passing interest (Penner 1977; Angus 1981), minor appendages to the larger Canadian structure (Avakumovic 1975; Avery 1979) or simply do not recognize them (Horowitz 1968) despite the overwhelming importance of ethnic criteria in the Canadian radical movement. These studies are invariably far too generalized, focusing upon the national or regional level rather than the community level where much of their data is produced. As a result it may be that these researchers do not understand the political process they are studying except as a simplified clash between classes.

The analytical aversion to ethnicity and attachment to class is carried even further by Canadian Marxists. They follow Marx's works which subsume ethnic relations within other social relations which are manifestations of the means of production (Fromm 1967:96). The complex socio-cultural elements of society are reduced to closed dependent units which are easily restructured by developmental class process (Marx 1853:479-81). Anything, such as ethnicity or religion, which is perceived as hindering class development is said to be obscurantist or a remnant of previous stages of evolution. These structures were vilified by Marx because they mitigated the direct political effectiveness of class relations and "inverted class consciousness" which is premised on an ability to develop class action and realized class interests (Marx 1844:43).

Canadian neo-Marxists continue this tradition when they consider ethnicity as either unimportant (Park and Park 1962) or only a nominal variable. Stevenson (1977:279) states that ethnicity is much like religious affiliation, which has (or should have) little effect upon class. Casson and Griffith (1981:109) reduce ethnicity to a "special social product", a feature
of "capitalist social formation", one of the many social forms of class relations. Ethnicity and ethnic groups emerge as elements of class organization where property relations are central to the "ongoing production of ethnicity" (Casson and Griffith 1981:110). Robbins (1975:285) asserts that ethnicity has only an "ideological value" with a limited and particularistic definition and application. It cannot be utilized to examine the larger structure of society which is reserved for class (1975:291). Only class is seen as relevant to broader, national societal reality while ethnicity is only relateable to social life at the community level of conceptualization where it is naught but an illusion. Even Johnson (1972) in his study, which offers an historical typology that relates Canadian development to class and capital formulation, reduces ethnicity to a leftover of immigration, part of the fuel for capitalist expansion.

The study of mining communities in general is especially constrained by class criterion. This follows the premise that the Marxian proletarian tradition is strongest among those workers who are in greatest confrontation with the capitalist mode of production under its most exploitative conditions (Forosee 1975:31). Miners, especially in isolated resource communities, who have no recourse to other occupations, are said to develop a tight-knit class solidarity which extends into all aspects of their social life, presumably to the exclusion of ethnicity (Clement 1981:161-62). Furthermore the inherent conflict between the capitalist and the proletariat, the prime element of class revolution, is supposed to be nowhere more evident than in the mines; class is supposed to act as the primary basis of alliance and conflict.

Both liberal (Philbrook 1966; Lucas 1971) and Marxist studies of Canadian mining communities (Robbins 1975; Clement 1981; Glenday 1981) depict these communities as models of class relationships. The Marxists focus on a
basic if not idealized class conflict model, a modified form of Marx’s original premise: an ideal community divided between proletarian miner and capitalist management. The concrete manifestations of labour and capital are accepted as the most important elements of community structure (Innis 1936).

As a result the individual miner is examined first as a member of the larger working class (Force 1975:31; Angus 1981), secondly as a member of the working class of miners (an especially vigorous member of the working class) (Innis 1936:324; Abella 1973:86-110; Avery 1979:56-9; Clement 1981:355) and thirdly on the basis of the local conditions of work (Philbrook 1966:119; Lucas 1971:115) in the particular environment (Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter 1956:26-7). They are rarely examined as members of an ethnic community.

Class, however, does not exist on its own as there are other elements which cut across class and mitigate conflict or become the focus of additional conflict and accommodation. The class conflict model attends to the realm of economic exploitation and competition (Newman 1978:48-9) but rarely attempts to explain the anomalies which are always present. Nor do these models deal with other dynamics in the mining communities, such as the social relations of Gemeinschaft (status, hierarchy, symbol, group, integration) which might offer a better explanation (Bulmer 1975:66-7). As Shils (1957:137) said the corporate relations of Gesellschaft are dependent on the primary relations of Gemeinschaft.

A model for such a presentation exists in the work of Weber (1922a:424-25) whose critique of Marxism introduced the separate concepts of class (market position), status (lifestyle) and power (group efforts to gain and retain power). His concept of power was not the naked power of Marx but rather a multi-dimensional emphasis on political structures and activity. Thus he could recognize with what “extraordinary ease common political activity in
particular leads to the idea of 'common blood'" (1922b:240) or what he termed "communal relationships" of an "ethnic" kind (1922b:226). He noted that ethnic consciousness often has a political interest and action (1922a:393-94) but then retreated to say that "the collective term "ethnic" should be abandoned as unsuitable for rigorous analysis" (1922a:395). Despite his insights Weber also wished ethnicity to be largely ignored. The liberal and Marxian indifference to ethnicity remained (Hunter 1981:26).

Isajiw (1975:129) uniquely argues that in Canada it is unrealistic to talk of classes without talking about ethnic groups. As a result he has created the integrated term 'ethclass'. The term underscores the mutual relationship between ethnicity and class but it does not, nor should be taken to mean, that they are the same. The term, however, only adds to the problem by adding another distinction instead of discovering why the distinctions are necessary at different times. Further it does not answer the questions of why ethnicity is often as important as class and why class has lost its effectiveness in the present postwar Canadian context.

This last question is crucial because for all the importance given to class criterion it has largely become a nonissue in Canadian society, even in the mining communities in which it is supposed to be most prevalent (Johnson 1972:142). Ethnics have not simply disappeared into the occupational or universal framework of class but have transformed themselves. Those interests which had been promoted by class have been effectively promoted through ethnicity (Bell 1975:167). Ethnicity is not, as has been suggested by class theorists, a regressive strategy. What is now being perceived as ethnicity is not so much a substantively 'new' phenomenon as one that has recently begun to be recognized to exist on a par with class in the structure of Canadian society.
These criticisms are not meant to deny the analytical salience of class but to suggest that it is not the only important social concept. There has been an equal tendency, in line with the rising awareness of the importance of ethnicity in the social sciences, to deny class and avoid the problem of assessing the relationship between class and ethnicity in Canadian ethnic studies. Yet Dahlie and Fernando (1981:2) ask, "can this be done without distorting empirically established facts?" The answer is 'no', but the question is how are we to examine both without merely accentuating the problems already outlined. To resolve the concern we must consider the existing models of ethnicity available to us.

**Objective Models of Ethnicity**

The frame for much of the work in the field of Canadian ethnic studies and, more importantly perhaps, the basis for government response towards ethnic groups, is the objective model. This is based on an examination of ethnicity in terms of static ethnic traits and large-scale government defined categories. The objective model, however, is a largely inappropriate standard of analysis because it maintains a static model of ethnicity, often with a primordialist perspective (i.e. that ethnic differences exist in their original state, traditional) in which ethnicity is seen as a product of the primary attributes or traits of language, kinship, religion, custom and territory (Woodsworth 1909:74; Connor 1909; Smith 1922; England 1924; Bradwin 1928:104; McCormack 1981:39). It pictures the ethnic group as a distinct social category defined by its traits thus providing a rather circular argument. In accordance with this circularity, ethnicity is defined as équivalent to the government census of traits that ethnic groups are presumed to possess (O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplowska 1975:59; Berry, Kalin and Taylor 1976; McCormack 1981:39). The objective model has also largely divested
ethnicity of a political dimension, at least on a national level. This is in part because politics becomes reserved by the government and those dominant ethnic groups which control government (Schermerhorn 1970:12). It is in the dominant groups' interests to provide a traditional interpretation of ethnicity and ethnic groups while interpreting politics as a modern phenomenon under dominant group control and as such outside of the ethnic purview.

The objective model in Canadian society began with the first major ethnic studies in the early years of the twentieth century (Woodsworth 1909; 1911; Connor 1909). These were social work studies carried out by missionary clergy who were ministering to the immigrants. J.S. Woodsworth (1909; 1911) stands out in this group with his publications addressed to the immigrant 'question'. Woodsworth drew attention to the problems of rapid and increasing immigration introduced into an unsuspecting society. He catalogued and emphasized the immigrant's inherent strangeness in order to draw society's attention and to prompt it to direct the immigrants into accepting 'Anglo-conformity' (Palmer 1975:74, 112) and assimilation (Woodsworth 1909:167). As a result he presented the immigrant groups in terms of negative and positive stereotypes, i.e. in terms of their assimilability (Scandinavians) and non-assimilability (Slavs and Orientals). The government was quick to accept this definition. A 1910 government immigration policy report stated that those not allowed to immigrate to Canada would be those who, "prevent the building of a united nation of similar customs and ideals" (Canada 1974:10).

The customs and ideals around which an united nation would be formed were to be based on objective criteria but the true objectivity of these norms was open to question as the defining criteria were to be controlled by outside forces and interests, notably Anglo authorities. In Woodworth's and similar
works (Connor 1909; Smith 1922; Bradwin 1928; England 1929) the ethnic group is identified 'objectively' according to its foreign languages, religions, nationalisms, folkways and traditions. Authorities and even social scientists, with equal objectivity, stated that these foreign habits were a 'negative' influence and were to be removed and replaced by the English language, Protestantism, Canadian nationalism, English folkways and British traditions. The ethnic group and community were to be limited 'for their own good' in order to force the immigrants to enter Canadian society, ostensibly on an equal class footing with British Canadians.

Universal assimilation might have been a tolerant approach if it had been actually accepted by English Canadians, who had full access to political and economic resources; presumably they would then move to accept that all people would be judged on general merit and economic and political resources would be open to wider competition. Assimilation was not, however, accepted to any extent either by the Anglos (who found it next to impossible to accept) or the ethnics (who found it next to impossible to assimilate). The objective definition remained as an intolerant ideology in which ethnic differences were continually accentuated by English Canadians as a means of separating and containing ethnic groups so that they did not become political interest groups. This ideology was to remain in force even with a change in emphasis in the 1920s towards the new concept of 'mosaic' and in the 1970s to the concept of 'multiculturalism.'

The mosaic concept, which for the first time allowed for the positive recognition of most ethnic groups, also continued the process of separation. K.A. Foster (1926) was one of the first to use the term 'mosaic' in her book but she only listed ethnic groups and emphasized their differences. J.M. Gibbon (1938) carried it further by accepting that the immigrants were
"Today's Canadians" but then retreated into the old assimilative version of the 'melting pot' theory stating that the positive (i.e. British) attributes of the immigrants would be kept and would help in the creation of a new Canadian 'race' (1938:xiii). His book is a compendium of descriptions of ethnic groups which emphasized their ethnic differences, customs, music and folklore. Until their final absorption ethnic groups were to be viewed as "an interesting note of colour in a mosaic" (1938:xii) or 'interesting anomalies'. Commenting on the need for ethnic research Gibbon makes clear that research should be designed to circumscribe the ethnics and help in the maintenance of the status quo. "One research which we can deliberately make is to discover, analyze and perfect the cement which may best hold the coloured slabs in position." (1938:412)

These early studies were done under the auspices of Anglo institutions such as churches and welfare agencies whose membership was interested in the social issues of immigration and promoted an assimilationist policy (Palmer 1977:168). But even scholarly examinations of ethnic communities, undertaken by American sociologists C.A. Dawson (1936) and H. Miner (1939), continued to place their emphasis on circumscribed objective criteria. Dawson's (1936) and Miner's (1939) studies were concerned with rural ethnic settlements which were depicted as odd, archaic remnants in North American urban industrial society. H. Miner's study 'St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish (1939)' examined the relationship between family and parish in a rural agricultural community, a prototypical static community which was quickly disappearing even within Quebec.

The objective definition of ethnic groups as cultural anomalies and of ethnicity as a proscribed category which emerged in the works of Woodsworth (1909; 1911), Connor (1909), Smith (1922), Bradwin (1928), England (1929),
Foster (1926) and Gibbon (1938), continued to serve as the basis for
government response to the immigrants until after World War II. It served the
government because it already viewed the ethnics with a large measure of
suspicion and feared them as threats to the social order (Avery 1979:13).
Immigrant admission to the Canadian environment was already hard enough for
the Anglos to accept without letting them gain political power and threaten
the structure of Canadian institutions. There was already general public
apprehension that immigration would only produce "a series of hyphenated
Canadians who will demoralize our British institutions" (Lloyd 1929:56). From
the early part of the 1920s Canadian immigration policy formally favoured
immigration from Britain and the United States in order "to re-establish the
Anglo-Saxon character of the country" (Avery 1979:96). Ethnics continued to be
allowed to immigrate, though in smaller numbers, but they were invariably
expected to be 'agriculturalists' who would farm the land quietly and not
become part of the urban environment and its problems (Palmer 1975:59). The
myth of the 'stalwart peasant' (Avery 1975:53), hardworking and conservative
(Handlin 1951), first developed at the turn of the century with ethnic
settlement in the prairies, was still an important mechanism of symbolic
exclusion in the Canadian environment.

Of course this was all wishful thinking as the majority of immigrants
came in as agriculturalists but then settled in urban and industrial centers
(Lindstrom-Best 1981a:7-8). There they became involved in diverse political
activities, even attempts to overthrow Canadian society (Robin 1968; Angus
1981). There was government apprehension about the danger that the ethnic
groups presented as can be shown by the fact that government interest in
ethnic groups has arisen mostly in periods of crisis -- labour unrest
(1917-1919), general political radicalism (1931) and during the wars -- when
large numbers of ethnics were perceived as political threats to Canadian society (Avery 1975; 1979). Government interest in ethnicity at times of crisis -- leading to the arrest of ethnics, confiscation of their property and calls for their deportation or total assimilation (Palmer 1975) -- delineates the importance of ethnic groups in the political structure of Canadian society. Yet as soon as the crises were dealt with -- invariably to the disadvantage of the ethnics -- the government would rapidly lose interest in the ethnics. It appeared as if the government felt that failure to recognize the ethnics would mean that they would eventually have to assimilate into the dominant structures of society and would not be part of its political structure. In its seeming indifference government also continued to define ethnic groups objectively in relation to these structures; that is as apolitical cultural anomalies which is what it hoped they would become.

After World War II government acceptance of immigrants increased but this acceptance was primarily restricted to their arrival in Canada with little regard for them afterwards. It was assumed that the ethnics would assimilate to a new postwar universalism, for the war had shown the danger of demarcating groups according to their differences (Hawkins 1972:97-106). As a result the ethnics were expected to give up their institutions and cultural affiliations for the greater good of universalism (Hunter 1981). Nevertheless, though large numbers of ethnics began to accommodate, if not assimilate, the basis of conformity remained Anglo-defined (Reitz 1980:240).

The government's attention was directed away from immigrants and towards the growing confrontation between English and French Canadians. The old accommodation between the groups, largely under Anglo control, was breaking down with the massive changes in Quebec society. Industrialization, secularization and growth of a new intelligentsia had brought Quebec society
new social and economic structures but without the commensurate political power to redress old grievances vis-à-vis the English Canadians (Morris and Lanphier 1979:210).

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, created in 1963, was designed to address French Canadian grievances and introduce changes in the structure of power. The Commission was to explore the economic, educational and linguistic disparities between English and French Canadians. It focused on the 'duality' in Canadian society, namely the French and English Canadians (i.e. the charter groups) but not the ethnics. In order to solve perceived problems and redress French Canadian grievances the Commission attempted to appropriate the political arena to the benefit of the charter groups. The ethnics were to have access only as appendages of the two major groups. Any lingering ethnic animosity to a de-emphasis of their access to political power was dealt with by a re-emphasis of the "peculiar importance" of "minority group traditions" as part of a "compensatory cultural articulation" (Henderson 1975:13). The Canadian government began to give money freely to conservative ethnic representative organizations sponsoring ethnic celebrations of culture, music and dancing. It sponsored new ethnic studies, carried out initially by the ethnics themselves.

The ethnic groups did not, however, give in to the apolitical cultural artifice and accept the Commission's full rationale as it was presented to them. The Commission soon found itself bombarded by criticism from ethnic organizations which wished the ethnics to be addressed as a separate interest group. The ethnics presented themselves as the 'Third Force', making up 23% of the population at the time of their presentation (but increasing since), who should be recognized as equal partners with the English and French Canadians (Yuzak 1973:11). The ethnics stated that the only group which had the right to
charter group status were the Native Indians; all others, including the English and French Canadians, were immigrants. In an effort to placate this criticism the Commission expanded a part of its study to include other ethnic groups.

The fourth Commission Report of 1969, 'Book IV, The Cultural Contribution of Other Ethnic Groups', was their response to the ethnic pressure. The report, however, continued the Commission's original interpretation of ethnic groups as simple cultural groups who added 'colour' to Canadian society but little else. The ethnic groups, even their culture, would continue to be defined in relation to the two charter groups (i.e. as different from). The 'other' cultures were only to 'enrich' the dominant cultures and were expected to integrate themselves into, if not assimilate to, the dominant groups.

We would rather regard the "other ethnic groups" as cultural groups...For us, "culture is a way of being, thinking and feeling. It is a driving force animating a significant group of individuals united by a common tongue and sharing the same customs, habits and experience." It is a style of living made up of many elements that colour thought, feeling and creativity, like the light that illuminates the design of a stained-glass window. This definition is applied essentially to the two dominant cultures of Canada, those of the Francophone and Anglophone societies; to a certain degree it also fits the other cultures in this country particularly if they brought enrichment to one of the two dominant cultures and continue to flourish and benefit through their integration with one of the two societies. (1969:11)

The ethnics could keep their attachment to their original culture but only when they had integrated into 'Canadian life' as defined by the charter groups (1969:137). This confirmed a position in which ethnicity was accepted as a secondary factor to the language, culture and political power of the two charter groups. (Boissevain 1970:60). This was a negative definition of ethnicity as it was defined against the charter groups and was not, in any case, applied to the charter groups themselves since they were to be judged on
the basis of other criteria, such as politics.

- The Commission made little distinction between ethnic group, culture, or ethnicity. Nevertheless it established a structural basis for ethnic studies and the approach to ethnicity and ethnic groups subsequently introduced to the Canadian social sciences. This objective definition became the major weakpoint of the ethnic studies which followed in part because these studies were instigated under government action. The further articulation of government policy only further confused this definition.

Thus Driedger (1975:159) could define ethnicity objectively as ethnic cultural identity and describe it in terms of six quantifiable and statistical categories (religion, language-use, ethnic identification, parochial education and in group friends). He even attempts to show that identity can be objectively 'measured' using these statistical categories. Berry, Kalin and Taylor's (1976) study of the perceived desirability of cultural diversity in Canadian society also defines ethnicity objectively in relation to the ethnic group category and also to the census category of patrilineal ties to the country of origin. They place their reliance on the Canadian census as the major means of determining ethnicity. In the same way O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplowska's (1975) study of non-official languages associated language and culture as the necessary objective parameters of ethnicity, which is similar to the Commission's definition. They also relied on the Canadian census so that ethnicity was also defined by the country of origin or patrilateral connection (1975:59).

Breton, Reitz and Valentine (1980) in their study, which examined how 'national unity' and 'societal cohesion' is affected by ethnic and linguistic diversity, split the nation between the census categories of Native Indian, French, English and Ethnic, with certain necessary limitations to allow a wide
categorical analysis and comparison. Reitz (1980:239), in a separate work, continues to define ethnicity objectively as equivalent to government definitions of cultural and linguistic categories. The measure of ethnic identification in these studies vary only according to the categorical criterion chosen and the limitations placed upon that criterion in its application. The categories were accepted as fait accompli representations of ethnicity, ethnic group, ethnic community and the ethnic individual.

This dependence on government criteria is a major constraint on ethnic analysis not only because the researcher is at the mercy of an overriding definition which may be influenced by criteria that are far from objective but because, as Reitz (1980:239) correctly recognizes, in Canada the question of ethnicity is no longer only a sociological problem but has become a political and ideological issue. There are few ways for the researcher to control this overriding definition or the results in order to avoid this ideological bias. Further the categories are too large to allow for mitigating criteria, such as the effect of matrilaterality, cross-marriage, or local community structures. The last point in particular is directed against the large-scale and general framework to which the objective model is centered and which does not welcome local-level studies.

It is little wonder that there are so many more general studies of Canadian society which follow the objective model (Driedger 1975; 1976; O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplowska 1975; Berry, Kalin and Taylor 1976; Breton, Reitz and Valentine 1980) than community studies (Jackson 1975). This is in part an effect of government control which results in studies which presuppose (rather than examine) an English-French power structure in which ethnicity is a secondary relationship and ethnic groups in a secondary position to the charter groups (Porter 1965; Ossenburg 1966; Jackson 1975). There have been
few attempts to make the categories and distinctions clear even in the most limited conditions and especially on a local community level. The problems have only continued to increase and even expanded into the burgeoning subfield of ethnic historical studies.

Ethnic historical studies, by authors such as Harney (1975), Palmer (1975), Abella (1973; 1978), Avery (1975; 1977; 1979), Laine (1981a; 1981b), Lindstrom-Best (1981a; 1981b) and McCormack (1981) are important to an analysis of ethnicity not only because they form the majority of new work undertaken on the subject but also because they focus on the historical dynamics of the ethnic group as an immigrant group and class interest group. While this research has produced many insights into the processes of ethnic relations and ethnic-class dichotomies, the researchers have inevitably been restricted by a reliance on an objective view of ethnicity either generalizing, refusing to address ethnicity as an important feature of their analysis or equating it to a general ethnic group concept. As McCormack (1981) points out, in his study of English immigrants in Canada from 1900-1914, ethnic historical studies have been handicapped either because of their in-group based analyses or because they have been unable to perceive the dynamics of ethnic culture and have withdrawn into an emphasis on "state policies and popular prejudices" which "have reinforced the assimilationist assumptions of liberal sociologists" (1981:39). Historical studies should be the basis for major insights because they offer the best opportunity for analyses which may finally address the questions of class and process in the structure of ethnicity in a specific community. That they have not been important is indicative of the problems in Canadian ethnic studies.

This is especially frustrating with the realization that, in spite of government attempts to place apolitical constraints on the ethnic individual
and community, the ethnics were not ready to accept a limitation on their status. They continued to apply considerable pressure on the government to recognize their political rights on an equal basis with the charter groups. The government, separate from the Commission, felt this pressure and responded more directly with a revision of the Commission's edict into a policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" (Trudeau 1971:3).

Prime Minister Trudeau presented multiculturalism in 1971 as a revision which would solve the inherent problems of bilingual policy by recognizing the ethnics as part of Canadian society. The policy, however, was not an endorsement of the rights of the ethnic groups to equal access to political power. Rather it soon developed into a system of monetary contributions to ethnic institutions and for ethnic studies. Ethnic political interests in special status were further diminished with the creation of nominal political appointments, on multicultural councils, the Senate and Canada Council, for certain loyalist ethnic representatives, to be appointed by the prevailing dominant group power structure (Peter 1981:64).

The cultural contribution of ethnic groups was recognized by the government but without any substantial diminishment of charter group status. The government simply offered a refinement of the negative definition of ethnicity introduced by Book IV. The cultural basis of all ethnic groups was now accepted as important but, by their continued definition as ethnic groups, the ethnics continued to be categorized and circumscribed from full and open participation in the political sphere of interest. Though there has been a large increase in ethnic studies and a seeming romanticization and glorification of immigrant and ethnic culture (Palmer 1975; Harney and Troper 1975; Jaenen 1977) this has not measurably added to ethnic group economic and political status as they continue to be set apart and perceived as anomalous.
apolitical substructures. 11

This does not mean that the ethnics are in fact apolitical; their reaction to biculturalism had shown that they were not above taking action on their own behalf. This specific social drama was presaged by Vallee, Schwartz and Darknell (1957:546) who had recognized early that ethnic groups would perhaps decide to behave as interest groups and claim their right to social, economic and political power. They also asserted that the government response was likely to be an attempt to give them only nominal representation within a limited sphere and not within the substantive structure of the political system. This was exactly what took place as the ethnics were allowed to seek power only within the limited multicultural framework and not within the substantive structure of the political arena (Peter 1981:65).

To prevent the ethnics from adding to the already prevailing ethnic factionalism of Canadian society the federal government has not only reaffirmed their policy of giving French and English Canadians added status but has also attempted to disassociate the concepts of ethnicity and universality (Reitz 1980:240). The government presents multiculturalism in order to deal with the cultural dimension of group interest. But it insists that outside of culture, in the economic and political sphere, Canadian society is to be based on equality and universality. Under the rubric of multiculturalism the government supplies grants and placates ethnic leaders. But the government does not pursue this policy on the economic and political spheres; though ostensibly open to equal access for all groups it has been largely reserved for the charter groups (Clement 1975; Reitz 1981:240-42).

The distinction between ethnicity and equality is given an added dimension by Abu-Laban and Mottershead (1981) who argue that Canadian society has a number of different typologies of cultural pluralism which are related
to political activity. The "corporate - plural society" which accepts pluralism as the necessary cornerstone of the political system, is accepted by both French Canadians and Native Indians because it gives them structural and institutional recognition of their status (Abu-Laban and Mottershead 1981:57). It is not accepted by the ethnics because they are excluded from participating as recognized group members. Ethnics instead believe in what is identified as an "integrated - pluralist society", which not only recognizes ethnic groups but also provides that economic and political resources are awarded by universalistic performance (Abu-Laban and Mottershead 1981:53). Thus within the same society there can be a number of different understandings of that society. These separate understandings must inevitably come into conflict if they apply on a single level. The fact that they do not always conflict is because the 'corporate-plural' concept applies on a national level while the 'integrated-plural' concept can operate on a community level.

The government presents Canada as a 'mosaic' society which implies that its definition of ethnicity and ethnic group, at least ideologically, is supposed to be different from that which pertains in the United States, that is the mosaic versus the melting pot (Burnet 1976:25). But the Canadian definition of ethnicity and ethnic group is substantively different not only because of the seeming high cultural status given to ethnics in Canada but their relationship (or nonrelationship) to the economic and political structure. Through its disassociation of equality and ethnicity, through its support for both the integrated - pluralist and corporate - plural models, the state claims to meet the ethnic aspirations for national equality but, through its control of policies, agencies and criteria, it removes the ethnics' options of performing as economic and political action groups (Anderson and Frideres 1981:323).
Ethnic attempts to behave as political interest groups, like the English and French Canadians, are continually rebuffed by the power structure. The ethnics have a number of political representatives on city and town councils but they have little representation on the national level and are not invited to participate on this level except in support of the charter groups. A case in point is the 1984 Liberal leadership race. In Toronto groups of East Indians, West Indians, Greeks, Portuguese and Italians joined local riding associations in large numbers in order to elect delegates to the leadership convention. They saw this as their chance to have a say in the political process. But the leaders of the local riding associations, which have been bastions of Ontario Anglo political power, argued that their presence "distorts the process and deprives people who've worked in the ridings for years of a chance to help elect the new Liberal Party Leader" (Toronto Daily Star 16 May 1984, p.A23).

A similar response was heard on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's nightly 'Journal' newsmagazine in a May 23, 1984 feature entitled 'The Ethnic Factor' which reported that a new force was developing in Canadian politics. Ethnics were joining Liberal and Conservative riding associations in increasingly large numbers. This was important not only because it was happening for the first time but because, as the reporter recognized, in five years time a majority of Canadian voters will be ethnics. This fact will add a new dimension to Canadian politics because it is one thing for the ethnics to consider themselves the 'third force' and quite another for them to be the largest voting block. The 'old guard's' response, however, is to say that the ethnics "have no idea of why they're coming out or what purpose they are there for". Liberal Member of Parliament and former Minister of Multiculturalism Jim Fleming carried this prejudice even further by stating that the ethnics were
being "herded in and worked up into a state of excitement" and further that they were introducing a new danger that was "echoing old country experiences". But as one ethnic remarked, "Patronage is not enough. We can't remain at the side of the streets but must become part of the administration and the social process." The feature closed with the telling statement that "The politician who ignores ethnic voices today stands no chance of gaining or remaining in political office in the future."

Whether such an ethnic action will measurably add to political effectiveness on the national level is open to question. Nevertheless it is an attempt to become involved in the larger Canadian political process that may well succeed. The ethnics have been successful on the local-level but to succeed on the national level would necessitate participation as members of an 'ethnic group' (rather than community) in alliance with other groups. The government and charter group elite, however, will continue to attempt to constrain the political efficacy of ethnic action by defining the ethnics as anomalies through their control of objective criteria. The ethnics will have to break down this symbolic control before they can ever become political interest groups on a par with the charter groups.

These comments point to the political nature of what at first appears to be a largely innocuous if not laudable policy of multiculturalism. It also accentuates the major problem in the objective model of ethnicity if so many Canadian social scientists can so easily accept at face value the apolitical premise to a government policy. 12 Jean Burnet, one of the main authors of Book IV (1969) of the Biculturalism and Bilingualism Commission, recognizes this problem when she states that they did not intend that multiculturalism would be interpreted as "the full and vital maintenance of distinctive ways of life by all of Canada's people within a single society" (1976:204). She feels
that multiculturalism in this form is doomed because the emphasis on differences and folkstyles would be a hindrance to society as it did not recognize the instrumental functionality of ethnicity in society. 13

The objective definition, however, continues to place ethnicity within an unproblematic structural framework as immutable traits in the formation of a distinctive commonality. This sense of commonality and peoplehood (us-them), so necessary to any definition of nationalism (Connor 1977:21), sets ethnicity in a one to one relationship to ethnic group with little recourse to other bases, such as political action. It becomes identified as a primordial structure in terms such as blood, common ancestry, culture and related to the national social level with little recourse to the local-level.

Objective and class studies focused on large-scale categories (ethnic groups, classes) with little concentration on the individual and community level. They made a distinction between a 'cultural' world within which ethnicity and ethnic groups are allowed to operate and a 'real' world within which they are not and to which ethnics are expected to assimilate on the basis of class or universal standards of achievement. (Robbins 1975:291) The only ethnic groups thought to be involved in the real world and expected to behave as political interest groups are English and French Canadians. They are given added status and defined as 'non-ethnic groups with political power' or as 'class groups' (Porter 1965) and thus are assured of their political viability. All other groups are defined either as apolitical cultural ethnic groups or as part of the non-ethnic class group. In either case they are subordinated to the dominant groups' control of political power (Schermherhorn 1970:12-13). In the end both class and objective models must stand as hindrances; a more responsible formulation must be attempted.
Subjective Models of Ethnicity

One of the major faults, besides those already outlined, with the class
and objective models of ethnicity is that they rarely address the
inconsistencies introduced by changes in structure through time. Both reified
elements which might otherwise influence and cause changes in the structure of
ethnicity or class. One insists that only class is the true basis of political
alliance and conflict while the other says ethnics cannot operate as political
interest groups because politics are reserved for the dominant charter groups.
The ethnics and their ethnicity are only seen as applicable to the cultural
environment to which they are constrained. Within that environment there may
well be a plethora of studies but I seriously doubt that these studies have,
as some would wish us to believe (Jaenen 1977:xi), made any great
contributions to an understanding of Canadian ethnic groups let alone Canadian
society. The cultural perspective is inevitably oppressive and must be
separated from ethnicity.

This oppressive cultural basis of objective ethnic studies is mirrored
in the class studies. It is little wonder that they are both largely
unconcerned with local-level perspectives except to support the cultural
framework. Only in recent years has a more subjective investigation of
ethnicity begun which has divorced it from forms which are macro-oriented and
culture or class specific. This provides support for the examination of
ethnicity in terms of a transactional or negotiable framework in which the
community forms an important conditional structure. A similar transactional
method has been identified by Schermerhorn (1970:33) and van den Berghe
(1967:2-11) as the dialectical structure (though they falter in its
application). Kallen (1982) suggests that the subjective model of ethnicity is
simply a modern redressing of the old objective model which is no longer
applicable (if it ever was) because ethnicity can no longer be said to be coterminous with nationality, geo-political boundaries, or holistic categories. "(T)he age of ethnic isolation is over, thereby rendering static concepts of ethnicity obsolete." (Kallen 1982:60) It is certainly a redressing but it is also a completely new approach which attempts to avoid the deficiencies of both the class and the objective models.

The subjective definition of ethnicity is not a completely modern phenomenon in Canadian ethnic studies. In the 1940s E.C. Hughes (1971:157) set a partially subjective basis for ethnic studies when he stated that an ethnic group is not so because of its cultural attributes but because of its relationship with other groups thus providing one of the first interactional approaches. Unlike the objective studies of his time which defined the ethnic group in terms of its traditional traits, religion, folkways and especially language, he said that traits are not correlated to ethnic identity and that individual cultural traits should not be taken as a measure of solidarity in an ethnic group (1971:155). He observed that too many studies dealt with ethnic peculiarities instead of with the relations within and between ethnic groups.

Vallee, Schwartz and Darknell (1957:540) had also early recognized that ethnicity is too often taken mostly as an ascribed attribute and so made a distinction between culture and ethnicity recognizing that cultures may assimilate but that ethnicity continues to differentiate (1957:541). They also realized that assimilation need not endanger an ethnic group's identity and might help to maintain that identity because there would be few attributes left to emphasize differences so that differences must be made explicit and achieved in order to serve as a basis for interest group cohesion (1957:541). McFeat (1978:2) makes the distinction that "culture and ethnicity are
essentially different". He states that the acculturation process allows ethnic groups to survive by joining their "acculturators" but that the ethnics will then seek to make themselves separate by accentuating differences despite their similarities. Ethnic cultures, however, will interact by seeking similarities in spite of their differences. "Group cultures evolve with their boundary; ethnic groups only survive with theirs." Similarly Darroch (1981:94-5) has stated that immigration alone cannot account for the ideological or institutional bases of ethnic plurality in Canada. Rather "the forms and functions of ethnic institutions are altering with the political and social context" (1981:95). He observed that there are a number of different perspectives of ethnicity which are not excluded by "strong aspirations for assimilation" (1981:97). On this basis we can begin to appreciate the fact that ethnicity need not be constrained by such concepts as assimilation. Ethnicity is allowed to escape from its cultural trap.

The different perspectives of ethnicity recognized by Darroch (1981) are clarified by Breton (1978b) who makes a distinction between three bases of ethnicity: ethnicity for individuals (mobility and life course), ethnicity as a class phenomenon and ethnicity as a form of social closure (monopoly of occupations and other domains) (Darroch 1981:93). On this basis ethnicity begins to have a complex structure even though, in Breton's definition, it is still constrained by objective criteria and the three definitions of ethnicity cannot be easily separated: they apply to three separate conditions and do not attempt to explain criteria outside of certain defined 'institutional' structures. Still it does suggest a framework for a complex subjective approach to Canadian ethnic studies, even with certain objective limitations.

A fully subjective approach is utilized by Braroe who provides a symbolic interactionist examination in his study 'Indians and Whites' (1975).
His definitions are purely subjective and contextually related. He shows that there are different levels of conception related to each interethnic contact so that "social selves negotiated by daily interaction thus become transmitted into the relatively stable 'system' of ethnic stratification" (1975:185). Similarly Stymeist, in his book 'Ethnics and Indians' (1975), places his emphasis on the subjective model of ethnic relations by commenting that a subjective definition of ethnic group exists within each group and results in a continuous categorization (1975:50). Stymeist recognizes that "the root of much of our difficulty in understanding the social nature of the ethnic dimension in Canada today" is a result of the attempt to concretize the concept of ethnic group which is in fact and has to remain, loosely defined (1975:14). Braroe and Stymeist both accept ethnicity as a conditional element in the community structure of interaction within the local environment. This is an important premise as it placed ethnicity firmly within a transactional relationship between individuals in the community.

Paine (1977:251) (see also Briggs 1971) makes an analogous distinction when he comments that ethnicity is part of the self-image structure that differentiates people from their traits, which are emblematic and that part of culture mobilized for boundary maintenance. His analysis separates ethnicity from its objective base by defining traits as being largely symbolic and that even culture will change in response to conditional criteria. He acknowledges that "(f)orces of ethnicity, then, are likely to be forces of cultural action" and that "the processes of emic (in-group) decisions about cultural priorities constitute the domain of ethnicity". Neither the "tokens" or traits, or the defended "boundaries" are immutable and "we should avoid the assumption that ethnic symbolism, at any one time, will be of one piece" (1977:251). Paine, refutes those views of ethnicity which give it an imperative status which is
overordinate in principle and leaves little in question. Ethnicity is not 'above transaction' and thus he also allows that it has a number of different levels of analysis (Paine 1977:261).

Nagata (1969:45) maintains that the subjective aspects of ethnic identity can only be understood within a public and private domain. Thus in her examination of the Greeks in Toronto she recognizes that there is no overall collective "Greek" community; there may be an overall Greek consciousness but this has no institutional basis (1969:50). There are a number of Greek communities which arise or form in response to contextual variation. Similarly Anderson (1974), in her study of the Portuguese in Toronto, acknowledges that it is difficult to examine the Portuguese as a single structure. They must instead be examined as a complex system of individuals and resources (1974:128). Fernandez, in his study of the Portuguese in Montreal (1979), took this point even farther by showing that individual Portuguese can assert different ethnic identities at different times depending on the affecting criteria.

These are some of the first attempts to show the contextual basis of ethnicity with a focus on the individual structure of ethnic identity and the manner in which the individual responds to environmental changes and organizes his or her social relationship to the context. This brings to our attention the essential variability of ethnicity and its utilization or ineffectiveness according to the specific situation and context. This dimension of ethnicity is useful to an individual or a group because it offers a procedure for responding to new criteria. There are other responses, notably class, sex and religion, but ethnicity offers a more salient form which can incorporate other structural responses thus combining an interest with an affective tie, instrumentality and expressivity, status and contract (Bell 1975:167).
Ethnicity thus cannot be removed from or ignored within the environment in which it is formed. Ethnicity is not a foreign import but is the outcome of new social, economic and political relationships in the receiving community.

In my examination of objective definitions of ethnicity I attempted to show how the government could affect and circumscribe the definition as well as the study of ethnicity. Once this is realized we can accept that government and dominant group action is a prime element in establishing the contextual basis and structure of ethnicity (Nagata 1974). The government and dominant groups define the context within which ethnicity and ethnic group are defined and allowed to operate but it is the individual and group within a particular community who must respond to that definition -- negatively, positively or indifferently. The ethnics must respond to what is often a political factor and they do so through a number of different ways, including political action. Political action can now be accepted as a necessary element of ethnic action and of ethnicity. This is important because, as Baker (1977:110) recognized, ethnicity and culture are best understood in terms of their relationship to power and economic development.

On this basis the community level is crucial. Breton (1964), in an important paper in Canadian ethnic studies, acknowledges this point when he states that the factors which bear on the possible absorption of immigrants are to be found in the social organization of the ethnic, host and other ethnic communities. He specifies that the communities, in their different environments and in contact with various other ethnic communities, will develop a diverse mixture of structural differences as community members form new institutions, create interethnic institutions with other ethnic groups or use the host society's institutions to fulfill their social, economic and political needs.
Integration can take place in the direction of one, two, or all three community structures, or none, but is the result of the positive and negative forces of social organizations in the communities i.e. the 'institutional completeness' or 'parallelism' which "involves the interaction between individuals, small groups, or cohorts of individuals within various social and institutional contexts" (Breton 1978c:150). The degree of institutional completeness or 'consociationalism', the structure of association between groups, will tell whether the individual has to go outside in order to fulfill needed social relations. (Driedger and Church 1974)

Hughes and Kallen (1974:82) make a similar point when they state that in multi-ethnic societies such as Canada residential concentration of members at the level of the local community is an "important prerequisite" for the transformation from ethnic category, a human population defined by outsiders in correlation to objective criteria defined by conditions of race, territory, language, religion, or culture (1974:87), to ethnic group, internally defined when its members categorize themselves as being alike by virtue of common ancestry or social organization (1974:88). Hughes and Kallen, however, fail to recognize that the ethnic group like the ethnic category is objectively defined by outsiders. Styneist (1975:17) in his study also makes a distinction between the ethnic group and ethnic category but makes it clear that the concept of ethnic group is a higher 'abstraction' than the base which is that of culture and origin and the ethnic categories which result from that base. As Trygvasson (1971:85) asserts, the ethnic group has only an "analytical existence" dependent on recognized cultural attributes while the ethnic community has an "operational existence".

The community is important because in it the ethnics are no longer outcasts in a foreign land; they are no longer foreigners but members of a
revised ethnic community. They now belong and are able to define who does not belong, i.e. outsiders, notably the same individuals who call them 'foreigners' (Fernandez 1979:7-8). The community enables its participants to restructure what had been a normative and public identity in their homeland (e.g. Finnish) into a private identity on immigration (because they were considered foreigners by the host society) to a restructured if limited public identity as members of a specific ethnic community (Fernandez 1979:14, 15). As community members they are better able to relate to the wider society and respond situationally to contextual changes in the social environment.

Only at the community level can we begin to see an insider defined concept of 'group', outside of objective controls, and the creation of political interest groups which take action for the community rather for an objective concept of 'ethnic group'. Only at the community level do individuals behave as members of an ethnic commonality as well as of an interest group. At this level support for an interest does not easily dissolve because numbers do not mean as much as consistency and control of nominal support within the community. The ethnic community will draw on ethnic group attributes when necessary to gain wide support but it also has its own attributes which are more numerous and can develop specific responses to contextual change (Trygvasson 1971:88).

Within the community ethnicity may be better perceived as a force, a process and an interest. Only on this basis can a model be produced which can deal with the salience of ethnicity and class. The subjective studies (Nagata 1969; Anderson 1974; Brroe 1975; Stymeist 1975; Fernandez 1979) of ethnicity more properly focus on the individual and community level and provide an appropriate basis for the examination of ethnicity. In this regard I have chosen to examine and define ethnicity subjectively though I have also adopted
Cohen's (1974b:94, 97) assertion that the basis of ethnicity must be an emphasis on its political and symbolic organization. Ethnicity is thus perceived as a circumstantial element; a socio-political phenomenon in a limited 'arena' or sphere of public action. It is a group related political phenomenon in the present environment (Hechter 1974:1177) produced by translocation (i.e. migration or immigration) or any comparable change in context resulting in intra and intergroup alliances and conflicts over resources. This definition allows for the placement of class as a mechanism of organization and interest in the same arena. Only in understanding ethnicity as a dynamic system resulting from a relationship within and between groups and undergoing continuous change through time can we begin to appreciate its essential structure. It is not a static concept equated to the socio-cultural presentations of an immigrant or ethnic group nor is it a biological fact (van den Berghe 1981:22) but rather an ideological fact which must be clearly distinguished from a constrained paradigm applied by social researchers.

This theoretical examination points out that Canadian social scientists have, at different times, all too easily accepted ethnic assimilation or accommodation both to an Anglo conformity of the pre and post World War I period (Woodsworth 1909; Avery 1979:24) and to an Anglo-Franco accommodation of the post World War II era (Porter 1955:60) as the prime basis of interethnic relations in Canadian society. The Anglo conformity and, later, the Anglo-Franco duality, are said to form the sole arenas of public action. It is further assumed that the ethnics do not participate, to any large degree, in the construction or operation of these arenas. There is supposed to be little relative conflict over the basis of these structures, except between the charter groups.

I will try to show, however, that in at least one goldmining community
there is a continuous process of competition between all ethnic communities for economic and political resources which has resulted in contextual changes in the relationship between ethnicity and class in this community. This thesis will provide one of the few comprehensive attempts to deal not only with ethnicity at a community level but also with the interrelated question of ethnicity and class. This is an all too often forgotten element of interethnic study but in this thesis it forms a major focus of analysis. This research will also, however, deal more directly with the symbolic and political framework of ethnicity to provide an important addition to both ethnicity and community studies. The examination of the peculiar structure of ethnicity, class and community in the Timmins area produces a number of methodological problems which shall be dealt with in the next section and lead us into an examination of the area of study.

The Setting and The Fieldwork

Timmins is less a city than a cluster of small towns and municipalities amalgamated in 1973 as the City of Timmins, a huge municipal region of 1,230 square miles (fig. 4). The area is known historically as the Porcupine Camp, a term leftover from the inception of the mining base in 1909 but also of symbolic importance to the present. It includes towns, townships and diverse ethnic communities, each with their own particular social, political and economic dimension.

My original intention was to pursue an intensive study correlating interviews and primary research to provide a cohesive image of interethnic relations in the mining community. I received my initial information from the staff of the 'Timmins Museum and National Exhibition Center', a recently established institution. However, the museum had few sources on which I could draw and I had to depend on interviews. Initial interviews were held with
informants identified by my contacts in the Timmins Museum as being important to an understanding of the Porcupine Camp. I chose the museum initially because it seemed to be the only visible research institution though I soon realized that it was also a major exponent of local historical revision. While this fact may have hindered my initial attempts at gaining information, since they directed me to individuals who they considered to be proper informants, it also enabled me to view the internal processes of this local revision on a first hand basis.

Until I was able to distance myself from the museum and better understand local mechanisms, my initial interviews were unstructured and open ended, non-directive life histories. I took this approach in order to get a biography of the individual and of the culture and community in which they participated (Hsu 1969:41; Pelto 1970:99). This biographical and historical emphasis allowed the informant to understand my presence and to recite their life histories with little effort. Once the interview began it was then easier to steer the individual into more specific questions or to elaborate on a point mentioned only in passing or to be allowed to come back at a later time when I had some specific questions. I was able to do some 120 formal interviews as well as innumerable informal interviews and general conversations throughout my fieldwork period from the summer of 1980 to the fall of 1981.

Soon after my initial interviews I realized that I had to come to terms with some of the special problems which constrain research in a setting such as Timmins. One of the significant factors to be dealt with in gathering information in the Porcupine Camp has been labelled the 'camp mentality'. In short, residents of a mining camp perceive their stay in such camps to be temporary and assume that they will eventually be forced to leave. An
important consequence is that many people take a fatalistic view of the present with little thought to the future. In Timmins this structurally inspired disinterest persists in the contemporary community even when the economic future of the region is relatively assured.

Archival material has been gathered only within the last nine years and then mostly by elite members of the community who became interested in accumulating data as a means of justifying their local 'pioneer' status. Material has been channelled and rearranged to suit their interests. Only the most simple and benign elements of local history are gathered, presenting only laundered historical analysis.

In the local histories, produced mostly by English and French Canadian elite members, Timmins is presented either as an English or French Canadian community, depending on the author's viewpoint (Tremblay 1951; Porcupine Golden 1959; Rocheleau 1978). Histories, however, are limited in the community because historiography has been de-emphasized not only by the camp mentality but in the interest of a general postwar consociational alliance. This alliance had ensured that no one ethnic community would control local history and the symbols which might assist certain groups in gaining proprietary claims to local resources. Most ethnic communities and interest groups have become interrelated on a number of levels particularly through general associations such as clubs. They have, informally at least, agreed on an equitable basis for local competition for economic and political power, as will be shown in the thesis. One result of this agreement is that the general record of class and ethnic conflicts has been muted in favour of the alliance. Only within the last few decades has there been a renewed attempt by certain interest groups to rewrite and control local history as a means to enshrine their local status and circumscribe their right to local economic and
political resources. Nevertheless the influence of the camp mentality and consociational alliance was still in force so that only oral traditions remain as the major sources of information even though individuals are still reluctant to expound on internal problems or limit their insights to their respective ethnic communities.

Timmins was a community of ethnic communities, often of a particular political, religious or nationalist orientation. Most were closed to outsiders and their members continued to share face-to-face and back-to-back primary relationships. Each individual had a 'reputation' (Bailey, 1971) or clusters of reputations which varied according to community and situation. Individuals might have a reputation on a general community level and be perceived negatively as a 'Communist 'troublemaker' by authorities and elite members while retaining a positive stereotype with the miners as a strong supporter of trade unionism. They might have a positive stereotype within their own ethnic community, such as a strong supporter of Ukrainian culture, while maintaining a negative stereotype as supporters or opponents to certain religious or nationalist ideologies (e.g. Orthodox versus Catholic, Communist versus Centrist versus Fascist). These reputations are part of the oral tradition that encompasses important segments of local conflict but resulted in few documentary records. As such they were also pivotal to the reconstruction of interethnic relations in Timmins.

Given these circumstances I had to develop my own reputation in the communities since individuals were often concerned about whether I was a "government spy" (if that individual was a radical) or a "Communist spy" (if I was talking to a rightwing informant). One former Communist party member suspected that I may have been a "Troskyite revisionist". One informant, who was vehemently anti-Communist, said; "You see the Communists...By the way are
you Communist? You could be for all I know and you could shoot me after what I said. Well I'm telling the truth and the truth is sometimes very dangerous."

The last few words point to a major problem in methodology for this study. The truth of the historical record -- especially within communities which had only recently begun to compete over historiography -- is open to individual or group interpretation and conjecture. What is an absolute truth for one individual or group is an absolute lie for another. In recalling a history that has emotional and ideological significance, those who remember the finer details of that history will usually provide their own interpretation of events. This creates a problem in the study of small communities because the facts available are likely to be the recollections of individuals who have definite points of view. Written documentation is often sparse. Primary documents though are usually desirable historical evidence but they may not be available and, when they are, they may be inaccurate. Thus one quickly had to learn the nuances of the local community and subcommunities in order to be able to carry out successful interviews.

For example, a particularly important problem involved the tracing of local participation in earlier leftwing and ethnic radical movements. The term "progressive" was adopted by former members of the leftwing movement to distinguish their local activity ("unionism", "socialism" and "communism") while still allowing for their involvement in a panethnic alliance.

"Progressive" is an expression used by participants to apply both to the general radical movement, to a specific political movement (e.g. Communist), as well as to a particular ethnic community (Ukrainian and Finnish) and need not be exclusive to any one of these levels. The operating definition varies with individuals, their interests and the context of study. Since interviews often became a matter of the respondents first interviewing the interviewer,
one had to learn when to agree that another person was a Communist (if the informant was not) and when to accept that the informant was a progressive (when he was a Communist). For our purposes progressive will designate the more localized basis of left-wing activity from the more general radical movement.

After my initial unstructured interviews I began to develop specific interests and so I created a more structured interview though still trying to keep it informal. I now began a series of 'key informant' interviews. These were individuals that I found to be the most knowledgeable on a wide variety of local subjects and who provided information against which I was able to measure my other informants. They were the individuals who were most open and available for multiple interviews over the period of my fieldwork. They permitted me to gather quantitative and qualitative material which could not have been acquired through structured interviews or questionnaires because I did not as yet know the proper questions to ask in this environment. (Adelard 1982:98)

The key informants who offered the best interviews were those who had acquired reputations due to past activity in support of, or in reaction to, the progressive movement. Many had built up and still partially depended on sizeable reputations as resident 'troublemakers'. They continued to be identified in the community, often with little basis in fact, as "Fascists" or "Communists". These individuals, however, usually only presented one side of the community portrait or of an issue, which had to be balanced on the other side. As a result I also sought out those individuals who were their antagonists.

The need to gain information from the opposing interests was a necessary procedure in this environment. It did, however, provide its own problems
because there was a great deal of antagonism and contradiction, often on a personal rather than collective basis. Specific battles, which were formerly based on ideology, now often emerged as conflicts between individuals. Battles were still being fought but they had degenerated into 'name-calling' rather than ideological confrontations. The names used are not only the politically based ones of Communist or Fascist but also the more locally based ones which are an attack on a person's personal and family reputation. Terms such as 'highgrader' (gold stealer) and 'blindpigger' (bootlegger) were used freely against one's opponents to discredit them. These epithets are today often the only overt indications of former political confrontations.

In interviews informants would, once they were satisfied of my intent, invariably offer the names of other individuals who might be of assistance. This allowed me to snowball my interview sample though I was careful not to be constrained by this technique to interviewing only individuals who were members of the informant's own clique. Within each ethnic community I took care to gain as wide a range of informants, from the old to the young and from as wide a spatial area as possible. While this did not guarantee accuracy in my results it did enable me to minimize an error in bias as well regulate an error in sampling (Madge 1965:232). For certain communities this was difficult as only the older people remained, remnants of ethnic and political enclaves.

Key informant interviews were carried out in each of the major ethnic communities and for the camp as a whole. They ranged from the leaders of ethnic organizations to the mayor and aldermen of the city council. While offering me necessary information these informants were often analytical about this information and as a result I had to be careful that I did not accept their analysis as information. I measured the information against my wider group of informants and my own participant observation in the community (Pelto
Participant observation was a central focus of my research as I wished to observe the day-to-day life of the community and my informants. Not only did I live in the area for almost a year and a half but I made a concerted effort to view the commonplace elements of everyday life as support for my interviews (Pelto:1970:92). It is one thing for an informant to say he hates all French Canadians and quite another for me to find that he spends much of his spare time in their company. I also observed and participated regularly in local organization meetings of the town council, historical society, ethnic societies and associations, in order to acquaint myself with the framework for community alliances and endeavors. In this way I was able to develop a well informed image of the communities and the Porcupine area.

I was aided later in this research in the summer of 1981 when I became field director of the 'York Timmins Project'. This was an ethnic studies project supported by a grant from the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism under the auspices of the Ethnic Research Programme at York University. The project brought in fieldworkers to do comprehensive interviews of specific ethnic communities such as the Chinese, the Italians, the English and the French Canadians. This allowed for a wider perspective on the ethnic and charter group communities. In order to facilitate the utilization of materials, a computer coding system was developed and utilized. This system enabled us to code information under certain headings and, once it was processed, allowed us to access our research. (see comments in Appendix)

If I had depended solely on interviews I would have received only a limited presentation of facts. Many people did not want to talk about what they considered to be 'old troubles', expressing the opinion that they were in the past even though it was clear they were a prime ingredient in the present.
As a result the interviews had to be correlated with whatever primary sources were available. 16

A major source of archival information was the first local newspaper The Porcupine Advance (1912-50) which was made available to us by the Timmins Museum and National Exhibition Center. Newspapers are not usually considered to be primary historical sources because they include reports that are written after an event and which may be intended to create a particular impression on the reader (Madge 1965:91). As such, a newspaper is often partially propagandist in nature and the Porcupine Advance is no exception. Even when editorial policy was not directly involved, articles were coloured and distorted in the interests of news value, editorial policy and host society perceptions (Ogmundson 1977:253). The newspaper was thus hardly reflective of Timmins as a whole or even of any single ethnic community.

Some important information in the newspaper appears even to have been intentionally lost. The key point in the progressive movement in the Porcupine was the 1912-13 Strike, one of the fiercest strikes in the gold mines. The Porcupine Advance, the only newspaper in the region, should have been the key archival reference but the papers from this period are missing from the archives. They appear to have been destroyed and no copies survive. What little archival information is available comes from outside newspapers and articles in socialist publications.

In the Porcupine Camp this period becomes a lost age. Little mention is made of it in the local histories and there is little in the way of corroborating evidence except secondhand information. A wealth of information, particularly ethnic hall and union minutes, was also destroyed during the Second World War when the Finnish and Ukrainian radical halls, the major institutional bases of progressive activity, were confiscated and many of
their records were burned or discarded. While this aided the consociational alliance's attempts to control history it also limited my own ability to gain information in the prescribed manner.

The biggest problem with the newspaper was that it was such a large archival source that if one was not certain of a date and an event it was difficult to find information. It takes time to go through a newspaper and material can only be gathered over a long period which would preclude other research. As a result, in the summer of 1981, we developed a Summer Canada Student employment project, in association with the Timmins Museum, in which students were hired to go through the newspaper and code it according to the coding system already developed. This offered us a computer printout which accessed the information in the newspaper and which would be of benefit to future research in the area.

Other documents that might have been of use were also looked for but they were available only in limited supply. A large number of different organizations and institutions have risen and then disappeared in the Porcupine Camp but the minutes of many of these organizations have either been lost, destroyed or hidden. Few people within the community know where to locate these materials if they are, in fact, still intact. It is often by chance, at the end of an interview, when respondents seem satisfied that the researcher is not a threat, that they will go into a trunk and bring out the long forgotten minutes. These people are reluctant to give up their material to any local archival depository because they fear it will be misused, especially against them and their ethnic communities.

Increasingly, as I carried out my initial interviews, I was struck with the manner in which informants related the past and the present. Individuals related past events to present circumstances, often reinterpreting them in
their own interests. This made me realize the importance of examining the historical base of ethnic relations in the Porcupine Camp. As a result, though my research emphasis is structured on social anthropology I have also attempted to add an understanding of history to my research which is often missing in other anthropological studies (Vansina 1970:165). Without such a historical perspective it would be impossible to fully understand the structure of contemporary interethnic relations in Timmins (van den Berghe 1970:11-12). Social relations do not exist in a void and they are not without an historical base and I believe, as Rosaldo (1980:1) posited, that "ethnography stands to gain considerable analytical power through close attention to historical process". Further I will show that history itself, at least in the Timmins area, is under continual alteration as it is modified and transformed in the interests of different groups.

There is no concrete and generally accepted historical account of the Porcupine Camp. There are only the contentious events of a history which has not been adequately summarized because of disinterest or partisan misinterpretation. These events, however, are still important as symbols. History is manipulated by all ethnic communities as a means to gain and justify their political and economic positions vis-à-vis other communities. In this way history is no longer simply an event structure but becomes an influence on ethnicity and class as it is under continual revision and reinterpretation to fit specific interests and contexts.

On this basis I shall attempt to provide an examination of the historical framework of ethnic and class association and conflicts in the Timmins area. This will involve an examination of the mining region from its inception to the modern period. This is necessary in order to outline the history and to allow the reader to understand the influences on present day
ethnic relations in this community. While I will assume a linear event structure in this presentation it is best to remember my previous statement about the symbolism and manipulation of history and concede that past and present are part of the subjective model I wish to present.
Footnotes

-1- The community will be defined in terms of a concept of place, association and mind (McKinney 1966:103). It is not, however, limited to any single criterion. It is too often applied to human society in general but I will divorce it from this concept and apply the definition to an area of close spatial and mental interaction as well as to a phenomenon of scale. As a result it may apply to the community of Timmins, an ethnic community (e.g. Croatian) or a subsidiary community of interest (e.g. political) depending on certain social, economic and political criteria.

-2- I will not be dealing solely with the concept of conflict but rather with the idea of competition. Conflict implies an inappropriate advocatory role, a measurement of the 'correctness' of a position; a strike is perceived as an unnecessary conflict because it goes against dominant socio-political interests. Competition, however, is defined in terms of a rivalry over recognized and valued prizes which take place over incompatible values, positions (under and overrepresentation) or resource scarcity (supply and demand) (Mack and Snyder 1957:214).

-3- The group is a collection of individuals defined and characterized in relation to the interest they serve to fulfill (ethnic, class).

-4- The definition of ethnic group is often a negative definition, i.e. an ethnic group consists of individuals who are considered to be or considers themselves to be members of an ethnic group. This forms a problematical definition since the group is to be identified by its difference from or lack of integration into modern society (Francis 1976:119). To avoid this conflict I have chosen to view the ethnic group as a concept or consciousness which allows a potential for transformation between the individual, community and group (Kallen 1982:37).

-5- This is a version of the internal colonialism model familiar to Marxist theory in which the social system is formed of two unequal class groups, although Porter (1960) calls them charter groups. In this instance the conflict between the two groups would not result in a class revolution but in the adoption of universal principles of achievement.

-6- A major problem with the Marxian studies is a restricted definition of class and therefore ethnicity. The defining of class has always been a major question for Marxists because even Marx did not precisely define 'class', considering it to be more an objective conception to be defined by economic analysis. He related it directly to his concepts of the inevitable motion of events according to objective and primarily, economic laws, the dialectical process and the resulting class struggle which will reconcile the theory and practice of class revolution to a new classless society (Carr 1961:136-7).

-7- A.R.M. Lower (1936) and H. Innis (1936) introduced the concept of 'metropolitanism', the effect of large eastern centres of commerce and industry on the frontier. The frontier was presented as a dependent variable and virtually all socio-economic dynamics were externalized.

-8- It is useful to acknowledge that there have been attempts to
reconcile primordialist and 'instrumentalist' perspectives on ethnicity, notably in van den Berghe's (1981) recent book *The Ethnic Phenomenon*. The result, however, is far from satisfactory as it places the emphasis on sociobiological theory and reduces ethnicity to "extensions of kinship relations. Ethnocentrism and racism are thus extended forms of nepotism - the propensity to favor kin over nonkin." (1981:18) Ethnicity (and race, which is treated as an aspect of ethnicity (1981:80)) is presented as the means through which individuals and groups maximize their reproductive capacity. Ethnicity is reduced to a mini-max struggle between genes, a biological fact of life. This is a conceptual trap which even Van den Berghe admits when he attempts to extricate himself by recognizing that "common descent in ethnicity is often a fiction" (1981:242) or "underlying ethnicity, wherever it is found, is some notion of shared ancestry, real or at least credibly putative" (1981:240). This equivocation removes biological awareness from its central perspective and largely destroys the point of the book which was to provide a sociobiological theory of ethnicity.

-9- These were largely historical and self-serving general examinations of the successes of the ethnic group in Canada (Lindal 1967; Gaida et al 1967; Makowski 1967; La Kos-Rabcewics-Zubkowski 1968; Spada 1969). They were tomes on assimilation, justifying the ethnic group to Canadian society and itself; direct exhibitions of their successful participation in Canadian society according to the universal criteria of effort and achievement. The studies and ethnic celebrations, however, also served to emphasize an ethnic disassociation from the Canadian power structure by the need for such a demonstration (Fernandez 1978:21).

-10- Where there had previously been a dearth of ethnic research there is now a glut. But much of this is directed by government action and control of financial grants. The major academic influence on the field is the journal 'Canadian Ethnic Studies', which was formed in 1971 from the journal 'Slavs in Canada' after the government sponsored symposium on 'Languages and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Societies'. The government gave grants to the journal and set the basic parameters of study. As a result the journal was initially less concerned with ethnicity then with the study of ethnic groups as interesting anomalies. Only in the last few years has the journal acquired a less circumspect presentation.

-11- This is made apparent if we examine the new Canadian ethnic history series, 'Generations: A History of Canada's People', which is sponsored by the Multiculturalism Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State (Radecki and Heydenkorn 1976; Chimbos 1980; Lupul 1982; Rasporich 1982). Though these studies are far better than the Canada Ethnica series which preceded them, if only because they are written by social scientists (though the researchers are also largely members of the respective ethnic groups studied), they attempted to examine all the members of an ethnic group across Canada and the results were, as one might expect, self-limiting. They became concerned with general trends which are common to the participants (history of the Mother Country, immigration, language maintenance, religion, national organizations, literature and ethnic press, as well as social integration). Where the previous series had supported assimilation and successful participation according to universal criteria, the new series supported adaptation, multicultural integration, mutual enrichment and cultural heritage. No longer were the ethnics to be categorized as abnormal elements in Canadian society.
Nevertheless they continued to be culturally classified as appendages to the charter groups. Their history was separate from Canadian history. They also continued to be perceived as apolitical for though political action and interests are mentioned in the studies they are limited to an ineffectual examination of the internal dynamics of intragroup divisions along religious and nationalist lines (Chimbs 1980:72-104).

12- Responses against the proscribed nature of multicultural policy, besides liberal and Marxist criticisms which have ulterior motives, have occurred only in recent years (Dahlie and Fernando 1981:1; Peter 1981; Reitz 1981).

13- Burnet's view of ethnicity is largely based on the objective model, although she allows that ethnicity is flexible and no longer ascribed or tied to bases such as language (1976:25). She has begun to introduce subjective criteria in the examination of ethnicity but still feels it necessary to retreat into universal standards and conformity.

14- Kallen, like Bell (1974), however, accepts that it is a recent organizational strategy resolving the conflict between an expressive collectivity (gemeinschaft) and an instrumental competition for material and political resources (gesellschaft) in modern society (1982:62). Her resulting model continues to rely on objective criteria and class relationships while ethnicity is presented as a modern phenomenon which may wax and wane according to needs and goals (1982:81). Nevertheless, Kallen has shown the need for a dynamic perspective which takes note of subjective and objective criteria.

15- Ogmundsen (1977) has commented that these "official versions" of local history are wholly inappropriate sources of information because of their bias which "engender perpetual distortions" (1977:253). The view of history "from the top" does of course serve "establishment interests" but no more so than history "from the bottom" serves non-establishment (i.e. ethnic) interests. It is the tension between these two interests which is of importance rather than the information itself.

16- To fulfill some of the requirements of a social survey, quantification, representativeness and specificity (Pelto 1970:100-101), we also developed a return-mail questionnaire. This was addressed to contemporary issues, especially of French - English relations. It was delivered on a computer created random basis and filled a gap in our participant research. You will not, however, find it being fully utilized in this analysis for a number of reasons. One is that I greatly suspect the reliability of the questionnaire while I do not suspect my own research. This suspicion is related to the fact we received only about a 28% return rate (Sudman and Bradburn 1982:276). While this is considered a good rate of return by statisticians it did not prevent results from being skewed in favour of the educated, who were more apt to diligently fill the questionnaire and return it, and against the miners, the ethnic and the elderly who were not as likely to answer the questions because they were either uninterested, unable or suspicious of our motives.
FIGURE 1 The Province of Ontario

FIGURE 2 Northeastern Ontario
The Municipality of Timmins
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mines and period of operation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Texas Gulf (1965- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Hollinger (1910-1968)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- McIntyre (1912- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Dome (1910- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Coniaurum (1913-1961)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- Preston East Dome (1938-1968)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- Paymaster (1922-1966)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8- Arnor (1940- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9- Delinite (1937-1964/ reopened 1980)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10- Hallnor (1938- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11- Broulan Reef (1938-1966)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12- Kenilworth (1932-1964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13- Pamour (1936- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14- Buffalo Ankerite (1926-1956)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15- Moneta (1914-1943)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 4** Major Mines of the Porcupine Camp

- MACDIARMID
- KIDD
- WARK
- GOWAN
- EVELYN

- JAMIESON
- JESSOP
- MURPHY
- HOYLE
- MATHESON

- GODFREY
- Mattagami R. MOUNTJUIC
- TISDALE
- WHITNEY
- Cody

- BRISTOL
- OGDEN
- DELORO
- SHAW
- CARMAN
The Beginning of Interethnic Competition

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the area now known as Northeastern Ontario was under dispute as the provincial governments of Ontario and Quebec vied for control of this, as yet, unclaimed northern hinterland. The Quebec government wished to acquire the area draining into James Bay for expansion of its agricultural and religious colonies (Hodgins 1976:11). The Ontario government's interest was a direct response to the Quebec government's interest. Even when the provincial boundary was finalized in 1884, in Ontario's favour, this did not remove the area from contention as the territory of Northern or 'New (Nouvel)' Ontario continued to be contested in the interests of Protestantism versus Catholicism, English versus French, Industrialism versus Agriculture and Urbanism versus Ruralism (Tucker 1978:6). This contest, however, was soon complicated by the intrusion of masses of foreign immigrants. The traditional English-French conflicts of the area became of secondary importance to new class and ethnic competitions.

Few other areas of Canada were to become divided economically, between capitalist English and French Canadians and proletarian ethinics, and politically, between a powerful Anglo-Franco authority structure and ethnic communities whose access to economic and political power was restricted by these same structures. The factors which brought about this division were the reactions of English and French Canadians to what they came to perceive as
intrusions against their majority status and dominant group power as well as the response of immigrants who went from being sojourners to supporters of ethnic and class interests. This was the key alteration that occurred in this formationary period of the Porcupine Camp.

This development was brought about when, in the early years of the twentieth century, the Ontario government, responding to the success of Quebec colonization policies on the other side of the provincial border which added to the paranoia endemic to English-Ontario society at the turn of the century, agreed to build a railway to channel English immigrant farmers in order to hinder the further expansion of French Canadian farmers and Catholicism so that they would not gain majority status in the region (Hodgins 1976:3). The government, unable to interest private investment capital in a "railway to nowhere", was forced to finance the project itself and in 1902 incorporated 'The Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway (T&NO)' (Tucker 1978:13).

Work began on May 10, 1903 and by October the railway reached mile 102 where traces of the mineral 'cobalt' were discovered and the town of Cobalt was founded. A major find of silver was soon discovered in the same area. The find was of such size and importance that in a few short months the complete raison-d'être of the railway and northern colonization had changed from agricultural to mineral extraction. The T&NO was no longer to be a road for farmers, tradesmen and smallscale entrepreneurs but was to become a road for prospectors, miners and financiers (Tucker 1978:14). The basis of competition was also to be changed from an Anglo-Franco contest to a contest between Anglo-capitalism, supported in part by French Canadians, and immigrant workers.

Cobalt was important because it was the starting point in the change
towards large-scale capitalism and ethnic conflict in the northeast area of Ontario. Cobalt was a "poor man's mining camp" as it required only limited equipment and investment for major fortunes to be made. The largest mineowner in the Cobalt, and later the Porcupine Camp, was a French Canadian, Noah (Noé) Timmins. Before the discovery of silver in Cobalt he had been a storekeeper in Mattawa when he bought an interest in the silver claim of a prospector who happened to come into his store (Timmins 1935:353).

The mines were exploited with a minimum of labour and a maximum of return allowing small investors to capitalize for more costly deeper extraction. Cobalt produced a whole generation of prospectors, miners and financiers who spread throughout Northeastern Ontario. But all the camps that would follow, especially the Porcupine, were to be "rich man's camps" where large amounts of capital and a large, steady labour supply was necessary (Innis 1936:322). This furthered conditions in which previous English-French conflicts became of secondary importance to class and ethnic conflicts as the majority of the labour was to be supplied by European immigrants while dominant group status was co-opted by English Canadians.

In a short time from 1907 to 1910 the major mines of the Porcupine Camp, including the Dome, the Hollinger and the McIntyre, were found by prospectors (fig. 4). The prospectors and the manner of their discoveries, whether by intent or accident, by their own genius or luck, were to become quasi-mythical figures in the Porcupine Camp though few were to benefit financially from their discoveries. The names of Harry Preston, discover of the Dome, Alex Gillies and Benny Hollinger, discoverers of the Hollinger and Sandy McIntyre, discover of the McIntyre mine, were to be less important as purely historical figures than as part of the proprietary support for English Canadian hegemony in the community. Their stories and presence from the beginning appeared to
give the right of discovery and the right to exploitation, of minerals and other groups, to English Canadians.

It is interesting to note that a good case can be made that the first gold discoverers in the Porcupine were in fact two Finns, Vihtori Matson and Johan Pennanen, who made a substantial gold discovery at Night Hawk Lake in 1907. Their presence should have given the Finnish community in the Porcupine a large degree of historical importance and justification for a proprietary status but it was the English Canadians who acquired this right. It is also symbolically significant that the names of Matson and Pennanen rarely surface in local histories and when they do they are often mispelled (Harry Banela, Benalla, Penella for Johan Pennanen) or anglicized (Victor Mansen, Mausen or Mattson for Vihtori Matson) or they go unacknowledged as Finns (Williamson 1954:46/ Barnes 1975:19) except within their own ethnic community.

As soon as the mining claims were made American and English Canadian finance capitalists began to move in and buy claims and sell mining stock shares. New townsites sprang up overnight as large numbers of people followed the promise of the boom (Timmins 1935:354). Finns and Ukrainians from the small northern lumber and railway camps came to secure stable employment, away from the instability of seasonal employment and the isolation of the camps (Bradwin 1928). Italians came in with the railway they had helped to construct into the north. French Canadians came up from the smaller towns and settlements to the southeast. Englishmen came from Southern Ontario and Cobalt. The mines, however, were selective of who they hired. Paradoxically their selection was in favour of the immigrants and against the English Canadian miners for reasons which had become evident in the Cobalt mines.

The Cobalt miners had included some immigrants, especially Finns from the central United States and Ukrainians who had moved up from the Sudbury
mines, but most were Americans and English Canadians from Nova Scotia (Innis 1936:326). On March 29, 1906 the miners formed local 146 of the 'Western Federation of Miners Union' (WFM) to promote their interests. On July 8, 1907, when a new wage and working condition scale came into effect, which decreased the pay of many of the miners, the union went out on strike. Three-quarters of the miners joined the action (Hogan 1980:17). The strike, however, did not succeed and the men slowly drifted back to their positions by October of the same year. The mine managers responded by displacing the skilled and unionized Americans and English Canadians by increasing numbers of unskilled Finns, Ukrainians and Poles (who were also mostly Ukrainians) whose presence, it was thought by mine management, would guarantee the absence of union activity because the immigrants were known for their reluctance to join unions and willingness to work for less pay than the Canadian miners (Innis 1936:353).

The mine companies throughout the north began actively recruiting immigrant workers to supply the cheap and compliant labour they felt was necessary for their success (Bradwin 1928:29; Avery 1979:25-9). The mines sent agents to Europe and paid them according to the number of immigrants they could gather and send to the camps. The immigrants began to be directed to jobs in the northern camps by immigration agents in their own countries and places of departure and by agents at their points of embarkation.

The only jobs available to the immigrants in the north, isolated from the diverse jobs of the urban south, were those where willingness to work under adverse conditions was the only measure of acceptability. The mines, as a result, were to become the major conduit of immigrant employment. In Ontario 46% of the mine workers in the early years of the century were foreign-born, one of the lowest of any other province, but most of these were concentrated in the north which "(g)ave that region a distinctively "non-Canadian -

- 65 -
non-British" character" (Avery 1979:30).

The emphasis on immigrant labour in the Porcupine Camp was directly linked to the failure of union activity in Cobalt. As a result of the illfated 1907 Cobalt strike and the low price of silver, unemployment was high in Cobalt and many miners moved on to the Porcupine Camp. But the mine management in the Porcupine Camp were mostly English Canadians from Cobalt who did not want to hire Canadian and American miners who might press for better working conditions, increased wages and union recognition. They chose instead to hire immigrants for the majority of the lower positions in the mines and non-unionist British Canadians for senior positions. It was thus said of this period in the Porcupine mines that, "(t)he large element of foreign labour in the camp practically precludes a successful strike being made" (Innis 1936:353). The foreign workers were seen as sojourners with no connection to the union movement or Canadian society. They were hired by the bosses as cheap pliable labour and were in turn vilified by English Canadian workers for selling themselves cheaply and bringing down wages (Bradwin 1928:182).

Handlin (1951) has argued that most immigrants are conservative in their political and social outlook due to their peasant origins with its emphasis on tradition and authority. Immigration was said to serve to alienate and make them more conservative (1951:8). According to this viewpoint ethnic groups are transplanted whole into a new environment which they can not deal with effectively until their inevitable assimilation to the general society. They are never supposed to have an effect on that society. They are simply sojourners, either migrating and quickly returning home, or immigrating and quickly assimilating (Harney and Troper 1975).

This theory says little about the ability of these migrants and immigrants to adapt, either by restructuring familiar systems of adjustment
(e.g. the village enclave applied to an urban industrial center) or developing new alliances of political, social and economic significance to themselves and the host society. The fact that these people had emigrated showed less about their conservativeness than of an ability to alter their circumstances and seek changes for their own benefit in a new environment.

The immigrants were to appear meek and mild in not immediately joining the new institutional structures of change such as unions and radical political movements but this was due as much to the structure of those movements as they found them, which did not wish to include immigrants, as to any internal docility and acceptance of their positions. In a short time these same immigrants became the foundation of new ethnic and radical class movements. They were then to be perceived as 'dangerous foreigners'; threats to socio-political balance of Canadian society. The beginning of this transformation on the local-level came after the 1911 fire which destroyed the Porcupine Camp.

Restructuring of the Camp

Perhaps no single event stands greater in the thought of the inhabitants of the Porcupine Camp, both as a tragedy and a marker of identity, than the Great Fire of 1911. On July 11, 1911, during an extremely dry summer, a strong wind whipped flames from a small bush fire into a full inferno which scoured the Porcupine area. The total deaths were recorded as seventy-three but this included only those whose bodies could be found and identified. It did not include many more who had been in the bush. Some estimates put the final death toll in the 200 - 300 range (Timmins 1935:360; Caesar 1939:14).

If the 1911 Fire had any immediate benefit it was to lay bare the land and show that the mineral deposits, especially at the Hollinger, were far more extensive than imagined. The towns and mines were soon rebuilt. The mines,
however, began to exercise their influence more effectively and the rebuilding was to their advantage.

Noah Timmins decided to create a new town; one nearer to the Hollinger Mine and under its influence. The town of Timmins was founded in 1911 under his direction. He gave the town its name, laid out its streets and put the land up for sale. On Labour Day, 1911 an auction of town lots was held and the town of Timmins was incorporated January 1, 1912 with a population of 600 (Faludi 1967:3).

Timmins was not to be a company town in the strict sense of the term but Noah Timmins did wish to create a stable community. This was the era when the change towards full industrialization was beginning but only full industrial capitalization would allow the development of true company towns. The Porcupine Camp was caught in the middle of this transformation with one foot in the realm of independent entrepreneurship and the 'poor camp', where most people could make money quickly by selling or working their claims or by offering services such as food, lodging or illegal liquor, and the 'rich camp', as the gold found in the Porcupine was low grade rather than vein and major outlays of capital were necessary for labour and machinery.

The mines soon came to control even the political life of the camp. While they never directly elected the town councils their men effectively controlled the proceedings. The councils consisted of professionals (doctors and lawyers) and entrepreneurs who were often acclaimed without elections. A small quorum of the mine's own men elected the boards of education in part because the elections were held on midnight New Year's Eve without the benefit of publicity. Town building contracts also began to go to mine sanctioned individuals like Leo Mascioli, often without tenders.

The Porcupine Camp was officially re-opened March 28, 1912 when the Dome

- 68 -
Mine began operations and the Porcupine Advance newspaper began publishing and announced "The Birth of the Porcupine". The Dome threw open its doors to the general public. Private train cars full of investors from Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa and Chicago came to examine the mines. People commented on the fact that so many different classes and immigrant groups were rubbing shoulders; all had an interest in the new camp.

Bankers and millionaires mingled with the humblest prospector, Jew and Gentile, Pole, Pollock, Poleander, Swede, Italian, Russian, American, English, Irish, Scotch and French -- all united as one mighty nation to do honor to the Great Porcupine Gold Camp. (Porcupine Advance 5 April 1912, p. 4)

The railways advertised the benefits to be found in the rich new mineral area of Northern Ontario. They even made the cosmopolitan character of the Porcupine Camp a selling point.

The crowd is most cosmopolitan in character. Mining engineers who have had experience in all parts of the world; hardy prospectors; workmen of all nationalities; Chinamen in the laundry business; Swedes and Italians; Indians -- all rub shoulders in this interesting new settlement. (Grand Trunk 1912: 8)

In spite of initial problems people flocked to the camp. They could not be dissuaded from the destiny they saw (or were influenced to see) as inevitable to the exploitation of the northland. Advertisements by the mine companies and railways pointed out the great possibilities for agriculture and mineral wealth.

THE HAND OF DESTINY has decreed great things for the Northland of Ontario. In its vast unpeopled stretches a combination of natural resources has been assembled in such a way as to indicate that in process of time New Ontario will support an immense population. Mineral wealth in abundance lies imprisoned in the solid rock that hitherto has been regarded as an impassable barrier to progress. Right at hand foam resistless waterfalls, which, when harnessed, are powerful to wrest the precious metals from their granite prison. Rich agricultural land skirts the mineral areas, with potentiality for the support of millions of industrial workers. (Grand Trunk 1912: 5)

The vision of millions of workers supplied by thousands of local farms
was a strong one for the provincial government in Toronto for a major aim of the Temiskaming and Northern Railroad remained to bring in large numbers of settlers, as in the Prairies. The railway did not have the large tracts of land that the Canadian Pacific had acquired as a concession in the west to set off expenses but, as a government owned railway, they were controlled by wider ideologies, especially the forestalling of the expansion of the French Canadians in the north (Tucker 1978:4). Although northern Ontario settlement policies were originally designed for British immigrants, the 'yoeman' farmer types, this was soon extended to allow general settlement for all who were interested and the immigrants soon became the major settlers in the Porcupine area (Lower 1936:84-8).

These immigrants, however, turned to homesteading only as a part-time occupation along with mining or while waiting for a job. The T&NO brought in immigrants who were supposedly experienced agriculturalists but were essentially Finns, Scandinavians and Ukrainians experienced in bushwork and who supplied necessary labour (Avery 1979:24-5). These homesteads were less agricultural farms than simply timber farms whereby the individual would cut the timber, sell it and abandon the land (Kent 1966:120). The Finns became especially adept at clearing the land and realized the true nature of the agricultural system for they called themselves "stump farmers (kantofarmari)" (Lindstrom-Best 1981a:7-8).

Despite Clark's (1971:91) assertions, in this early period at least, the French Canadian agricultural settlements in the Porcupine area were not the major or only such settlements for there were large Finnish as well as a few Ukrainian settlements. The majority of French Canadians were in fact in the towns, especially Timmins. The French Canadian middle class were in advantageous positions in the towns and many became owners of establishments
or clerks at others. They gained a number of positions in administration and political office in alliance with the English Canadians. In contrast to the vehement Anglo reactions against the French Canadians to the south, the Porcupine Camp became relatively open to their inclusion in the authority structure especially as some, such as Noah Timmins, were the leading citizens in the camp. The mutual alliance between the English and French Canadians became necessary against increasing ethnic competition for economic and political power.

A close relationship developed between the mines and the churches, whose land was often donated by the mines, which aided the alliance between French and English Canadians, especially on an elite level. There were as yet no ethnic churches in the Porcupine, except among the French and English Canadians, and many immigrants were reluctant to see any develop because of their feelings against the churches in their mother country. Those that needed a church either waited for a visiting preacher or went to the Protestant and Catholic Churches; Finns went to the Protestant church and Ukrainians to the Catholic church.

The Catholic clergy were led by the charismatic Father Charles-Eugene Theriault who set up the first Catholic Church, Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, and almost singlehandedly built the parish structure in the Porcupine Camp. His influence in the camp cut across religious differences as he was a beloved character of both the English and French Canadians in the community and acted as an effective bridge between them. He was an individual who could talk to the mine managers at any time and get large donations whenever he needed money for the church. He gave French Canadians a great deal of authority and power in the community simply by his presence. The alliance between the French and English Canadians could have been dissolved a number of times on a number of
different issues but for Theriault's influence and paramounty in the community.

One English Canadian, who had been to school in Cobalt and was in the Porcupine during and after the 1911 Fire, commented on the French - English alliance by observing that whereas in Cobalt there was a lot of animosity between the French and English, Catholics and Protestants, there was no comparable trouble in the Porcupine. An elderly French Canadian informant similarly commented that "There was no idea of bilingual or Catholic or Protestant (back then) - no one asked you." This was in large part due to the fact that the English were in firm control in Ontario; legislation was introduced in 1912 to restrict the use of the French language in the school system. But it was also a result of the unique nature of the alliance in the Porcupine Camp. The alliance, based as it was on the influence of the mines, maintained an elite accommodation and Anglo dominance which was to hold against the increasing ethnic and class consciousness of the immigrant workers.

Mine Domination and the Rise of Class

Prospectors had found the gold, speculators had created the initial boom and investors had supplied the finances for development. Success, however, depended upon finding and holding a cheap but skilled supply of labour to a rather remote region where few Canadians thought of staying. Canadians had already built up a bad reputation as they would not tolerate low wages and could utilize the press to focus public attention on their grievances (Avery 1979:25). It was thus the immigrants who were to supply the majority of the necessary labour. But the terms 'immigrant' soon came to mean a class distinction as well, for it came to include many British and French Canadians at the lower end of the social strata as well as immigrant foreigners.
From the beginning a class structure was being consciously and unconsciously developed by the mine companies as they rebuilt and started production. The Porcupine mines were managed from the outset by English Canadians who had received their experience in the Cobalt silver mines and been transferred en masse. These were individuals who were, and continued to be, part of the same social strata and members of the same clubs. This was an elite society whose members defined themselves, as one elderly Anglo informant remarked, as "clubmen" for club membership was equivalent to local elite membership and control.

These clubs included such organizations as 'The Canadian Club', the local chapter of which was formed in April 1912 with the objective of fostering a patriotic Canadian sentiment, the "Loyal Order of Elks", also organized in April 1912 and an Independent Order of Oddfellows' lodge, created in June 1912. There were also chapters of the 'Orangemen' and 'Masons' which were the most powerful associations in the camp (Porcupine Advance 1912). The elite quickly and effectively recreated their strata in an area which a short time before had been only bush. Where housing for the workers was lacking, clubhouses for the management were not.

Large substantial houses were also built by mines for their salaried employees. The Hollinger built these houses on a hill overlooking Timmins. Ever since this area has been known as 'The Hill'; an enclave of upper class English Protestant mine management and professionals. This began the formalized development of ethnic enclaves. The mine did not build commensurate accommodations for their workers who lived in shacks or rented rooms often under abominable conditions. In one house in Timmins alone sixty-two men were reported to be living in five small rooms (Porcupine Advance 17 May 1912, p.6).
The working conditions at the mines were no better. Men worked ten hour days, some for seven days a week, under dangerous conditions. Safety equipment consisted of a soft felt hat which provided little protection from falling rocks or bumping into overhead obstructions. Safety glasses were wire mesh and safety boots simply leather boots. The men used a candle in their hats to provide illumination. Blasting and drilling filled the air with dust particles which brought on silicosis. It was a rare man who could survive for long under those conditions. In commenting on the accident and death statistics in Ontario mines a 1914 report stated that one "cannot be struck by the large percentage of foreign origin" (Avery 1979:36). This was accepted as being due to the immigrant worker's unfamiliarity with the language, noncomprehension of orders and to "mental traits", attributes of individuals who had no recourse to political redress. The companies were not about to spend money on safety when it was easier to replace a dead worker.

One result of this exploitation was the development of a solidarity which cut across the different groups who made up the labour class. Avery (1979:37) stresses that it was a matter of lack of solidarity between the different immigrant groups within a mine camp which allowed the mine managers to exploit the workers callously. This was to be a common development at a later time but for now the immigrants began to develop new expressions of class consciousness which became the basis for interethnic alliances as well as political and social action. It would be the later responses of the mine companies and the host society which would break down these alliances and then only partially.

Instead of the non-involvement which had been common to their previous relationship to the host society, viewing Canada largely as an extension of a migratory pattern which focused on improving (through revolution or the
acquisition of land) their mother country and home village to which they would return, many began to become committed participants in the new society (Harney and Troper 1975:3; Vasiliadis 1978). Their previous indifference became replaced by enthusiastic attempts to revise Canadian society to their benefit. At first they sought to carry out their goals under the influence of a wide radical class ideology but soon found themselves up against a number of difficulties, both internal and external, which necessitated the introduction of certain ethnic differentiations.

Class and Ethnic Radicalism

Many immigrants had experienced the radical concepts of socialism, communism, trade unionism and co-operativism in their homelands but found that this meant little in their new environment. In North America, and especially in the frontier mining areas, the immigrant supporters of class consciousness initially attempted to ally with the Canadian radical socialist movement which sprang up at the turn of the century in response to the challenge of the new industrialization and urbanization of Canadian society (Horowitz 1968:24). But these immigrants found that the Canadian movement was not interested in their support and was even less interested in their ideas for a future Canadian socialist society.

The major radical force in Canada at the turn of the century was socialism and trade unionism as introduced by British immigrants. Their ideas were considered to be acceptable in Canadian society simply because they were British (Horowitz 1968:24). For the first decade of the twentieth century British theories were to rule the socialist and radical movement in Canada. It was a movement which offered immigrants little except hope of assimilation to a future Anglo Canadian socialist society to which they would continue to be subservient.
The primary socialist organization in Canada, the 'Socialist Party of Canada (SPC)', did not address itself to the immigrants, unions or to the specific problems of the Canadian environment (Avakumovic 1975:31; Angus 1981:4). The immigrants could have offered the party a large new mass of support but they were considered peripheral to the British Canadian defined movement and often seen as antithetical.

The Ukrainian radical leadership, especially, found themselves in increasing conflict with English Canadians in the SPC. Avery (1979:60) states that this was a result of the "ethnocentric appeal of the Ukrainian socialists" which brought them into conflict with the Anglo Saxon leadership but it was clear that the ethnocentrism was more pronounced in the English Canadian section of the party. An article of October 1909 in the Ukrainian socialist paper Rabochy Narod (Working People) acerbically commented that "some chauvinistically-inclined English comrades try to push us aside". The Ukrainians felt their membership fees only went to support the English community while their own communities "live in illiterate darkness" (Krawchuk 1979:12-3). The "irreconcilable" relationship Avery recognizes between the two groups was not a problem of ethnic relations but indicative of an increasing immigrant disenchantment with the limited and parochial character of the British Canadian dominated Socialist Party of Canada.

The Finns were just as disenchanted and at the 1908 Toronto convention of the Socialist Party of Ontario, which they hosted, they attempted to criticise the SPC for its parochialism and offered an alternative platform of social reforms. The Finns, however, were unsuccessful in changing the SPC platform and were condescendingly criticized for "their clannishness with so few able to talk English (which) will make it hard for us to make them realize the non-revolutionary position they have taken" (Lindstrom-Best 1981c:117).
What was being disregarded was the fact that it was the Finns and Ukrainians who were addressing themselves to revolutionary questions in seeking to broaden the movement. The British-dominated SPC remained intransigent and drew away from the immigrants by arguing that they did not know what they were doing.

In the face of this opposition the immigrants began to develop an ethnic consciousness which became parallel, if not integrated, in its development with class consciousness. Class consciousness had developed in response to the prejudicial political and economic structure of large-scale Canadian capitalism. Large numbers of immigrants had tried to commit to class consciousness but found themselves in conflict with the Anglo parochialism of the Canadian radical organizations. They found that they had to respond to the prejudicial restrictions of Anglo society both in the guise of Canadian authorities, who would not allow the immigrants to assimilate except according to limited criteria and positive and negative stereotypes (Woodworth 1909), and Anglo radical leaders, who would not let them participate in the class movement on an equitable basis. Accordingly the immigrants were forced to create an ethnic consciousness, the only possible response that was open to them at this time, which developed in parallel to and became integrated with class consciousness (Berdichewsky 1973:387).

It is necessary to remember that the so-called 'ethnic organizations' which existed at this time were either purely political in nature, such as the Ukrainian and Finnish affiliates of the SPC, or else they were small aid-benefit societies designed to care for an ethnic individual if he died in Canada. Group distinctions were either regional or language based but rarely ethnic dependent. There were few of what we would now call ethnic organizations in Canada, that is without a purely political motive, and none
within the Porcupine Camp. The increase of ethnic consciousness, however, saw the expansion of primarily political associations into a greater concern for ethnic group and ethnic community social cohesion. This was not a totally conscious development but rather an aided element of the situational construct, the individual and group utilized in response to contextual change. As such ethnicity was now being developed as an option alongside class. Nevertheless the ethnics remained committed to widespread class consciousness, at least until it was considered disadvantageous, at which point they would utilize ethnicity as a basis of economic and political action on a more localized level.

The beginning of this change could be discerned in the restructuring of the major socialist institutions. In the face of Anglo opposition the Ukrainian socialist branches met in convention in Winnipeg on November 12, 1909 and reorganized themselves into 'The Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Party of Canada (USDP)'. The leaders of this movement were the Ukrainian intelligentsia, individuals who had been prepared to join in the general Canadian revolutionary movement but who had been rebuffed by the Anglo radical class organizations. As a result they chose to create their own organizations and to recruit members through a specific program of education among the Ukrainian proletariat (Krawchuk 1979:14). They stated that their motivation was not nationalist in character but rather what they termed their "wider class interests": the USDC's second resolution forcibly reminded the Ukrainians of their class status and called on them to "solidly unite with workers of other nationalities 'to rid themselves of the capitalist yoke'" (Krawchuk 1979:13). The new organization sought to transform their own national group into part of a general revolutionary movement that the Canadian radicals had not chosen to adopt. But in so doing they also began to maintain
an expressly ethnic identity and interest in the new environment. While the USDP's written ideology was not ethnic in character its local organizations became indicative of developing ethnic consciousness which, while continuing to serve as a basis for class action, also began to pursue their own goals in the local environment.

Some radical immigrant leaders continued to try to change the Socialist Party of Canada from within but finally, in 1910, most of the Toronto immigrant branches of the SPC were expelled for what the English Canadian leadership considered to be their uncompromising attitudes. The Finn locals of the SPC withdrew over SPC parochialism and allied with the Canadian Socialist Federation. In October 1911 they formed an umbrella organization 'The Finnish Social Democratic Party of Canada (FSDP)'. The Finns, like the Ukrainians, stated that their new organization would continue to be a class organization. In keeping with this assertion the objectives of the FSDP were stated to be the assimilation of Finns to Canadian society, to help in their advancement and education, to encourage Finns to participate directly in Canadian society and to ally with all other Canadian workers in the class movement (Mertanen and Eklund 1942:5). However, another major objective of the FSDP was stated as providing a cultural and social life for the Finnish community, an objective in keeping with the rise of a new ethnic interest.

A change had occurred in the structure of Canadian society which both the Anglo dominated SPC and Canadian authorities had not chosen to recognize. Large numbers of immigrants were becoming integral elements of Canadian society but few Anglos of any political persuasion chose to accept their presence. Some Anglo socialists did, however, and, realizing the need for a widescale revolutionary movement, joined with the ethnics on December 30 - 31, 1911 to form the interethnic 'Social Democratic Party of Canada (SDPC)'. The
majority of the members of this new party were Finns and Ukrainians, immigrants who had not accepted the parochialism of the old organization. Nevertheless the SDPC branches of Finns, Ukrainians, Poles and Jews were careful to leave the general operation of the party to the Anglos and began to operate within their new socio-political associations. This was due in part to language differences and fear of reaction by the host society but it was also due to an internal wariness of Anglo commitment to the party. The ethnics began to develop local hall organizations which became both quasi-political and cultural associations. These new organizations were affiliated through national radical associations but they were rarely utilized in the pursuit of national class interests. Instead they would become the foundation of ethnic community attempts to acquire local resources.

This interest in local resources, however, were still subservient, at least for a time, to general socialist activity. With creation of a new national party the center of socialist activity in Canada had moved from the west coast to the Prairies and Northern Ontario where the ethnics were to be found in large numbers (Angus 1981:3). The new party came into alliance with the trade union movement, especially the Western Federation of Miners which had a general socialist ideology as well as an open ethnic policy (Tester 1979:29). In the Porcupine Camp many English Canadian workers began to think of themselves and the ethnics as a single working class united through socialism, trade unionism and the means of production against the mine management as they felt a growing sense of injustice against the capitalist system.

The British immigrants and the English Canadian migrants from Southern Ontario had come to the Porcupine Camp expecting to make a comfortable and even wealthy life as a result of the boom in the north. Their vision of
themselves as the chosen people of New Ontario who would benefit from the area's wealth fell before the onslaught of intemperate conditions and insensitive mineowners and elites (Johnson 1972:169). This led to a growing feeling of solidarity with the ethnics who endured more direct discrimination and in turn led to a panethnic alliance on an occupational and ideological level. This solidarity soon erupted into a militant class activity within the Porcupine Camp which attempted to redress local and general societal imbalances.
Footnotes

-1- This information can be found, written in Finnish, in the files of the Finnish Historical Society at the Ontario Archives in Toronto.

-2- Some experts did not think the camp could possibly succeed. Sometimes it did not appear as if it would. Many of the mines were simply 'paper' stock mines which bilked investors and rarely began production. It was often thought that the Porcupine would go the way of so many previous Ontario gold camps for others had been as promising but were abandoned without having the added problem of being a gold bearing quartz camp as had many of the earlier abandoned gold camps in Ontario. It was a mining truism that "quartz veins in Ontario never pay to work" (Lebourdais 1957:150).
III. PANETHNIC CLASS SOLIDARITY

Alliance

The miners in the Porcupine Camp were still committed to large-scale class action over and above their developing ethnic attachments (Forcese 1975:19). While there were ethnic differentiations these distinctions were not as clear or as absolute as they would become in future. At no single point, either nationally or regionally, was large-scale class consciousness as cohesive as in the period prior to World War I (Avery 1979:39:64). The conditions of class consciousness versus the development of industrial capitalism were clearly marked. The struggle over the nature of radical socialism in Canada had been won, for a time, by the immigrants and the relationships between ethnic, political and union membership were contiguous and often indiscernable (Angus 1981:14; Penner 1977:50-8). The miners, in particular, formed a distinctive group within the socialist and class movement in Canada characterized by a solidarity which cut across all ethnic boundaries.

The intolerant social, economic and political conditions of Canadian society seemed clear and straightforward to all the miners in the Porcupine Camp. The Hollinger, Dome and other mine interests, with their financial base and management in Toronto and the United States, became symbols of a capitalist enemy and mine repression was a reminder of the need for class solidarity. The economic exploitation of the workers was plain as was the attempt to suppress their major political, ethnic and union representatives.
throughout Canada. This was the era of capitalist growth and the worker's response was a radical class view of the nation and world in which all the pieces seemed to fit exactly. It was a position of 'us', be we Finns, Ukrainians, or English Canadians, against 'them', the capitalists, in the guise of the mine managers and owners.

In this early period of the camp most of the British and English Canadian labourers were outside the control of the mines and closely integrated with the immigrants in socialist and union activity. They and the immigrants were all miners as a whole and saw the problems as a whole which were the problems of accident, unemployment and exploitation by the capitalist structure. The English Canadian workers, in particular, were more conscious of their class than of their cultural identity. They saw themselves in competition with upper classes rather than between ethnic groups (Colemon 1912:165).

French Canadians did not engage in this class alliance because the Catholic Church was allied with the mineowners and vehemently opposed to the organization of a class struggle. This was perhaps the greatest weakness of the class movement in the Porcupine Camp. While the vast majority of French Canadians would easily fit into the designation of working class and suffered as much and more than others, their leaders, especially in the church, were allied with the English elite and mineowners and were able to keep their parishioners from engaging in the class movement.

The dependence of the mining camps on the disinterest of the immigrant sojourner in joining a strike and the ability to use them as 'scabs' to replace strikers faltered to ethnics who were more militant and educated about their relationships to the means of production and the importance of strike activity (Innis 1936:353). Immigrants who had been used as strikebreakers in a
previous mining camp were now likely to be the militant ethnics working for class solidarity in the Porcupine Camp.

The almost instantaneous nature of this alteration was not only a result of a change in the immigrants, from immigrants to class supporters, but it was also due to a new perception by Canadian society. In a time of socio-economic crisis, urbanization and industrialization, the host society found a new and growing component within their midst. They had come to depend upon this component but also came to see it as threatening their system. It was a time of confrontation which came to be perceived by the host society as 'radicalism', something endemic to the particular character of the immigrant.

The radicalism was said to be something that they had picked up elsewhere and brought over, as if a disease had come to infect and destroy the body of Canadian society. This symbolic analogy was often used by Canadian society against the ethnics but the 'infection' had truthfully been bred by the Canadian context. A perceptual distortion was now developing in Canadian society as the dominant groups began to view all ethnics as illegitimate extremists to a degree that was out of keeping to their actual influence except in certain areas such as the Porcupine Camp (Ogmundson 1977:253).

**Finnish and Ukrainian Socialists**

Few ethnic communities in Canada became as effective purveyors of class and socialist ideology, while maintaining their ethnic identity and cohesiveness, as did the Finns and Ukrainians. In the early decades of the Porcupine Camp they were the strongest supporters of revolutionary class consciousness (Lindstrom-Best 1981:3).

The Finns were the first major ethnic community to form in the Porcupine Camp. They came into the camp in large numbers and settled into specific enclaves. They also continued to be well versed in radical class theory
promulgated through the American Finnish and English Canadian socialist newspapers. Many had migrated from Finnish mining settlements in the United States or from bush camps where they had often discussed politics well into the night. They maintained a commitment both to a general class movement as well as to their local halls which became the foundation of initiatives to acquire resources at the community level.

The first Finnish Hall in the Porcupine Camp was completed in 1912 in Pottsville (now part of South Porcupine); it was the "first worker's hall in the Timmins area" (Koski 1980:5). Others quickly followed. The halls helped educate the Finns to the new environment in which they found themselves; not as sojourners but as committed participants in Canadian society and the local community. The hall afforded all a place where they could talk, read and discuss ideology. These discussions included women as they were accorded equal status within the community.

Not all the Finns were left-wing for some had come to escape what they saw as an increasingly radicalized homeland. These conservatives were in a minority in the camp and had no formal institution to propagate on their ideological behalf within the Finn community. Their alliance was along religious lines and because there was as yet no Finnish Lutheran mission in Canada they went to the English Protestant churches. A small minority were members of a Finnish Presbyterian group which met in private homes whenever Finnish pastors came to the camp on their missionary rounds through the north. These conservative or 'Church Finns', as they were called, were a minor and insular group which left the field open for representatives of the FSDP in the camp to proselytize in the halls and boarding houses.

Co-operative boarding houses were common among the Finns whereby a group would buy shares in a house and each individual would get bed, meals and
necessary comradery for a small charge. These houses became fertile grounds for propaganda and discussions as marxism, atheism and syndicalism were all matters for debate within the Finnish community and even between ethnic communities, such as with the Ukrainians.

Thousands of Ukrainians came to Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to farm in the Western Prairies. After initial settlement many began to move into industrial areas, bush camps and mining communities across Canada. This brought them into contact with socialist oriented Ukrainian propaganda promulgated by a new Ukrainian intelligentsia and association.

The 'Ukrainian Social Democratic Party', founded in November 1909, grew rapidly in the small mining towns and bushcamps of Northern Ontario. The Ukrainians were not as literate as the Finns but those that were literate read from the Ukrainian papers and discussions ensued. The Ukrainians did not create a hall in the Porcupine Camp until after World War I but, in a much less formal manner than the Finns, they also became indoctrinated into the radical milieu. The Ukrainians were not as internally divided as the Finns; they were mostly former peasants who quickly become class conscious in reaction to the Canadian socio-economic system (Krawchuk 1979:4).

Though there may not appear to be surface similarities between Finns and Ukrainians, a specific class and ethnic alliance developed between the two groups and was to have important economic and political consequences in the camp. The Ukrainians became the major allies of the Finns in the Porcupine Camp. In the first ten years of settlement the Finns shared their halls with the Ukrainians until the latter could build their own. Musical entertainment was arranged mutually among the English, Finnish and Ukrainian Social Democratic organizations within the Union Hall to raise funds for the union
and the socialist organizations. Special benefit dances were held amongst all the groups when some individual was crippled in a mine accident and did not have the money to pay for an artificial arm as there was no accident compensation.

The Finns and Ukrainians were bound by the common experience of immigration and adaptation to Canadian society, both as immigrants and miners and later as 'dangerous foreigners' rejected by the host society. The Ukrainian and Finnish radicals became the fulcrum of social change in the camp and the source for many new activities.

The degree of Finnish and Ukrainian support for class consciousness in North America is an important sub-issue in Marxist analysis. It forms the basis for the theory of 'preradicalization'; that the character of the class relationship is determined by "the social origins of the workers who constitute the original cohorts" (Galenson 1942:110). Specifically this has meant that the agricultural proletarian background determines the degree of discontinuity. Those individuals with the least discontinuity, such as the Danes and Swedes who had only a moderate labour movement in their countries before their periods of immigration, will experience the least discontinuity with an industrial host society (Galenson 1942:110). In contrast those who experienced a radical movement in the mother country, such as the Finns or Ukrainians, would be most likely to continue in a radical movement in the country of immigration because their experiences would be so much similar.

This principle, however, fails to recognize that the Finns and the Ukrainians formed the largest immigrant proletariat communities while the Danes and Swedes formed much smaller communities. The larger communities were in greater direct conflict with the host society and this relationship may have done much to restructure both ethnic and class relationships into new
alliances and goals. Further it is difficult to distinguish between cause and effect because the Finns and Ukrainians came into immediate contact with a Canadian radical movement which co-opted their ethnic structures as bases for radical propaganda. Finally, perhaps the principle's greatest weakness is that it does not explain the changing and interrelated nature of ethnic and class consciousness.

Immigrants were being integrated by their class and ethnic associations into the host society and into a political structure that was all too evident within the camp. What they saw and experienced was clear and easily translated into a class view of Canadian capitalist society. A change was occurring in Canadian society which was centered on the frontier communities. The change was a growing class polarization and conflict. Even the host society was forced to notice this shift as was evident in this excerpt from a speech delivered at the Empire Club in Toronto by a member who had just returned after a tour of Northern Ontario and had realized that new class divisions were being induced by industrial growth.

Class distinctions are coming in. We have a servile class and a ruling class. Now, that may be a thing that cannot be avoided. I am inclined to think that this is the case, but it is a thing that we want to watch. This splitting into castes, into an upper circle and a lower circle, is not very wholesome. There was no such thing in Ontario until this last boom in mining and manufacturing. (Calemon 1912:165)

The ethnics and their Anglo allies were much better versed in the concepts of a revolutionary class struggle than many who were to follow them. They felt they had a mission to fulfill, a destiny placed on their shoulders in which all working class people would join together and take positive action (Krawchuk 1979:13). Ethnicity was to be a subservient element of class solidarity to be used to bring about the class revolution but to be hurriedly discarded afterwards. This was a class consciousness ready and willing to take
political action. In the Porcupine Camp the culmination came with the rise of union activity and the 1912-13 strike.

The Union

The first major union in Northern Ontario was 'The Western Federation of Miners (WFM)' (founded Butte, Montana 1893). At this time miners moved freely from camp to camp and country to country and the Western Federation of Miners became the main international union. The premise of the union was largely Marxist in character and it was allied to the syndicalist 'International Workers of the World (IWW - 'Wobblies')', which saw unionism as part of a large-scale class movement rather than a separation into trade unions. It was an approach which recognized only the class of workers and did not separate them into ethnics and English. The Western Federation of Miners constitution spoke of social equality and that no one was better than another because of race, colour or creed. "Any member who refuses to work with, or discriminates against another member because of race, creed, colour, sex or national origin, shall be subject to trial and discipline, as prescribed in this constitution" (Tester 1979:29).

Union activities were oriented to the migratory patterns of the miners. Initiation fees and dues were low, membership cards transferable and union organizers would wander and organize on an informal basis (Avery 1979:53). One individual, commenting upon the informal conditions of union membership in the Porcupine Camp, remarked:

I was just a kid out from the city and there were no unions where I was. I didn't know what a union meant or what it was, anything. And somebody, I think by the name of Tom McGuire, he was a 'walking delegate' -- I think they used to call them. He'd walk all around the mines and collect the dues and that. He came into the room -- there were four of us in the room -- and he collected the dues from the other fellows. I didn't say anything. I didn't know what it was about. He says - 'You belong to the union?' -- oh, he was a rough broken old devil you know - 'You belong to the union?' I said, 'No.', 'Well you better bloody well join.' And he
was a big man and scared the shit out of me. So I joined. I didn't know what I was joining. I didn't have the least idea of what it meant or anything. Of course, I found out later.

The union did not waste time on ideology but took direct action for specific grievances in which the strike was taken "as a forerunner of, a kind of primary school training for, the general strike" which would bring about the end of the capitalist system (Avery 1979:53). Only at the beginning of a strike would the union begin to recruit members. This was an effective deployment as the union was less open to direct reprisals by the mine companies.

The first mine union in the northern camps was the Cobalt Miners Union, local 146 of the Western Federation of Miners which was formed on March 29, 1906. Its first collective action in 1907 had ended in failure and the displacement of the unionized men by larger numbers of Finns, Ukrainians, Italians and Poles, in an attempt by the mineowners to guarantee union inactivity. But these same ethnics became radically militant and class conscious upon entering the Porcupine Camp.

Porcupine Miners Union, local branch 145 of the Western Federation of Miners was formed in April 23, 1910 among former members of the Cobalt Union. The union was English Canadian oriented but welcomed immigrants into the ranks. As a result large numbers of Finns and Ukrainians soon joined. They were all one in the class struggle. Yet while the Porcupine union was becoming increasingly militant and class oriented its own International Union was becoming less aggressive. The Western Federation of Miners had already broken from the International Workers of the World in 1908 because it feared IWW militancy. The Porcupine union, however, was still committed to a revolutionary class movement and it responded by attacking the WFM. They emphasized that the only union the 'masters' feared was the Industrial Workers
of the World. They called for the union to be subservient to the greater workers' struggle in which the strike was to be the most important tool. The union leadership and membership in the Porcupine Camp were ideologically prepared for a strike which was not long in coming.

1912-13 Strike

In 1912 the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway was completed to the edge of the Porcupine Camp. This allowed for the cheaper transportation of goods and reduced the cost of living in the camp. Most of the mines had also come into full production by this point and there was less need for workers to be enticed by the promise of slightly higher wages. There was a labour glut and the mines wished to take advantage of it by lowering wages especially since they felt that a strike was unlikely to result because of the seeming weakness of the union and the large numbers of foreign workers who could be used as strikebreakers. They did not realize that changes had occurred which strengthened the union and interethnic class solidarity.

The smaller mines had joined together in 1910 to form the 'Mine Managers Association' to serve their collective interests. The larger mines, such as the Dome and Hollinger, were not members of the association but they set the wage scales for the region. The smaller mines were forced to pay higher wages than the larger mines in order to acquire workers and above those in the other parts of Ontario on the original premise that the cost of living in the Porcupine area was appreciably higher. With completion of the rail links these smaller mines attempted to reduce wages to the level paid by the Dome and Hollinger.

On August 1, 1912 the new rates were posted by the mines. The union protested vehemently and called for an arbitration board. The law had provided that the mine companies must give thirty days notice of any change in wages or
working hours but the Mine Managers Association had disregarded the law. The threat of a strike and legal action forced the association to postpone the cuts until September 1. An arbitration board was then called consisting of a representative from the mines, the union and the government.

The arbitration board members could not agree on the final report as the union representative refused to side with the chairman and mine representative whose report favoured the mines and followed the mine wage scale. They also insisted that health conditions in the camp were excellent and that, from their analysis, mining did not appear to be "an unhealthy occupation" (Cobalt Daily Nugget 4 October 1912). The miners had expected nothing less feeling that the "(u)ninterested' third party was in the services of the bosses" (Barry 1913a:606). That the bosses had received the arbitration report ten days before the union, giving them time to prepare and post the wage cuts to take effect immediately, only further served to confirm to the miners the nature of their position.

The union held a poll and the vote was 190 for and 12 against strike action. The union went on strike November 15, giving the reasons that it was because of the "reduction of wages, abominable conditions in accommodation, also for the eight hour work day". The Hollinger, being the "biggest mine though not a member of the Mine Managers Association, was chosen as the site of the first action and a strike cordon was set at the gate. The work force was reduced in one day from 478 to 118 (Canadian Mining Journal 1 April 1913, p.199). The strike soon spread to the Dome and the other mines. Four of the mines, Pearl Lake, Schumacher, Three Nations and Porcupine, who wanted to go into immediate production, gave in to the demands but the strike continued.

The union reported that they soon had 1,200 men on strike in the camp.
The high number of strikers was not maintained as many men could not afford to continue the action. Not choosing to jeopardize the strike they simply withdrew what money they had from the banks and moved on to other camps or the bush. By January 1913 some 500 of the 1,200 strikers had reportedly left the camp.

Despite the union's wide interethnic support the mines and Anglo elite emphasized that the strike was instigated solely by 'foreigners' and 'aliens'. The 'whites' in the camp prepared themselves for an onslaught by the 'foreigners'. The non-striking English Canadian members of the community began to carry guns and buy ammunition. The reaction reached such a fever pitch that the police were forced to give a warning and forbid the sale of ammunition in order to keep conditions from escalating (Cobalt Daily Nugget 16 November, 1912).

One hundred detectives from the Thiel Detective Agency of Montreal, professional strikebreakers, were brought in by the Hollinger a week after the strike began to provide protection to the remaining miners and to pressure the strikers into returning. The Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) also arrived but they allowed the Thiel detectives free rein. The mines brought in trainloads of labourers to work in the mines from Cobalt and wherever they could find men willing to work, most often newly-arrived immigrants who did not know that a strike was going on. Large numbers of Bulgarians and Italians were brought straight off the boats from Montreal (Toronto Daily Star 3 December 1912, p.6). The largest supplier of scab labour for the mines was reported to be Leo Nascioli and his brothers who brought in Italians for the Hollinger. The men would be brought in through backroads, miles behind mine property, or through a hole in the fence. Any route that was used by the strikebreakers was immediately stopped as the strikers set a cordon across the roads and trails.
to see that none got through. One informant remembered the strikers trying to stop the new labourers coming in on the train.

The strikers posted men at the places where they thought the train might have to slow up and they would shout at them that they were 'scabs, scabs, scabs' and some of them would jump off the trains at different points. So that by the time the train got to South Porcupine and the crossing to the Dome Mines, there weren't too many.

Such direct action often forced the mines to bring the rail cars straight on to mine property and let the new men off on the minesite. The strikers turned to more violent means throwing rocks at the trains as they rushed by and yanking men off.

Oh yes. The Dome got in a branch from outside. We stormed the trains one night and there were dozens there. We yanked them out. The train wouldn't let them off. They had a special train. Well, they had special coaches on the train and they cut it out at the station in South End (South Porcupine) and were going to run them in from there, with a special engine you see. Run them right into the Dome on that spur line...They (the strikebreakers) had all kinds of excuses about not knowing anything about the strike.

Father Theriault and the Catholic Church attacked the strike in support of the managers. Many of Father Theriault's Ukrainian parishioners, in reaction to his stand, left the church rather than give up the strike. With church support the mine operators felt assured that the strike would seem be broken and chose not to make any concessions. The Hollinger Company told its stockholders that the strike was only an "inconvenience" and that their position was "excellent". In spite of many instances of local violence, the Porcupine Advance disclaimed the seriousness of the strike in one of the few remaining articles on the strike.

The reports going out to the outside press regarding conditions here as a consequence of the miners strike have been greatly exaggerated both as to reference to lawlessness, rioting and destruction to property. The camp throughout was never more orderly and quiet. The men of course have been persistent in their demands and have tried to make the strike as complete as possible. On the other hand the mine managers are endeavoring to secure enough help to keep their plants running in which, in some cases,
they have been successful. (Porcupine Advance 22 November 1912, p.1)

The union responded by publically stating that all assertions that the strike was in imminent danger of failure were wrong.

The mines are not running at full strength or even half strength. The town of Porcupine is in a state of siege. Thiel detectives walk its streets and attempt to rush poor Italians and Bulgarians into the mines at the point of the revolver; scores of armed detectives have been sworn in as deputy police officers and they are trying to terrify the union men into submission, but the solidarity of the men is intact...The mine owners have not secured the labors of one skilled man since the strike began and the men are more hopeful now then ever before. They are only fighting to prevent a cut in wages and any man that fights against them is aiming a blow at the whole working class in Canada. (Toronto Daily Star 3 December 1912, p.6)

A crisis was building. The strikers were doing all they could to halt the import of workers and largely succeeded, forcing the mines to use more forceful tactics. Thiel detectives and groups of 'deputies', often little except mine sponsored thugs, now began to take direct action on the streets, provoking fights in order to force the workers back.

The issue came to a head on December 2, 1912 when a large trainload of strikebreakers were brought into the camp on a special CPR train. The train was flagged down by strikers near South Porcupine and its windows smashed by rocks and clubs. Sixteen of the men on the train immediately went over to the union. Another train of scabs was rushed through. The men were brought into Timmins and quartered at the Hollinger owned Goldfields Hotel before beginning work at the Hollinger. Strikers went to the hotel to talk to the new men and inform them of the strike and tell them that they were to be used as scab labour. The strikers were able to persuade the men not to work at the Hollinger. Thiel detectives tried to get rid of the strikers and get the men back to work. Thiel men and strikers began fighting in front of the hotel; the detectives drew their pistols and shot into the crowd, wounding three strikers
Even the mayor of Timmins found himself caught in the middle of this battle when he attempted to stop the detectives' indiscriminate shooting. One detective pointed his gun at the mayor and pulled the trigger but the gun had already been emptied. Four Thiel detectives were disarmed and arrested by the Ontario Provincial Police. The detectives were no longer allowed to patrol the streets or roads and were restricted to the mines to avoid any future clashes with the miners.

When the detectives were brought to court they laid the burden of blame on the mayor of Timmins for not dispersing the mob. They said that all they were doing was protecting their own lives and those of the strikebreakers. They further boasted they had done a great service as conditions before they came saw mobs in control of the mines. Upon their arrival, they cited, they were able to return 260 men to work at the Dome and 250 at the Hollinger (Porcupine Advance 13 December 1912, p.1). The mayor responded that the Thiel men were the troublemakers in the camp. "In dozens of occasions I have seen them assault with their batons and in some cases shoot at citizens who were doing nothing at all." (Toronto Globe 5 December 1912)

The Ontario Provincial Police took over the street patrols but to the miners this was changing one evil for a slightly lesser one. On December 7 a trainload of strikebreakers, under tight OPP protection, were taken into the Hollinger and on December 11 another trainload of men was escorted to the Dome with little interference from the strikers. As one member of the union publicity committee pronounced, "So the plug-uglies abandoned the field and the police took to scab herding and are saving the mining companies a lot of money thereby and placing the burden upon the tax-payer" (Barry 1913a: 606). The police reportedly attempted to force English Canadian strikers to go back
to work and to divide the strikers along ethnic lines but the class lines held. A strike leader stated that "intimidation by the police as well as their attempts to disrupt the workers on race lines have failed." (Barry 1913b:653).

Under pressure from the Porcupine union local representatives of the Western Federation of Miners locals from Gowganda, Swastika, Silver Centre and Elk Lake met December 1 in Cobalt in an effort to encourage sympathy strikes. Economic conditions in these areas, however, did not allow the miners to support any co-ordinated action. The Porcupine union was gaining little regional support and it became increasingly disenchanted with their mother union for its lack of support.

The strikers, however, resolved to carry on. "The Porcupine Miners who speak in a dozen different tongues are standing together as one man." (Barry 1913a:606) The strike was widely publicized by the Miners Press Committee in the International Socialist Review and other socialist newspapers in Canada as an important marker of the greater class struggle; an indication of the conflict between the workers and the capitalists. "Workers of Canada be alive to your class interests; this is your fight as well as ours." (Sarnia District Ledger 25 January 1913) This attempt to invoke large-scale class interest met with little success and conditions in the camp began to deteriorate for the strikers.

The initial strike support of $3 a week was soon depleted and a more cooperative arrangement was necessary with the realization that the strike was going to last longer than expected. The union opened up the "Hotel St. Louis" near the railway station to feed and care for the strikers and their families. Large numbers of men went into the bush and trapped rabbits which were used to feed the strikers. Only through such action were they able to
survive the winter. The mine managers retreated into their sites and set up boarding houses for the men so that they would not have to go off the site. The mine managers also began to take legal measures against the strike leaders in order to disrupt and frustrate the strike.

P.A. Robbins, the Hollinger manager, issued a court summons to the strikers, charging them with violating the Industrial Act of Canada by going on strike without notification or arbitration and against the union for "inciting others to go on strike". This was the first instance in which the act had been used for this reason. The union saw the rule simply as an excuse that allowed the Hollinger to summons employees "for quitting work without asking the boss if he has sufficient supply of scabs to take their place". The Industrial Act and the government both were seen as "weapons in the arsenal of the master class" (Barry 1913b:652).

Nevertheless strike demonstrations continued throughout the winter with parades running from the Union Hall to the mine gates. The placards held during the parades were in English, Finnish and Ukrainian. The first sign leading the parade would often read "Workers Of The World Unite". Another would state "The Capitalist Is The Only Foreigner", an interesting comment against attempts to break down panethnic solidarity. Others would comment, "Don't Be A Fascist", "Join The Miners Union" and "Join The Demonstration" (Barry 1913b:653). Women joined their husbands and relatives on the picket lines and at the railway tracks in a renewed effort to keep the scab trains from entering the camp. The strikers were becoming increasingly militant.

The line-up of all the existing social institutions against the workers is showing the boys the class character of society better than a million words could have done. Strikes are wonderful eye-openers and this is going to be a great benefit to the strikers when the final conflict comes. (Barry 1913a:606)

The charges the Hollinger Mining Company had brought against its miners
for going on strike were brought to trial in early January but a final
decision was postponed for a few weeks. The major cases were against William
Holowatsky, an organizer for the Western Federation of Miners and Peter
Cleary, a local union member. There were sixty other cases pending and
postponed. One union organizer commented:

Apparently the capitalist class of Canada are not in a hurry to
have these cases decided; if the cases go against the strikers and
the so-called inciters, the Miners Union intends to appeal them.
This will give the working class an opportunity to study and
investigate this vicious law which the capitalist class have
enacted in the hopes of crippling the organized labor movement of
the Dominion and give the employers of labor an opportunity to set
the place and the date of any industrial struggle that their
rebellious wages slaves may force upon them. (Sarnia District
Ledger 25 January 1913)

On January 21, 1913 Holowatsky and Cleary were found guilty and fined
$500 or three months at hard labour. A miner, Percy Croft, was fined $50 or
two months' hard labour for going on strike. The men were originally to be
taken to the Sudbury jail to serve out their sentences but the Sudbury mining
companies feared that the convicted strikers' presence would incite union
activity. As a result they were moved to North Bay. An appeal was immediately
launched but no bail was set and the men remained in jail until it was heard.
The appeal was heard March 31 at which time the Croft conviction was upheld
but the Holowatsky and Cleary convictions were overturned. Evidence showed
that a strikebreaker had been coerced by police to say that he heard
Holowatsky incite men to acts of violence.

In spite of these difficulties the strikers contended that there were
700 men out on strike. The mines and the Department of Labour representative
stated that there were only 100 men on strike. The number of strikers was
certainly less than the original 1,200 and probably less than 700 but not 100.
Such a small number of strikers would have allowed the mines to ignore the
strikers but the mines continued to bring in men from as far away as Vancouver
(Sarnia District Ledger 15 February). The strike only broke down when economic necessity forced more and more men to leave the camp for employment in other areas rather than break the strike or wait for victory. Others began to cross the picketline and, under police protection, went back to work.

In March 1913 a large group of strikers went back to work at the McIntyre, Plenaurum and Jupiter mines. These men, who were considered traitors both to the union and their class, were beaten by the strikers whenever they went to work. Sixty of the strikebreakers decided to confront the strikers. Violence seemed certain as a large crowd began to gather. The mayor of Timmins was forced to read the Riot Act and had the crowd dispersed by police.

The strikers realized that the only way they could maintain the strike was by large-scale industrial action throughout the mining industry in Northern Ontario (Barry 1913b:654). In Cobalt the socialist wing of the union pressured the union local to go out on sympathy strike with the Porcupine miners. The Cobalt miners had previously turned down such a strike and now twice turned down putting such a motion to a vote. Finally a vote was taken June 1 but the motion was defeated. The Porcupine Miners Union had lost its last chance to maintain the strike by making it a larger class issue.

The strike was over within a week. The OPP were withdrawn June 11 leaving only the local police in charge. The union leaders told the union men to go back to work: married men were given a three day start over single men in finding work. The mines said they would rehire the men but not any of those they considered to have been prominent in the strike. The actual benefits the miners received were about five cents more an hour over the mine schedule after 181 days of strike. The eight hour day came in later as an act of Parliament.

The 1912-13 Strike was a divisive point in the history of the Timmins
area but over time it began to be restructured to suit local interests. It came to be seen by English Canadians as a rather minor development rarely mentioned in any of the local histories. One elderly English Canadian informant refused to admit that any Englishman had participated in the strike. English Canadians were prominent in the strike but they were even more prominent in the reactionary opposition. Now they would rather forget the "old troubles". As one member of the local historical society said about the English oldtimers she had talked to, "They can remember every wave of a flood, every flame of the 1911 Fire, but not a thing about the strike." Many of the records dealing with the strike were eventually destroyed in a pointed effort to diminish its historical importance.

On the other side of the issue the radical ethnic elements began to see the strike as simply an action by the ethnics themselves which did not involve the English or, conversely, the strike had failed as a result of the English Canadians giving in to the "five cent lollipop" increase in wages. The strike was to be used by the radical ethnics in a later period to prove that English Canadians, as a group, could never be trusted to commit themselves to class consciousness or share resources equitably. The strike which had done so much to create solidarity was increasingly relegated to a virtual non-event in local history because of the danger it and its symbology represented to the host community. Nevertheless the question remained as to whether, after such a defeat, the panethnic class alliance which had developed during the strike would survive and be able to take action?
IV. THE COLLAPSE OF CLASS SOLIDARITY.

Strike Aftermath

The radical class movement of the period prior to World War I was not sustained in the Porcupine Camp once its goals, both specific, the strike, and general, a social revolution, went unfulfilled. Panethnic solidarity, which had been recognized as the backbone of the 1912-13 strike, now came under direct pressure from the mines and host community. The English Canadian working class in the camp were coerced into giving up their class commitments in the interests of Anglo-conformity and acquiring jobs and other local resources at the expense of the ethnics. The mines and authorities chose to give up some of their local power and control to those Anglo miners who would leave the class alliance while the ethnics came under increased attack.

With the end of the strike the mines began to pay closer attention to keeping the miner, especially the English Canadian miner, under their control. The Hollinger introduced a 'loyal service' system, ostensibly to reduce 'labour turnover'. After a single year of service a man was given a bonus of fifteen cents per day, after two years thirty cents and after thirty years forty-five cents (Innis 1936:360). This was designed to give miners the incentive to stay on the job and not deviate either through strike or union activity and risk dismissal.

Living conditions were improved with the construction of bunkhouses for the workers and houses for the office staff and senior miners. Houses were designated for married men and their families which meant mostly the Anglos
as few of the ethnics had come to Canada with their families. When ethnic families were repatriated they moved into houses the ethnic miners had built themselves, outside mine properties and mine control. Increasingly the English Canadian miners were living, working and sleeping under the shadow of the mine with mine housing and mine sponsored social and recreational activity. The Anglo social strata of the community was reinforced and the ethnics were relegated to their own devices.

Pressure was also applied by the mine companies through maintenance of an ethnic division of labour within the mines as a means to control the ethnics and union activity. The strike had proved that the mines could no longer depend on immigrants acting as meek proletariat. As a result the nominal ethnic division of labour that had developed during the foundation of the camp was soon underpinned with developing racial assumptions which had emerged with the strike and were now to become firmly entrenched. Increasing Anglo racism, especially during World War I, became important elements in the manifestation of a more distinct ethnic division of labour in the mines.

Finns, Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans were designated as the muckers in the mineshafts as they had "strong backs and weak minds". Italians were in the construction and general utility gangs on the surface which they were said to prefer as they "came from a sunny country". The French Canadians were in carpentry as they were "good with wood" and the Anglo-Saxons in the role of bosses as they "won't work in a mine". A British Royal Commission in 1917 was told that in the Porcupine Gold Mining District of Ontario:

The mine workers are a most cosmopolitan population. For common labour and shovellers, Italians and Russians are mostly employed; underground drilling is mostly done by Finlanders, Swedes and Austrian Poles (Ukrainians). Canadians, English, Irish and Scotch are employed as mechanics, woodworkers in the mills and for other surface operations, while the engineer's staffs are practically all Canadian. (Innis 1936:362f)
Under such coercion the Anglo working class began to remove themselves from the radical class movement and came to be utilized as a prop for the local division of labour, forming an intermediate elite group which would deal with the ethnics if they threatened the mines or community. They became the 'gatekeepers' ensuring who could or could not advance through the mine hierarchy (Anderson 1974:73). English Canadian miners were now seen to advance quickly from 'muckers' (shovellers) to bosses in a few months while it would take the ethnic twenty years, if at all.

The distinction within the community was now increasingly between the foreigners and the whites. Those English who did not fit or did not wish to be fitted into this new schema were ostracized. Many moved into the bush and became prospectors or trappers. The conception of the whites versus the foreigners seemed endemic to the new economic circumstances in Northeastern Ontario. One English Canadian commentator stated that he did not want to use the word 'white man' in his speech but felt that it was necessary as it was peculiarly used in Northern Ontario (Calemon 1912:164). White was not a colour designation but delineated the dangerous foreigners and had the connotation of conservative, reactionary developments against the onslaught of the non-whites. This designation fluctuated with the context and community structure but in the Porcupine Camp it meant all the Anglo Saxons elite and intermediate elite as well as the honorary designations given to the French Canadian elite allied with the English.

Increasingly an elite class of mine managers, professionals, large businessmen and clergy ran the political and social life (as they defined it) of the community. They formed the town councils and the boards of trade as well as taking part in provincial and federal politics. The elite structure
of the community revolved around the local 'Golden Beaver Lodge of the Association of Free and Accepted Masons' (Masons). The first mayors of the town of Timmins were founding members of the Masons lodge and those that followed continued to be strong members. In 1920 the worshipful master of the Masons was E.L. Longmore who was mill superintendent for the Hollinger, Timmins town councilor, mayor of Timmins from 1927 - 1929 and later Hollinger mine manager. In this early period the club connections of an individual were often as important as their occupational experience and the Masons were by far the most important. "To be an Anglo-Saxon Protestant was to be twice blessed. If a youngster also happened to have a father who was a member of the Masonic Order, he was three times blessed." (Tester 1979:28)

Another class consisted of the small businessmen, mine shiftbosses and captains. They were allied to the elite and fully dependent upon it for their inclusion (or exclusion) in the clubs and associations which signified their acceptance as well as advancement within the mine. Here the major criteria was one of English Canadian 'white' identity even moreso than in the elite class (Anderson 1982:18). They were 'the buffer to the groups below which were both ethnic and lower class. The labour class included French Canadians and English Canadians, especially those who were not considered socially or politically 'proper' (i.e. unionists or socialists) as well as the inumerable foreigners who made up the major portion of the group. Other groups in the community were the peripheral and marginal service groups such as the Chinese restauranteurs and laundrymen and the Jewish and Syrian-Lebanese merchants.

The definition of white was not totally exclusionary as it also included those ethnics who conformed to the precepts of the host community. Individuals such as Charles Pierce, a Russian Jew who became owner of a
general store and other properties in Timmins by borrowing the money from the Timmins brothers who owned the Hollinger, became one of the leading citizens in the camp. He sat on numerous town councils and committees. A newspaper article confirmed that he was a "good old scout" as well as one of the original "pioneers" of the district and as such it gave him community sanctification (Porcupine Advance 30 January 1913, p.1). Another was Leo Mascioli who, because of the help he had given the mines in supplying strikebreakers during the strike, began to receive large contracts from the mines for construction work. Mascioli brought in Italian workers who worked for his construction company until they had paid their travel expenses and obligations and they would then be allowed to work in the mines while Mascioli brought another group over from Italy.

In spite of the overwhelming importance of largely Protestant organizations, such as the Masons and Orangemen, the alliance between the English elite and French Canadian Catholic establishment, led by Father Theriault, continued. The inability of the strikers and socialists to incorporate the French Canadians into the class alliance was a major failing of the strike and future radical activity. This failure enabled the Catholic Church to increase its influence to such an extent that its authority was acknowledged by the mines and largely Protestant elite.

In the face of these developments the ethnics began to doubt the class consciousness of their English Canadian socialist allies. They had all spent six months through a freezing winter allied on class principles but Anglo commitment was fast disintegrating. The ethnics began to say that the English Canadians were only interested in the union as a means to increase their pay packets rather than as a foundation for their class consciousness. This did not signify that the radical class alliance was wholly destroyed. It was
still alive in the Porcupine Camp even after its seeming defeat in the strike. The strike had in many ways benefited class consciousness as it forged the bonds of solidarity between local ethnic communities; at least between the Finns and Ukrainians and, if not all of the English Canadian working class, at least many of its members. The ethnics still thought of cooperation with other groups on general class principles. The commitment of the English Canadian group had faltered after the strike but their support was still important. With World War I, however, the final vestiges of Anglo commitment collapsed. A new context, which continued to be Anglo defined but based on a new Canadian national identity, was to be emphasized against the ethnics and their class principles.

Desertion Under Fire

When war was declared August 4, 1914 socialists throughout the world abdicated their international class positions for nationalist criteria in a massive "desertion under fire" (Angus 1981:7). This surprised no one more than the immigrant socialist organizations in Canada. They had left their own nations and made a commitment to the more definitive international criteria of class consciousness, especially against the 'Imperial nation' concept. But now the immigrants found that they had to respond to a new Canadian nationalism which developed during the war and was directed against them.

With the outbreak of war the War Measures Act was introduced in August 1914, allowing the Canadian government a free hand to do what it deemed necessary for the "security, defence, order and welfare of Canada". The initial government response was to ban the importation of socialist material from the United States. As a result the Canadian socialists, particularly the Finns and Ukrainians, lost an important contact with militant socialist activity in the United States. Canadian socialist papers and organizations
also found themselves under increasing scrutiny and losing membership (Angus 1981:15).

In September 1914 an Order-in-Council prohibited Germans and Austrians (which included many Ukrainians) to carry firearms and, in October, another order set up a system of registration and detention of 'enemy aliens'. Internment camps were set up under military authority in which Germans and Austrians who were not necessary for the war effort, unemployed or seen as dangerous, were to be held. In the early years of the war there was an unemployment problem in the Porcupine Camp and the internment camps, particularly the facility at Kapuskasing, were an effective means to deal with the disaffected unemployed, especially the radical ethnics. One Ukrainian informant commented on the difficulties his people faced:

Most of our people came from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and were classified as Austrians in spite of the fact that they hated the Austrians. But they were interned in the concentration camps just because it was thought they were Austrians. Hardly anybody knew what they were because our people came from the Western Ukraine and were called Galicians and all sorts of names depending on the region.

It became perilous for an alien to walk the streets of Timmins and not have the proper papers of national identification. If he was German, Austrian or Ukrainian it became doubly dangerous. Those who did not register or were found outside the camp without police permission were immediately placed under arrest and sent to the internment camp.

In spite of the arrest of their nationals the leaders of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party chose in 1915 to pursue an antiwar policy and increase their revolutionary class prosletyzing among the Ukrainians (Krawchuk 1979:55-6). The federal government reacted with the further internment of large numbers of Ukrainians, even if they were not Austrian citizens. In Timmins those arrested were often people who had participated in
the 1912-13 strike and were also members of the USDP which was being characterized as a dangerous organization even though it had not yet been outlawed (Krawchuk 1979:57). As one informant lamented, "A lot of the Ukrainians were put in the concentration camps during the first war. You see a lot of them were Social Democrats and a lot of them opposed the war at that time and that was one of the reasons."

The national basis of class solidarity was being shattered with an onslaught on both sides. The government and general media began to attack the ethnics openly. Yet in the face of this attack the national socialist organizations failed to respond to the attacks on their ethnic class brethren. The Social Democratic Party of Canada continued to support the war effort (Angus 1981:15). In the camp English Canadians who had previously sided with the ethnics in the strike now took up the patriotic banner and enlisted in the army. The host community indiscriminately attacked all ethnics. The Chinese in particular came under increasing fire and stereotyping because of their visibility. In 1915 the employment of 'white girls' by Chinese restauranteurs suddenly became a topic of major discussion at the Board of Trade as to whether it was lawful and under what conditions. It was legal, it was reported, only when the dining room was open and unpartitioned. Other attacks were addressed openly against the Chinese in newspaper advertisements.

It costs $500 to land a Chinaman in Canada. Every shirt, collar, sheet etc. sent to a Chinese laundry is so much towards that $500. Every $500 means another Chinaman. Why not patronize the Sanitary Steam Laundry?

The Board of Trade have been discussing the question of white girls in Chinese restaurants recently. The Sanitary Steam Laundry asks what about the white men giving their laundry to Chinese? (Porcupine Advance 6 August 1915, p.8)

In the midst of this rising reaction against the ethnics there also was
a greater need for labour in the mines. Large numbers of English Canadians had left to fight in the war which meant there were plenty of jobs available. Many of the ethnics who had been in the internment camps were given jobs in the mines. Even those who should have been interned because of their Austrian citizenship or political position were allowed to stay on the job because of the pressure applied by the mines themselves who designated them as important to their operations. One Ukrainian informant commented on the selective employment of his father:

You see they never touched my father. My name is German. My great grandfather was German and the name is spelled the German way but they came after the Austrians and not my father because the mines needed him. He was doing all kinds of work that no one else could do and they never touched him.

They were warned, however, to behave themselves and constantly reminded of their marginal position. The judicial magistrate threatened the ethnics with incarceration in the internment camps if they caused any trouble which meant any form of disturbance, strike activity or movement away from their jobs. "If you do not behave and keep coming before me you will be detained in a camp at 25 cents a day instead of working here at $2.25." (Porcupine Advance 11 June 1915, p.1) Anything foreign was automatically suspect.

Pressure was applied against the ethnics to demonstrate their loyalty by enlisting in the army, as the Italians were doing, or by speaking English always and buying war bonds with their "illgotten gains". Even those with citizenship were suspect and were threatened with its removal and their possible deportation if they did not show more appropriate signs of obeisance.

The proper types of ethnics, those not designated as aliens, were those who had not gained reputations as radicals and whose mother countries were allied with the British. In this role the Italians fit well for they had made
up a large number of the strikebreakers during the 1912-13 strike. Accordingly the local Italian Society, headed by Leo Masquioli, was seen as a reputable organization. As part of this consideration the Italians were never addressed as aliens or foreigners but as the "Italian element of able-bodied men" (Porcupine Advance 3 September 1915, p.1).

The French Canadians were also increasing their own reputation and alliance with the English in the camp. French Canadians in Ontario had been alienated by the introduction of Rule 17 in 1912 which restricted French language schooling. In the Porcupine Camp, however, they and their leaders had remained united with the English Canadians in the town council and Catholic church. In the midst of wartime attacks by Southern Ontario newspapers against French Canadians who were opposing conscription the Porcupine Advance felt duty bound to show the type of French there were in Northern Ontario who were not of the "Henri Bourassa type" but of the 'proper' type, which was British defined. One individual who operated a lumber camp was presented as a good example as he helped recruiters, talking English and French amongst his men and getting them to enlist. He was characterized as one who "speaks French sometimes and thinks British always." (Porcupine Advance 11 April 1917, p.5).

The English Canadians were redefining the context of Canadian society in their own national images and apart from any framework which would include the ethnics as equal participants. The English Canadian working class was now opposing their former ethnic allies. For them the radical movement was no longer to be an international revolutionary class struggle but reverted to a national, socialist development in the British labour tradition. Locally the ethnics found themselves ostracized from the Porcupine Miners Union which busied itself building up its respectability. The union moved away from the
radicalism of the IWW and allied with the more conservative 'International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union (IMMSWU)' which was affiliated with the 'American Federation of Labour (AFL)' and had an intolerant perception of ethnic workers (Abella and Millar 1978:4-5).

The 'enemy aliens' within the Porcupine Camp continued to find themselves a necessary part of the war structure as employees in the mines. Yet they were heavily criticized for their ability to acquire large sums of money through hard work and the maintenance of a seeming indifference to Canadian society. This acquisition and indifference was understandable because many were saving money to send back home either to improve their farms or bring their families to Canada. As well the attitudes of Canadian society made any direct involvement difficult. Those who had tried to become involved, the ones who had some measure of commitment to the nation and who were working towards citizenship, were often the same radical individuals that the host community was directing its attention against. Those who behaved sensibly, which came to mean going about 'their work in the mines without talk of unions or radicalism, were often left alone but even this did not guarantee their future.

In January 1917 the Dominion government introduced compulsory registration for all foreigners. The government argued that 'National Service' registration was necessary in case they had to mobilize the foreign work force for the war effort. The public sentiment was that the foreigners were gaining benefits from the country while doing little for it in return and this would be a way to mobilize them in the national interest. Many aliens immediately asked for passports rather than risk compulsory recruitment. They had left their native lands to escape military conscription and this seemed another form of conscription even though it was never
In April 1917 two Dominion officers entered the Porcupine Camp and began to register all the enemy aliens. About 600 - 700 were registered in the first few months and given cards which they had to carry at all times. Any alien who did not have a proper registration card was liable to a $500 fine and being sent to the internment camp. They were warned not to gather in crowds; not to hold meetings and not to discuss the war. They were to present their cards to any police officer or military man on demand and had to report on the tenth of each month to the police station where their cards were to be initialed and stamped. They could not leave town without written permission from the Chief of Police and any infraction was to result in fines of $25 - $500 and possible internment.

In addressing those who objected to this procedure the local newspaper laid the blame firmly on their shoulders. The editor made clear that what the host community expected was total assimilation and conformity to a Canadian identity (which was virtually impossible) to which they were not to detract from or greatly add towards.

In dealing with the problem of assimilating the various peoples and races here in Canada perhaps too much stress has been laid in the past upon what Canada should do or could do. The people who came here also have their duties and responsibilities. If they seek to become Canadians they will find a hearty welcome and sincere encouragement from all other good Canadians. They will find freedom of speech, liberty of conscience and the right to worship as they please. They will find prosperity and progress. They can build homes and be as happy as Canadians. But if they attempt to here in Timmins, in Canada, under the British flag -- a separate little Syria of their own, or a Little Italy, or a little Russia, or a Little Poland, or a Little France, or a little anything else, they then must remember that thus setting themselves apart at their own inconvenience, they may expect also to be set apart at the convenience of others. Canada's great hopes rests in Canadians. If any man here knows a better land than this, let him go to it, nor stand on the order of his going. No man has the right to accept a country's blessings without also sharing its duties and responsibilities. There is room for all, opportunity
for all, freedom for all, benefits for all - if they all are Canadians. (Porcupine Advance 4 July 1917, p.4)

This emphasis on Canadian identity served as vindication for Anglo actions to quell the ethnics and their class allegiances. Policies had been introduced on the national level and action taken on the local-level that appeared to have largely destroyed radical expectations. These policies and actions, however, had only hindered rather than destroyed the radical commitment of the ethnics. They continued to discuss politics with members of the Finnish and Ukrainian Social Democratic Parties or read ethnic socialist newspaper articles which commented on the nature of the class system; a class system which was becoming evident in their own positions as a minorities under siege by the dominant Anglo society (Avakumovic 1975:8). Former allies among the English Canadians had given up the struggle but rather than disillusioning the ethnics it began to instill a more measured commitment. They waited for what they considered the inevitable time when the class revolution would finally unfold.

Radical Resurgence

The year 1917 was to be a highpoint in the working class movement in Canada. The depression of the early war years had passed by 1916 and unemployment became non-existent as wartime industries began to experience labour shortages. This resulted in a resurgence of militant class activity which was counterpointed on the international scene by the success of the Russian Revolution (Angus 1981:17).

On learning of the success of the Russian Revolution, many Finns and Ukrainians in the Porcupine Camp resurrected their international class consciousness and directed their attention to militant class activity. The Canadian government said this militancy was due to the foreigners being egged
on by organizers from the United States based 'International Workers of the World'. "In September 1917 it was reported that foreign miners were joining the IWW in droves in the northern Ontario communities of Cobalt and Timmins" (Avery 1979:73). The IWW actually had no appreciable organization in Timmins at this time but its ideology, in support of collective industrial unionism and wide-scale class action, was favoured by the ethnic miners. The ethnics had seen the Porcupine Miners Union drift farther from the IWW to an increasingly conformist IMMSWU but events in Russia served to confirm the utility of a class based union movement.

The local union leadership at this time consisted of men such as William DeFeu and Len Newton who were socialists in the traditional British sense of the word as well as strong Roman Catholics with close ties to Father Theriault. They were patriotic and fully supported the war effort and attacked the radicals within the union. To further their anti-Bolshevik interests they also invited important speakers to address the union and its members on the proper (i.e. British) form of labour activity.

The main speaker of the Porcupine Miners Union throughout 1917 was no less a figure than James Lord, one of the founders and president of the IMMSWU and a vice-president of the American Federation of Labour. He was totally opposed to radical activity expressing the opinion that labour unions should improve the workers' material lot rather than engage in direct political activity. He said that the union should discuss questions of wages and work conditions, "the practical matters", rather than wait for utopian ideas to come to fruition. This was part of the general ideology of the AFL itself which was then being introduced into Canada and which "opposed radical politics, compulsory arbitration and industrial unionism" and "refused to organize the unskilled and the non-white races" (Abella and Millar 1978:4-5).
These tactics were anathema to the ethnic radicals but the message carried
the union and pushed the ethnics farther to the periphery. For Lord and the
union the war was a patriotic obligation which called for their loyalty in
the fight for "democracy, freedom and justice" but the radical ethnics
continued to see the war as an imperialist concern.

The actions of the government in introducing the Wartime Elections Act
in September 1917 to gain a majority in favour of conscription only further
antagonized the ethnics as the act took the vote away from conscientious
objectors, pacifists and all citizens of enemy origin if naturalized after
March 31, 1902 or if they normally spoke an enemy language. This destroyed
what little commitment many of the ethnics had to the Canadian political
structure if it could so easily disenfranchise them. It led to increased
radicalization.

The success of the Russian Revolution also significantly increased
radical activity in the ethnic communities. To the ethnic radicals, "the
Bolshevik takeover in Russia was greeted as the signal for what they believed
to be the impending triumph of the working class struggle round the world."  
(Laine 1981a:99) Following the news of the revolution the Ukrainian and
Finnish Social Democratic Parties gained a large number of new members. The
parties sought greater autonomy from the Social Democratic Party of Canada
which they recognized was moving to the right.

The rise of the bolsheviks gave the ethnic radicals a concrete
development in which their Marxist dogma was no longer confined to rhetoric
but could be seen in the fruition of a new social order as had been promised.
It was now clear that the system itself could be overthrown through direct
means as the Russian Revolution had proved. There were now strategies and
actions available which could be used to restructure society and the ethnics
were quick to take up the new banner offered them and let the English waste their time in what were considered diletante activity and reactionary pursuits.

The ethnic radicals attempted to gain control of the Porcupine Miners Union in the hopes of using it as a base of operation from which they could foment strikes and confrontations to bring about the final class revolution. In March 1919 a large group of Finn and Ukrainians tried to infiltrate the union. Union authorities, however, refused to accept them because of their 'bolsheviki' attitudes. The radicals were still able to incite sporadic strike activity, demonstrations and confrontations (Timmins 1935:36).

The major confrontation occurred in March 1919 when a speaker, F. Consowitch, under the auspices of the local FSDP and USDP, came to the camp to address the socialist movement in support of the Russian Revolution. He attempted to address a large group of English socialists and unionists at the Union Hall, calling for the overthrow of the existing order, the end of the war and support for a Soviet style of government. He was talking to the wrong group; he was jeered off the stage and the union reaffirmed its traditional stand in support of national loyalty, law and order.

Consowitch spoke later to a more receptive gathering at the Timmin's Finn Hall. He spoke in Ukrainian, Finnish and English to a packed meeting gathered to commemorate the Russian Revolution. He reviewed the Russian revolutionary movement and its spread of literature and activity throughout the world. He cursed all Kings and capitalists saying they were bloodsuckers who the workers would put in the trenches once they came to power. He called for no conscription, no police and no law but for a new order of the world as exemplified by the Soviet Republic. He was drowned in thunderous applause as the assembled welcomed this new assertion of the paucity of the old class.
order and the promise of a new one.

The host community immediately reacted to quell a possible crisis. The local police were in attendance at the Finn Hall meeting and the morning after his speech, as Consovich was about to leave on the train, he was arrested on a charge of having made seditious utterances. He was taken before a magistrate and remanded for a week without bail because of the seriousness of the charge.

In the afternoon a large crowd of Finns and Ukrainians gathered at the Finn Hall and marched to the police station demanding the release of Consovich. The police, however, had already been told by ethnic informants that a violent demonstration was going to take place and that the participants might rush the jail. When the crowd came to the police station they found the police waiting for them. The mayor addressed the crowd and urged that they behave like good citizens, reminding them of the benefits they enjoyed in Canada and not to try their "European tricks in this land" (Porcupine Advance 20 March 1918, p.1). He threatened that any attempt at rushing the jail would result in their own deaths.

When the magistrate arrived later that day he refused to set bail until the 'mob' had dispersed. It finally moved across the street under the watchful eyes of the police and the Anglo citizens. Consovich's bail was set at $2,000 and the money gathered from among the ethnic population. The prisoner was released and escorted by his supporters back to the Finn Hall. Fearing that the ethnic radicals might turn to violence a "special corps" of 200-300 deputy constables was organized. The Dominion Police also sent in officers. Many of the 'white people' in the camp began to carry arms with them as well in response to a perceived threat to their society (Porcupine Advance 20 March 1918, p.1).
A preliminary hearing for Consovitch was held the following week but he refused to recognize the legality of the judicial system and refused to take an oath or make a declaration. The defendant was remanded over for trial without bail. Before any trouble could develop fifty to sixty plainclothes officers began to round up every foreigner who was near the courtroom or on the streets. They picked up 500 - 600 individuals and released them only when they could show proof of their good standing. Five were placed under military arrest and others tried for infractions of their alien parole. Men were brought up on trial for their involvement for several weeks thereafter and the Dominion police remained in the camp making a thorough roundup of all 'troublemakers'. In order to avoid any further trouble Consovitch was later fined $2,000 (the amount of his bail), given a suspended sentence and ordered not to address any more public meetings but by then he was far from the camp.

The ethnics were now attacked on all fronts for simply being aliens and not even enemy aliens. All their actions were now suspect especially if they seemed to be in any way competing with Canadians. A letter to the editor made it clear that the attack was based as much on matters of non-assimilation and economic competition as any other criteria.

The multiplicity of their stores has a tendency to increase their habit of grouping together and makes it more difficult to assimilate them into the life of the country as well as giving them a less cleanly and satisfactory service than they could receive in the more up-to-date British stores...The number of aliens in business in town is fairly appalling, particularly when the character of their businesses in general is considered. The aliens here undoubtedly 'get the money' but chiefly through such business routes as poolrooms, ice cream stands, tobacco and beer shops and other businesses often unnecessary or sometimes wasteful and hurtful to the community. The fear is not unfounded that when the war ends the British part of the population will be pinched and poor and the foreigners will have lots of money. (Porcupine Advance 15 May 1918, p.1)

Within the ethnic communities repressive action by the Canadian society
and radical activities in the homeland led to the rise of small groups which sought conciliation with the host community. Among the Finnish and Ukrainians, civil war in the mother countries in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution had split the countries between the 'Red Guard', allied to the Soviet, and a conservative 'White Guard'. This forced a split within the local ethnic communities as some individuals now chose to emphasize and be recognized expressly as 'whites' instead of 'reds'. This was an advantageous presentation as it fit well into the already existing symbolism that had developed in the camp between the British defined whites and the ethnics who were being designated as dangerous reds.

These ethnic whites were often the more prosperous members of their communities and had the most to lose in any direct confrontation with the host society. As a result their leaders took pains to emphasize their distinction and loyalty. Their's was an ethnic nationalism which was weighted towards political goals synonymous with those of the host society and against the radicals; they identified themselves as antagonists to the reds. The Finnish Presbyterian church group, led by missionary pastors Hart and Heinonen, took pains to express their memberships' loyalty to Canada and British institutions. "(A)n important part of their work is to show any doubtful members of their people that gratitude, common sense and common interest demand that all in this country be true Canadians" (Porcupine Advance 28 November 1917, p.1).

Those ethnics who continued to emphasize either their nonassimilatory or radical nature were invited to leave for Russia. "In view of the overcrowded conditions of both the asylums and the jails in Canada, there seems to be no reason why any attempt should be made to hold them from going." (Porcupine Advance 31 July 1918, p.1) It was clear that the Canadian
society was not ready to accept the restructuring of society to allow for a more equitable arrangement. Here the ideal of Soviet Russia stood as an example: a place where all ethnics could participate as equals. To the ethnics Russia was no longer the 'prisonhouse of nations' as that was a term which seemed better applied to Canada. As a result many of the more radically committed ethnics, Finns and Ukrainians in particular, did decide to leave for Russia during 1918 and the postwar period.

Their knowledge of the Communist movement and ideology, however, was often only an idealistic pretence as can be shown by such instances as the woman who went to Russia with all her furniture and clothing. She got to Russia but her things did not and she returned disillusioned and no longer in sympathy. Another time a wife left her husband behind and took her baby son to Russia but she died soon after arrival because of adverse conditions and her brother went and brought back the child. In another instance a younger brother went to Russia but found he did not like it and an older brother went to Russia to get him back. The elder brother was imprisoned but finally escaped and returned to Canada without the younger brother who was never heard from again.

This did not prevent the federal government from introducing further policies as they began to show concern over what they perceived as a growing revolutionary movement in the country, ethnically based and allied to the IWW. In point of fact there was little that the government could point to as a direct threat to national security for most of the threats were on the local community level, as in Timmins, and had been dealt with largely within those confines. But the growing fears expressed by Anglo Saxons and rightwing ethnic leaders on the danger of a revolutionary movement led Prime Minister Borden to appoint C.H. Cahan, a wealthy Montreal lawyer, to investigate the
matter. He talked to businessmen, police officials and 'respectable' labour leaders who warned him of the "distinct and well-organized Bolsheviki movement in Canada" (Avery 1979:75).

Cohan's final report stated that while the government had been able to deal effectively with enemy aliens an even greater danger was posed by "Russians, Ukrainians and Finns employed in the mines, factories and other industries in Canada" who were being "thoroughly saturated with Socialist doctrines which have been proclaimed by the Bolsheviki faction of Russia" (Angus 1981:27-8). It was made clear that this was a specific disease of the gullible ethnics. The report was more hyperbole than fact for the government was already fully convinced of what it wanted to do and simply wanted an excuse. The excuse itself was flimsy as in his interim report Cahan had admitted that he could find no evidence that ethnic aliens had acted in contravention of the War Measures Act and suggested that their mental unrest was a result of the "growing belief that the...government is failing to deal effectively with the financial, industrial and economic problems growing out of the war" (Kostash 1977:53). Nonetheless, the final report gave the government the necessary excuse for direct action against the ethnics.

On September 25, 1918 an Order-in-Council prohibited publications in 14 different alien languages. On September 27, 1918 another Order-in-Council was issued which declared that a number of ethnic radical organizations including the 'Ukrainian Social Democratic Party' and radical unions such as the 'Industrial Workers of the World' were deemed unlawful organizations. A month later the 'Finnish Social Democratic Party' was added to the list. Interestingly the 'Social Democratic Party of Canada' was not included as it was by then basically a British Canadian party and easily fit into the rather stringent limitations set by the government.
The Orders-in-Council also did not allow any "meeting or assemblage of any kind except church meetings or meetings for religious services only" in which the language used was an enemy alien language or the Finnish, Russian and Ukrainian languages. The regulations were punishable by a fine of up to $5,000 and imprisonment for up to five years (Palmer 1975:196-7). Government authorities followed this with immediate action against the radical ethnic organizations in all the major centers of foreign activity including the Porcupine Camp.

It was a basic assumption of the government and the local authorities that the Porcupine Camp was a major center of bolshevik activity and a base of operations to other areas. With the introduction of the new acts there was an immediate raid of local boarding houses. A number of aliens were arrested including two leaders of the local USDP, M. Kustryn and M. Maruschak, as well as members of the FSDP. "The work done in Timmins has uncovered much of the evil plans and made its (Bolshevik) suppression elsewhere a simple matter."

(Porcupine Advance 23 October 1918, p.2) It was becoming evident to the ethnics that they were being singled out for persecution.

The reactionary response of the host society was symbolic as well as material. The ethnics were no longer portrayed as the 'men in sheepskin'. The new symbol was that of the 'dangerous foreigner' who had arisen as a threat to Canadian society (Avery 1979:14). This change permitted any action the host society decided to take against the perceived ethnic challenge to Anglo conformity. These actions took place in the guise of crisis; wartime and radical threats to the peace and good government of the nation. It was an action which would continue to occur intermittently until replaced by more benign policies and restrictions.
Ethnic Ostracism

The immediate aftermath of the war, with the impending return of the soldiers and the presence of significantly large groups of ethnic aliens, saw a continuation of the process of baiting against the ethnics. They were perceived to be dangerous obstructions who must be pushed aside to make room for the good 'British' stock that were returning from the war as well as immigrants from the other nations of Western Europe who would surely be coming to Canada and would certainly make much better citizens. It was made clear to the ethnics that their presence was no longer needed and their return to their own countries was expected as quickly as possible. A major northern mining publication made this clear when it argued;

Have you any Austrians, Germans or other enemy aliens working for you? Has a returning Canadian, able to fill an Austrian's job, applied for it? Have you turned down the returned soldier? If you answer 'yes' to any of these questions, you are not doing your national duty. It is up to you as well as every other employer to get rid of this 'Red' element and replace it by a Canadian one. Perhaps you have replaced a large number of alien enemies that you admittedly had to hire in war time to keep going, but you haven't done your duty until you have rid every alien of his job if a Canadian applies for it. Fire the Reds! Keep the North White! (Northern Miner 14 June 1919, p.2)

Now much of the postwar information on ethnics in the local newspaper portrayed them as stupid and irrational whereby the bolshevik influence on them was seen as understandable as it "inflamed the minds of the ignorant or unbalanced" (Porcupine Advance 12 March 1919, p.3). This was part of an increasing general prejudice as the local judicial system and newspaper would comment on ethnics being brought to trial in terms of their moral duplicity and showed a precise arrogance and unacknowledgement of ethnic identities. Ethnics became identified as "Austrian, Russian, Roumanian, Ukrainian or something like that or different", "a Russian, Serbian or something" or for their talking "chiefly in Russian or some other terrible tongue" and for
their "imitation of English flavoured with the deaf and dumb alphabet" where it was not always easy to tell what they meant by their "mumblings". They were continually lambasted for their fighting and then lying (which became known as "Austrian stories") to authorities to protect each other. The extent of this prejudice can also be gauged by the fact that when fire threatened an ethnic section of South Porcupine in 1919 a township councilor remarked, 'Only the foreigners live there. Let it burn.'.

Some ethnics were identified as good examples and set apart for their rarity. One individual, who had died in a mysterious mine accident, was identified as a Russian-Pole (Ukrainian), "of the superior class to those associated with him here". This difference, it was said, caused others to ignore him and to try to get him in trouble with the law as "others of his countrymen who were jealous of his respectability sought to have him set back a bit". (Porcupine Advance 17 September 1919, p.6).

The ethnic radicals were unable to communicate to each other in different communities. Under suppression by the government and local authorities, Bolshevik literature had to be sneaked in and hidden. It was often distributed by being placed in envelopes and dropped on the streets to be picked up by interested parties. This did not, however, prevent people from being arrested. In September 1919 a Finnish-American was brought to trial for bringing "objectionable IWW literature" into the camp. The magistrate sentenced him to two years as "it was not intended to allow agitators and sedition mongers to cause disturbances and unrest" and that the literature was "tending to inflame the ignorant and embittered to modes of action that would be unconstitutional and injurious to the country" (Porcupine Advance 2 September 1919, p.2). The "ignorant and embittered" were of course the ethnics; they were not ignorant but they were becoming
embittered.

The ethnics were being ostracized from the host community in increasing numbers. Their national socialist organizations were weakened and the local membership was forced to retreat into the ethnic communities. Both the Finnish and Ukrainian organizations, newly resurrected after wartime restrictions as the 'Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada (FSOC)' and the 'Ukrainian Labour Farmers Temple Association (ULFTA)', found themselves excluded from the national socialist and labour movements (Seager 1981:39). On the local-level as well union and political activity was left to the English Canadians and the results only further served to ostracize the ethnics.

Anglo Reintegration

In the Porcupine Camp after the war there was a reintegration of those English Canadians who had previously participated in the radical movement. The elements for this reintegration had already been introduced during the war with the growth of nationalism and racism directed against the ethnics. The postwar period saw a continuation and refinement of this process.

The returning veteran was to be the key element of the postwar economic and political reconstruction. He was welcomed as a laureled hero. Previous transgressions of class radicalism and unionism were forgiven. In Timmins the veterans formed the local 'Goldfields Chapter of the Great War Veterans Association (GWVA)'. The veterans had the potential of becoming a new social force in the community as their ranks cut across class lines and included miners, mine executives, merchants and politicians. To the Anglo Canadians of the camp, whose opinions are well-recorded in the Porcupine Advance, the veterans were people who would do the 'proper' thing at home as they had done during the war. Their expectations were matched by the behaviour of the
returning soldiers who, unlike the veterans who had joined forces with ethnics in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 (Hogan 1980:100-1), responded by joining with the mine managers to halt the spread of ethnic radicalism.

As repayment the mine managers created positions for the veterans by ridding the mines of ethnic workers. The veterans, however, were returning to a community in which economic conditions were worse than when they had left. There was a higher cost of living and wages had not kept pace with inflation. The question was how were the grievances to be addressed; by conciliation with the employers or by direct class action in alliance with the radical ethnics?

Already in the town elections of 1919 the leaders of the local union, L.S. Newton and W. DeFeu, had been voted into office along with mine officer, and future Hollinger manager, E.L. Longmore. But this was not indicative of a confrontation between the miners and mineowners. Rather it was an indicative of local accommodation. The council included French and English Canadian leaders in labour and business as well as strong Catholics such as Newton, who was one of the founders of the Catholic Men's Club, and strong Protestants like Longmore who was a lay preacher in the Presbyterian church.

The local alliance between French and English Canadians was enlarged into a wider collective arrangement which continued to exclude ethnics. The Presbyterian Men's Club and the Catholic Men's Club banded together, under the direction of Father Theriault, and built a memorial clubhouse to commemorate the war and to meet the veterans' needs. This was only one of the points of increasing alliance between Catholic and Protestant and French and English. The alliance was such that in 1919 the Timmins town council agreed to accommodate the French-speaking populace by hiring, for the first time, a policeman who spoke both French and English.
Father Theriault even acted as spokesman for local authorities to the public. When the town council wanted to add land to the Protestant cemetery in 1920 they asked Father Theriault to act as representative to the Catholic owners of the land. When he did not get a good price he advised them to expropriate rather than pay the high asking price. When the Timmins Golf Club was built by the Hollinger Mine in 1920, as one of the more exclusive establishments for the elite, one could often find Theriault playing golf there with the mine managers. Theriault pushed for union accommodation with the mine management against the threat of disruptive strike action. His influence was only one element in an increasing program directed towards the returned veteran and miner.

Speakers again came to the Union Hall to preach in favour of the British forms of socialism to the returned veterans. A British Labour Party representative spoke to a public meeting in April 1919 at which he warned the returning soldiers not to listen to the bolsheviks in the community and that the best way to change things was through constitutional means. The speaker pointed out that "foreigners came here to better their conditions not to tell us how to run our country" (Porcupine Advance 2 April 1919, p.1/ 9 April 1919, p.2). A female socialist speaker from England stated that she knew that the workers were now all realizing the inequity of their positions but that the inequities should be addressed by peaceful means. She emphasized that the British political approach was to get only a "fair share in the good things of the world". (Porcupine Advance 30 April 1919, p.1).

The labour and socialist movement was moving into a measure of respectability that could not have been considered possible in years previous. The preacher of the Presbyterian church gave a sermon in 1919 in support of the union which he characterized as having a good moral foundation
and thus of appropriate interest to the church. He said the men had a right to organize to redress "wrongs and injustices". He supported those who would uphold the working man in Parliament but warned of those who were "the wrong kind of men". He asked the miners "to work with the church and the church to work with the workers for a solution of the problems of the day and the dawning of a better day" (Porcupine Advance 7 May 1919, p.2).

The Porcupine Miners Union became concerned not with the plight of the working class but with specific issues. When union leader DeFeu addressed 'The Royal Commission on Industrial Relations', which had been created to examine the unsettled labour situation in the north, he stated that dissatisfaction among the workers was attributable to lack of union recognition by the mines, the low wages and the need for proper hospital accommodation, especially for the workers' families (Porcupine Advance 21 May 1919, p.1). President Lord of the IMMSWU returned to the camp and called for creation of Industrial Councils of both labour and capital to which both would submit their cases (Porcupine Advance 21 May 1919, p.1). The movement had been given up for the interests of the moment as even the president of the International union was asking for conciliation with the employers. Militant trade unionism and radical class activity in cooperation with the ethnics was being given up in the interest of 'bread and butter' issues.

Ethnic doubts were further enlarged when those English Canadians who should have been ostracized by their previous union and radical class activity were resurrected into employment in the mines. The English leadership of the union were able to retain their job positions in spite of openly talking about the union while the ethnics would be fired for even whispering about the union. The mine managers and the English miners were now acknowledged as being "on the best of terms" (Porcupine Advance 18 June 1919,
Their interests were seen as being one and the same and it was to prove to be such to the detriment of the ethnics and the union movement.

In spite of worsening economic conditions and rising discontent among the miners the leaders of the 'Great War Veterans Association (GWVA)', with its cross-class interests, declared that the camp could not afford any labour unrest. They said the returned soldiers were anxious to avoid it because they needed money and stable employment after their experience overseas. Instead a GWVA resolution was dispatched to the Board of Trade calling for a conference between merchants, miner owners, labour and other interests who were concerned with the high cost of living which was seen as causing the industrial unrest. (Porcupine Advance 25 June 1919, p.4)

Given the breadth of their support neither the mines or miners could reject the GWVA resolution. The conference was held July 2, 1919 in the Town Council chambers with representatives from the town council, Board of Trade, GWVA, the union and the mines. The meeting was chaired by the GWVA president. The miners' representative, Len Newton, stated that all they were asking for was "a chance to live". The conference, however, did not discuss union grievances but rather the price of goods and ended with the creation of committees to investigate the price of commodities in the camp and what to do about the general cost of living. The mine and labour representatives were to meet together at a later date to discuss their particular concerns.

The next week the committee reports were presented. They called for the building of four big roominghouses and a restaurant, more houses, as well as for a general remedy through "personal economy and thrift". They emphasized the influence of outside forces recommending that the government reduce freight and express rates into the camp and limit profits in manufacturing, wholesaling and other industries. The committee reports did little except
whitewash the problems. They recognized the difficult economic conditions but left it for others to deal with them.

When the mine managers and union representatives met on July 11 they only "agreed on their earnest desire to agree". (Porcupine Advance 16 July, p.1) When the miners and managers met again the following week, the managers were able to move the miners' representatives away from pay demands by claiming that the "mining dollar" had shrunk by one-third of the 1917 dollar and monetary concessions were out of the question. Instead they offered to open stores to allow goods to be sold at lower prices than those forced upon them by 'outsiders'. They said that this would be equivalent to the increase in wages suggested by the men. The mines would also set up a free health insurance benefit plan for its workers and the Hollinger promised to set up a new hospital. The union was forced to accept the conditions which only weakened its own position.

As a result of the mine - union agreement the Hollinger and McIntyre mines bought stores in Timmins and Porcupine, restocked and reopened them in September 1919. The stores offered a 15% reduction from the prices formerly charged. Coupons were sold by the mine paymasters at eighty five cents for a dollars worth of coupons which then could be exchanged at the stores for a dollars worth of goods.

The mine stores were a soporific inducement to the miners. They were a boon to the married men in the camp, especially the English miners, who had settled with their families and had mine-owned housing. They were not of benefit to the unmarried men, especially the ethnics, who had left their families behind and lived in co-operative and boarding houses. The ethnic miners went to the mine stores mostly for their clothing but their food was supplied with their board or they bought their meals in the restaurants.
The Porcupine Miners Union found itself caught in a situation it had helped to create as it became clear that the conciliation had been at its expense and not the mines. The mines had successfully extended their paternalism over the English Canadian miners. The union would continue to be outmaneuvered by the mines. Whenever the union leadership drew up its demands or talked of strike, the Dome, Hollinger and McIntyre would increase the employee discount in the mine stores as well as give a slight pay increase without waiting for a formal request. In March 1920 the increase was twenty-five cents for muckers and fifty cents for skilled workers per day. In May 1920 it was increased to fifty cents in an attempt to outmaneuver the union and hold onto more workers.

The mines began to build large town sites to house their Anglo workers and a few of the less radical ethnics. The Hollinger, in particular, began to build a large number in the northwest section of Timmins. There the miners who had proven themselves by good service with few marks against them, such as union or socialist activity, could be found. The mines even provided recreational facilities.

By 1920 it was also becoming clear that the English Canadian veterans who had been hired by the mines in large numbers after the war did not wish to remain on the job and work under the same conditions as the ethnic miners. They felt it was demeaning for them to start from the bottom of the ladder. As a result the mines were forced to hire increasing numbers of ethnics but, in order to control them, they also began looking for the proper types of English miners who could "increase the efficiency of the mining staffs and adjust the labour situation" in their favour (Porcupine Advance 27 October 1920, p.1).

The mines did not wish to depend on ethnic miners or have to accept
their inevitable advance within the mine hierarchy to positions of authority. They had to provide a new buffer between the ethnic miners and the management. They found their answer in the tin mines of Cornwall, England (Innis 1936:362).

The mine managements knew the Cornwall area well as some had received their education in the English mining schools. They knew the miners had experience in hard rock mining and were of good 'white' stock as well as being conscious of their own class positions. They sent representatives in early 1920 to hire miners, promising to pay travel expenses as well as provide accommodation. The mine managements built bunkhouses to handle the initial influx until houses were ready. When the Cornishmen began to come in November 1920 they were moved immediately onto the townsites so there would be little contact with other groups.

The Cornishmen were moved quickly onto the housesites. Their light, water and coal was provided by the mines. A minestore was also built on the Dome site where they could buy necessary goods with coupons from the mine. It was rare for them to see much real money as the mine took care of almost everything. In turn the Cornishmen retained an awareness of their class positions, taking off their caps whenever a mine manager came by (Roberts 1979:1).

This group effectively supplanted the ethnics who could no longer be assured of moving up the promotion ladder. The street rumours that preceded the Cornishmen's arrival that they would "displace men already employed" seemed to be altogether too true for the ethnics (Porcupine Advance 10 November 1920, p.4). One indication of the hard feelings that resulted against these new men was that one of the worst things one ethnic could call another was a 'Cousinjack' - a derogatory term for Cornishmen which resulted
from their trying to bring over their relatives, 'Cousin Jack', to work in the mines.

Groups of Cornishmen, Lancashiremen and Welshmen were brought in throughout the early 1920s to supplant the ethnics. They formed their own clubhouses and associations such as the Cornish Society, The Lancashire Society and The Welsh Club. They found themselves catered to by the mines in a paternalistic manner on the basis of their English identity (McCormack 1981:52). They learned that the mines and community assigned status and role according to Anglo identity and they emphasized their own advantageous identities explicitly with a commensurate loyalty to the mines and managers, which had been rare.

But the rent was low, so people were very anxious to live on company property. Even though the boss was looking down their neck all the time, And they figured that the Dome was the beginning and end of everything. Without the Dome they just couldn't live. As people used to say, their children went to bed and said, 'God bless mommy, God bless daddy and God bless the Dome.' (Roberts 1979:1)

After the initial unrest of the postwar period the Anglos and the mining companies seemed to become more powerful than ever. "It was as if the gains of the early twentieth century had been erased and the clock had been turned back to the nineteenth century." (Abella and Millar 1978:217) The degree of this control was such that although Timmins continued to be considered a militant community its record of direct activity was abysmal (Abella 1973:88-110; Avery 1979:73). It would be 40 years between the 1912-1913 strike and a comparable strike in 1952 (and that by a 'tame' union) with only intermittent walkouts in between. The ethnics continued to place a great deal of emphasis on radical class militancy but they also retrenched within their ethnic communities and institutions and created new situational responses to contextual change.

- 135 -
V. THE EXTENSION OF ETHNICITY

Ethnic Hall Progressives

Socialism in Canada took a sharp turn in the postwar period towards a more conservative nationalism and Anglo-conformist orientation (Horowitz 1968:24). This conservative socialism came to dominate Canadian society and though, as Penner (1977:76) comments, it "contributed to the defeat of Toryism and its replacement by liberal democracy as the predominant ideology (or context) in Canadian society", it also continued to effectively limit ethnic participation. While coming to accept the ethnics as a necessary part of Canadian society, this newly produced liberal context continued to expect they would either assimilate or operate as circumscribed 'ethnic groups', secondary cultural elements whose access to economic and political power would continue to be bound by structures and symbols defined by the dominant society.

Some ethnics chose to operate under these restrictions. Others joined national radical organizations such as 'The Communist Party of Canada (CPC)' (founded in 1921) which sought to overturn the context. In the Porcupine Camp at least many more responded by retreating into their ethnic enclaves and institutions and developing new institutions (e.g. co-operatives) to act in their interest on the community level. The ethnic halls in the Porcupine Camp became important centers of localized radicalism (progressivism); support which was concealed behind an ethnic facade but which could be resurrected into a national and interethnic class movement when conditions (they assured
themselves) were deemed appropriate. In essence this was the development of a local response system which could included a wide variety of political, economic and social criteria but which enabled individuals and groups to respond to these criteria on a situational basis. Though progressive activity could often be identified as being left-wing in nature, at least politically, it should be more properly understood in terms of local attempts to acquire and retain resources.

With completion of the Timmins ULFTA Hall in 1922 and the building of many new ethnic halls throughout the camp, the Ukrainians and Finns began a major program of institutionalizing their culture and politics within their halls and communities. The halls offered alternatives to the 'Canadian way of life' which was defined and dominated by forces outside their control. In the halls culture and politics came together and became synonymous. Political activity was one of the many activities members of the halls could participate in and often appeared to be as much a cultural activity as music and dancing.

In the halls individuals could readily converse on radical politics with impunity as the Canadian authorities were unlikely to be listening. Adults and children were taught to write Ukrainian and Finnish and to read revolutionary literature and socialist newspapers. Plays were shown in their native languages which served to maintain a general class consciousness as the works would often emphasize (in an exaggerated fashion) the plight of the workers and farmers against the evil landlords who were symbolic of capitalism. The plays were almost all serious and dramatic, aiming for a moral point, showing that life was hard and the struggle long but that the final victory could be won.

The promise of a final revolutionary victory remained but it could not
serve the ethnics on a daily basis. Instead they came to depend on the halls maintaining their ethnic interests in the community environment. As a result the halls became the foundation of a new local form of politics and social life which became characterized, among the Finns in particular, as "hall socialism" (Laine 1981a:96-7). The halls offered a total way of life in which people could enjoy their cultural activities surrounded by like minded individuals while being indoctrinated into a collective political view of the world. This contradictory relationship, as between class and ethnicity, can be seen in this description of the American radical Finnish halls but which also applies to the Finnish and Ukrainian halls in the Porcupine Camp.

In this culture of Finnish radicalism there was no particular indoctrination of the young in our ethnic heritage other than the origins of the music, dance and drama we saw or heard and performed and the European style gymnastics in which we participated and competed. Childrens' and youth organizations at the radical 'Finn Hall' was political not ethnic...It was tacitly understood and emphatically stated that we were internationalists who rejected narrow American or Finnish patriotism...If one were to judge Finnish American radicalism from this impact upon the young who were exposed to its influence, then the judgment would have to be that this movement was thoroughly American and was pushing the young generation of radical Finns outward into American political and social life even while leaving them an ineradicable consciousness of ethnic origins. (Ross 1977:169-170)

It was an ethnic internationalism with class political goals that was cohesive and remarkably strong on the community level but could not pose a threat to the larger host society or its ostensible capitalist and Anglo-dominated institutions without panethnic alliances outside the halls. This panethnic alliance was an important part of the radical structure of the Communist party though it was not always a common development on the local-level. Yet, within the Porcupine Camp, it was the norm and the strength of the interethnic alliance helps to explain the continuing ethnic confrontation with the host community.
The Finns and Ukrainians were in an especially strong alliance within the camp as they had the same ethnic and political goals in both the local progressive and wider radical class movement. They were so close that in 1926 they joined together to form a co-operative. In the late 1930s they bought a piece of property together and held their picnics and festivals at what became known as the 'Finnish-Ukrainian Picnic Grounds'. One leftwing Ukrainian informant commented on the closeness and differences between the two communities:

The Finnish and Ukrainian people were very close. They exchanged cultural work and were in the trade union movement together... They (the Finns) were especially interested in sports and calisthenics and we (Ukrainians) would put on a concert with orchestra and choir. We were more interested in that type of culture than being athletically minded.

As other ethnic communities, such as the Croatians, grew in the camp they also developed radical divisions which allied with the Ukrainians and Finnish in the union, co-operative, local progressive and general radical movement. The ethnic halls would remain as the major institutional bases of the ethnic communities.

In the face of continuing host society pressure against class ideology and with little chance for a successful political response on the national level, the local ethnic organizations were forced to mute their political structures and emphasize their cultural base in order to fit into the newly revised Canadian liberal context which perceived them, at least provisionally, as acceptable groups working within Canadian society and not against it. They came to be seen as charming cultural anomalies, colourful participants with equally colourful costumes, instruments, music and plays (Foster 1926; Gibbon 1938).

This change occurred in the early and middle 1920s when the paranoia
against ethnics which had followed the war had changed, at least among the mine managers, into a crying need for immigrants due to a labour shortage prompted by the high turnover of English Canadians in the Northern Ontario mines (Avery 1979:91). New immigrants again turned to the mines for employment. They created and added to existing ethnic enclaves and helped to develop a new ethnic social order at the local-level.

**Ethnic Enclaves**

The mining companies in the north, faced with a decreasing labour force because of English Canadian disinterest, began to press for the easing of immigration restrictions. The negative reaction of organized labour and returning veterans, however, forced the government to confine immigration in 1921 to those who were considered a "bona fide agriculturalist" or "farm labourer" with sufficient means and assurance for employment (Lindstrom-Best 1981a:8). This did not stop immigration as the government turned a blind eye to individuals who qualified to enter the country as agriculturalists but instead supplied cheap labour for the mines, railways and bush camps. A South Porcupine official of the Department of Mines recognized this fact when he stated in 1924 that "As a Canadian I desire to see this country go ahead... but not at the expense of bringing in Finns, or any other settler marked for farming when the real intention is to make miners of them, or even lumbermen." (Lindstrom-Best 1981a:8) But travel agents in Europe were already directing individuals to Canada and especially the Northern Ontario region in ever increasing numbers. A Norwegian informant remembered how one agent induced him to go to Timmins:

He asked... 'What place in Canada are you going to?'. Well, I sure did not know, as I had no friends or relatives there. Neither did my partner. So when we hesitated the agent said, 'Why don't you go to Timmins? That is a new-mining town and there is lots of work there either in the mines or in the bush or you can take a.
homestead if you want to. There is lots of virgin country.' Well that sounded pretty good so we each bought a ticket to Timmins.

These men were initially migrants rather than immigrants. They often came in large groups from their home villages and regions in Finland, Yugoslavia, Norway, Sweden, Italy and other countries. These groups would be led by an experienced migrant who had been to North America a number of times before or someone who knew the language (Harney and Troper 1975:60). The leaders offered advice on where to find employment and, once a destination was reached, would inquire about jobs.

Often twenty or thirty men from a single region would arrive at once and be met at the train station by relatives or acquaintances who would provide a place to stay and help them find jobs. Others would be met by compatriot boardinghouse owners and hotelkeepers. These hotels and boardinghouses would offer the newcomer a place to stay and a chance to gain information from fellow countrymen. These immigrant entrepreneurs helped to write letters, send money back to families, and if, as they often did, the immigrant chose to remain in Canada, would help to repatriate the family or arrange a marriage with a girl from the old country. The men came with little thought of settling permanently. They hoped to stay only a few years to make enough money but few were ever to return.

-(Finnish) It was hard leaving the family behind but I wanted to come and there was no other way for it. I wanted to make a fortune here and then go back to the old country. That was my plan. I was going to work here in the mines a number of years and then return.

-(Italian) I didn't think I was going to stay in Canada. Not for years. I always thought I'd make a lot of money and then go home. In the first years I sent money home for my wife to buy land.

In the period 1910 - 1920 immigration to Timmins was 1,194 but in the period 1921 - 1930 it almost doubled to 2,071 (fig. 12) and the actual
numbers were even greater because the census was inaccurate. The immigrants were reluctant to have themselves officially enumerated and they would often go to extremes to avoid the censustaker. Whenever a censustaker entered a hotel or boarding house by the front door, large numbers of men would leave by the back door. Thus the actual numbers of immigrants was larger than the official enumeration.

The large number of new immigrants led to the development of new ethnic enclaves (fig. 5) within the Porcupine Camp as distinctive ethnic communities became more discernable and cohesive in this period. It would be incorrect to see these enclaves as absolute territorialities as they included many from other groups and were not fully institutionalized (Breton 1964). This fact allowed for participation outside of the enclaves and between different ethnic communities.

The Anglo Saxons had created the first enclaves; ones which were clearly demarcated and supported a definite class and ethnic distinction. In Timmins the Hollinger townsite, northwest of the Timmins business district, was characterized by such institutions as the Hollinger Community Hall and British national associations such as The Cornish Society, The Welsh Club and The Lancashire Society. The other Anglo area was to the east in the Hill District and consisted of salaried staff as well as lawyers, doctors and businessmen. This enclave was near the Anglican Cathedral, Oddfellows Hall and Masons Hall and signified the elite elements of the community. An area which only a few years before had been rock and bush and then became a community of bosses and miners now became a community of ethnics though largely controlled by class divisions.

The Finnish section of Timmins developed in the area northwest of the business district bounded by Fourth Avenue (Algonquin Boulevard) to the
FIGURE 5  Timmins Ethnic Enclaves

Central Business District........ CBD
Anglo Saxon Elite (The Hill).....
Hollinger Townsite..............
Italian Section (Moneta)........
Ukrainian Section (Squareheads)..
Finnish Section (Finntown)......
Old Town Boundary..............
south, Elm Street on the west, Eighth Avenue on the north and Pine Street on
the east (fig. 5). This was 'Finntown' and it was characterized by numerous
log houses and two and three story co-operative boardinghouses surrounding
the Finn Hall and, later, the Harmony Hall. The area was distinctive of other
Finnish enclaves in Porcupine and South Porcupine as well as farming
settlements at Barber's Bay and Drinkwater Pit.

Surrounding the Timmins Finnish settlement were East European
immigrants such as the Czechs, Rumanians and Ukrainians. The majority of
Ukrainians were to be found to the southwest in the area around the ULFTA
Hall on Mountjoy south of Fourth (Algonquin). This area became known as the
'Squarehead' section of town (fig. 5).

To the east of Timmins the town of Schumacher came to be populated
mostly by Croatians. Their houses spread along the main thoroughfare of First
Avenue which was later to be dominated by the Croatian Hall. It was an area
that was to be characterized by a large number of immigrant hotels and a high
population density in part because two houses were often built on single
lots.

The Eastern Europeans placed great emphasis on owning their own
property and houses. They bought land and would build a small house on the
back of the lot while turning the front into a vegetable garden. When they
had enough money they built a large house on the front lot which they could
then rent out. This was a characteristic development among many of the
Eastern Europeans but especially among the Croatians of Schumacher.

A major French Canadian settlement was to the west of Timmins on the
Mattagami River in Mountjoy township (fig. 5). This was the 'river-rat'
section of town and was characterized by Quebec-style homes with a lower and
upper veranda. This area was close to the lumber mills where many French
Canadians worked. The largest settlement of French Canadians was around the main Catholic Church in the center of Timmins.

The Italian section was in the 'Moneta' area south of the Timmins business district. The area was named after a local mine which was called that by its owner when he heard some of his Italian workers say money, 'moneta', while playing a game of cards. He adopted the name for his mine which came to employ a large number of Italians and the surrounding area became known as Moneta (fig. 5). Another group of Italians could be found in Schumacher and South Porcupine. The major difference between the people in these enclaves was that the South Porcupine Italians were mostly from Southern Italy while the Timmins Italians were from Central and Northern Italy and, with the regional differences and distances between the two communities, they did not readily mix. All the Italian enclaves were typified by small grocery stores, bocci lots and large gardens. (DiGiacamo 1982)

Smaller groups of Chinese, Syrian-Lebanese and Jewish entrepreneurs could be found in the Central Business Districts of all the towns. It has been estimated that they controlled up to 75% of the local businesses with groceries, hardware stores, ice cream parlours, clothing shops and candy stores. Ukrainians and Italians participated in local business as well, notably grocery and butcher shops.

There was also a small pocket of Native Indians southwest of Timmins on the shore of the Mattagami River. They were winter residents; women and children staying in the settlement while the men went out on their traplines. In summer they all moved up the river. The Indian population has never been of significant importance in the Porcupine Camp as the reservations were far removed to the south and north and few Indians settled in the camp itself so that they will not play a major role in our discussion (fig. 9 and 10).
The inrush of immigrants and the creation of ethnic enclaves and associations allowed the host community, whose opinions are well represented in the local newspaper, to characterize the camp as an open cosmopolitan area with few, if any, problems. An article by a Timmins resident in the Christian Science Monitor, republished in the Porcupine Advance of December 10, 1925, dealt with the manner in which the author had taught her children some of the customs of the ethnic groups in the camp. The newspaper lauded her efforts as "from understanding comes mutual respect and harmony". The article went on to present a view of the ethnics and their differences in keeping with the liberal context; it emphasized that "all little girls and boys of whatever country have very similar desires and ambitions though they dress in different clothes and speak in different languages" (Porcupine Advance 10 December 1925, p.2). The host community began to accept that not all ethnics were dangerous foreigners but "that many were acceptable members of traditional and apolitical ethnic groups; identified by their dancing, music and singing rather than their politics.

A banquet in honour of the Yugoslavian Consul-General, held in Schumacher and hosted by the Croatian community, also drew rave reviews in the Porcupine Advance newspaper for its arrangement, music and ethnic dancing. One of the banquet participants, Father O'Gorman, the Irish Catholic founder of the Nativity Church in Timmins, argued, in one of the first but not last pro ethnic culture statements, that the ethnic presentation was part of the heritage of Canada and that the hope of the country lied in good citizenship as shown by the people present (Porcupine Advance 19 May 1927, p.1). Later in the same year a concert put on by the radical Ukrainians at the ULFTA Hall was also lauded for its orchestra, dancing and costumes with no mention of the participants previous radical activity (Porcupine Advance
18 August 1921, p.2). The event had been expressly staged by the radical Ukrainian group in an attempt to gain acceptance from the host community.

This new cosmopolitanism and adherence to contextual conformity was perhaps best expressed in an article in a Toronto newspaper in which Timmins was presented as a modern area whose ethnics were assimilated to such an extent that they cheerfully participated in capitalist speculation. The article specified that in the local brokers' offices one could find:

...in those chairs, bohunks, priests, aristocratic looking officials from the great mines all side by side, shoulder by shoulder...Perhaps Timmins has 4,000 foreign population, the elders of which visit the brokers' slates daily and the children of which cannot be distinguished from any born in Canada and therefore Canadians to their snub noses and valiant yellow hair. (Toronto Star Weekly 5 November 1927).

The picture was complete. It was of a community and nation in which a new term began to enter the language, 'mosaic'. The term had first been used in 1922 as a metaphor for the polyglot population of Western Canada (Haywood 1922) and in 1926 the word was used more generally by K.A. Foster in her book 'Our Canadian Mosaic' (1926). These were the first articulations of the mosaic analogy which accepted ethnic groups as part of the Canadian social fabric though within the conditional structures of Anglo-conformity. For the first time the ethnic group concept was being formulated and elaborated upon in conditional relationship to a new liberal context (Penner 1977:76). The context, however, served to limit this recognition to an apolitical framework which restricted both class and ethnic attempts to behave as interest groups, at least on the national level. The nominal recognition of ethnic groups did little to help them gain economic and political resources in the national sphere. The ethnics were still forced to undergo continued hardship in the mines. Their major response was to maintain their enclaves and institutions as a basis for acquiring access to local resources and addressing local
Gatekeepers, Blindpigging and Highgrading

After the initial unrest of the postwar period the authority of the mines was established greater than ever. This was a time when the mines and the Masons were in strong alliance, allowing English Canadians a predominate occupational status. This was the time when the blacklist and the use of paid informants, 'stool pigeons', against union and radical activity was common. Low wages and lack of chances for advancement or any possible change in the social system forced many ethnics to turn to informal means of circumventing local restrictions. For some blindpigging (bootlegging) and highgrading (stealing gold) became important alternative sources of income that helped in the construction and maintenance of ethnic enclaves and institutions. Through these mechanisms savings were more easily accumulated and houses constructed or enlarged and businesses developed. The money was also used to pay off employment gatekeepers to enable individuals to gain better jobs.

The mines had offered the ethnics better employment than they had known in their mother countries or in Canadian bushcamps and railway gangs but they had soon become occupationally trapped. They were hired as unskilled labour but quickly became skilled labour. The employers became dependent on the miners who had to be more specialized because of the higher technology necessary to extract the gold in the Porcupine Camp. The employees became dependent on the mine as they invested their time and effort and began to occupationally identify themselves solely as 'miners'. Their options for outside employment became limited by personal preference as well as economic criteria. There was little chance for advancement except within the mine hierarchy which was controlled by Anglo conformity.

After World War I the mine companies had hoped to let the English
Canadians take over all the positions formerly held by the ethnics. This was soon found to be impossible as the Anglos were not interested in staying in the mines, especially in the lower ranks. Instead they were placed in higher echelon positions where the mines could be assured of their loyalty and could utilize them to keep the ethnics in line.

The upper posts in the mines were all held by Anglos while the majority of the work force was ethnic. Although many of the English Canadians also began as muckers, the job for them became a 'stepping stone' to higher positions while for the ethnics the job was usually a 'trap' (Anderson 1974:71). It was common for an Englishman to quickly rise from mucker to shift boss while an ethnic might never advance. The reasons for the lack of advancement were not wholly related to language or education as little education was necessary except in the most senior positions and the language of communication in the mines was English which the ethnics had quickly learned. As one Ukrainian informant said, "It was always English bosses. No chance for us here. We stayed in the mine doing the heavy work. There were English who worked with us but they would get better jobs and become bosses very quickly." Jobs, especially the senior positions, were important local resources and their control was an important exercise of local power and authority.

The occupational restrictions for ethnics could not have continued indefinitely as seniority would have inevitably guaranteed their advancement. But there was considerable fear among the British Canadian mine managers in the camp that the foreigners and their radical ideas, especially unionism, would succeed. English-sponsored union activities could be controlled by minor pay increases and special privileges but the ethnics could not be controlled since they were not as institutionally dependent on the mines.
Even when the mines attempted to rid themselves of certain ethnic 'troublemakers', this was to prove difficult as an individual fired in one mine camp would move to another, such as Rouyn-Noranda. The troublesome ethnic could bypass the employment boss with his blacklist by changing his name or identity (e.g. from Ukrainian to Polish).

Even if they had been totally successful in ridding themselves of the ethnics the mines could not get many English Canadians to replace them. Instead the mines sought to hire more 'suitable' employees "to shore up the quality of its work force" (Clement 1981:41). The recruitment of Cornishmen, Lancashiremen and Welshmen from England in the 1920s allowed the mines to effectively supplant the ethnics who could no longer be assured of mobility as the English quickly rose to senior positions ahead of them.

Advancement now came to depend, more than at any previous time, on local 'gatekeepers', individuals who were able to channel others in the mine hierarchy but who were not always ready to apply the rules equitably. They channelled immigrants carefully to ensure 'dangerous foreigners' did not threaten operations. Few rose above their initial position of mucker without careful scrutiny. If they did advance any boss could hold them back on the slightest of excuses. As such the gatekeeper had the power to ensure whether a job in the mine was to be a 'stepping-stone' to other jobs which were better paid and perhaps easier done, or whether a job would be a 'trap' in which one could spend the greater part of one's life; a life guaranteed to be shortened as a result of adverse working conditions.

The mine hierarchy had a number of gatekeepers, any one of whom could block advancement. Formally the mine's hiring agents were in a position to engage individuals for a job and specify the type of work, whether it was to be on surface or in the shaft. Once in the mines there were other individuals
who allocated work. Shift bosses could direct workers to hard rock and
dangerous areas where the mining would be difficult and their daily quotas
could not be filled. Mine captains and others above him could also limit an
individual as their support was necessary for advancement.

But informal mechanisms were also available to partially overcome these
restrictions. Ethnics could come to guarantee their positions or promotion
through an indirect process of payments to the employment gatekeepers, though
this was to become widespread only during the later depression. At this time
jobs were readily available but it was often necessary that a gatekeeper
initially, and on a continuing basis, be bought off with small gifts such as
blankets made by the miner's wife, or liquor. Payments would guarantee his
further employment. This process became known as "whiskey seniority" in which
an individual could gain favours by giving gifts of good whiskey (Taster
1979:29). Gifts were also necessary if a man wanted to get into a better
section of the mine where he could more easily fulfill his contract and get a
bonus. Sometimes the ethnics were forced to steal gold for the employment
boss, perhaps on a percentage basis.

Another positive mechanism in the ethnic individual's favour was the
general communication links within and between ethnic communities. Ethnics in
all the gold mines in the area and throughout the north, maintained
communication links so that information was available on employment
prospects, where the best wages were, the best working conditions and even
which gatekeeper it was best to approach with gifts. This information was
extremely important and channeled through the ethnic halls.

Bootlegging or blindpigging was another informal factor in the ethnics'
favour. It developed initially because the sale of liquor was prohibited
within five miles of a working mine but this restriction only seemed to
guarantee the fluorescence of 'blindpigs', bootlegging establishments. The miners were legally restricted to only buying small quantities of liquor and importing it into the camp but this never seemed to be enough so they turned to the use of stills or the steeping of raisins and fruit to produce a potent homebrew. Bootlegging became so common that it was said (by the Anglos) that every other house in the ethnic enclaves was a blindpig. The ethnics do not deny their existence. "There was a lot of blindpigging here because they had to keep the town going. At that time there was not much community activity as now so the bootlegging kept the town going."

Almost hand in hand with blindpigging was the activity of gold stealing, highgrading. Many of the hotels in the camp were said to have been built on the proceeds of blindpigging and continued on the proceeds of highgrading. The gold in the Porcupine was essentially lowgrade but occasionally the miners would hit a streak of highgrade ore in which the gold could be found in veins. This gave the miner, if he was so inclined, a chance to break off a few nuggets of gold and hide them in his lunch bucket until he had a chance to take it off the property to sell. The gold would be sold to individuals who specialized in buying gold, or to hotelkeepers who would act as middlemen to the black market.

Highgrading became an accepted part of the economic structure of the ethnic communities to such an extent that it was said that the mines did not increase security but let the men highgrade rather than give them pay raises. To many it was a form of insurance and workman's compensation that the mine did not provide.

"I remember that a lot of these guys stole a lot of money. All the hotel owners highgraded - that's how they made their money. They were all miners then and you didn't make money enough to build a hotel on a miner's wages. You could only make money stealing gold. The mine expected you to steal."

- 152 -
-It wasn't hard at that time. I could have walked home with a lunch pail full of gold because we didn't have the security at that time. We came up from underground and they didn't check. You would be blasting and find a good vein and break off a good piece and you would put it away and at quitting time go and pick it up and take it home.

A large number of people highgraded or, if they did not do so, they were accused of it. It was too clear to the ethnics that any improvement in an individual's house or lifestyle could only result from highgrading. "I'll tell you that anybody who had a basement and they were burning coal (instead of cheaper wood), they used to say that they were working a highgrade stope." This was part of the view of 'limited good' within the ethnic communities but it was a view which, while not respecting the highgrader, could understand and empathize (Foster 1965:297). The mines reacted only if the individual appeared to be living too far beyond their means or were stealing gold openly.

Some people did get caught and fired because they were buying new cars and building houses and the mine manager knew they must be highgrading to do it because they sure couldn't do it on their wages. The mine manager would have the police check up on you if it was too obvious.

Without the extra cash flow from blindpigging or highgrading the ethnics could not have long survived the prejudiced economic and political conditions in the camp. But these mechanisms were only of limited value. Most sought more direct means of adaptation. One of the most important developments, one that would serve as both an economic and political institution for the ethnics, was to be the 'Workers Co-operative'.

The Founding of Workers Co-op

The ethnics increasingly saw themselves ostracized from a community and social order which was interested in them only for their labour. They accordingly sought new instruments for their economic and political goals in
the community. One such instrument was a co-operative store, offering the miners economic protection and a chance for advancement, on their own terms, at a time when other channels, particularly political and union activity, were restricted.

Co-operative initiatives in mining camps had previously been tied to trade unionism. Most had been formed in the Maritimes and British Columbia by British miners with strong co-operative backgrounds. In Northern Ontario after the war four consumer co-operatives had been organized in North Bay, Cobalt, Sudbury and Coniston under union auspices but had folded by 1922 due to poor management, insufficient capital and bad leadership, all largely a result of weakening trade unionism. The co-operatives which followed them in the north were affected by broader based criteria, such as political activism and consumer unrest and particularly by local ethnic interests. (McPherson 1979:114-15)

It is useful at this time to define what we mean by a 'co-operative': The dictionary definition is of an organization "formed to enable its members to buy or sell to better advantage by eliminating middlemen's profits" (Merrian-Webster Dictionary 1974:167). In effect a co-operative is a 'concern that is owned 'collectively' by its members who share in its profits. The major principles of co-operatives were well mapped out by the turn of this century. They were generally known as the 'Rochdale Principles'. The main principle was one of democratic control through the principle of 'one man - one vote', no matter how many shares an individual member held. This was the most important rule as it was the main response to the traditional capitalist view of the pre-eminence of invested capital; a natural extension of political democracy into economics (Perkins 1960:122).

Once stated the rule inevitably led to the principles of 'open
membership’, irrespective of an individual’s race, religion or politics. This was an attempt to maintain a political and religious neutrality in order to keep the movement open and free from private, religious and political interests (Perkins 1960:123/ MacPherson 1979:2). With this ideal the co-op sought to place itself outside those interests it saw as corrupting the world. It was an objective that was hard to maintain in a time of change and crisis.

Many of the same conditions which led to the creation of co-operatives in other mine camps were present in the Porcupine Camp. Goods distribution was expensive if not exploitive and general merchants monopolized trade. Moreover, the residents of the camp were mobilized by other criteria, such as ethnic interests, political activism and occupational identification as a group or a class of miners. Co-operatives offered them a wider means of obtaining protection and comfort along with economic advantages and a new status. What was missing was the driving force of cohesive union activity but it was not necessary for an interethnic alliance replaced it as the necessary ingredient in the Porcupine Camp.

There had already been limited co-operative activity in the Porcupine Camp with co-operative boarding houses among the Finns so the concept was already familiar. It was natural then that the support for a large co-operative was instigated by the socialist oriented Finns who knew the worth of co-operative stores as they were common in Finland as well as the Finnish communities in the United States from which many had migrated. The Finnish Organization of Canada’s constitution stated that one of its objectives was, "To advance the standard of life of the Finnish-speaking people of Canada by encouraging and developing co-operative enterprises tending to secure their material interests;" (Mertanen and Eklund 1942:5).
The idea quickly expanded to include the Ukrainian radicals who saw the co-operative not only as an economic benefit but also one of the few organizations that might act as a tangible platform for political interests. The initial reasoning for the co-operative, however, was purely economic and so it also received the support of Scots and Englishman, especially the more recent British immigrants who had been versed in the classic Rochdale concepts and who did not realize the extent of the political militancy of their ethnic associates.

The original founders, who came together in early 1926, consisted of about fifty-two individuals. Their first act was to circulate from house to house where they asked friends and neighbours if they were interested in supporting a co-operative store rather than the usurous general stores. If they answered in the affirmative they were then asked if they would buy shares in the new co-op at $10 apiece. The Finns were particularly successful in recruiting supporters and effectively gained dominance of the co-operative to the extent that it came to be characterized as a 'Finnish co-operative', though it was an interethnic institution.

Few organizations were to be more important or more successful than Workers Co-operative in bringing together political, social and economic relationships and surviving the changes in the environment. It came to be the definitive interethnic and political institution in a community of diverse ethnics and politics.

The co-op was incorporated in November 1926 with 225 shareholders and $4,000 in capital. It was officially named the 'Workers' Co-operative of New Ontario Limited' for the common denominator of membership was that they were workers in the mines. In practice this was less of a class statement than an occupational fact. Workers developed on purely Rochdale principles allowing
only 6% interest on the shares, setting aside 5% of profits for an Educational Fund and 20% for the Reserve Fund, with the rest divided among the customers. It was to be governed by a board of seven directors, two of whom were to be elected each year by secret ballot.

The first manager, Charles Haapanen, came from Babcock, Michigan and introduced many of the ideas that were developing in the Finnish co-ops in the United States, particularly the need to keep politics out of the co-op. Workers recruited members whose political interests ranged from conservative to Communist and there was always a threat of political conflict that had to be controlled.

The first Workers Co-operative store was opened in Timmins at Birch and Third Street in 1926. Workers quickly developed a home delivery service for its customers in the nearby towns. In January 1928 a branch store was opened in South Porcupine.

Within the co-op special care was taken to account for the ethnic makeup of its shareholders and clients. The majority of employees were Finns but there were also Ukrainians and English and later Croatians and an effort was made to maintain a proper employee balance from each group. If one ethnic employee quit or was fired he was replaced by another of the same nationality. Customers could always be assured of being served in their native language by a clerk, butcher or delivery truck driver.

Each national group held separate meetings to discuss co-op business in their own language. The bylaws, statutes and minutes of the co-op were translated into Finnish and Ukrainian as well as English. The annual and semi-annual meetings were mostly in English but individuals were elected to act as interpreters during the proceedings. The interpreter was an important middleman role as the positions could be used to change information and
channel translations to the support of certain political factions, as would happen in the near future.

Care was taken to dissipate any issue that might create interethnic conflict. For example, in 1930, when a Ukrainian member complained to the annual meeting that the financial statements were wrong, thus casting aspersions on the Finnish manager, it was decided to call a committee of three Finns and three Ukrainians and one person from outside to settle the matter. This shows the extent to which the society would go to maintain ethnic accountability and harmony.

Despite Haapanen's feelings against politics it was impossible to keep politics completely out of the co-operative. The rationale of the co-op was largely socialist in nature. The co-op board supported the general principle of May Day celebrations, keeping the store open only a half day on May 1 as a concession to their customers. They also supported the Finnish and Ukrainian socialist newspapers Vapaus and the Ukrainian Labor News with contributions from the co-op's Educational Fund. These were the most popular ethnic newspapers and the co-op's contributions helped to maintain the co-operative sections in those papers. Through the papers the co-op communicated to their ethnic members in order to publicize and educate their customers on co-operative activity and principles.

Despite attempts to neutralize politics there was a developing disagreement in the co-op over the political versus economic objective of Workers which was evident among the ideologies of the co-ops leadership. Under Manager Haapanen expansion became a major co-op objective because he wished to build a wide consumer base. He felt that stores which were totally independent would eventually run into the problems of apathy, inexperience, credit and ideology that had destroyed many of the earlier attempts at
co-operatives in Canada (MacPherson 1979:60), Haapanen consequently adopted the chainstore approach which was common among the American Finns. Nick Thachuk, an employee and secretary of the co-op and also a representative of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmers Temple Association, was as interested in expansion as Charlie Haapanen, but his objectives were political in nature. Thachuk was a staunch member of the Communist party and, in accordance with party policy, he believed that Workers should expand in order to support large-scale radical activity.

When in 1929, Workers leaders responded to enquiries from Kirkland Lake ethnic associations, Thachuk was sent to see if a store could be established in that community. He met with the local ULFTA leaders and recognized that the area had a strong radical and pro-union ethnic population even though the mines held an especially tight rein on the community. Thachuk considered the co-op an ideal way to lend institutional cohesiveness to the separate Kirkland Lake ethnic and socialist organizations; Haapanen considered the expansion only in economic terms as an enlargement of the co-op's consumer base. A Workers Co-operative store was soon opened, the first to be established outside of the Porcupine Camp. Though ostensibly an economic expansion this was in fact the beginning of an attempt to expand the basis of Workers into class politics and deal with the political issues that were emerging in Canadian society.

The political rift in the co-operative was already an open issue in Ontario. The Northern Ontario co-operatives were isolated from the general co-operative movement in Canada. They were controlled by immigrants who had little in common with the farmers who ran the national movement. The national 'Co-operative Union of Canada (CUC)' recognized this rift and attempted to bring the northern co-ops politically closer to those operating in the south.
The leader of the CUC, George Keen, was hesitant, however, because the Northern Ontario co-operatives included Communists. He felt the Communists would split the Canadian co-operative movement as they had in the United States (McPherson 1979:104). In 1927, in an effort to avoid this confrontation, Kern forced through an amendment in the CUC charter which forbid political discussion at its conferences. He also was careful to allow only member organizations to use the logo of the CUC which defined them as "true co-operatives". This action only served to push Workers into the Communist sphere of influence.

Workers and the ethnics were becoming isolated by conditions outside their control. Fear of the Communists was as divisive as any action the Communists could have taken. The CUC's inability to draw Workers into its fold, was due to its own trepidation rather than any radical initiative. Similarly the ethnics were left open to the very activity the host society feared due to changing economic conditions and lack of host society acceptance of their economic and political interests. This resulted in militant attempts to renew radical class efforts in the region.
VI. CLASS SEGMENTATION

Local Ethnic Versus General Class Radicalism

In the midst of continuing Anglo pressure on the ethnics to adapt along ethnic group cultural lines, the only national institution to offer the ethnics an alternative to Anglo Canadian conformity and accept their ethnic identity as a basis for organization and interest group action on the national level, was the Communist Party of Canada (CPC). The CPC, however, was to prove no more amenable to their new partners' interests than any other host society institution. They drew upon the ethnics for their political labour just as the mines drew upon them for their economic labour. The ethnics were to find that the CPC was as Anglo dominant and conformist an organization as the Mine Managers Association.

The 'Communist Party of Canada (CPC)' had been founded in Guelph, Ontario in May - June 1921. In the beginning the party was weak and its operations clandestine but this changed when the Anglo Saxon pioneers of the CPC realized that they could not operate without ethnic commitment. As one party organ argued, "Let us confess that we are not in the same class with these men (Finns and Ukrainians) when it comes to work - spade work - and perseverance. Let us retrieve ourselves and pull along the workers."

(Avakumovic 1975:12)

The Communist party convened a conference in Toronto in December 1921 to lay the foundations of a legal national party with ethnic input. Representatives from the 'Finnish, Socialist Organization of Canada (FSOC)'

- 161 -
and the 'Ukrainian Labour Farmers Temple Association (ULFTA)' in the Porcupine Camp were present at the conference and committed themselves to the new 'Workers Party of Canada (WPC)' which would act as the legal organ of the Communist Party of Canada (until the CPC was legalized in 1924). The manifesto of the party called for a "struggle toward the establishment of the Workers' Republic of Canada". To this end the party was to be one of general class action in which "militant class-conscious workers...shall be subject to the discipline and direction of the national executive" (Angus 1981:347). In recognition of this fact the nine man provisional executive of the party included ULFTA leader John Boychuk and FSOC secretary A.T. Hill. The party also attempted to destroy all other radical organizations which drew upon ethnic support.

When the ethnics had been discouraged from utilizing the Porcupine Miners Union after World War I as a basis for a large-scale class movement because of the English Canadian workers' prejudiced reactions, they turned to the 'One Big Union (OBU)' as an alternative. The OBU gained a large number of ethnic followers after its creation in 1919 because it was interested in the larger class issues and willingly associated with ethnic socialist organizations.

The OBU was a bitter opponent of the American Federation of Labour to which the Porcupine union was still associated. Yet strangely enough the major opponent of the OBU was the Communist Party of Canada which considered the OBU to be too idealistic, especially as it threatened to siphon off much of the party's ethnic membership. The union was doomed as a political force as the CPC did all that it could to destroy its influence in the Porcupine Camp. "Workers' (Communist) Party organizers were instrumental in combating the spread of the One Big Union in the Porcupine Mining district in Northern

In acknowledgement of the CPC's acceptance of ethnic support the Finnish and Ukrainian national organizations became 'language federations' of the WPC in February 1922 though they continued to retain a large measure of autonomy (Avakumovic 1975:28). The Finnish Socialist Organization was an especially strong ally of the new party and it came to provide over 60% of the CPC membership. FSOC members were compelled, if not required, at least between 1922-25 (Laine 1981:109), to join the party (Seager 1981:39). The FSOC, however, was also careful to maintain its independence by allowing local halls to be fairly autonomous and by collecting party dues from its members and then sending them on to the Central Committee. The extent of the FSOC's support of the party (and the lack of English support) was such that in 1922 it donated $2,000 to launch the English language Communist paper The Worker (Avery 1979:120).

The ULFTA was not as numerically strong as the FSOC but it also provided many of the CPC members to the extent that Finns, Ukrainians and Jews "comprised between 80 and 90 per cent of the party members" at any one time (Avakumovic 1975:35). This was the unique character of the CPC. The leadership had recognized that mass support could be garnered through simply acknowledging the peculiar ethnic nature of radical politics in the Canadian environment. As a result, with this simple action, the party effectively co-opted the support of the progressive ethnic communities and their institutions in the Porcupine Camp.

The Communists even attempted to introduce an ethnically based union movement at a time when the labour unions were largely nonexistent in the north. In January - February 1926 the Communist controlled, Alberta based, 'Mine Workers Union (MWU)', sent its vice-president John Stokaluk (a Ukrainian
Canadian Communist) to organize the Porcupine Camp. He held mass meetings in South Porcupine and Timmins and was able to form two locals of 200 men, mostly Finns and Ukrainians, into the independent 'Porcupine Miners Union'. But the MWU was unable to garner support in Larder Lake, Cobalt or Kirkland Lake as the mines were too strong in those communities. The Timmins - South Porcupine organizations failed the same year they were created (Seager 1981:41). The failure of the labour movement would deal a severe blow to the general class movement in the Porcupine Camp because the Communist party could not address a major local interest, i.e. unionization.

Nevertheless the Communist party, through its ethnic co-optation, initially gained a wide following in Northern Ontario and the Porcupine Camp. Of the party's nine administrative units, three alone were in the population sparse area of Northern Ontario. ULFTA and FSOC halls were made available for Communist meetings and they provided concert bands and singers for party meetings. Yet the halls were not prepared to give up their local control to the leadership of the party. The dissolution of Anglo class support during the war had made the ethnics suspicious of the commitment of the party's largely English leadership especially since the ethnics continued to provide the vast majority of the party's support, finance and institutions. To ensure that the Anglos would not gain control the FSOC was restructured in 1923 into 'The Finnish Organization of Canada (FOC)', which would act as a holding company for its assets to ensure the CPC did not acquire them (Laine 1981a:100). Though the ethnic halls in the Porcupine Camp were major centers of propaganda and prosleyzing for the Communist party they remained even more important as institutions committed to ethnic community interests. The party's ethnic support was based less on a commitment to the national basis of class and increasingly to a local dimension of ethnicity. This was
indicative of a contradiction the Communist Party of Canada soon had to address.

Ostensibly the Communist party was an organization formed on the theories of general class relationships but it was dependent on local ethnic associations for its survival and success. On the one hand it depended on the ethnic organizations acting as cultural institutions, maintaining language and customs to recruit members, and on the other it wanted them to aid the ethnics in immediately assimilating and becoming part of the larger Canadian class structure. The ethnics were being asked to believe in the national tenets of class yet much of their commitment remained to the local community and institutional level. Their responses were also increasingly designed to address local conditions and gain local resources. It was an irreconcilable problem if the task set for the party was to be a revolutionary class movement across the nation.

It was clear that while the party attempted to gain the support of the Canadian working class it actually drew its support from local ethnic communities. The majority of the Canadian working class opted for indigenous political movements which seemed more appropriate to Canadian society as they did not call for a revolution which would place them at a disadvantage. The socialist movement in Canada was an 'establishment' concern and increasingly became so with creation of the 'Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF)' in the 1930s (Horowitz 1968:26). The CPC was inevitably seen as a foreigners' party rather than one which should concern 'true' Canadians.

To a native Canadian a Communist was someone who spoke English with an accent, used jargon incomprehensible to most Canadians, read newspapers in what seemed to be exotic languages and who lived in parts of town that go-ahead Canadians were only too eager to leave. (Avakumovic 1975:36)

'The extent of the CPC's dependence on ethnic support and the ethnics'
commitment to the community basis was made evident in 1925 when, after Lenin's death and the rise of Stalin, the Communist International organization (Comintern) set up a "bolshevization" program which directed that all "language federations" were to be abolished in order to create a general class movement. The only Communist party in the world to stand even partially against the new Comintern policy was the Communist Party of Canada which recognized its dependence on the ethnics and the grassroots associations (Angus 1981:181). The party leadership became divided between the old leadership, led by Jack MacDonald, who disagreed with the bolshevization policies and who were supported by the ethnic organizations, and a group led by Tim Buck which supported the new Stalinist order and came to increasingly control the party (Avakumovic 1975:56).

Allied with Buck against the old leadership and the ethnics were members of the 'Young Communist League' (YCL). The YCL had long been in confrontation with the ethnic associations especially the ULFTA which had created its own Youth Section when the YCL demanded control of the ULFTA youth (Angus 1981:203). Western English Canadian Communists, like Tom McEwen, also allied with Buck in part because of their confrontation with the Ukrainians over who would lead the Prairie division of the party (Angus 1981:229). Macdonald had supported the Ukrainians in a debate as to whether a Ukrainian or Anglo Saxon should be the party's candidate in the Winnipeg municipal elections (Angus 1981:227). The Anglo choice had been Tom McEwen.

The ethnics became worried about the party's change of direction. They felt the Comintern did not truly understand the peculiar standing of immigrants in Canada. They argued that the Comintern had underestimated the power of Canadian capitalism and overestimated the revolutionary response of
reactionary crisis since it would inevitably be directed against their
institutions and supporters. They called instead for greater grassroots
control under ethnic leadership, essentially seeking to retrench class within
the ethnic community level. They preferred to respond to contextual change
situationally rather than commit to centralization under party control which
would only put more power in the hands of an Anglo leadership they did not
feel was committed to class ideology or responsive to contextual change. They
made clear that they thought the circumstances in Canada was essentially
unique because the diverse immigrant composition of the Canadian working
class made a united and centralized Communist party virtually impossible

The ethnics' position failed to gain the support of the Comintern. In
April 1927 the party was finally forced to endorse the Comintern's
bolshevisation strategy. This began a process of increasing Stalinization
within the CPC. In 1928 the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, meeting in
Moscow, extended this strategy into an international movement by stating that
the working class was entering a new era of revolutionary struggle. It called
on Communists to take over the socialist rank-and-file as the struggle would
be fought along the lines of "class versus class" (Avakumovic 1975:56). This
served to strengthen the pro-Buck forces in the party and the ethnics were
attacked as intransigents.

The crisis came to a head at the Sixth Convention of the CPC which met
in Toronto in March 1929. The ethnics, and the Ukrainian delegates in
particular, found themselves subjected to "uninterrupted jeering and
ridiculing" as they came under attack from the Stalinists for their inability
to speak English correctly or understand policy fully (Angus 1981:241). They
were also attacked for their concern over their local ethnic organizations which the Stalinists said was "absolutely incompatible with work in a Communist Party" (Angus 1981:292).

The Ukrainians, including delegates from Timmins, wanted to walk out but MacDonald persuaded the Ukrainians and Finns to stay on the promise that the party would include their viewpoints. In the voting for the Central Executive Committee the votes from the Finnish and Ukrainian delegates were all for MacDonald. This included Timmins delegates, Smeek, Thachuk, Sivula, Maamba, Helin, Wuori, Parnega and Oksenen, which was the largest group of delegates at the convention. MacDonald gained two-thirds of the executive and the solid backing of the Finns and Ukrainians but, instead of forcing Buck and the Stalinists out, he sought a compromise which eventually doomed any possibility of ethnic modification of party policy (Angus 1981:242-6).

At the July election of the Political Committee, MacDonald sought a representative committee which would include ethnic representatives. Buck responded by denouncing Ukrainian leader M. Popowich and Finnish leader A.T. Hill. The Ukrainians and Finns decided that they had had enough and thought it would be better to let Buck have his way in order to ultimately discredit him. Tim Buck and his supporters thus acquired control of the Political Committee and Buck became the new General Secretary of the party (Angus 1981:252-4).

The Communist party now began to re-emphasize a national radical class orientation. The Finns and Ukrainians were pushed into the background as English became the language of radicalism. Few of the ethnics knew English well enough to speak at CPC meetings and this only served to force many into leaving the party. Those who remained were not wholly supportive of the reorganization as they saw their political base being destroyed in the
attempt to place occupation over language as the organizational mechanism of the party.

The bases of political action were no longer to be the local ethnic organizations since they were considered too "bolshevik" and not "class oriented" (Angus 1981:302). But it was one thing to have members of the ethnic organizations as loyal members of the party and quite another for the party to try to take this to mean that they would give up the one for the other. How could they give up their ethnic organizations and make them behave as political associations when to do so would illegitimate their own power base and strengthen only the weak English Canadian Communists?

It was not that the ethnic communities were opposed to the Communist party or the Comintern on any major theoretical issue. They were well prepared to let the party be the major arbiter of class theory. But they were not ready to see their ethnic base usurped. They were being ordered to fully commit to class criteria but realized that if such a commitment took place and the class revolution did not succeed (and there was as yet no indication that it would), they would have nothing to fall back on.

The national ethnic organizations, the FOC and ULFTA, eventually, if only partially, reconciled with the CPC under Communist International pressure. They agreed to support the Buck leadership and to promote the party line in return for their independence. The dissidents were forced to recant their opposition to centralized leadership and the Comintern confirmed the bolshevization policy in even stronger terms. The Ukrainian and Finnish organizations were ordered to "Canadianize" and tie their struggles with those of the "general proletarian struggle in Canada...and the struggle of the international proletariat". To this end it called upon the implementation of English classes and ending cultural activity which was characterized as
"bourgeois trash" (Avery 1979:130-1). The ethnic members of the party, however, simply moved back into their local halls and a political-qua-social culture in which the CPC played a decreasing role.

The CPC had failed to realize that the aspect of politics they were introducing was incompatible with the type of political culture which was common in the halls. The nature of ideology for both, while stated in similar terms, were essentially different. Where one sought a concrete class consciousness the other sought an ethnically mitigated form of class interest.

The ethnics felt they had always been ready to take part in the class movement but that it was the English Canadians who never wished to participate or accept them. The English Canadian working class had never seen fit to join the CPC but now the new leadership were redefining the party away from the ethnics which seemed in keeping with previous host society restrictions on the ethnic communities. "Ironically the CPC was no more tolerant of cultural pluralism than its Anglo-Canadian bourgeois enemy." (Avery 1979:141)

In early 1929 the paid membership of the CPC was 2,876 but by the beginning of 1931 it was only 1,386. This showed a major drop in membership but it was even more drastic as there had been 700 new memberships in the intervening period. In this two year period "at least 75 per cent of the Communist Party's membership was expelled or dropped out." (Angus 1981:199). The party lost a majority of its ethnic membership but those that remained were more committed to the party than ever and the ethnic percentage of membership remained stable at 90 - 95%. Still it was clear that the majority of Ukrainians and Finns felt closer to their local cultural affiliations than to their general political leanings. The ethnic halls would continue to
support the party but they could not be counted on as firm political bases. New bases had to be utilized and the only ones left in Northern Ontario were either the unions, which were weak or non-existent, or the co-operatives. Comunist party support, however, was still badly split by factionalism; resuscitative action could only take place if the CPC regained support in the camp.

1928 Hollinger Fire: The Revival of Class

The major crisis which renewed interest in the Communist party and class criterion in the Porcupine Camp was the Hollinger Mine Fire disaster of February 10, 1928. In that mine disaster thirty-nine men died, including eight Finns, four Croatians, two Cornishmen and one Ukrainian. The disaster was to have an immediate traumatic effect on the community and galvanize the radical faction in the camp.

The Finnish community was especially angered by the disaster. The 8 Finns who had died were placed in their coffins outside the Finnish Hall on February 14 as mute testimony to the price the Finns had paid to the mines. At the secular funeral services, held on February 15 at the Finn Hall, some 400 people were in attendance to hear speakers who used this occasion as a political platform. They talked "not of the glories of God but of the evils of capitalism" (Toronto Daily Star 15 February 1928, p.2).

A man went to each coffin and read the notes on the wreaths. One expressed the sentiment, "You managed to escape the butcher class in your own country. Now suffocated, the victim of a stranger's gain." (Seager 1981:42). As the coffins were taken out they were joined by the coffin of the single Ukrainian death, Michael Swiaty, brought from the Ukrainian Hall to be buried with the Finns in a mass grave which would stand as an example of their ethnic and class alliance. The three sleighs holding the coffins were led by
the Finnish brass band and followed by some 2,000 marchers to the grave where they were buried. The FOC paid for separate stones for each of the Finns and a large stone memorial to commemorate the "Victims Of The Hollinger Disaster". Despite the extent of the tragedy there was to be no marker for the dead except that set up by the FOC which would stand as a silent symbolic condemnation of the mines and the capitalist system.

On Tuesday afternoon February 14 a mass meeting was held by the workers, led by representatives of the IWW, the OBU and the MWU. Throughout the meeting speakers denounced the capitalist system and talked of the disaster using words such as 'murder'. Addresses were in English, French, Finnish, Ukrainian, Russian and Yugoslavian but it was the Communist speakers and interpreters like Nick Thachuk, who spoke to the Ukrainians, and H. Halen, who spoke to the Finns, who were able to use the platform to advance the Communist party by presenting arguments to their respective ethnic communities. At the end the meeting adopted a muted but definitive resolution in which the radical union organizations figured prominently.

We, the miners of the Porcupine district, in mass meeting assembled endorse the following resolution...Whereas, on the 10th of February 1928, at the Hollinger Mine, a terrible disaster took place, in which 39 miners lost their lives through negligence of the Hollinger mine and of the Mining inspector. Be it resolved, that we, the miners of the Porcupine district, demand that the government institute a public investigation and that we, the miners of the Porcupine district, have representation at the same; the said representation to consist of a committee of three appointed from I.W.W., O.B.U. and the Mine Workers Union of Canada. The investigation to take place in Timmins and the doors to be open to the public. And we further resolve that the parties responsible for the dumping of inflammable material in the mine shall be punished and shall be removed from their present positions. On behalf of the committee; signed by the following, A.M. Stuart, Joe Kennedy, D.D. Thachuk. (Porcupine Advance 16 February 1928, p.8)

Vapaus, the FOC newspaper, a few days after this meeting stated that the disaster had caused "a great awakening for the workers, the like of which
we have never seen in Northern Ontario" (Seager 1981:41). In fact the Communist leadership was able to take only limited advantage as the party was still split by the ideological schism.

Nevertheless Finnish Communists attempted to rally opposition and opinion against the mines with mass demonstrations and protests. They did little more than draw the attention of the mines and host community who began to take the view that all Finns were dangerous radicals. One Finn I interviewed equated the 1928 disaster as both the Hollinger Fire and the fact that "the Finnish Communists started marching and protesting so that the Hollinger starts to say all the Finns are Communists so it was difficult to find work." Another Finn stated, "I remember in 1928 at the Hollinger Fire and the Communists in the hall who with rough language would be blaming the Hollinger for the deaths. Pretty soon all the Finns got put on the blacklist and it was hard to find work." The Finns were building up a perceived, if not totally real, reputation as committed and dangerous radicals. As a Finnish minister in the camp during this period commented:

A laborer of Finnish nationality was formerly regarded as preferable to other foreign laborers, but now the objection is made that they are tainted with Socialism, Bolshevism and Communism. If a man professes to be a Communist he will be refused employment every time. In certain places where employers fail to make a distinction and think that all Finns are Bolsheviks, they refuse to employ any Finns. Thus all Finnish immigrants suffer because some are Communists. (Heinonen 1930:86)

Work resumed at the Hollinger February 16 with assurances that all those who had been made idle during the intervening period would be paid (Porcupine Advance 16 February 1928, p.1). The mine also gave assurances to the widows and families that it would pay full compensation. This consisted of an initial payment of $200 and then compensation payments of $125 for each widow to cover funeral expenses and $40 a month for each dependent child.
until the age of sixteen. This only served to further incite the Finns as many of the Finnish widows did not have the proper certificates to prove that they were married to the dead miners.

The Finns were antagonistic to religious institutions and so had not always been married legally, often leaving it to community acceptance. "The Finns in Porcupine had a custom that whenever a couple was allowed to go to the sauna together...they were considered to be married." (Koski 1980:44) This was not enough for the Compensation Board which disallowed their requests. This only further confirmed to the Finns the nature of the capitalist system and they began to demonstrate more openly which only served to add to their radical reputations.

The Hollinger Fire disaster in later years became redefined as an important but nominal event in the history of the community. It became accepted as an example of the hazard of mining and there was said to be little reaction as the people simply continued as usual, a little sadder but not embittered towards the mines. As one Finn, who was not a member of the radical section, stated, "There was little resentment at the mine. It was just accepted as one of the hazards of mining. I don't remember anyone being bitter about anything." Yet for the radicals it was an event which epitomized both their class and ethnic relations in the community. The Hollinger Fire disaster was seen in later years by the more radical ethnic members of the community as a "ruthless tragedy" caused by capitalist stupidity of which this was the worst but not final example for "all who go down in the mines are heroes - to just survive was the accomplishment" (Kreayr 1966, p.17).

In the face of host community reaction against Finnish extremism the conservative Finns in the camp, the 'whites', chose to re-emphasize their loyalty to Canadian society in order to clearly distinguish themselves from
the Communists and avoid reprisals. The Finnish United Church minister stated publicly at a Kiwanis luncheon that most Finns made good Canadian citizens.

Are all Finns Communists? I have been asked this question often in Canada. I would like to answer with an emphatic NO. There are a number of Finnish Communists in Canada but there are just as many loyal and intelligent Finns who will have nothing to do with them or their propaganda. (Porcupine Advance 25 October 1928, p.9)

In recognition of their proffered loyalty the white Finns were immediately assured by the host community that they would be supported. An article in the Porcupine Advance emphasized that the whites Finns should be aided by the community because the red Finns were intimidating them. The whites were said to be more numerous but not as belligerent and as such deserving of the local community's support. The article went on to interview a United Church missionary who confirmed this position.

He believes that the Reds can be routed if openly assailed. "After all, I don't believe," said he, 'that half of the Finnish immigrants in the district are Reds; it is the Reds who make all the hullabaloo, while their compatriots who are loyal to the country are saying nothing." (Porcupine Advance 20 December 1928, p.2)

The Finnish radicalism in Northern Ontario which followed the Hollinger disaster reached its zenith with the arrest of the editor of the FOC paper Vapaus in December 1928 in Sudbury on the charge of uttering seditious libel against the royal family. This was an important spark which marshalled Anglo public opinion in the north against the radicals. There was now a call for direct action against the reds. There was no longer to be a minimal tolerance but an increasing reaction. A resolution drafted by the Loyal Orange Lodge meeting in Timmins on February 12, 1929 took it even farther;

Whereas the Communist organization among the foreigners especially the Finns, working under many elusive names - Workers' Union, Independent Workers, etc. - have been openly breaking the law of the land and making themselves very objectionable by their threatening and intimidating attitude towards Christian missionaries and ministers labouring among their fellow-countrypeople
and also toward those who attend the services of the Christian Church:

We recommend that pressure be brought to bear upon the Government of the Province, that action may be taken so that leaders of this pernicious movement may be brought to justice and deported;

And further we recommend that the Government be asked to enact legislation compelling all foreign newspapers and periodicals to be printed in English as well as the language of the people for whom the paper is edited.

On May I, 1929 Communists were reported to have carried out a further, if not the ultimate desecration with the burning of a British flag. People were now calling for the burning of the Communist halls in retaliation.

The Communists and the host community were both battling for control of the ethnic communities; one as a class of workers subservient to a political movement and the other as an ethnic category of the host society. The Communist party's bolshevization policies had done much to destroy ethnic commitment to the general political principles of class but the ethnics had not given up their allegiance to local progressive issues. Nevertheless many remained uncommitted to either the party or host society.

The Communist party was already attempting to regain their support. Party leader Tim Buck was reported to be in the camp in 1928, hiding from host society reaction in the Red Scare of that year, and deliberated with Thachuk and the Finnish leaders. He solidified his position and did much to repair the local rift in the party (Roberts 1979:2). But the host community was also seeking to gain ethnic support. With the beginning of the 1929 Depression local authorities became more vehement in their attempts to define and, by defining, control the ethnic communities. They threatened to close down the radical ethnic schools unless they began to show their contextual conformity through such means as teaching 'proper' music, 'O Canada', 'God Save The King' and ethnic folk songs, but not radical songs.

There is a growing opinion that these foreign schools are not
occupied with teaching loyalty to Canada... Canadians would be pleased to have Ukrainian children taught the classics in music... But for attention to be centred on 'Red' songs would not be so pleasing to Canadians... That is what the Advance would like to see - a thorough investigation of such schools as those conducted by foreigners with the idea of determining the purpose behind their activities. (Porcupine Advance 12 June 1930, p.12)

The community recognized that the majority of these Communists were not citizens of Canada but whereas some said this guaranteed that they would never come to power the authorities specified that this only made the situation even more serious as they would turn to direct means to gain power especially when they seemed able to call out hundreds and thousands of individuals for parades. There was a distinction made in their mind between elections and the rights of Canadians and ethnics and their possible revolutionary threats to the context of Canadian society. "The fact of the matter is that the Communist doctrine to-day is making its only inroads on the foreigner and on (their) children especially. This makes it a double menace." (Porcupine Advance 16 October 1930, p.15)

Nevertheless the 1928 Hollinger disaster had reawakened the radical movement in the Porcupine Camp and this was further reinforced with the onslaught of the 1929 Depression. The Great Depression served as an object lesson to Communist supporters in the camp who looked upon it as the deathknell of the capitalist system and a signal for the coming class revolution. Many of the ethnics became reconciled with the Communist party. A vindication of the party's stance on the dominance of class ideology had appeared to occur with the seeming collapse of the 'capitalist economies' in October 1929 just as the Comintern had predicted. The revolutionary class movement was again gaining adherents in the ethnic communities.

Yet, in spite of the increase in radical support, the CPC had few institutions in the camp on which it could depend and utilize. The party had
reconciled with the ethnic halls but the halls still would not be placed under party control and the ethnic associations continued to be hesitant about joining the larger movement. The only organization that could offer the party a local base of operations was Workers Co-operative and it was towards this institution that they directed their attention.

The Radical Takeover of Workers Co-op

The 1929 Depression did not affect the Porcupine Camp to the same extent as it did Southern Ontario for the mines continued to produce. Workers Co-operative also continued to operate as it had been able to accumulate an effective monetary surplus, especially in its educational fund, during its first years of operation. Workers continued to have a good cash flow even during the depression although it was forced to give more credit to its customers than was ordinarily adviseable. To aid its customers a 'distress fund' of 2% of profits was set aside with the manager empowered to decide on credit cases and give credit which would be charged to the distress fund.

As a result of its success the co-operative was in an advantageous position to support and influence other organizations, such as the radical ethnic associations, many of which were in financial trouble and looked to the solvent co-op for assistance. One of the first to receive assistance was the Kirkland Lake Finnish Club. Workers agreed to lend it $3,000 even though the club owed an equal amount of money to Workers Kirkland Lake store. With such financial resources it was inevitable that co-op would come to the attention of the Communist party as a vehicle for their interests. Changes were already occurring in the Communist party to favour the inclusion of co-operatives in general class ideology and in the co-operative to aid the Communist faction.

In the late 1920s, and in line with its general restructuring, the
Comintern took the position that a class revolution was imminent, and the 1929 Depression reinforced this belief, the CPC felt it had to reassert itself. It contended that the party was the pre-eminent factor in the general radical movement, the vanguard of the new revolution which it saw shaping in Canada and demanded that all those who had been "friendly" towards them, including the co-ops, now recognize its leadership. It castigated the ethnics for their "utopian approach" which saw co-operatives as a movement in themselves; the CPC wanted the co-ops to be instruments of the larger class struggle. (Avery 1973:129-31)

On August 10, 1930, Nick Thachuk, Workers secretary and leader of the local Communist faction, attended a conference in Port Arthur called by the board of directors of the 'International Co-operative Trading Company'. This was a radical Finnish co-operative controlled, in large part, by former FOC secretary A.T. Hill and his supporters who had reconciled with the party and backed its efforts to emphasize general class over local ethnic organization.

The conference repudiated the Co-operative Union of Canada which had earlier repudiated the right of co-operatives to discuss politics. The conference specified that co-operatives should become politically "militant" and act as "instruments in the struggle". The concluding paragraph of the final announcement, signed by Nick Thachuk, in effect drew up a manifesto for the takeover and operation of co-operatives in the revolutionary class interest.

While combatting the illusion that the co-operative movement can emancipate the working-class, it must be stressed that workers' co-operatives can be developed together with other militant
workers' organizations into genuine and effective instruments in the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system and to establish our workers' and poor farmers' Soviet Republic of Canada. Workers' co-operatives have great tasks before them and in order to fulfill these tasks we must get to work at once. Our first task will be to clear the committees (board of directors) of all reactionary and opportunist elements who are acting as stumbling blocks to the progress of the working-class movement. Our co-operative employees can be much more active than they have been. We are commencing to see signs of fear on the part of the employees that the manager and members of the board of directors are looking sideways at those who take a prominent part in the workers' struggles. Worker co-operative stores should be closed on May First and all members, including employees, should take part in the demonstration. (Porcupine Advance 21 May 1931, p.1)

The conference was a Communist party platform which supported the party's stand on co-ops as part of the working class movement. It was little wonder that they stated that the only organization which could develop the co-operatives as integral elements of the working class movement was the Communist party. The co-ops were to be taken over from those characterized as "reactionary and opportunist elements" which were, in effect, all those who were not members or did not acknowledge the Communist party as leader of the class movement. This was a call for a takeover and the call was soon heeded in the Porcupine Camp as conditions within Workers Co-op had also changed in the radical faction's favour.

Manager Haapanen, who had been manager since Workers inception, had tendered his resignation to take effect July 15, 1930 with the intention of returning to the United States. This removed the major stabilizing element within the co-operative as Haapanen had been able to keep the different political factions in line. His replacement, Koivisto, was brought in from the United States but by this time Thachuk and the Communist faction had decided on their own course of action.

The radicals immediately identified Workers new manager, Koivisto, as an obstacle because he was not a member of the party and would not
acknowledge party hegemony. In an effort to remove him, a whispering campaign was started against him. Thachuk and his supporters claimed that the manager was not doing his job and that he was "not earning 5 cents a day". Koivisto finally handed in his resignation effective January 1, 1931, stating that he was ill and could not remain for the winter. This time the manager's position was advertised only in the Finnish radical newspapers, Vapaus in Canada and Tyomies in the United States.

A problem developed for the radical faction when Charles Haapanen, the former manager, reapplied for the manager's position. He was initially hired by the board of directors, which was not yet controlled by the radicals. Haapanen returned to Timmins to take up his position but the radical faction did not want him back in office and they attempted to stall his appointment.

Thachuk forced the board of directors to not confirm Haapanen and ask Koivisto to remain for a time by ensuring that Haapanen's supporters, especially from South Porcupine, did not sit on the board. He informed the board of directors that they could not confirm Haapanen's appointment as this was not a meeting of the "enlarged board" since only the president, who had fortuitously resigned, or the secretary, himself, could call such a meeting. The radical faction succeeded in keeping Haapanen out and Koivisto in as a 'lame-duck' manager until the annual meeting when they could gather their supporters to elect their own manager.

Haapanen was a popular figure among the less radical members of the co-op and the radical group's stalling of his appointment widened the political split in the co-op. Haapanen's supporters had hoped his return might stem the tide of radicalism they saw rising in the co-operative. Already many individuals who had loaned the co-op money requested their loans be paid back immediately and others demanded increased security on their
loans. They said that propaganda was being carried out under the auspices of the co-operative and that this political action jeopardized their investments if the host society decided to take action against the Communists.

Amidst this furor, A.T. Hill, the former FOC secretary and Communist Party of Canada politbureau member, came to the Porcupine Camp in February to direct party members and supporters. The party already had a base of support within Workers, especially with Thachuk as secretary. Hill among the Finns and Thachuk among the Ukrainians prepared the faction for the takeover of Workers. They urged their supporters to buy shares in the co-operative and, if they had multiple shares, to sell these to other supporters.

They understood that one of the major strengths of co-operatives, the principle of one man one vote, was also one of its major weaknesses. They knew that only a few people ever showed up at the annual general meeting and made sure that their own people had votes and would be present. The original intent of the rule was for an open and democratic organization where no one person could control others. However, the rule also allowed any vocal individual and his followers to gain power by showing up at meetings and voting as a block. The other members of the co-op were unprepared to take concerted action and many did not realize the extent of the radical faction's strength.

On February 22, 1931 the radical 'takeover' of Workers took place at the co-op's annual meeting in Timmins. It caught the general membership by surprise. As one informant, present at the meeting, remarked:

"None of us knew what was going on. Who goes to a store meeting? So usually there were twenty-five or thirty people. So this Sunday meeting was in the Finnish Hall and we went there Sunday morning and the place was packed. Everybody just looked because they couldn't figure out what was going on. They (the radicals) had somehow made members, because there is only one vote per member, of this (Communist) group and when they put things to a vote they..."
passed everything. In front of all our very eyes they took over the stores.

The informant remembered one radical woman who rose to speak at the meeting and argued that it did not matter if the business did well as long as they (the radicals) had control because they needed an institution on which they could build political support. The informant also recognized that the co-op was being taken over largely through the actions of outsiders who had been brought in to help the local faction in its efforts.

Most of these people were not Finns, they were outsiders from Toronto where their leader (A.T. Hill) was. They got hold of some of the gullible around town and said, 'I'll give you so much for your share', though I don't know how they did it, how they got the shares, none of us know. But they had the votes and put everything to a vote.

These votes were on any and all issues and on the slightest points of order. The meeting dragged on well into the night. This was one of the ploys of the radical faction as often the only participants who remained to vote on many issues were their own supporters. In a short time the complete raison d'être of the institution had changed from local economic to wide scale political activism.

The Communists took control of the Board of Directors and the all-important Educational Committee and its burgeoning fund which they now used to support their interests. The fund was used immediately when $300 was donated to the local unemployed, $100 of which went to the Workers Co-operative Boarding House to supply meals to the unemployed. This was part of the party's attempt to organize the unemployed and involve them in the wider radical movement (Roberts 1979:3). Fund money was also distributed to support strike activity in areas from Toronto to Alberta and in support of the Communist party associated 'Workers Defense League'.

Whereas there had previously been little general knowledge of the co-op
with little mention of it in the local newspaper, since it was seen as a simple economic institution, now its new political makeup and internal difficulties became public knowledge. In a letter to the editor of the Porcupine Advance an individual signing himself only as "A Fellow Co-operator" (but most probably Charles Haapanen) addressed an open letter to members of the Workers Co-operative which the editor saw as being "of great importance". The letter drew attention to the recent events occurring within the co-operative which it emphasized were going to have "disastrous affects on the future of the Society" (Porcupine Advance 14 March 1931, p.13). The writer called for the membership to "bestir" itself or witness the society's collapse.

This was an attempt to derail the radical takeover of Workers by bringing the issue to the attention of the English Canadian membership and the host community in the hope that they might react and help to regain control. Immediate support from the community was not forthcoming. The nonradical membership did not have the numbers to force a new meeting or even be assured of success if one was called. The new board was able to stall them and continued to build up their support. Within the co-operative shares were transferred between individuals and the transfers quickly authorized by the board to allow the radical faction to secure its position. The distress fund, a reserve fund to be loaned to members in financial difficulty, was strengthened and strategically utilized to gain supporters.

Trachuk was designated as head of the Educational Committee, which became one of the key power bases in the co-op. Under him the committee became much more active, holding regular meetings with employees twice a month and setting up co-operative courses during the summer in coordination with the Communist party summer worker courses. The Educational Committee
The Educational Fund was used to support national strike activity during the depression as per Communist party policy to force the economic crisis that would supposedly lead to the final class revolution. Workers gave money to CPC sponsored organizations such as the 'Young Communist League (YCL)', 'Workers Unity League (WUL)' and 'Canadian Labour Defence League (CLDL)' and often sent delegates to their meetings. Workers also sent a letter of greeting (with a dollar enclosed to show their support) to the Soviet Union on the anniversary of the revolution and creation of the Soviet Union.

U. Tynjala was hired as the new manager beginning September 1931. He came from Fort Williams and another of the radical Northern Ontario Finnish co-ops and as such he was of the 'proper' political ideology. The faction was making sure that any change was in keeping with the new political nature of the co-operative. Membership in the Communist party was now as important as occupational expertise.

With the successful radical takeover of Workers Co-operative there was a new feeling for the inevitable victory of the total class movement. For the Communists, Workers was the first local step on the road to the new Soviet State. It was one of the many successes that the Communist party experienced throughout the country.

In early 1931 the membership of the CPC and many mass organizations increased and Communist militants displayed more drive and ingenuity than in the previous years. The result was a wider range of Communist activities across the country and larger audiences ready to listen to what the Communists had to say. (Avakumovic 1975:87)

The 1929 Depression and the events which followed permitted a partial
ethnic reconciliation towards the CPC in spite of the party's negation of ethnic input. This was forced by harsh economic conditions and a revived class consciousness in the face of what appeared to be a classic Marxist development. This early success would falter in the face of host society reactions and divisions within the ethnic communities. This created a new development in which class and ethnicity were to emerge as fully separate frameworks of interest and under contextual influence, lead to the splitting of the ethnic communities between radical (class), progressive (ethnic-class) and cultural (ethnic) supporters.
In a short time, which on a national level fits the period 1929-33 and on a community level the period 1928-32, the nature of the ethnic and class relationship to Canadian society changed in confrontation with that society.

It is little wonder that Avery (1979) chose to end his book on immigrants and labour radicalism in the year 1932 for by then the Canadian society had made clear that it "harboured deep suspicions of its foreign-born, particularly those who dared challenge the prevailing free enterprise system" (Avery 1979:13).

Many ethnics began to seek new roles which were completely at variance with the class-based structures that had previously held their support. This coincided with host society endeavors to ensure a strong opposition to the ethnic radicals at a time when they were in greatest conflict with Canadian society. These new roles were to be loyalist, culturally based and in virtual opposition to class criterion.

New loyalist ethnic organizations, professing their full and total obeisance to the host society, were quickly formed at the community level and allowed increasing access to resources, such as political legitimacy. They were also given new resources by the host community, notably jobs. The loyalist organizations were given the right to confirm an ethnic individual's political acceptability and thus could limit his access to jobs in the mines; a resource already limited by economic conditions. In lieu thereof the
loyalists were to maintain a vigil on the actions of the radicals. They began to translate radical literature for local authorities and offered advice on appropriate responses. This all occurred in the important first years of the depression when the structure of the local community as well as Canadian society was under negotiation.

In the Porcupine Camp the radical faction's attempts to gain support had been aided by the advent of the 1929 Depression which renewed ideological commitment. More importantly perhaps, it also forced large numbers of Finnish and Ukrainian bushworkers into the camp to look for work. These unemployed bushworkers became supporters of the Communist party which attempted to organize them under the 'National Unemployed Association (NUA)'. In the Porcupine Camp the NUA was led by Jerry Humphries an Oxford graduate and former executive in the Hollinger office before he had been fired (Roberts 1979:3). Throughout 1931 the CPC, NUA and allied organizations demonstrated openly in the camp for changes in the political and economic structures of Canadian society.

On April 15, 1931 one of the largest demonstrations was held in Timmins by supporters of the National Unemployment Association. They petitioned for free unemployment insurance, a seven hour day and five day week and a minimum wage of $25 even if a man was not working. The demonstration started from the Ukrainian Hall and was led by Finnish Communist leader A.T. Hill. They were met by massive reaction from the host community.

Crowds of English Canadians and loyalist ethnics jeered and pelted the marchers until the police dispersed the protesters and arrested 5 participants, including Hill. The remaining protesters went to a rally but their banners, calling for the overthrow of the capitalist system and support
for the Russian Soviet, were torn down by the crowd (Porcupine Advance 16 April 1931, p.1). The Porcupine Advance newspaper said that this was a parade of a few hundred who were 'saved' by the police from harm by the thousands of the public lining the route. The Finnish paper Vapaus presented it as a parade of 6,000 disrupted by police brutality. Neither was an objective evaluation but the parade was indicative of the contest between opposing ideologies.

Local authorities were joined in their attack by a newly formed ethnic opposition. These groups, which sprang up in short order, were concerned enough by the host society reactions to a mounting crisis to try to prove their loyalty in a decisive manner. New loyalist ethnic communities, associations, institutions and interest groups were created and began to directly hinder the activities of the radical and progressive communities. They began by offering local authorities and newspapers information and translations of material used by the ethnic radicals. In an attempt justify their positions they even called for the host community to take more forceful action against the ethnic radicals.

On May 1, 1931 a crowd "of several thousand" spectators were on the streets ready to harass the May Day marchers. They threw eggs and stones, not allowing the parade to start and shouted down the speakers. The police finally refused to let the proceedings continue. At the same time the feelings against the radicals had reached such a fever pitch that there was talk (instigated no doubt by the ethnic loyalists) that the progressive Finn and Ukrainian Halls in Timmins were preparing for armed revolution and had been caching large supplies of arms. As a result of these rumours the police raided the halls during May Day but found no arms (Porcupine Advance 21 May 1931, p.11).
It is interesting to note the extent of the newspaper reports on the May Day parades at this time. There had been little previous mention of the parades in the Porcupine Advance even though they occurred each year and often had a large number of participants. If they were mentioned it was only a short note on 'some group' which was having a small parade. Yet in the early 1930s the paper began to stress the parade and other radical protests, as events of a political and social importance; threats to social order and good government which required a suitable reaction by the community. The increase in reporting is symbolic of the importance of the growing confrontation over who would control the contextual basis of social action in Canadian society.

The authorities in the camp were aided by the wider reaction of the host society as similar contests were occurring throughout Canada. (Avery 1979; Angus 1981)

On August 11, 1931 the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada, including A.T. Hill from Timmins, were arrested by the Ontario government and charged under section 98 of the criminal code with being officers and members of an "unlawful association" and partners to a seditious conspiracy (Avakumovic 1975:87). The judge, commenting on A.T. Hill, said, "He's one of those disturbers up in Timmins eh?...He's well paid for his services by a sheltering country, he owns nothing and will play the devil with everything." (Porcupine Advance 10 December 1931, p.1). Seven of the accused, including Hill, were given terms of five years and another accused was given two years. They appealed their sentences and were granted bail of $20,000. Bail was paid by the Communist front 'Canadian Labour Defense League (CLDL) which also instigated appeals. All sentences, however, were upheld except for the charge of seditious conspiracy. The accused all went to prison and deportation was recommended by the government after their release. Deportation became a major
threat to all ethnics who were affiliated to the CPC though it was rarely carried out.

Authorities in the Porcupine Camp responded to the Ontario government's initiative with a massive crackdown of their own. On March 3, 1932 a "hunger march" demonstration of unemployed men organized by the Communist party, led by Nick Thachuk and starting from the Finn Hall in Timmins, was met by police. The marchers were dispersed and Thachuk arrested and fined (Porcupine Advance 10 March 1932, p.1). The 1932 May Day Parade was refused a parade permit but the organizers decided to proceed. In response twenty-two special constables from the local Royal Canadian Legion were appointed by local authorities and, aided by town police and OPP officers, met the marchers with brutal force. Seven people were arrested and calls for their deportation were made. In July the police chief of Rouyn-Noranda came to Timmins and arrested Thachuk for his activities during the May Day parade in that community. It became open season on the radicals; a symbol of one's commitment to Canadian society.

The whole proceedings of the red element in Timmins and other North Land towns has shown that they have no other purpose or hope or desire except to insult and injure. For years they were permitted full freedom in Timmins. They scorned everything loyal or decent. They assaulted their own countrymen to force them into Russian political work...Force is their one argument. Not content with their grip on the foreign element these fellows attempted last year to take over the whole town. They openly announced their intention to set the law at naught. They found the British people, however, of a different mettle. Also their own countrymen who wanted to be decent and loyal citizens took heart of grace when they found that they would have protection from the small but brutal and perfectly organized ring that stopped at nothing to achieve its ends...Today there are only small groups of these alien ingrates. But the smallness of their numbers should not lull the people into any false sense of security from the red racket. (Porcupine Advance 5 May 1932, p.12)

In the wake of renewed radical activity and host society response, a split in the ethnic communities, which had been encouraged by the host
society now became institutionalized locally in loyalist ethnic nationalist organizations principally among the Finns, Ukrainians and Croats. The Finnish response was particularly acrimonious in its opposition to the radicals and obsequious in its loyalty to the host community.

**Finnish Reaction**

In 1931 Finnish socialists, in growing opposition to the Communist led radical movement, had broken from the FOC to form the rival 'Workers and Farmers League' and a separate newspaper, Vapaa Sana. The new organization was allied with Canadian socialists and came to support the socialist 'Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF)'. The Workers and Farmers League was especially strong in South Porcupine and among the Finnish farmers in the region.

In Timmins a new hall, appropriately named the 'Harmony Hall', became the focal institution for those socialist Finns who sought conciliation with the host community. It was formed by Finns who did not wish to join the church-oriented organizations who were attacking socialists as well as Communists in their opposition to the perceived 'red' menace.

These pro-church Finnish groups became extremely militant with the establishment in April 1931 of a United Church Finnish Chapel under the directorship of Reverend A. Lappala. At the opening ceremonies the mayor of Timmins greeted the assembled Finns and wished them "good wishes on behalf of the British people of Timmins" promising "friendliness and co-operation to all who wished to be good Canadians" (Porcupine Advance 2 April 1931, p.1). The message of conformity was clearly stated and the new minister became the leader of the effort to instill this conformity among the Finns.

A scant few weeks after the opening of the church Reverend Lappala was a delegate to the founding meeting of the 'Loyal Finnish Organization' (Loyal
Finns' in Toronto. The new organization formulated plans to "fight the Communist peril" and to publicize the fact that there were many Finns who were not Communists and were 'loyal' to Canadian society.

On Sunday May 3, 1931 the local chapter of the Finnish Loyalist Society was formed in Timmins with seventy-three members. Its main resolution, as outlined in its minutes and promulgated to the Canadian and Ontario governments as well as to the local community, stated;

We the loyal Finnish people in the Porcupine Camp at a mass meeting in the Moose Hall, Timmins May 3, 1931 most emphatically declare our disapproval of and express our disquiet at, the insulting and insolent undertakings of some of our countrymen. We further declare our unswerving loyalty and allegiance to the government of our adopted country, the Dominion of Canada, obedience to its laws and respect for its institutions and sacred traditions. Accordingly we have organized a local chapter of the 'Loyal Finns of Canada' which is a nationwide organization in scope who's purpose is to gather all loyal Finns in Canada into an organized activity against all disloyal elements and influences among Finnish people.

The newspaper specified that the Loyal Finns could count on the support of all those opposed to "the evil work of the paid agitator" and in support of any action directed against the "alien agitators". These "agitators" were identified on the basis of ethnic and political ideology. The "loyalists" were, by definition, not considered "aliens" but "good citizens" and "good ethnics". They maintained an ethnic group nationalism whose political goals were in tune with the host society and in opposition to the radicals.

The Loyal Finnish Organization's leaders began to identify 'Communists' to the mine companies and set up their own blacklists. The organization had been created primarily to ensure that Finns would have access to jobs. As such they presented their supporters with letters which gave their employers proof of their "White character and religious spirit" (Lindstrom-Best 1981b:101). Finnish workers would often not be accepted without a note to

People attempting to join the Loyal Finn organization were rejected for being "too friendly with Communists" or because of their improper marriage or accused of wanting to join only to ensure a job. One socialist Finn remembered the circumstances in Timmins:

At one time, in the northern mining districts, it was practically impossible for a Finn to get a job without the approval of (the) Gestapo, founded in the style of old Czar Nicholas, organized through churches and the Loyal Finns. They had created this organization and denounced all other groups (i.e. the FOC) as revolutionists while proclaiming their 'loyalty' to the government. This was accepted as truth for some time...Reverend Lappala...told the companies that their purpose was to stop the Reds and the Bolsheviks from getting into the mines, so there wouldn't be a revolution as in Russia. (Koski 1980:7-8)

The only recourse for radical Finns was to retreat into the bush and live off hunting, trapping, prospecting and what bushwork they could find.

There was no relaxation of the host society reaction until 1934 with the election of the Hepburn Liberal government in Ontario, which at this time was liberal in purpose as well as name though it was to become increasingly reactionary, and the actions of the Toronto Daily Star newspaper whose articles railed against the 'job rackets', attempts to buy and sell jobs, among the Finns. By this time the radical ethnics were in full retreat and their attempts to revise the Canadian context no longer perceived as dangerous.

The radical Finns were once again able to gain jobs in spite of being Communists. The Loyal Finns, however, continued to remain strong because of their acceptance by the host community. They continued to emphasize the radical nature of their opponents and their own loyalty to Canadian society. The only organization to match the Finnish Loyalist Society in its virulent opposition to the radicals in the camp was to be found in the Ukrainian
Ukrainian 'Prosvita' Organization

By the early 1930s many Ukrainians in the camp had begun to realize the significance of the crisis which was building up around them. Former and long-standing members of the ULFTA, almost overnight, came to the realization that the Ukrainian Hall was a radical political organization they could no longer support without jeopardizing their relations with the host community. Two Ukrainian informants realized the political nature of the ULFTA at about the same time.

—I used to go and listened to their rhetoric but I left in 1931 because I took a good look and saw that they didn't know what they were talking about. They put on dances, music, plays—they taught Ukrainian and all was in Ukrainian. Someone who didn't know would think that it was a big social club but there was always that undercurrent of overthrowing the capitalist system and building up a socialist system like they have in Russia.

—They all went to the hall and I went there because my mother wanted us to learn Ukrainian and music but we saw there was no priest in it and they didn't talk about God and they always wanted us to parade. I had to go, all the school children had to go and we marched and they (British Canadians) threw eggs at us. Me and my brother came home crying. We didn't know what it was until it began to open up and flower and then we knew it was Communist and left.

In late 1931 the Ukrainian version of the Finnish Loyalist Society was founded, 'The Ukrainian National Federation Prosvita Society'. Prosvita means enlightenment and the organization's aim was to preserve "the good characteristics of their race,...become the best sorts of Canadian citizens and to improve themselves in every way...with the added aim of loyalty to their adopted country and opposition to those who would injure or defame this land" (Porcupine Advance 31 March 1932, p.5). Prosvita opposed the more radical ULFTA though many of its supporters had been members, participating in ULFTA cultural activities and learning the Ukrainian language in the...
progressive hall. Now they refused to even acknowledge them except as enemies.

In December 1932, Prosvita opened its hall with a great ceremony, attended by civic, religious and mine officials who spoke of the 'colour' and cultural work the Ukrainians contributed to Canada. The first Ukrainian Canadian Member of Parliament addressed the gathering with appropriate deference. "In what other country but a British one is there such freedom and opportunity and help for a poor boy?... Canada is a country of freedom and opportunity for all irrespective of national origin." (Porcupine Advance 1 December 1932, p1).

Where the UNFA hoped to restructure Canadian society along the lines of the Soviet model, Prosvita members wished to assimilate economically and socially while maintaining an interest in restructuring their homeland into, they said, a model of Canadian democracy. One member defined themselves in opposition to the more radical organization in this way:

We never associated with them because they were very strong Communists and they set up parades and outraged talk. They wanted the world to hear that they were working for labour organization and we did not think that this should be in Timmins because they were treating us good here in this country giving us tools to work with and freedom. We could teach our children Ukrainian, dancing, dramatic plays on stage. We kept the children in the Prosvita organization and they did not go out in the streets looking for trouble or bad company. We were a close knit organization and we wanted Timmins and the government to know we were grateful for what they were offering us.

When the leader of the national organization addressed the Prosvita Hall in November 1933 he stressed the necessity for loyalty to Canada. He emphasized that the red Ukrainians had used their hall and activities to attract people and promulgate red principles but this new hall would be used in "counteracting the evil wrought by the reds" (Porcupine Advance 16 November 1933, p.1). Members of Prosvita were emphasizing their Ukrainian
culture and good relations with the host community so as not to be ostracized into the category of 'dangerous foreigners'. It was a development common to another Eastern European organization, among the Croatians in Schumacher.

**Croatian Hall**

When large numbers of Croatians were immigrating to Schumacher in the late 1920s and early 1930s their homeland was in the throes of a strong political nationalism which found expression in the 'Croatian Peasant Party (CPP)'. Many of the Croatians immigrants to Canada remained committed supporters of the party while others began to side with the local Communists. This division was not yet permanent as both groups allied to form a mutual benefit lodge in the mid 1920s, local chapter '608' of the Croatian Fraternal Union (Hrvatska Bratska Zajednica), which provided insurance and burial for Croatians in Canada.

The division began to become permanent in the late 1920s with the first attempts to institutionalize the ethnic community. With the establishment of a stable Croatian colony in Schumacher it was considered necessary that a Croatian Roman Catholic Parish be established as well. In 1928 the Croatians invited a young Croatian missionary priest to Schumacher to establish a Croatian parish, library and reading room (Rasporich 1982:107). The young priest came but did not find the necessary support as there were only some 400 supporters in the community and they were mostly poor and could not afford to contribute heavily to a church. There was also a large group of radical Croatians who did not support an ethnic church. As a result a church was not built but political events in the homeland forced the creation of another institution.

On June 20, 1928 Stjepan Radic, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, and two of his deputies were assassinated in the Yugoslav Parliament at
Belgrade, word of Radic's death spread quickly to Schumacher and the community became committed to creation of an expatriate nationalism. Where a short time before they could not afford to support a church they could now agree upon the creation of a hall to be called, symbolically, 'The Croatian National Home' (Hrvatski Narodni Dom).

The Croatians pooled their money and bought shares in the hall. They purchased an old theater on First Avenue and began to remodel it themselves since they did not have the money to hire labourers. This was the depression and many were caring for relatives who were out of work. They bought materials and the men worked while the women cooked. There were arguments, however, as to what type of organization it was going to become.

The radicals pressured for the hall to be a Labour-Farmers Temple like the ULFTA in Timmins; committed to an economic and political restructuring of Canadian society. Others wanted it to be strictly a national hall where all would be welcome without regard for politics. The supporters of the Peasant party, however, wanted it to be an expatriate ethnic-nationalist institution. They were aided, in 1930, by the creation of the first Canadian chapter of the Croatian Peasant Party in Toronto. Schumacher quickly followed with the formation of its own chapter in 1931.

The first president of the hall found himself caught in the middle of this bickering and was eventually forced to resign. The radicals were forced out and moved to their own smaller Croatian Club across the street. The Croatian Hall became a 'loyalist' organization affiliated, if not synonomous, with the Croatian Peasant Party. The Croatians were now identified by the host community as people who were "very Scottish in their love for their native land and equally desirous to be good citizens of their adopted country" (Porcupine Advance 8 December 1932, p.1).
At the opening ceremonies of the hall delegates from municipal, provincial and federal governments all praised the Croatian people. A visiting U.S. Congressman, the first Croatian elected to that position, was also present and called on the people to be loyal to Canada. "Let us forget the old quarrel of Europe and seek to do our part to build up a virile and happy people on this continent." (Porcupine Advance 22 December 1932, p.9)

When a deputy of the Croatian Peasant Party visited the camp in September 1935 he spoke reassuringly to local political leaders and mine managers assembled at a banquet of the loyalty of the Croatian people to Canada and its people. The local authorities responded by speaking of Croats as good and loyal citizens held in high esteem by all thus confirming their fealty and distinguishing them from the radicals (Porcupine Advance 22 December 1932, p.9).

All such ethnic events were virtually the same in terms of their symbols and presentation. These were times for ethnic reassurances to the host community of their loyalty, apolitical cultural activity and assimilative virtues. The banquets and ceremonies were common 'social dramas' for all loyalist groups vis-a-vis the host community; a means to renew and reassure each of the others values and beliefs in fidelity and mutual support (Cohen 1974b:132).

With the growth of the Croatian community in Schumacher there was a growing division between the supporters of the radical Croatian Club and the conservative Croatian Hall. The division went so far as to specify certain hotels as strongholds for the radicals or the Peasant party though the party held by far the greater local support. In keeping with its allegiance to the host society the Croatian Hall became a center of cultural activity as concerts, dances and dramas became a marker of the Croatian enclave of
'Little Zagreb'. These cultural activities were important assurances to local authorities of Croatian disinterest in any political activity which might be perceived as threatening the host society. Even their support for expatriate nationalism and politics was sublimated within the confines of the hall and rarely made public.

Other ethnic communities developed loyalist institutions at this time as well. They were not as important as these major associations which came to dominate ethnic loyalist presentations but all formed a cohesive loyalist presentation to the host community. It is interesting to note how similar each of the ethnic loyalist organizations were to each other, as was the host community's response to their allegiance.

Other Organizations

In August 1932 the Polish White Eagle Society Hall was opened in Timmins with the avowed purpose of combating "the insidious evil of communism and to aid in the building of the best type of Canadian citizenship among its members" (Porcupine Advance 25 August 1932, p.1). Civic and religious officials again addressed a large meeting and praised the Polish people for their loyalty. The mayor emphasized that "in this country there is no room for the disloyal or the disaffected but there was a welcome to others of the right kind" (Porcupine Advance 25 August 1932, p.1).

Among the Italians in the Porcupine Camp the major event in this period was creation of their own Catholic Church, Sacred Heart, in the Moneta enclave in 1934. This removed the Italian Catholics from the ostensible control of the French - Irish dominated Catholic churches in Timmins and unified the Italian community (DiGiacamo 1982:25-6). The next major development was creation of a branch of the Fascist 'Sons of Italy'. The most prominent member of this organization was Leo Mascioli who was also probably
the "prominent local citizen" who was able to get the Porcupine Advance to do a small article on fascism.

This article identified the Italians first as "good Canadians all" and went on to tell how the prominent citizen said there had been misconceptions spread by the reds "who know that fascism is against them to the limit". The newspaper concluded with the remark, "British people are strong on the right and privileges of the individual and it is doubtful if the Fascists would appeal to them. It would suit them better than communism, however."

(Porcupine Advance 29 November 1934, p.13)

In 1935, with Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia, the Italian community pledged its support to the Fascist leader at a meeting in Timmins. A second rally in the summer of 1936 was attended by 400 Italians and a representative of the consul-general of Italy addressed them in support of fascism. The representative was assured of the moral support of the Porcupine Italian community for 'il Duce'. The local paper continued to reiterate that "the Fascist belongs to a better gang than the Communist" (Porcupine Advance 7 January 1937, p.12).

The loyalist organizations were the beginnings of an institutionalization of ethnic communities which were accepted and depended upon by the host community. They could be easily identified as they were the ones whose hall's flew the Union Jack and had prominent pictures of the King. Their ceremonies were opened with 'O'Canada' and closed with 'God Save The King'. They were the one's who were addressed by their consuls and religious leaders and whom host society leaders touted as good and true representatives of the mother country as well as loyal Canadians. They were the ones who could be relied upon to put on music concerts and show their costumes without interruption for political rhetoric. This cultural
presentation was so important that it was little wonder that many of the people I interviewed see this period as a 'golden age' of cultural activity.

For a time the 'dangerous foreigners' who had threatened Canadian society, with their class dogma, were in retreat and the good and loyal 'New Canadians' were in ascendancy, presenting their symbolic loyalty through ethnic dances and culture. They were allowed access to political action within Canadian society though only in maintenance of the status quo. Thus the ethnic communities were soon fully split between ethnic and class (though ethnically mitigated) criterion as a result of their situational responses to the context supplied by host society.

The divisions were in fact much more complex than this dualistic conceptualization intends. There were now groups which could be identified as Fascists, Socialists, Communists, pro-Church, and Progressives. The responses and definitions of these groups varied with the situation. At some point the Socialists would be perceived (or perceive themselves) as loyalists while at another time they might support the Communist party and its class initiatives in which case they would be radicals. At other times they might support class initiatives only at the local-level at which time they would become part of the progressive group. Certainly groups such as the pro-Church or Fascists would remain largely conservative and loyalist (though World War II would diminish for a time, though not destroy, the loyalist perception of the Italian Fascists). The host community made no such distinction, however, as groups were either loyalist or not.

The highpoint of loyalist expression came on May 6, 1935 at a special gathering of loyal citizens and organizations in the camp in honour of the King's Jubilee celebration. This was the ultimate social drama. The call for the gathering and celebration was made by no less an organization than the
Royal Canadian Legion. A telling comparison can be made between the structural development of ethnic participation in the Jubilee ceremony instigated under pressure from an Anglo institution like the Legion and the later development of the Timmins Ethnic Festival in the 1970s instigated by another Anglo institution, the Timmins Museum. In both instances the 'ethnics chose to extend the social drama from a limited occasion into a yearly event celebrating ethnic identity and an ongoing means to acquire local resources.

The Canadian Legion in 1935 made it explicitly clear that the Jubilee was to be a gathering of all the 'loyal and patriotic' organizations. These were to include the 'British' associations such as the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, Daughters of England, the Welsh society and the "loyal foreign people" and their organizations such as the Finnish Loyalist Organization and the Ukrainian Prosvita. Those expressly excluded were the radical and progressive ethnic organizations in a telling reminder of their place in the community and what they could expect in the future for their past activity. To the loyal ethnics the event was to be a thanksgiving to the Empire and a symbol to the host community of their willingness to maintain the status quo. They expressed their loyalty by showing off their costumes, dancing, singing and orchestra playing as well as participating in the parade with their own floats. One float was of particular symbolic interest.

I was a member of one of the school celebrations for the Jubilee...and the Schumacher Public School put on what was called 'The Melting Pot'. They had a truck pull the float and there was a big circular thing in the truck - a melting pot - and you had a circle of different nationalities going into the melting pot and another circle - all Canadians - coming out. This was just a continuous circle going in and coming out. Going in with all the different national costumes and coming out in Canadian dress.

The importance of the event was all too evident to the loyalist ethnic communities as a means to gain acceptance and acquire local resources. They
now began to institutionalize their public display of loyalty into a yearly event, first called the 'International Concert' and later the 'National Festival'. At these occasions the different ethnic communities, "the 'League of Nation' within the camp", as they were called, were lauded for their loyalty and contributions by the host community. (Porcupine Advance 30 November 1939, p.7)

The ethnic loyalists now had an accepted place in the community though only in relation to the host community and society. The loyalist elements were given the concession of being identified as 'New Canadians' rather than as aliens or foreigners as long as they operated within the limited 'ethnic group' arena of culturally defined activity and showed signs of their assimilation. Large numbers agreed and responded by taking English classes, sponsored by the churches and loyalist organizations.

As a result of the successful diminishment of radical activity and the increase in loyalist activity in this period there was a softening of the image of all immigrants; they were once again perceived less as a problem and more as an actuality. The melting pot theory was still in force with the view that these 'good and loyal' immigrants would help in the creation of a new Canadian race. As the local MP stated in 1939, "This camp might be described as a crucible in which all the races of Europe are melted down to make good Canadians." (Porcupine Advance 30 November 1939, p.7) But the ethnics were also beginning to be accepted as part of society; as long as they operated as members of 'ethnic groups' and loyal 'ethnic nationalist' communities.

In the Porcupine Camp the major role of the loyalists was to oppose the progressive and radical ethnic organizations and their supporters. The loyalist organizations did not develop large-scale panethnic associations as did the progressives who were allied on larger economic and political issues.
The creation of a new local co-operative did, however, serve this purpose as it came to oppose the radicals most important institution, Workers Co-operative.

**Consumers Co-operative**

The 'Consumers Co-operative Society Limited (Consumers)' was formed in Timmins on August 5th, 1931, a scant 6 months after the radical takeover of Workers'. It was created by former and founding members of Workers, mostly Finns, who had split from the older co-op because they objected to "the entrance of politics into the proceedings of the executive of the Workers Co-operative of New Ontario Limited" which they felt had brought about "the rule of politics and personal opinion" (Porcupine Advance 30 December 1931, p.1). They said the co-op had lost its association with Rochdale principles and had "taken up with political and other activities that were objectionable to the opinions and loyalty of those who believe in the co-operative policy." (Porcupine Advance 1 September, 1932, p.1) The leader of this new group was Charles Haapanen, who became the co-op's first manager.

The creation of Consumers Co-operative was a response to the radicalization of Workers and host society reactions against "alien agitators". Consumers took care to emphasize they were purely a 'consumers' co-operative, wishing to avoid all class oriented and disloyal stigma. They emphasized that "the society takes no part in politics and none of the funds of the company goes to the support of any political groups." (Porcupine Advance 1 September 1932, p.1). It attempted to carry out only the most clearly co-operative activity with no tinge of disloyalty to the host society. "For this reason this new co-operative has made a strong appeal to people of all classes and conditions and races and has found favour naturally with the loyal people of the community." (Porcupine Advance 30 December 1931,
Consumers enshrined its social and co-operative position by joining the Co-operative Union of Canada, which Workers had earlier repudiated. They also ensured that no clique would be able to take over the co-operative, as had happened in Workers, by providing that nominations to the board of directors were to be made at one of the two general meetings each year and elections held at the next meeting. This was designed to give individuals time to gain information on a nominee and allow the forestalling of another takeover.

The first Consumers store was opened in Timmins on August 10, 1931, the second in South Porcupine January 2, 1932 and the third in Schumacher on October 29, 1934. The co-op continued to expand under Haapanen’s leadership using the chain-store approach of a 'co-op in every community'.

Consumers and Workers vied openly with each other for money and membership. The ethnic communities, particularly the Finns, were soon totally divided in their political and economic allegiance between the two co-ops. The Ukrainians who had left Workers did not join Consumers but became part of the Prosvita organization instead. As a result when Consumers tried to expand the only area open to them was among the English Canadian community. As a result they brought in an educational director, N. Roy Clifton, to work among the English Canadians and expand Consumers influence. In response Workers hired their own educational director, J. Tester, a Communist party member, a few months later.

The new educational director of Consumers was told by Haapanen to forget about educating the Finns, as they already knew about co-operatives and were under Haapanen’s supervision. As the educational director commented, "The essence of a co-operative movement was control by the members but the reality in Consumers was control by Haapanen." He held a firm hand in the
co-operative, telling the Finns exactly what to do. "All the Finns did what Haapanen said without question or they were immediately ostracized from the co-op." Ostracization was a heavy price to pay for the only option was membership in the radical co-op or the church. It was also difficult because Haapanen could hinder one's employment prospects.

Haapanen emphasized to the educational director that his primary job was recruiting new English members as the co-op had all the non-Communist Finns in the community and needed the English for further expansion in order "to outcount Workers in dollars and names". Haapanen emphasized that his second task was to "always hammer away at Workers Co-op at every chance" when carrying out his educational work or drawing up advertising copy.

The educational director commented that, in Consumers, "the society's acts were often undertaken for the express purposes of injuring Workers." It was reported that in one instance in the late 1930s Haapanen had learned that Workers might be interested in buying a dairy operation. He felt that such an operation would cripple them as it would not be profitable. He requested material from the federal government on the requirements for establishing a dairy and let this become known. The rumours seemed to have forced Workers into going ahead with buying the dairy which consistently lost money and was finally sold at a loss.

On the opposite side it was just as antagonistic. When Consumers educational director decided to go to a co-operative conference in Guelph, Workers educational director asked to accompany him. Not wishing to show any animosity, he agreed. Haapanen warned him not to talk to the Workers director during the train trip. But in the natural course of events he did. A few weeks later an article appeared in Vapaus written by Workers educational director on his 'interview' with the Consumers director. The Consumers
director was a pacifist and his ideas were castigated in the article as idealistic. He and Consumers were criticized for not supporting Loyalist Spain and opposing the unity of Consumers and Workers. Consumers' 'pure co-operation' basis was criticized because it would "disarm the working class and make the co-op a tool in the hands of reactionaries".

The Porcupine Camp was effectively split between the two co-operatives. People who belonged to Workers did not associate with those who belonged to Consumers and visa versa. One did not walk on 'their' side of the street if one was not a member of 'that' co-operative. One also did not attend any of their socials or functions. As one informant remarked, "There were Workers and Consumers Co-ops and my parents would never go into Workers and never let me go to their dances. If they saw me, then they clobbered me."

There was a general fear, especially on the part of the loyalist group, since Workers was ostracized from the general community and considered part of the disloyal element, of being "painted red by the same brush", i.e. guilt by association. In an ethnic community dependent upon reputations one took care that one did not get a reputation as a red if one's associates were white, or white when one's associates were red. Often individuals newly come into the community did not realize the extent of the split and were caught in the middle. The Finnish United Church minister Heinonen actually held a share in Workers (which he probably received as a bequest) and was accused of being a Communist sympathizer. The battlelines were drawn and were not to be crossed. One informant, a radical Finnish supporter of Workers, recognized the differences between the two co-operatives on a political and class level.

There were two different ideas and not everybody wanted to know radicalism. The other wanted to be more careful -- no mixing with politics. Consumers was careful they did not mix with politics.
while the other mixed with politics because it was part of everyday life. You had to do something -- pursue your own idea. Workers was the radical because wages were pretty small here and it was for miners and working men. While in the other it was a lot of bosses and even the mine manager belonged to Consumers. They would have all belonged to Workers except for the political thing.

The nature of this political difference is overstated because the membership of Consumers Co-operative was largely socialist. Like Workers they also wished to see a restructuring of Canadian society but along the lines of the co-operative system, a planned and socialized economic system, as outlined in the Regina Manifesto of the CCF. The concept of class conflict, however, was de-emphasized and this brought them into conflict with Workers Co-operative which saw class as the major instrument for the CPC defined struggle in the Porcupine Camp, especially as the 1929 Depression created conditions which served to accentuate class differences. But the incongruity was that while the depression did accentuate general class criterion it also increased ethnic interests in local resources, particularly in the job market, where their responses were unaffected by class ideology.

**Depression and Jobs**

With the onslaught of the 1929 Depression the economic growth of Canadian society faltered. Yet one of the few spots in all of Canada to prosper economically was the Porcupine Camp. The gold mines continued to operate and to hire men. In the period 1931-41 the population of Timmins grew 103% versus a growth rate of 10.4% in Ontario. The ratio of men to women dropped during this period from a high of 163.58 per 100 in 1921 to 114.87 in 1941 as migrancy ended and families began to be reconciled (Canadian Census).

The boom conditions saw unemployed from across Canada flock to the camp looking for jobs. This period in the camp is often looked upon as a
mythological golden age for many, especially Anglo residents, for where the rest of Canada could not find jobs they could find steady employment. The ethnics, however, often remember the other side of the story as well.

There were hundreds and thousands of men at the mine gates looking for work every day. They were waiting there to get hired by the bosses who would only get one or two a day and then they would move on to other mines. The mines were ready to fire anyone for the simplest infraction for they now had a ready supply of labour right there in their backyard. It was wonderful for them but it was hard on the workers.

The ethnic miner, especially the radical or progressive ethnic miner, found his existence in the mines threatened as wages declined and working conditions deteriorated. A man did not ask for a holiday or a few days off to go to a funeral or even for one's own wedding. "The mine captains would answer that there were 300 men at the gate who didn't want to get married." Whenever a man died in an accident hundreds would flock to the mine gates in hopes of getting his job. "One man whose brother was working in the mine heard that his brother was killed in a mine accident. He was at the mine gate the next morning looking for his brother's job." The mines became callous of their workers. Advertising for jobs were often little more than cattle calls.

Hollinger Mine announced one morning that they were going to take the name and address of every man who applied for work and they would be hired in alphabetical order. I couldn't see this as a fair method myself because a guy whose name might be Allen could have come the day before while the guy whose name was Zabitski could have been rustling for a year. But anyway this add (appeared in the paper and) resulted in 1,300 men being at the Hollinger Mine the next morning...And at least three of them were taken to hospital trying to jam this small office underneath the main office of the Hollinger.

The ready labour supply afforded the mines an opportunity to rid themselves of 'dangerous foreigners'. The Finns in particular were placed under stringent employment requirements whereby only certification by the
Loyal Finns could gain them a job. The employment bosses preferred to hire only Anglo Canadians and there was a plentiful supply available at the gates, including university graduates. "If you spoke English you were the first one to get a job. When my husband brought out some of his fellow Croatians he had to support them. There was no breadline here. We took care of the men ourselves."

This informal mine policy of hiring only Anglo Canadians or untroublesome ethnics could be surmounted and large numbers of ethnics continued to be hired. Employment became the most important resource in the camp and the employment bosses became the most important individuals in the mine hierarchy. They could be 'persuaded' to hire an ethnic with money. The buying of jobs had been going on in the Porcupine Camp since the early days of the mines but in the 1930s it became epidemic. It was uncommon for English Canadians to pay for jobs but it was often the only choice the ethnics had to gain employment.

I had to buy my work here. Yes, pay for it, if you can believe that. My brother had come out here by that time and he was working at the Hollinger and he paid for my job at the Hollinger. He was here before I came and while I was in B.C. he sent me a letter that if I didn't have a job I should come out to Timmins because there was work out here and he could get me a job because the people knew him and the foreman said it was okay. I came here and there were 200 - 300 men at the gate looking for jobs. I had to pay in order to get the job.

There was an initial payment of $100 - $300 to the employment boss to show 'good faith' and to be placed on the list of candidates for employment. Another payment was necessary once the job was acquired. Sometimes these payments went directly to the employment director or through an intermediary such as a priest who would use his influence to get the individual a job. There was a waiting period of up to a year between the initial payment and getting hired. Then once the payments were made the individual would be told
what the particular 'code' was for the day to distinguish him from the hundreds waiting to get hired. The manner in which a person held a match or toothpick in his mouth or a cigarette in his ear or something stuck in the brim of his hat were signals that came to identify who was to be picked for a job.

The mine job might last only a few months, often just long enough to pay off accrued debts, then the person would have to start the process all over again. Getting the money to pay for the job was the main problem. The ethnics borrowed from relatives, friends or compatriots in the ethnic halls or turned to highgrading. Fellow ethnics would provide information on whom to approach and soften up the boss with gifts of liquor so that a compatriot would be allowed to pay for his job.

In the mines individuals might also have to pay off the stope bosses and mine captains to get better work areas. Most of the work in the mines was done on contract and success often depended on the type of rock that was mined so that the favour of the mine bosses must always be cultivated. At other times the ethnics might be forced to steal gold for the employment boss or mine captains in order to hold onto the job. During this period highgrading increased greatly especially after the rise in the price of gold in 1934. It became a much more organized business. Mountjoy was said to be full of small shacks where the gold was refined, out of reach of town police.

General conditions did not favour the hiring of ethnics but informal local conditions offered pathways to circumvent formal restrictions. As a result the numbers of ethnics in the mines remained fairly stable in contrast to other populations like the French Canadians who greatly increased their population in Timmins during this period but did not commensurately increase
their representation in the mines.

The economic conditions had hurt the ethnics but they were still able to maintain their communities. Though the communities became split between the supporters of radical and progressive class activity and loyalist ethnic activity, the radicals, after an initial period of suppression, were able to rebound and regain a good deal of support in part because their loyalist antagonists lost control of the job market. Further the radicals, using Workers Co-operative as a base, were able to expand into renewed union activity. The radicals, however, were unsuccessful in channelling this support into a large-scale movement. They were soon forced to join with the progressives and localize their efforts to pursue local resources such as jobs and political representation on the Timmins town council. But the radicals and progressives found themselves up against a new local interest group, the French Canadians, who would thwart attempts to retain political power in the early months of World War II.
VIII. RADICAL CONCILIATION

Workers Co-op: Class or Ethnicity

In the early 1930s the Canadian Communist Party was reduced to a shambles. The leadership and their supporters in Timmins were being singled out for harassment and forced from direct public action which was left to their loyalist antagonists. The radicals and progressives were forced to retrench, either into the halls, or the few remaining radical institutions, such as Workers Co-op, and restructure their efforts into a more local sphere of interest. They emerged to compete for economic and political power in the Porcupine Camp. Their major competition, however, would come not from the ethnic loyalists but from the French Canadian middle class. The actions of the French Canadians in the camp and the policies of the federal government during the first years of World War II would seemingly destroy the radical and progressive movement and ethnic loyalists regained the full support of the host community but the radicals, bolstered by union activity, were to emerge from the war with renewed vigor and carry out one last attempt to acquire economic and political power.

After the reactionary period of the 1929 Depression the only institutional support for the Communist Party of Canada and its radical supporters remaining in the Porcupine Camp was the Workers Co-operative. The extent of the CPC's consolidation into Workers was confirmed at the September 24, 1933 general meeting of the co-operative. Nick Thachuk was elected the meeting chairman and he gave a report from the Second Congress of the Workers
Unity League (WUL), the legal replacement for the still virtually outlawed Communist Party of Canada, to which he was a delegate. The report dealt with "the main tasks of the militant working class movement including the role of the Co-operative in the class struggle". In effect he presented the Communist party viewpoint that the co-operative should continue to be an instrument of the larger class struggle. The general meeting accepted the report and recommendations of the WUL Congress and agreed that the Educational Committee should conduct an energetic and broad campaign to emphasize that the co-operative was not simply an economic institution but a political force in the "militant working-class" movement.

On March 24, 1934 the general meeting reaffirmed the principle of class struggle as a major rationale of the co-operative. It affirmed the importance of the Educational Committee and its fund as the major instrument of the struggle as "through the Educational Committee, the co-operative takes its place in the working class movement".

Yet in spite of radical attempts to utilize Workers as a base of general class ideology, the co-op's business and radical activities remained localized and largely ethnically dependent. The co-operative's alliance continued to be primarily with local ethnic organizations such as the FOC, ULFTA and the Croatian Club whose members held shares and did business with the co-operative. Co-op meetings continued to be translated into Finnish and Ukrainian. Whenever an individual was to be hired it was often specified that he be a member of a particular ethnic group, i.e. a "good Anglo-Saxon butcher" or a "Ukrainian baker". Workers sometimes had to contact other radical ethnic co-operatives, such as the Ukrainian 'People's Co-op' in Winnipeg, when they needed an experienced ethnic replacement.

Ethnic employees were hired on the recommendation of the progressive
ethnic associations. The ULFTA recommended what Ukrainians were to be hired and the FOC what Finns and when a store was opened in Schumacher the Croatian Club recommended the Croatians. The general Anglo Saxon hiring was left to the co-op manager. Certainly one of the major rationales for hiring, in the wake of the takeover and progressive interest, was leftwing activity but they were also recommended by their membership in ethnic organizations. As a result they were conscious both of their local ethnic interests and wider class ideology.

The two consciousnesses need not conflict generally but they inevitably had to conflict ideologically for the CPC wished the ethnicities to assimilate to the Canadian class system. Thus the objective of the co-op's Educational Committee was "to give more propaganda to the European nationalities in order that they could all better fit themselves into Canadian life". The local radical ethnic organizations were committed, at least ideologically, to the assimilation of their members to class criterion but in fact they did little to aid them in acquiring citizenship or learning the English language. It was clear that any commitment to the larger class ideology would aid only the Communist party which was interested in national rather than local concerns. Local resources such as jobs and political office, however, were more important and more easily understood by the people than general ideological precepts. Even the co-operative, which was most committed to general class criterion, remained ethnically dependent for its success.

This dependency continued in spite of contextual changes which appeared to assist the radical movement. Host society reactions against the radicals had been softened in 1934 with the election of the Hepburn Liberal government in Ontario and the publication of Toronto Daily Star newspaper articles which ended loyalist control of jobs. Local opposition to the radicals was softened
with the election of J.P. Bartleman in 1933 as councilor and in 1934 as mayor. He effectively broke the power of the old mine and elite clique. He was sympathetic to socialist politics and a member of the CCF party. The Communist party soon found it safe enough to list its local headquarters in the Timmins business directory as 8 Cedar St. North and confident enough to have candidates in the 1935 federal election.

In January 1935 Tim Buck, after his release from jail, addressed a meeting at the Timmins Finn Hall where he was acclaimed as a hero of the class struggle. The radicals were confident; confident enough to expect to win election to the parliament. In May 1935 a convention was held in Timmins, supported by Workers and other CPC dominated groups to elect a Communist candidate for the federal election. They elected no less a figure than Tom McEwen (also known as Tom Ewen under which name he was nominated) who with Tim Buck had engineered the Stalinist takeover of the CPC in the late 1920s. McEwen replaced A.T. Hill as party representative in Northeast Ontario which indicates the region's importance to the party. But McEwen, along with his Communist colleagues in the rest of Canada, lost badly in the federal elections. McEwen received only 842 votes (Avery 1981:89). Most of these votes were of course from ethnic supporters but they were not representative of the party's actual strength in the camp. One major reason was that ethnics often could not vote in the election because they were not citizens. Many had spent the required number of years but few thought of going through the official citizenship procedure. The progressive halls and associations did not press their members to acquire citizenship, acquaint them with the political process or aid party candidates to any major extent. As a result the CPC lost an important overt initiative which it could never regain.

The party had to face one of its most important problems. While the
radical movement's overall strength actually increased in the camp during the mid 1930s, the local progressive ethnic institutions remained the basis of commitment. The CPC and its supporters in Workers were not able to surmount ethnic influences as they were dependent on them. The ethnics were not about to completely give up local ethnic interests for a general class identity as they had too much to lose and little to gain. There were some who had tried to make the commitment, such as Thachuk, but even his ostensible power was based in the local ULFTA. Instead the party was forced to respond to local initiatives and seek revisions on the community level, particularly through representation on town council. The only local area in which the Communist party was successful, if minimally, was in union activity. But unionism was not enough to rescue party interests.

**Union and Town Council Activity**

Where there had been no appreciable union activity in Northeastern Ontario for more than a decade, the emergence of the CPC controlled 'Workers Unity League (WUL)' led to a renewal of union activity. This renewal was further aided when in 1934 the price of gold increased from $20 to $35 without an increase in wages which led to a growing militancy in the gold camps. The Workers Unity League successfully organized miners in Rouyn-Noranda into taking strike action in 1935. The strike was supported largely by the ethnic miners, especially the Croatians who held nine of the twelve positions on the miners' negotiating committee. There were violent clashes between the strikers and the police as the mineowners were supported by the Duplessis government. In the end the miners were forced to give up the strike. The ethnics suffered the majority of the reprisals which followed with sixteen Croatians arrested and 100 deported for their strike activity.

"The local Noranda press proudly reported the number of jobs lost by
'Yugoslavs' to English and French Canadians and the drop in their numbers..." (Rasporich 1982:143) Some 350 Croats left Noranda as a result, many moving to Schumacher and Timmins and adding to radical and union support in the Porcupine Camp.

Widescale unionism was further hindered when the Workers Unity League was ordered dissolved by Moscow in 1935 on the pretext of creating a united class front under the leadership of the Trades and Labour Congress which was affiliated with the American Federation of Labour. This action was designed to create a single North American union movement under Communist control but it led to the destruction of independent Canadian unionism and its replacement by American union activity under the control of the Committee of Industrial Organizations (CIO) (Abella 1973:3).

Although the dissolution of the WUL led initially to an increase in Communist union activity in the Porcupine Camp in support of the CIO, it was to meet with little success. Thus when G. Anderson, a prominent Communist organizer for the 'Mine Mill and Smelters Union', came to the camp in late 1935 to form a union local, he found the miners reluctant to join as they were afraid of losing their jobs. Anderson formed two locals, in Sudbury and Timmins but the total membership for both was less than thirty, mostly unemployed miners who were already members of the CPC (Abella 1973:6).

Even with its small membership the Timmins union local 241 immediately asked for mine recognition. It pressured for better working conditions and began to incite sporadic strikes. The union was supported by Timmins Mayor Bartleman but the attempts at sporadic strikes were unsuccessful. Union supporters were simply fired as there were plenty of jobseekers in the camp. Some of the men who were fired from the mines were again taken on Workers payroll or given financial aid. F. Wasyluk, Workers president, was a
prominent member of the new union which came to find its greatest support among the Ukrainians and Finns as it was a means of addressing a local interest.

By May 1937 the union local membership had increased to 550 members. The mines, however, continued to refuse to recognize the CIO union and were fully supported by Ontario Premier Mitchell Hepburn who counted the Porcupine Camp mineowners as some of his best friends. Hepburn was especially concerned that the CIO not enter the gold mines specifying that this "gang will never get their greedy hands on the mines of Northern Ontario, as long as I am Prime Minister." (Abella 1973:19)

The mine managers used their stool pigeons, mine paid informants, to impede union activity. It was rumoured that there was an informer in every boarding house and that they would sometimes disguise themselves as salesmen and go door-to-door, engaging housewives in conversation to find out their husband's union affiliations. It was an effective system for the union was never able to gain a large membership until World War II. The mines further ensured themselves of a loyal work force by granting a five cent an hour increase in 1938.

The failure of union activity led the CPC to acquiesce to progressive pressure and pursue local interests through the Timmins town council. Instead of electing their own candidates the CPC and the progressives turned to supporting those candidates they considered to be labour and pro-labour candidates. Mayor Bartleman was considered a good labour supporter and endorsed. Other candidates were supported through creation of a labour front organization which endorsed labour candidates for the town council. In 1938 they endorsed T. McNeil, A. McCabe and M. LaFontaine as their candidates. Two other labour candidates, W. Armstrong and J. Tessier, were running as
Independents as they did not want it said they were under Communist influence. The result was that in the 1938 election T. McNeil, A. McCabe and W. Armstrong were elected to council. There was now a strong radical representation on the Timmins town council. McCabe in particular was a strong Communist supporter though none of the councilors introduced what could be considered radical legislation to council.

The extent of the radical influence in town council was such that the Timmins Daily Press constantly accused the Timmins council of being a "Communist council". In September 1939, with the outbreak of war, the mayor and 4 of the councilors had to deny that they were Communists or that it made any difference in their jobs (Porcupine Advance 28 September 1939, p.1). This would become a further issue in the 1939 election when the French Canadian middle class came to power and the labour councilors began to lose their influence.

French Canadian Reaction to Radicalism

French Canadians have always made up a large percentage of the camp population. This percentage greatly increased in the 1920s when the lumber companies brought in French Canadian bushworkers from Quebec as cheap pliant labour to solve the problems of Finnish militancy and the rising costs of bushcamps. With the 1929 Depression many of these French Canadian bushworkers, along with French Canadians from the smaller towns in Northeast Ontario and Northwest Quebec, migrated to the Porcupine Camp.

The majority of French Canadians migrated to the town of Timmins proper and secondarily to the township of Mountjoy with fewer to the other towns or townships. Some worked in the bush during the winter and homesteaded on farms in the Mountjoy region east of the river but French Canadian agriculturalists were never of a significant number until the late 1930s. In the 1931 census
of a Timmins population of 14,200, which included 5,727 of British origin (40.3%), there were 4,975 French Canadians (35.0%). In Mountjoy French Canadians made up 468 (44%) of a total population of 1,062 which increased in 1941 to 958 (55.4%) of a population of 1,729. In the other townships such as Tisdale they made up a population of only 497 (8.62%) of 5,761 in 1931 which only rose to 756 (8%) of 9,461 in 1941. By 1941 the population of Timmins was 28,790 and much of this was a commensurate increase in the French Canadian population as the French Canadian percentage remained stable at 36.3% of the population (see fig. 9 and 10).

Clark (1966:5:0) places great emphasis on the urban - rural "cultural worlds" of the northern industrial community as a confrontation between the French agriculturalist and English capitalist society (1966:50). In the Porcupine Camp it was less of a clash than could be supposed from research in other Northern Ontario communities (Savard 1977). Father Theriault in particular had placed less emphasis on the importance of agricultural settlements as he had realized the differences in settlement between Northern Ontario and Northern Quebec (Lower 1936:84-8). Clark is also oblivious to the influence of the ethnics in the region saying they simply "accepted very fully the success mores of the northern industrial community" so there was no "conflict of values" with the English and the only conflict was between the English and French Canadians (1966:55-6). I think it has been made clear that there was in fact a significant amount of ethnically based conflict and only partial acceptance of the "success mores" of the dominant society and that mostly after 1931 by certain groups of ethnic loyalists. In comparison there was little commensurate "conflict of values" between the French and English Canadians for their conflicts were muted by institutional and elite involvement.
The French Canadians built up a social system which revolved around the church and an economic system which depended on the mines and smallscale entrepreneurial activity such as taxis, small car dealerships, small construction firms and grocery stores. These small enterprises catered not only to the French Canadian population but also to the dominant English society. They enabled the build up of a substantial French Canadian middle class of significant importance to the social and economic structure of Timmins.

It would be incorrect to say, as Clark (1966:64-5) does, that this French Canadian middle class did not significantly further French Canadian interest. It is perhaps true that they did not take an "important lead" in improving the social and economic position of the whole French Canadian population but even then their influence was far from insignificant. They did further their own middle class interests and helped to maintain the dominant group context in the face of radical ethnic pressure for its revision.

This development began with the weakening of the Catholic Church's influence. The Church had been the major spokesman for the French Canadian community as well as other Catholic communities. It had also been important in the maintenance of the dominant context through its alliance with the Anglo elite. The church's influence, however, was dwindling. The completion of the Irish and Italian Catholic Churches in the 1930s, serviced by Irish and Italian priests, removed non-French Catholics from the control of the central church, St. Anthony, and the French Canadian priests. The French Canadian priests instead turned their attention to the institutionalization of the French Canadian community with the creation of church oriented clubs and associations. While this action did partially insulate the community, the elites and many of the priests as well as an increasing number of the middle
class continued to maintain economic and political ties with the English community.

French Canadians had previously retained political power through the influence of Father Theriault and the election of French Canadian elites to the town council. This was beginning to change with the rise of a new middle class who pursued their own political goals. This French Canadian political activity was not aimed at a restructuring of Canadian society but was rather an attempt to pursue their interests and gain resources (jobs and political office) on the community level.

The major institutional basis for this local interest was the Catholic Men's Club, originally founded by Father Theriault. The club was a charitable organization first known as "Club Champlain" but later became "Le Cercle Canadien-Francais" as the group's activities expanded into pursuing items of political interest. It sponsored banquets, dances, card nights and sports activities but its prime importance was as political spokesman for the French Canadian community.

The 'Cercle' meetings often had some 200 men in attendance. Most of these participants were from the middle class and few from the working class. As it grew the French Canadian middle class took over full operation of the Cercle and utilized it in their growing interests, taking over control of the organization from the French Canadian Catholic priests and working class. The French Canadian working class remained committed to the Catholic Church and the priests continued to act as their intermediaries with the Anglo-community. The Catholic priests' influence among the middle class, however, even that of Father Theriault, was diminished. The priests became less supportive of the Cercle and its activities as they saw it becoming a middle class institution and as such anathema to French Canadian Catholicism which
wished their society to remain conservative and anti-entrepreneurial with a compliant proletariat and peasantry (Marshak 1975:86).

In spite of this opposition French Canadian representatives to the town council came to be selected from Cercle meetings. The elected councilors went to Cercle meetings and discussed what they had done and were going to do in council meetings. All the important issues were discussed and decisions made by Cercle meetings. The councilors would vote in council based on the decisions made at these meetings. The Cercle was powerful enough to gain bilingual language concessions from the English Canadians. In 1931 it was able to get town tax notices and water bills printed in French as well as English, have a French Canadian assistant for the land assessor and a bilingual sanitary inspector. In May 1938 they were able to get the council to agree to a bilingual inscription on the new municipal offices by setting up two signs at the main entrance, one reading "City Hall" and the other "Hotel de Ville".

In order not to appear to be another clandestine attempt to revise the contextual control of the Anglo community the Cercle assured English Canadians that they were not discussing political matters or choosing candidates for municipal election, though in fact they were. The Cercle, however, soon began to openly select and endorse candidates for town council and even mayor though initially these were halfhearted endeavors as they did not attempt to marshal French Canadian community support. In November 23, 1938 the Cercle met and elected a full slate of candidates for office as "Official French Candidates" but they only elected one councilor, Emile Brunette, who had presented himself as both the workingman's and businessman's candidate thus gaining both middle and working class votes. The total French Canadian vote, however, could not be marshalled except in a
crisis and this came in 1939.

In 1939 Cercle representative councilor Brunette, as well as councilors Roberts and Cousins resigned from the town council. They charged that the standing town committees were being decided beforehand by agreement between the mayor and labour councilors Armstrong, McCabe and McNeil. Brunette had led the polls in the previous election but had not been made the head of the powerful Finance Committee as had been expected. The council had also fired the town clerk for inefficiency over their objections. The councilors resigned in protest and when they could not be reconciled a new election was called.

The Cercle set up their own slate of endorsed candidates which included Brunette as their mayoralty candidate. The election became rather acrimonious as Bartleman and the old council were attacked for their leftwing connections. Bartleman responded by attacking the French Canadian candidates as unsuitable for election. This was an attempt to polarize the community but the local papers, as well as the local English Canadian elite, endorsed the French Canadian candidates rather than what they perceived as the "Communist council".

The results were a victory for the Cercle as they elected many of their candidates to council and gained the mayoralty though there continued to be a strong labour representation on council with McCabe and Anderson. It is significant to realize that this election was viewed by the Anglo community not as a takeover by the French Canadians but as a necessary development because Bartleman and the council were considered to be too radical. The French Canadians now held a majority on town council and retained the mayoralty until after the war when they voluntarily relinquished it to the English Canadians.
The French Canadian middle class had taken on the role of protectors of the political status quo. The English Canadian community had allowed them to do so recognizing that they were the only group with a large enough population, which had not yet become politically committed, and could halt the seeming advance of the radical elements. The French Canadian middle class succeeded and began a new alliance with the Anglo middle class which has held until the present.

The French middle class were now fully accepted as part of the community political structure. They had previously shared only nominal political power under Anglo aegis and through their Catholic priest intermediaries but now they were to share power directly and more equitably. French Canadian representation on council would remain high and French Canadian mayors would alternate with English Canadians. This process would later be institutionalized on the provincial and federal levels. It remained only for the French Canadian working class of miners to perhaps challenge this alliance with their own formed on the basis of general class principles and in alliance with the radical ethnic miners. This became a possibility because although the radicals had initially been in retreat, they soon found themselves gaining ascendancy in the latter years of World War II.

Loyalty and Reaction

When World War II began in September 1939 the ethnic loyalist communities in Timmins, fearing the host community might include them as enemy aliens, immediately reaffirmed their loyalty and support for Canadian society. Before Canada had even declared war the Croatian Hall in Schumacher sent a letter to the Canadian Legion zone commander stating that they were "prepared and ready to defend Canada, the democratic land of our adoption." This immediate commitment to the war effort saved the Croatians from being
identified as enemy aliens when the Fascist Independent State of Croatia was formed in April 1941. The Czechoslovaks also declared their loyalty fearing that they would be identified with the Germans and endorsing a national declaration which stated all Czechs, Slovaks and Carpathorussians were "loyal to their Canadian homeland and will support Canada with all their power". An article in the Porcupine Advance made clear its support for all loyal New Canadians especially those that had proved their "loyalty and goodwill".

There are people who fear that it is a weakness in time of war to have a population composed of the people of many national origins as is the case with this part of the North. Such fear is unfounded. The truth is that by far the greater part of the New Canadians in this camp are truly loyal to Canada and Britain. They have enjoyed the freedom and personal liberty of this country and appreciate its value. In recent times there have been many proofs of this loyalty and goodwill of the New Canadians. (Porcupine Advance 7 September 1939, p.12)

The progressive organizations in the camp attempted to make similar commitments in the hopes that their endorsement of the radicals would not be taken into account. The FOC and ULFTA assured the authorities of their support for Canada, democracy and freedom. The host community, however, was suspicious of their motives and did not accept this expression of loyalty. They felt their suspicion were proved correct when, a short time later, after the Soviet Union had chosen to support Nazi Germany, the Communist party denounced the war as 'imperialist' and called on Canada to withdraw and stand neutral with the United States. The CPC affirmed that continuation of the war would be at the workers' expense and that the "principle dangers of fascism comes not from Nazi Germany but from the war policies of the King Government" (Avakumovic 1975:140). The federal government responded by arresting Communists for their antiwar activities and introducing the War Measures Act which allowed for the arrest and detention of any the government perceived as threats.
The FOC, ULFTA and other radical ethnic organizations in the camp, found themselves in a quandry. They knew that direct opposition to the war would be suicidal as was quickly made clear. They had already found themselves caught in the local reaction against the town council which culminated in the expulsion of most of the socialist members of council and their replacement by French Canadian middle class representatives. As a result they chose not to make their positions known or in any way give cause for any reactionary attack.

Even the leaders of Workers Co-op, realizing that they could not survive a political confrontation with the host society, chose instead to emphasize the war's effects on the homefront. They turned their attack towards the war profiteer whom they pictured as, "the enemy on the home front...an aggressor of (our) standard of living and (our) democratic rights".

The Canadian government, however, was less concerned with profiteers than provocateurs and they soon turned their attention to those organizations they felt had long been allied with the Soviet Union. On June 4, 1940, the Communist Party of Canada was outlawed as were all pro-Nazi and Communist affiliated mass organizations like the ULFTA and FOC. The properties of the banned organizations was confiscated by the government. The local CPC, ULFTA, FOC and Croatian Club were outlawed and forced to meet secretly. As one ULFTA leader remarked;

They closed the Temple during the war. Made it an illegal organization. They told me I was a 'Russian' and since Russia was an enemy so were we all. They made it very hard for us, stealing the Temple and letting those other (loyalist) groups take over.

The host community supported only those ethnic organizations whose loyalty was not in question. The basic symbol for this loyalty was ethnic
group cultural activity, expressly those organizations who had participated in the National Festival. At the festival ethnic groups had vied for such symbolic prizes as the 'New Canadian Friendship Trophy' which went to the group performing the best national music, dance and singing. During the war the festival took on an even greater importance as a marker of loyalty in the Porcupine Camp and the New Canadian Friendship Trophy became a prize for non-political activity.

The enthusiasm with which Italians, Croatians, Hungarians, Polish, Finnish, Czechoslovakians, Roumanians and other groups have joined in the National Festival is proof of the true loyal feeling of these good citizens. From the beginning it was very clearly understood that the National Festival was for those who were devoted Canadians, devoted Britshers, irrespective of racial origin. It was made plain that groups whose loyalty was in any doubt were not wanted - were not accepted (Porcupine Advance 23 May 1940, p.10).

Only those groups who were playing the proper ethnic 'game' according to rules defined in the prewar period, were to be considered loyal. This was not a question of which groups were the best cultural representatives for the progressive groups had a stronger cultural base than many of the newer conservative ethnic organizations. The question was whether the presentation was to be directed towards showing loyalty to the host structure or as a seeming threat to it. Whether it would show the nonpolitical nature of ethnic group tradition and placate the host society or be used to hold together an ethnic radicalism with political goals which could be perceived as competing with the host society.

Even the federal government, realizing the importance of ethnic support, became instrumental in creating new conservative ethnic organizations. On November 7th, 1940 officials of the Canadian government helped to form the 'Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) which became the central representative association bringing together all loyal Ukrainian
organizations including the Ukrainian National Federation Prosvita
Organization in Timmins. The UCC was to act as spokesman for the Ukrainian 'nation' to Canada in opposition to the left-wing Ukrainians (Kolasky 1979:66). It identified who was loyal and deserving of host support among the highly politicized Ukrainians.

The supporters of the outlawed progressive organizations attempted to downplay their political activity and emphasize their cultural contributions but they had already been identified by the host community on the basis of radical political activity and could not escape that identity. A resolution by the Timmins 'Ukrainian Labour Defense Committee (ULDC)' urged local authorities to help them lift the ban on the ULFTA on the grounds that it was only "a cultural and educational center for progressive and democracy loving Ukrainian Canadians". The council refused to intervene on their behalf because, as the local newspaper made clear, the ULFTA had only been presenting itself as a cultural organization but had never professed or proven their loyalty.

The resolution pretends that the banned association is simply a cultural society designed to keep alive Ukrainian music, literature and art...But in all the verbosity of the resolution is there a single word to suggest that this Ukrainian organization is wholeheartedly loyal to Canada and to Britain whose privileges they have enjoyed and whose protection they now crave...If the Ukrainian Labour Farmer outfit are wholeheartedly loyal let them say so. There is another and larger Ukrainian group here who are loyal and true and do not hesitate to proclaim it by word and by deed. (Porcupine Advance 13 June 1940, p.12)

In contrast the Timmins Italians, many of whom had been Fascist supporters and were now identified as enemy aliens, were readily accepted as loyal New Canadians because they had operated as ethnic group cultural participants before the war, especially in the National Festival, and professed their loyalty during the war. When war with Italy was apparent in
July 1940 the Italian priest Father Fontana had held a large rally at which
500 Italians professed their loyalty to the Empire over their loyalty to
Italy. They were supported by the mayor and councilmen who recognized their
ethnic group contributions to the camp, saying they had brought "their
talents, such as their love of music and leave their beneficial effect on the
town". A few prominent Italians, including Leo and Antonio Mascioli, who had
been leaders of the local Italian Fascist organization, were put under arrest
and placed in an internment camp but they were released within 6 months under
pressure from local authorities.

Throughout this period the loyal ethnic organizations held numerous
parades, suppers and events at which their representatives expressed their
community's loyalty and commitment to Canada and the British Empire.
Representatives from the town, provincial and federal governments would
respond in turn with eulogies to the particular group and its cultural
contributions. These were social dramas of a type which had been common
before the war but which now took on a special importance.

The Rumanian Orthodox Church held a 'loyalty mass' in July 1940 at
which they prayed for the Royal Family, the nation, the Empire and the war
effort and pledged their allegiance. The head of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox
Church in Canada addressed a Timmins Kiwanis luncheon in April 1941 at which
he emphasized that Ukrainians were loyal and devoted to Canada and that all
New Canadians were united with all other Canadians in loyalty and devotion to
the crown, Canada and the democratic institutions of the nation. A national
leader of the Croatians spoke in Schumacher in July 1941 saying that they had
received much from their new country and professed Croatians' loyalty to
their adopted land. On June 1, 1941 a massive patriotic parade of 10,000 was
held by loyalist associations and organizations from Schumacher, South
Porcupine and Timmins in what was known as the "Monster Loyal Demonstration".

The disloyal ethnic element of the camp were institutionally illegitimized. The local organs of the CPC, FOC, ULFTA and the Croatian Club were outlawed and forced from the political arena. Workers was the only major radical or progressive institution to continue operating. The radicals appeared to be in final decline but conditions soon reversed themselves.

Reconciliation

On June 22, 1941 Germany attacked Russia and in a few months the whole structure of the war effort had changed. Those who had been the detested reds plotting with Soviet Russia were now friends and allies in a great cause. The supporters of the Communist party, the FOC, the ULFTA and the Croatian Club came out of hiding and joined with their former opponents as the defence of Russia became equated with the defence of Canada.

In the camp the change in outlook towards the radicals was remarkable. Now a speaker at the Kiwanis luncheon could be heard talking about Russia in glowing terms. Trotsky and Lenin were now presented as 'republicans' who had overthrown the corrupt czarist regime and that Russia, Britain and the United States had reached an "understanding of the function and purpose of a democratic and free world". (Porcupine Advance 4 December 1941, p.10).

Workers Co-op was the only remaining radical institution left in the camp and it began to take the initiative. Workers' supporters met September 26, 1941 and sent a letter to Prime Minister Churchill welcoming his alliance with the Soviet Union as "the people of the U.S.S.R. and their Red Army are heroically defending themselves and the freedom loving peoples of the world against the brutal fascist onslaught". The meeting sent the most comprehensive resolution in its history to the Soviet Union. It started with
the words, "Greetings to the Co-operators and Citizens of the U.S.S.R." and went on to express their admiration for the Russian people's struggle.

Freedom loving people the world over see that this battle will resolve the future course of history. In defending your homeland you defend the entire democratic world from this ruthless aggressor...We honour you, the Russian peoples. We honour your fighting men. We honour your workers and your farmers. We realize that you are fighting our fight.

Workers pledged to force Canada to speed supplies to the Russian front, to get the Canadian government to meet the Soviet Union as a "great and worthy ally" and to force the allies to open up a new front to take the pressure off the Russians. The resolution closed with a pledge to fight fascism everywhere, even in Canada; Fascists were now being defined as any enemies of the radical movement.

We pledge ourselves to the task of all freedom-loving people, that of stopping the fascists now, driving them back and utterly crushing them -- crushing them not only in Europe but any place their vicious earmark of economic oppression and bestial terrorism commences to make itself evident.

The international struggle against fascism was thus merged with ideological concerns. Workers campaign against profiteers became an aspect of the struggle against 'Fascist' private enterprise that had to be waged by the radical class movement in alliance with the trade unions and the local progressives. Workers public statements emphasized that "our co-operative, owned and operated by working people, must be built to a point where we and the trade unions, will guarantee a progressive community spirit in the daily life of the North." Workers further reaffirmed its regional role in the international struggle by emphasizing that;

Big business could not be trusted with Canada's war effort. The duty of every shareholder must be to build our co-operative organization, as a means of unifying the miners and farmers in the north, of protecting their living standards and actively defeating all forms of fascism.

The radical Finns, under the leadership of Workers Co-op interim
manager Laakso, gathered together in the Workers Co-op meeting room and set up the 'Finnish V (Victory) Club' in December 1941, pledging their loyalty and support to the war effort. Other organizations soon followed such as the Timmins branch of the 'Ukrainian Society in Aid of the Fatherland' and the 'Free Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia' movement. Organizations such as the local 'All-Slav Committee' brought together many of the slavic ethnic organizations, both leftwing and conservative, in an alliance which supported both Russia and Canada without need of ideological conflict, even though it was essentially a Communist front organization. The radicals had thus largely regained the leadership they had lost to the ethnic loyalists before the war and continued to build upon it.

The radical supporters took an active role in maintaining community support for the Soviet Union. They ordered such films as 'Inside Fighting Russia' and 'Russia Stops Hitler', showing and loaning them to other organizations. They held public meetings inviting people to speak about the Soviet Union under topics such as "Life In the Soviet Union" and "Our Second Front", showing what the Soviet Union was doing for Canada and leading to informal discussions. They raised funds for the 'Canadian Aid to Russia Fund' and continued to apply pressure to the Canadian government through letters calling for the opening of a second front to take the pressure off Russia.

Workers Educational Director, a CPC member, was extremely active in wartime activities. He was Radio Chairman of the Public Relations section of the 'National War Finance Committee', 'The Navy League', 'The Timmins Civil Liberty League', 'The Timmins Total War Committee' (the coordinating organization for the Miners Union), 'The Labour Press of South Porcupine' and other radical front groups conducting an active campaign for total war and a second front.
The members of the local ULFTA were also active under the direction of their leader Michael Korol who was also a member of the CPC. The organization was still outlawed but existed as 'The Ukrainian Canadian Association (UCA)' and, in alliance with 'The Finnish Victory Club', gathered money for 'The Aid to Russia Fund' which even received contributions from the mine companies.

The Ukrainian Canadian Association attempted repeatedly to get the ULFTA declared a legal organization and have its seized property returned. It made a number of proposals to the town council, supported by the Civil Liberties Association, but the council was reluctant to give their support. In October 1943, however, the ban on radical organizations was lifted and many of the radical halls were returned to their respective ethnic communities. Special ceremonies were held in South Porcupine upon the return of the Finnish Hall and in Timmins upon return of the ULFTA with the mayor, councillors and other dignitaries in attendance. This was a recognition of their loyalty by the host community in spite of the fact the halls were returned in extremely poor shape with their libraries of radical literature, as well as most of their records, largely destroyed.

The ULFTA, FOC and other radical organizations experienced an amazing revival in the midst of the war. They had gone through an early period of repression but that had changed into a new awareness of their capacity to influence and affect not only the community but the nation as well. They considered themselves to be leading the war effort at home, just as the Soviet Union was said to be leading the effort in Europe. They were able to garner mass public support but this support was not for an overtly political cause though they did succeed to a degree not possible before the war.

The red menace was no longer mentioned and the word 'foreigner' became unacceptable. All immigrants, no matter their former or present political
persuasion, were now 'New Canadians'. In this new environment the ethnic radicals were de-emphasizing their precise ethnic community affiliations, especially as their associations were still officially outlawed and were once again thinking of collective class action on a national level.

On August 21-22, 1943 'The Labour Progressive Party (LPP)' was formed to act as a political guise for the still outlawed Communist Party of Canada. The LPP had been formed to appeal to a broader spectrum of the voting public and, in this way, "achieve the great aim of socialism" (Avakumovic 1975:153). It repudiated "violence, conspiracy and secrecy" as well as the use of revolutionary force as it wished to gain political power through parliamentary means and bring about reform through legislation. The LPP called for the adoption of a distinctive national flag and official anthem as well as such reforms as medicare, old age pensions, proportional representation and "full rights for all Canadians" including the right of immigrant supporters to vote. However, it was a Communist front organization operated by party members with Tim Buck as its national leader.

Locally the Labour Progressive Party, led by Workers Educational Director, began to support candidates for the municipal council. Communists were again being elected to Timmins City Council. In the provincial election of August 1943 LPP support enabled CCF candidate Bob Carlin to gain 6,000 votes, twice that of his nearest opponent, Liberal candidate and Timmins mayor Emile Brunette. The victory coincided with increased success within the national labour movement, especially the Mine Mill Union.

Mine Mill Union Revival

The Mine Mill Union had entered the war in a weakened condition as it could not gain members in a labour glutted camp. Miners, however, began to leave to join the armed forces and war industries began to open in Southern
Ontario attracting people from the camp. There was no longer a glut of personnel and there was less chance of an individual being fired for union activity. As one informant stated, "The men decided they didn't have to fear the companies so much any more and the unions came out openly."

Union representation, however, was spread across the whole camp and consisted only of a few hundred out of over 7,300 miners in thirteen different mines. Each mine was represented by its own committee so there was little cohesive action. There was not even a fulltime Mine Mill organizer (Roberts 1979:5). The International Union was reluctant to send financial aid to help organize the mines. They had sent representatives to Northern Ontario in 1940 to observe mine and union strengths and weaknesses and saw that unionization would be difficult as the mine companies were strong and the provincial government hostile to the unions. They warned the miners not to strike and to settle any difficulties "by an energetic but peaceful policy" (Abella 1973:88).

Nevertheless the union movement was revived; in part with the radical revival of Workers Co-op. The two organizations had always been connected. Union supporters who lost their jobs because of union activity found help or employment in Workers. The extent of the connection between the two organizations could be seen in that in 1941 one of the individuals nominated for the Presidency of the Mine Mill Union local 240 was F. Wasyluk and though he did not become president of the union he was the president of Workers in 1936, 1938-40 (and later 1947-53). M. Barabash, a ULFTA leader and CPC member, was president of Workers in 1941 and also Financial Secretary of the union. Other unionists consisted of Communists like Pete Mongeon who was a union trustee and an organizer among the French Canadian miners.

The Mine Mill had to rely on Workers as it was unable to gain
financial support from its International. The International did, however, agree to send organizers. They were largely Communists and committed to the large-scale tenets of class ideology. Party members became the backbone of the union and were recognized as such. The local president in 1941 was Bob Miner who had joined the union only a scant 6 months before and he became a Communist as well.

In a matter of weeks after I joined, I was elected president of the McIntyre Mine Committee. I was bringing in members all the time. I guess other members saw this and I was elected president of the city-wide local -- that was about the size of it. I was probably the most naive kid that ever went. But in the union, it didn't take me long to realize that the people who were doing the work and scrupulously carried out every decision of the union -- whether or not they agreed with it -- were Communists. That's what influenced me to become a Communist too. (Roberts 1979:5)

Any attempt to extend the large-scale class movement was hindered by the relative weakness of the union movement and the lack of strike success. The most powerful Mine Mill local in the north was Local 240 in Kirkland Lake. In spite of the International's instructions to seek peaceful conciliation, the union local found the mineowners refusing to even negotiate. A Federal Conciliation board recommended that the union be recognized and the owners be compelled to negotiate but the owners refused and were backed by the provincial government. On November 8, 1941 the miners voted to strike and the International Union was forced to support them realizing that this was to be an important battle for collective bargaining (Abella 1973:88).

The strike began November 18, 1941 and it was to end in disaster for the union. The strike situation was disadvantageous for the mineowners knew that most of the mines were played out and they could afford to wait. The companies were able to bring in strikebreakers from Northern Quebec and the strike dragged on. The reaction of the Ontario premier, who sent in
provincial police to protect the mines and talked of his warm friendship with
the mineowners, only seemed to point out the futility of the strike (Abella
1973:89).

The mineowners tried to weaken the strike by propagandizing that the
strikers were "foreign born" while those that remained at work were of
British and Canadian origin. This was an unsuccessful strategy as the public
came to support the unionists. Workers sent messages of solidarity to the
Kirkland Lake miners and gave them financial support. The Kirkland Lake
miners came to depend on the local Workers Co-operative store as it was one
of the few stores to continue to give strikers' credit and honour the union
food vouchers. It also gave the union a 5% discount and hired some of the
strikers (Montero 1979:80).

The strike reawakened union activity throughout Canada though it
brought the International Mine Mill and the 'Congress of Industrial
Organizations (CIO)' to the brink of bankruptcy. The Timmins union, though
weak, was able to give monetary support and brought some of the strikers to
Timmins to speak on the strike situation and help organize the Timmins
miners. The membership in Timmins increased quickly in response as hundreds
of new members joined the union.

In February 1942, however, the strikers gave up. Mine Mill had failed
in Kirkland Lake but the strike led to increased public pressure for union
recognition. In 1943 legislation in Ontario made recognition of unions
compulsory once a majority voted for a union. But in the Porcupine Camp the
major result of the strike's failure, as one union official expressed it, was
that "the bottom fell out of the Mine-Mill organization in Timmins" (Abella
1973:90). The immediate effect was a loss of support for union activity. As
the Timmins local President explained;
A lot of people couldn't see any future at all. In Timmins, we gave them everything we had and by the time the strike was over, we were flat out too. Our membership just dropped and dropped and dropped after the strike. Everybody took a dim view of the whole thing, said this was the worst defeat ever handed to labour in the history of Canada. (Roberts 1979:7)

Those who remained were often the most committed, especially the Communists. The International president of the Mine Mill Union, Reid Robinson, was also a Communist and his continuation as president was due in no small part to the support of the Canadian section of the union. The leader of the Canadian union, Bob Carlin, the CCF member of the Provincial legislature from Sudbury, also depended on Communist support in the union. Carlin accepted this support because he felt he could "handle the party people" (Abella 1973:92). He was assured further, by Robinson, that the International Union would not interfere in the Canadian sector. This would create its own problems in the future but for now the Communists provided a stable organization and recruitment procedure, through the Communist cell system, that enabled the union to expand even into such a repressive area as Sudbury.

The government's inaction during the Kirkland Lake strike had made it clear that it did not consider gold an essential mineral. Nickel, however, was essential and the only major nickel mine left in the free world was Sudbury. There was a need for miners and the federal government sent a representative to Timmins to get miners for Sudbury. He was only able to get a few men to move to Sudbury as the area had the worst reputation in the country for mine repression. The Mine Mill local, under its president Bob Miner, decided to offer their support to transfer miners to the essential industry in Sudbury. They saw this as a means to organize a union in an industry which was notorious for its anti-union activity. In a short time
some 1,600 men went to Sudbury from the Porcupine Camp. The population of Timmins went from a high of 29,140 in 1941 to 24,036 in 1943.

In spite of attempts by the Sudbury mine companies to harass union organizers and keep a firm hold on the community, Mine Mill was able to organize in Sudbury. The creation of the Ontario Labour Relations Board in 1943, to supervise voting and certify unions, aided the union in its expansion. In Sudbury Local 598 of the Mine Mill union was organized and certified and the first collective bargaining agreement with the International Nickel Company was signed in March 1944. With this success Mine Mill continued to expand. The union and the CPC sent organizers like Pete Mongeon from the Timmins local to Val D’Or to organize the French Canadian miners (Montero 1979:84).

In spite of this success and the instrumental importance of Timmins miners in organizing the Sudbury area the Mine Mill union in the Porcupine Camp had only a few members in 1944. Union organizers were brought in from Sudbury and the Communist cell system was used to gain new recruits. 'Specials' were organized where two men could join for the price of one. The mines attempted to stop the activity by harassing and firing the organizers since a majority vote would guarantee that they would have to deal with the unions.

The major event which is said to have spurred union membership was the Dome Mine's firing of a Ukrainian union steward on the grounds that he was incompetent. The mine had found out that he was a unionist and placed him into a drift area, even though he was inexperienced in that type of work and thus could be fired for incompetence. The union sued the Dome Mine for wrongful dismissal. The union spokesman was Bob Miner and he was able to ridicule the Dome case though the union lost the trial. This trial, however,
did publicize the union and brought them many new members. By the end of 1944
the union was certified as bargaining agent for eleven of the mines in the
camp (Roberts 1979:13). The contracts that were signed were limited to union
recognition and basic grievances rather than wages but they were a
beginning.

In the postwar period the radicals, along with their allies in the
union and the co-operative, felt themselves ready once again to take
collective political action in the national level. They hoped to compete for
economic and political power within the legal framework of Canadian society.
They soon found, however, that this newfound confidence began to crumble in
the face of a contextual change in the structure and symbolism of Canadian
society. Class was to become a dead issue and a new Anglo-Franco-
accommodation was to develop which excluded ethnic class competition and
included only ethnic loyalists at the community level.
IX. POSTWAR CLASS FAILURE

Mine Mill in Crisis

At the end of World War II the supporters of the radical class movement in the camp, allied to the local progressives, emerged stronger than ever to compete nationally for economic and political resources. The Canadian government's continuing alliance with the Soviet Union allowed them free access to Canadian public symbols as well as a certain degree of status. Class became an acceptable basis for political contest. The radicals and progressives, however, were soon to find themselves outmanoeuvered by the host society which changed the context of Canadian society away from any possible reliance on class. The change was to be in favour, at least conditionally, of universal liberal tenets of achievement which gave the ethnics greater admission to education, jobs, political representation, etc., but only in return for their assimilative conformity. The final confrontation between the opposing ideologies of assimilative conformity and radical class commitment, between the whites and the reds, between the ethnic, French and English Canadian accommodation and the class challenge was coming to a climax. The primary focus of these conflicts in the Porcupine Camp was to be in the Mine Mill union local.

At the conclusion of World War II the Communist Party of Canada and its progressive allies were powerful and confident. In the 1945 federal elections the 'Labour-Progressive Party (LPP)' (the CPC, not yet fully legalized) was certain enough of its success to offer its own slate of candidates instead of
continuing to support the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. In the 1945 federal elections the Communist party received only 2% of the national vote and elected only one member to parliament, Fred Rose, whose role would become pivotal in the final destruction of the radical ethnic class movement. Nevertheless even this limited success was a powerful affirmation of the party's achievement.

A further endorsement came with the defeat of the provincial CCF in Ontario as a result of a lack of LPP support. The only CCF candidate to win provincially in Ontario in 1945 was Bob Carlin, who had come from Timmins and was president of the Mine Mill union local 598 in Sudbury (and brother to the business agent of the Mine Mill union local in Timmins). He had first been elected in 1943 on the CCF ticket in the wake of the Mine Mill union's success in Sudbury. After the war he was one of the few CCF candidates that continued to be supported by the LPP and, in turn, he supported their Communist organizers in the Mine Mill union.

Despite this success radical political activity was irretrievably hindered on the national scene when in February 1946 the Gouzenko spy affair made clear that the Soviet Union had developed a massive espionage network in Canada. This network led into the House of Commons; Communist MP Fred Rose was arrested and convicted of spying for the Soviet Union. The reaction against all Communists was immediate. Russia was no longer seen as an ally but as an enemy whose interests were stretching outside its borders. In a short time the reputation of both the national radicals and local progressives was shattered by a new Cold War symbolism. The Porcupine Advance became especially vitriolic as it began to attack LPP organizers and supporters and gleefully identified the LPP as a Communist front organization as if this was an instantaneous realization.
- Those who support the Labor-Progressive group in this country are supporting a program which would establish communism here and we point out again: communism is anti-democratic, therefore anti Canadian. (Porcupine Advance 28 March 1946, p.4)

- In adopting the title of 'Labor-Progressive' we believe the Communists have gone further than a mere change of name - they have assumed other elements of disguise. Where once they boasted of their connection with the USSR we now find them singing 'O Canada' waving the Union Jack and making speeches from an Army jeep. According to their present theme any criticism of Communists is a criticism of labor as a whole - even more, a criticism of democracy itself! (Porcupine Advance 9 May 1946, p.4)

The Communists responded to the newspaper's attack with a unique escalation of their own. A public meeting was held by the local radicals on March 23, 1947 and addressed by LPP regional director Ray Stevenson, former Educational Director of Workers Co-op, and Bruce Magnusson, secretary of the 'Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union'. At the meeting Magnusson, in response to the Porcupine Advance's attempt to picture the Communists as ignoble infiltrators, affirmed that the Communists did not need to infiltrate the unions as they were the labour movement. This statement was indicative of radical perceptions of themselves as the only possible leaders of the international labour movement. Communism and labour were perceived as one and the same; the party had committed itself to this alliance in the Porcupine Camp as it felt the union was the only possible institution which could further its interests and maintain support even in a developing crisis. As Magnusson confirmed, "This is a showdown we are entering into and its not important whether or not you are a Communist, but it is important that you should not be anti-Communist for you cannot separate Communism and labor." (Porcupine Advance 27 March 1947, p.6)

The Mine Mill union in Canada was strongly allied with the Communist party. The American Communist party, which at this time was stronger than the weakened Canadian Communist Party, supplied most of Mine Mill's organizers in
Canada. The extent of American Communist influence in the Canadian section of the Mine Mill was evident in 1946 when attempts were made to bar Communists from holding union office at the International union meeting in the United States. These motions were defeated by the Canadian delegation, headed by Bob Carlin. As a result "by 1947, Mine-Mill seemed more securely than ever under the control of the Communist Party." (Abella 1973:93)

With a growing Cold War reaction in the United States against communism and Communist union leadership, the Mine Mill union leadership turned their attention to the more receptive climate of Northern Ontario. Plans were formulated to confront the gold industry from Timmins to Val d'Or (Monteiro 1979:87). In November 1947 former International Mine Mill Union president Reid Robinson came to Northern Ontario with a number of American Communist Party union organizers to coordinate action.

In November Robinson and two of his organizers, Rudy Hanson and Harlow Wildman, entered the Porcupine Camp. The Timmins Daily Press headline of November 22, 1947 screamed, "Union Reds Invade North". The newspaper saw their presence as an attempt to strengthen Communist influence on the Canadian union locals. At the November 23 meeting of the Timmins union local there was an immediate division between those who supported the Communist group led by Robinson, mostly the radicals and Ukrainian and Finnish progressives, and those who supported Ralph Carlin, mostly English Canadians, conservative ethnics and a few French Canadians.

The anti-Communists were able to thwart the pro-Communists. They passed propositions which specified the International organizers were not allowed to take part in discussions and condemned the radical stand of Reid Robinson. At the local union elections held the following week Ralph Carlin and his supporters were able to gain nine of eleven executive positions. Peter
Boyczuk, a ULFTA supporter, lost to Ivan Vachon for the presidency. A. Brunet became vice-president and Ralph Carlin (brother of Bob) defeated Stan Kremyr, a Communist member of the ULFTA, for business agent of the local.

Bob Carlin, alarmed by the sudden inrush of Communist organizers, warned the International that his local would secede unless their policies changed and they stopped sending Communists across the border to take over the union (Abella 1973:95). The International did not stop and Carlin himself did little to rid the Communists from the Canadian segment of the union. They were too powerful and the International union just continued to send organizers, like Harry Horowitz and Bill Kennedy, into Canada and the Porcupine Camp. "By the beginning of 1948 it appeared that, on the pretext of launching a massive organizing campaign, the entire Communist apparatus in Mine Mill had been sent north across the border" (Abella 1973:95). The Porcupine Camp now began to take on the attributes of a contextual battleground as Communists attempted to retain control of the union and authorities and conservative unionists attempted to hinder Communist initiatives.

In the wake of the stream of Communist organizers, executive members of Local 241 met with CCL organizers in February 1948 to discuss the possibility of seceding from the union. They asked the Congress to grant them status as a chartered local and remove them from Mine Mill affiliation because of its Communist leanings (Abella 1973:96). At the end of February local mine managements also responded by requesting the federal government to intervene in Timmins and restrict the Communist union leader's activities. On March 2 the government took a major step against the Mine Mill by refusing to renew union organizer Harlow Wildman's passport. On March 5 the government made its position extremely clear by stating that it was going "to bar all Reds
getting into the Dominion" and was going to "squeeze out all non-Canadian undesirables now in Canada" (Abella 1973:96). In a radio address Ralph Carlin warned Porcupine miners to "rid your union of the Communists and their trained seals to prevent a Czechoslovakia in Canada" (Timmins Daily Press 9 March 1948, p.1). The Porcupine Advance confirmed this perspective in even stronger political terms.

Take a good long look at the map. You will see that if and when the next war occurs - and it is as certain as tomorrow's sunrise that it will - this section of Canada is the most strategically important piece of land on the North American continent... Why do you think the concentration of Communists here is greater than anywhere else in this country? Why do you think more of them are being imported from other sections of the country every week? (Porcupine Advance 18 March 1948)

The CCL, in early March, joined the attack by criticizing Mine Mill for importing Communist organizers and alienating the mine-owners, government and public. They agreed to support the union only if they removed their American organizers (Abella 1973:97). In spite of this reaction Bob Carlin continued, paradoxically, to support Reid Robinson and asked the CCL to request the government not to restrict the American organizers. Carlin was condemned by his own CCF Party for supporting the Communists and not endorsed as a CCF provincial candidate.

In spite of this vociferous assault the Communists decided to continue their attempts to control the Mine Mill. On March 14, 1948 Robinson ousted Ralph Carlin, the leader of the insurgents, as business agent of the Porcupine local. But the following week the non-radical membership, aroused by Robinson's action, came to the union meeting in force to outvote Robinson's supporters and reinstate Carlin by a three to one margin. Robinson was publicly criticized by union members and he and his "Communist henchmen" denounced for their attempts to destroy the union. On March 24 Robinson was
arrested by RCMP officers in Timmins and taken to Toronto for a hearing on his possible deportation but released on bail with the stipulation that he not engage in union activity. This only served to make Robinson a martyr for a short time (Abella 1973:99).

The division in the Timmins union local deteriorated into open fights between factions. The police were forced to close and put a guard on the Union Hall to prevent further violence. The local's factional split was not only a political division, between pro and anti-Communists, but it was also indicative of a break along ethnic lines. Many of the immigrant ethnics had been longtime supporters of the Communist party and the Mine Mill union, as radicals or progressives, and most of them continued to support Robinson. The ethnic progressives had largely committed themselves (though not their institutions) to the Communist party; they would win or lose according to the fortunes of the party. Their opponents were conservative ethnics and English Canadians who were soon joined by large numbers of French Canadian working class supporters.

The French Canadian miners were a new and growing social force in the community and the union. Most were newly employed miners who had received their jobs at the latter part of the war and in the postwar period. Some French Canadians, led by Pete Mongeon and Al LaChance, supported the Communist unionists, but the rank and file had not always taken an active interest in union activity because of Catholic church apathy and antipathy to the union movement. But with the increase in postwar radical activity in the camp and the relentless contextual reaction of Canadian authorities against the radicals, the church began to take greater interest.

In the wake of the factional split in the union the French Canadian bishop of Timmins is reported to have ordered his priests to verbally attack
the Mine Mill union and discourage their parishioners from supporting what he characterized as the 'Communist union'. Stories are told of priests directing the wives of French Canadian unionists that if their husbands did not quit the union they were not to sleep with them. There was even talk of the 'Catholic Confederation of Labour', a church dominated union, coming into the Porcupine Camp to replace the Mine Mill. This only seemed to discomfort the English Canadian miners who opted for other alternatives which the French Canadian working class was forced to support.

With the assurance of French Canadian assistance the conservative members of Mine Mill were confident enough to form a separate union. In April 1948, at a Mine Mill conference in Sudbury, thirty-two delegates, including members from Timmins, walked out in a prearranged agreement with the Canadian Congress of Labour. They formed a provisional committee and were promised Congress organizational support (Abella 1973:99). On May 2 the provisional 'Timmins Mine Workers Organizing Committee' led by Ralph Carlin, Ivan Vachon and Leo 'Buck' Behie, a former Mine Mill organizer, was created under the direction of the 'United Steelworkers of America (Steel)'. The 'Porcupine Mine Workers' Union' was formed on August 10, 1948 and began an immediate program of recruitment to gain Labour Board certification as a bargaining agent. The mines assisted the new union by refusing to negotiate with the Mine Mill on the grounds that they no longer represented the miners. On August 24, 1948 the Mine Mill was expelled from the Canadian Congress of Labour. Local 241 was no longer recognized as a bargaining agent in Canada (Abella 1973:101).

The Porcupine Miner Workers' Union became affiliated to the Steelworkers union. Buck Behie was named Steelworkers representative, Ralph Carlin became an organizer and Ivan Vachon was made president of union local 4305 of the
United Steelworkers of America. The union drew away most of Mine Mill's members. Yet in spite of the success of the new union Mine Mill continued to operate as it had strong support among the radicals and progressive ethnics. Instead of giving up their support for the radical class and union movement the progressives in the camp remained committed to a deteriorating national political perspective. In spite of this fact the progressives began to perceive the failure in local and personal terms. The triumph of Steel and the attack on 'their' union was seen as an assault along ethnic and anti-progressive lines. They placed the blame on the shoulders of the French Canadians working class who were said to have sold out their class and ethnic interests. A Croatian Communist leader considered it a development which coincided with increased French Canadian awareness of their identity and power in the community, especially with separate schools.

The reason the Mine Mill and the progressive movement failed was that after the war too many French Canadians moved in from Quebec and, with the separate schools, that was the downfall of the progressive movement. Priests told them not to join. Before we were all together, all in one school.

Just as the English were seen as having been instrumental in the destruction of class solidarity prior to World War I, the French Canadian working class was now accepted as having brought about the destruction of another attempt at class solidarity. This indictment was to become particularly virulent in later years when the arena of competition was more clearly ethnically based.

The French Canadian miners in Timmins had made a decision, under church pressure, to join the alliance with the Anglo Canadians that their elite and middle class had previously made. They removed themselves from the panethnic class alliance and became accommodated to an alliance with the conservative ethnics and the English Canadians which allowed for more access to economic
and political resources but left little room for commitment to radical class criterion.

It would be incorrect to say that all members of the French Canadian working class became committed to this accommodation for there were some who continued to support Mine Mill. In Sudbury the Falconbridge local of the Mine Mill was largely controlled by French Canadians and was able to hold out against the reactionary onslaught of the Catholic Church (Arnopoulos 1982:111). In the Porcupine-Camp as well the Mine Mill continued to operate as it "became obvious that members of the Mine Mill in Canada were more loyal to their union than...anticipated" (Abella 1973:109). The Mine Mill union local was never again able to take direct strike action against the mines, that was left for the Steelworkers local which pursued bread and butter issues while wider class issues were left in disarray.

1953 Strike

The newly created Steelworkers union local began a program of strike action in the early 1950s to demonstrate that they were more responsive to the miners' needs than Mine Mill. The Steelworkers union consistently demanded higher wages and the union 'checkoff' (compulsory union dues payment) as well as better working conditions. The mines, however, were not prepared to give in to the checkoff as that would have irretrievably strengthened the union's position.

In July 1951 the Steelworkers union struck the Hollinger and the Preston East Dome Mines. The strike dragged on for nine weeks until September 1. A new agreement was signed which offered the miners two weeks holiday after five years work, guaranteed pay for overtime and emergencies and improved grievance procedures, but it did not recognize the checkoff and pay was increased only thirteen cents and only on the condition that there would
have to be a commensurate increase in the 'quality' of work which would have
to be evaluated. This lack of success did not improve Steel's standing among
the miners and in 1953 led to an even larger strike.

In 1953 the Steelworkers union demanded a twenty-five cent increase
across the board and a voluntary irrevocable checkoff which would give the
union security and force it to be recognized by the mines. The mines stressed
that economic conditions were bad and totally refused to consider the
checkoff so that a strike seemed certain. The Mine Mill unionists,
paradoxically, did not want to force a strike because they knew the mines
were in the better position and would only use a strike as an excuse to break
the unions. It was the ostensibly 'tame' Steelworkers union which pressured
for militant strike activity.

On July 11 strike action began at the Broulan Reef and the Hallnor
Mines even though only a minority of the men in the mines were members of the
Steelworkers union. Most of them were Mine Mill supporters but the members of
the Steelworkers union set up a picket line and the Mine Mill members did not
cross. On July 13 the Preston East Dome was also closed down in spite of a
vote by the miners not to go on strike.

The leaders of the Steelworkers union were largely inexperienced in
strike action since most of the experienced unionists were in the Mine Mill.
They did not realize that the depressed gold market and diminishing ore in
the mines made strike action difficult; the mineowners had the advantage.
Many English Canadians, the experienced miners, realized this fact and
refused to vote for a strike but the union leadership were able to utilize
the inexperienced French Canadian miners to set up a strike cordon. Once a
cordon was set up no unionists would cross the line. One English Canadian
Steel union member remembered one such event;
I joined the Steel union at the Preston East in 1952 and then they went out on strike over nothing and we were out for ten months. Just because of a few French guys. Buck Behie was the union leader and he got a bunch of French guys to put up a gate and stop work at the mine. We voted against the strike in a meeting but at the next morning there was a picket line at the gate. They used the French guys because a lot of them didn't have no education and when the leaders told them anything they believed them. Whatever Buck Behie said they would go for.

Between July 11 and November 27 nine mines, 5,651 men, went on strike. The Mine Mill was reluctantly forced to support the strike action. Workers Co-op gave a grocery voucher to each customer whose husband was in jail due to the strike at Broulan Reef.

The Broulan Reef became the pivotal mine for the union had decided to strike it first as it was a new mine and depended on the manning of water pumps to prevent flooding. The mine continued to operate with scab labour. The strikers said that the reason for this success was that it was "known that they (the scab miners) could take all the 'highgrade' nuggets they could steal" (Roberts 1979:16). On July 24 some fifty strikers forced their way into the Broulan Reef change house and fought with twenty-five strikebreakers. Twenty-eight men were charged with assault and causing damage to the property. On August 20 the house of a Broulan Reef shift boss was blasted by dynamite though with little damage. On August 22 a large electrical transformer was dynamited and on September 3 two men attempted to burn down the headframe at the Broulan Reef mine but were stopped by police.

The strike ended December 22 when a five point plan was introduced by the provincial labour minister and accepted by both the Hollinger and the union. This called for an increase of five cents an hour, returning to work without any repercussions or discrimination, no change in other conditions in the mine and the creation of a factfinding government commission to hold hearings on the gold mining industry.
The strike was over by January and did little for the prestige of the Steelworkers union. The strike had stretched on for six months and ended in failure as the major demand for acceptance of the union checkoff was not accepted and the miners received only five cents more an hour in pay. The checkoff was not introduced until 1956 and the gold mines were the last to be granted that privilege in Canada (Montero 1979:86).

Steel, however, had taken the initiative in strike action and continued to do so. This served to add to Steel's reputation and, as Mine Mill came under persist attack, more of Mine Mill's members defected to the Steelworkers union. In the late 1950s many of its leaders and organizers also joined Steelworkers in the hopes of strengthening the local union movement rather than dividing it. Inexperienced French Canadian organizers who had been recruited initially to gain French Canadian support were soon replaced by the experienced organizers of Mine Mill, men who had previously been vilified for their radical tendencies. As one such organizer said:

There was a whole bunch of them like Al LaChance and Bill Kennedy. Christ, when they were with Mine Mill they were outright Communists as far as anyone was concerned. But Steel turned around and hired all the Mine Mill organizers, every single one and they got rid of the French dozes.

Class interests and ethnic solidarity were given up for the interests of union solidarity and limited issues. Mine Mill was deteriorating as its ethnic supporters lost interest and began to migrate to better jobs in Southern Ontario. Postwar immigrants were not interested in joining a radical union. In 1962 Mine Mill lost its INCO division to the Steelworkers and in 1967 the union merged with Steelworkers. The Falconbridge local in Sudbury remains the only surviving Mine Mill union in Canada. The Steelworkers union became the only union in the Porcupine Camp and with an ethnic, English and French Canadian membership it became a major consociational institution. The
demise of the Mine Mill union was paralleled by the demise of the progressive
ethnic institutions of the Porcupine Camp. In their place would be created a
new consociational alliance among the different communities.

**Ethnic Radical Failure**

The success of the radical ethnic organizations during World War II had
given them a new found confidence in their role in postwar Canadian society.
The progressive oriented Croatian Club, Finnish Organization of Canada and
the Ukrainian Canadian Association had allied with the Communist party during
the war and taken the initiative away from their antagonists with massed
concerts and patriotic drives. After the war they continued their commitment
to radical class principles and presented themselves as the major ethnic
political representatives in the community. Their confidence was fortified by
the success of the Communists in Europe after the war which appeared to
signal the end of the capitalist system. The leftwing Ukrainians were
especially strong in their presentation.

They proclaimed theirs 'the largest and most active Ukrainian organization', the leader 'in the Ukrainian cultural field' and
the 'victor' who 'can and should grow steadily'. In a spirit of
self-righteousness they described the nationalists as 'dead souls', declared them completely bankrupt and predicted their
early demise. The Communists envisaged themselves as the chief and
rightful spokesmen of the Ukrainian community. (Kolasky 1979:49)

The 'Ukrainian Canadian Association' had been formed during the war as
a restructuring of the outlawed ULPTA. Its postwar aims and initiatives were
in keeping with their newfound pride and expectancy of radical economic and
political success in Canadian society. The Canadian orientation of these
objectives was made apparent in their constitution in which their principles
were stated as;

1. To educate the Ukrainian Canadians in the spirit of good
   will, amity and unity with all Canadians;
2. To cultivate and
   promote national cultural activities for the purpose of creating a
better understanding between Ukrainians and other people in the
Dominion; (3) To uphold the principles of democracy and civil
responsibility; (4) To participate in social and humanitarian
activities; (5) To work for the economic advancement and social
security of the people. (Porcupine Advance 4 July 1946, p.1)

Culture had been used to promote progressive ideology before the war
but this had been limited to fellow ethnics within the safe havens of the
halls. Now it was not only a means to maintain ethnic cohesiveness in the
community but also used in the maintenance of radical class goals. The
success of concerts during the war had pointed to their usefulness in
coordinating activity for national goals. The goals of concerts after the war
was to renew support for radical class ideology. Once again the Soviet Union
was used as a model for this ideology and a reminder of the chance for
ultimate success.

The Soviet Union was in turn anxious to maintain connections with the
radical ethnic associations it had forged during the war. This was done
through Soviet friendship societies such as the 'Ukrainian Society for
Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries'. In 1945 the Soviet Union sent a
special cultural delegation from the Ukraine to Canada, under the auspices of
the friendship society. They were welcomed to the Porcupine Camp on June 30,
1945 at a massive Festival Picnic held at the Finnish-Ukrainian Picnic
grounds. The Soviet Union was once again presented as the motherland of
political ideology. It was pictured as the land of true justice and
achievement whereas the United States and its capitalist allies were the new
imperialists. "They identified their movement with the USSR which was held up
as the vanguard of humanity's march to universal peace and justice." (Kolasky
1979:61)

The highpoint of this newfound radical confidence came on July 1, 1946,
when the Ukrainian Canadian Association held a massive 'Ukrainian Canadian
Músical Festival' in the McIntyre Arena in Schumacher with close to 2,000 people in attendance. The festival emphasized the contributions of the Ukrainian Canadian Association during the war and proclaimed its readiness to expand its activities after the war. As one spokesman stated, "During the peace we are determined to redouble our efforts for our community and for Canada as a whole. We are striving for increased unity of the Canadian people, the advancement of culture and for increased international unity and understanding." (Porcupine Advance 4 July 1946, p.1) In November 1946 the Ukrainian Canadian Association (which had succeeded the ULFTA) was reincorporated as the 'Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC)', bringing the organization more in line with the Canadian society it sought to change.

The radicals and progressives were certain that the immigrants who would come into the camp after the war would support their radical class ideology. As a result they, like so many other local organizations of all political persuasions, pressed for open immigration (i.e. recruitment). The momentum, however, turned against the radical groups with changes in the national context and the immigrants soon became a threat to their class ideology and political aspirations.

In the deteriorating political atmosphere of a rising postwar 'Red Scare', the ethnic radicals and progressives found themselves singled out for harassment. They were repeatedly reminded in the local newspaper of their tenuous position in Canadian society in a manner reminiscent of the post World War I reaction against the 'dangerous foreigners' who did not fit into Canadian society.

To those who left the Old World and have taken up our way of living, we, as Canadians salute you. We welcome you as additions to our great family. To those of you who left the Old World and
arrived here with tattered clothing and a determination to foist your 'isms' on the Canadian public, we suggest that you withdraw the 'dirty capitalistic money' you have in the bank, that you sell the home bought with funds earned in this 'backward and decadent' country and that you return to that 'freedom' whose cause you so actively espouse. (Porcupine Advance, 1 May 1947, p.4)

The creed was seen as that of 'minority thinking', a specific ethnic menace, as the ethnics might come to power over a sleeping Canadian majority just as had happened in Russia and was seen as happening in Europe. The minority ideas were seen as infiltrating the nation. Minority came to mean not only a political minority but also ethnic minorities who had not adapted to Canadian society in a manner acceptable to the host society.

The government responded to redress this challenge by favouring the conservative immigrant groups of 'Displaced Persons (DP's)' and by a selective channelling of these groups. On June 6, 1947 the government issued an Order-in-Council admitting refugees from Europe. They were settled in those same industrial and resource areas where the radicals and progressives were strongest, especially the Porcupine Camp, in a conscious attempt to disrupt the radical power base in those communities.

Before the Displaced Persons had even entered the camp the radical labour unions began to criticize the government policy. The Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union argued that DP's threatened the jobs of Canadian bushmen and that the union should have been consulted first. The Mine Mill criticized the government for introducing policies which would bring about widespread unemployment and lowering of wages. The progressive ethnic organizations realized that these conservative immigrants were a threat to their political support and immediately labelled them as "war criminals", "Fascist sympathizers" and "Nazi collaborators". Workers Co-op passed a resolution in 1948 that called on the government to take care who it allowed
in the country. It stipulated that many of these new immigrants were "Fascists" and "troublemakers" and therefore unacceptable as immigrants. The host society took the view that the radicals wanted to screen the immigrants to ensure that anti-Communists were not allowed into the camp. An editorial in the Porcupine Advance commented:

And the fact of the matter is that the importation of several hundred anti-Communists who know the grim facts of the matter into the Porcupine will have a beneficial effect upon the community...These D.P.'s have suffered under the heel of Red despotism. They know why they are not Communists much better than inexperienced residents here know why they are Communists. (Porcupine Advance 30 October 1947, p.10)

Mining companies and pulp and paper companies sent representatives to the European refugee camps. They carefully screened the prospective immigrants to ensure their anti-Communist attitudes and only then guaranteed them employment. The first group of some 600 arrived in the Porcupine Camp in December 1947 and began work in the Hollinger. Most of this first group were Ukrainians and they were immediately taken under the wing of the Ukrainian nationalists. The nationalists had, up to this time, been unable to take the lead in the Ukrainian community because the ULFTA - AUUC was too powerful. But now, with this influx of support, they began to take the initiative.

In 1947 Father M. Horosko became the Ukrainian Catholic missionary priest for the Porcupine Camp and spiritual adviser to the Ukrainian refugees. He was also a political adviser informing the new men who they should associate with and who they should not. The Father ensured that they knew which union was Communist controlled and which was not. He addressed local civic organizations and virulently attacked the Communists saying that they were attempting to subvert the new immigrants but that it was a waste of time because of their first-hand experience with communism in their homeland.
These refugees strengthened the nationalists in the camp and institutionalized the church's presence. On June 20, 1948 the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop came to Timmins and dedicated a church site as a, "cultural centre for the New Canadians so that they won't have to depend on their enemies the Communists for cultural relaxation." (Porcupine Advance 24 June 1948, p.7). On November 28 the Timmins Mission was made the Parish of St. George and a permanent priest, Father G. Shawel, was appointed. The Ukrainian priests and nationalist leaders became important job gatekeepers by providing politically reliable employees for the mines. Though the gatekeeper position was not as open or as sanctioned as during the 1930s it was still an important position that enabled redistribution of economic resources to the benefit of the conservative ethnic communities and host society.

Building was soon completed on the church structure which became the main institution in the Ukrainian nationalist community. In the Church hall the new Ukrainian immigrants re-enacted symbolic plays which showed the nationalists fighting the Communists; scenes of the men cutting the throats of 'red' traitors. Many still held an idealistic notion that they would one day return home. As one nationalist leader said, "Their aim was to have a Free Ukraine. By coming here they thought they could get money, because money talked then and to organize and organize the people in the Ukraine to create a Free Ukraine." They hated any and all association with leftwing organizations since their own nation had been overrun by the Soviets. In Canada they were interested in maintaining the status quo and, as a result, they came into confrontation with the local progressive groups. Sometimes these confrontations erupted into street fights or open attacks on the progressive halls.

On November 11, 1949 a leader of the national AVUC, Peter Krawchuk,
spoke at the Timmins AUUC Hall in support of the Soviet Union and against the nationalists. As a precaution against disruption by nationalists the meeting was closed to all except by invitation. The DP's wanted to confront Krawchuk but were prevented from doing so. Instead they waited outside the hall. A group of 200 gathered and began to throw rocks and bricks through the windows. They battered down the door and assaulted nine individuals including local progressive leaders Nick Hubaly, president of the AUUC branch and Tom Kremyr (Kolasky 1979:104). The Timmins police were called but remained indifferent to the attacks and did little in response. The local newspapers supported the DP's and showed pictures of DP's with a screwdriver "like the type" used by the Communists or a picture of a DP with a small cut on his head said to be caused by a bottle-throwing Communist. (Porcupine Advance 18 November 1948, p.1) There were no pictures of the injuries suffered by the progressives.

Representatives from the AUUC and the LLP petitioned the town council in November accusing the DP's of causing a near riot at the AUUC Hall. The petition, read by Stanley Kremyr, charged these individuals to be "Nazis", "brutal and insolent people" and "gangsters" whereby "(i)f the displaced persons insist on behaving like Fascist criminals, there is no place for them in our community and they must be excluded." They called for a complete investigation of the circumstances of the attack on the hall and deportation of the DP's.

The town council did not accept the petition. The Porcupine Advance took the attitude that "If the DP's did chase some of the rats down their hole then we say more power to them." (25 November 1948, p.1) The Advance seemed to think it was a matter of Darwinian evolution whereby the strongest organization won out over the weakest and society was advanced (Porcupine
The circumstances were deemed right and proper as they fit into the host society view of Canadian society which left little room for ethnic Communists. One AUUC affiliated publication perhaps put it best.

The aim of Canada's immigration policies, in this particular, was to infuse the work force and the ethnic communities with people committed to the establishment and to the cold war against socialism abroad and the (radical) labour movement at home. (Workers Benevolent Association 1972:241)

All ethnic communities in the Porcupine Camp were going through much the same process though often not as earnestly as the Ukrainians.

As a result of the Cold War reaction against the ethnic class radicals the Croatian Peasant Party, which had been forced into a secondary position to the progressive Croatian Club organization during the war, re-emerged as leader of the Croatian community in Schumacher. As in the Ukrainian community, Croatian community leaders became important as job gatekeepers for the conservative Croatian immigrants who were being channelled into Schumacher. The party leaders provided jobs through their personal connections to mine executives. The party leaders also worked hand in hand with Canadian authorities identifying which individuals were Communists and which were not. Sometimes the leaders helped progressive supporters to acquire jobs as a means to gain their support. As one Croatian leader's son remembered:

The U.S. state department would often call my father to Washington to help them when a man wanted to come into the country. I remembered mounties coming to my father to ask about a Croatian who was looking for a job in the government. He was a member of the other hall but my father said he was not a Communist.

The Croatian radicals had to contend with a new group of Yugoslav and Croatian refugee immigrants they identified and vilified as nashtasi.

- 264 -
Postwar Finnish immigrants were not refugees but they had little affection for Communists because Finland had fought Russia during the war. They allied with the Consumers Co-operative organization which then was able to expand into one of the largest co-operatives in Canada (McPherson 1979:204). The Finnish immigrants were less interested in political ideologies than settling down. They borrowed money from the Consumers Credit Union and built houses, attended the English language classes given at the Harmony Hall and United Church and tried to assimilate to the host community. They first joined the Finnish United Church and then created their own Lutheran Churches.

The first Finnish Lutheran Church in Timmins was built in 1947. In 1953 the Finnish immigrants created the church based 'Porcupine Finnish Club' (Porcupinen Suomi Klubi) with its motto, "Religion, humaneness, loyalty to this country and love to the former homeland." It was to be a cultural club but while it was largely nonpolitical and supposedly anyone could join, its constitution clearly stipulated that "Communists will not be accepted as members of the Society."

These institutions and many more like them that arose after the war, became the basis of a new respectability for the ethnic population. They were no longer dependent on expressly ethnic associations or institutions. The new universal context of the host society offered the ethnics a role in Canadian society if they would de-emphasize their ethnic and class identifications and show their readiness to assimilate. In its place the Canadian government offered ethnics the right to participate equitably for economic and political resources according to the new postwar criteria of universality. This universality was to downplay class as well as ethnic and racial differences.
because World War II and the Jewish Holocaust had shown the danger of
demarcating groups according to perceived differences. In exchange the ethnic
groups were to de-emphasize their differences which meant that they would
have to largely assimilate to the new universal criteria and give up
membership in their ethnic institutions.

On the local-level this schema allowed for the development of a
specific consociational alliance. Conservative ethnic leaders were now likely
to be members of the local Liberal or Conservative parties or on the
Anti-Communist League with the mayor and other leading citizens. Individuals
who had been dependent on ethnic institutions and ethnic communities gave up
their commitment and joined together in consociational institutions such as
the Steelworkers union, and clubs such as the Lions, the Kiwanis, the Kinsmen
and the Moose. Even the Masons, the bastion of pre-war Anglo-conformity,
opened their doors after the war to many ethnics and French Canadians. Before
the war clubs, such as the Masons, had been the social structures which had
justified Anglo dominant group control but now they were part of the local
consociational alliance.

These voluntary associations were important because they served as a
means to redistribute local economic and political power and resources by
bringing together a large number of individuals. They served a mediative
function by bringing together previously conflicting interest, ethnic and
class groups thereby muting local conflicts. For the ethnics in particular
they were also a means to learn new behavioural techniques which allowed them
to participate more easily in the host community and society (Kerri

One result of this consociationalism has been that all previous class
and ethnic conflicts were largely forgotten in the interests of the
consociation. This was relatively simple because most of the radical ethnic and class records had already been destroyed during World War II. Those records which remained were hidden away by the progressives (as well as by the radicals, socialists and Fascists) who did not wish to advertise their former ethnic and political affiliations. The records were replaced by fictional anecdotes which represented the community as being virtually classless, in contrast with the stratified society of Southern Ontario, as well as a community which had experienced an effortless accommodation among all groups throughout its history.

The radicals and progressives, however, were expressly excluded from participating in the consociation. The resources of the community and society were turned against them. In actual fact the radical supporters in the camp were largely destroyed. The local progressives had given up their commitment to radical class ideology and once again retrenched into their halls. Now many of the individuals taking part in expressly radical meetings could, and often were, likely to be Royal Canadian Mounted Police agents. One of my informants was an agent for the mounties operating within the AUUC Hall and the Communist party. The progressive ethnic organizations were forced to revert to a conciliatory and culture dependent approach. The FOC and AUUC locals disavowed their association with the Communist party, especially in the face of the growing revelations about Stalin. Yet the progressives continued to be harassed as supporters of the revolutionary class movement. Many found themselves unable to get citizenship papers. As the president of the local AUUC said:

"I applied for my Canadian citizenship three different times but I was always turned down. They refused me because they said that they had been told I was not the right type of people, a Communist... At Cochrane that guy there at the office said I had a very good work record and there was little reason for me not to"
get my papers but then a letter came from Ottawa and they refused my papers. I have been president of the AUUC since the war and that was probably the reason...it's the mounties, they have got the last say and they have all the information in their files and its mostly hearsay.

As a result of such pressure the old progressive ethnic organizations began to lose supporters in increasing numbers. Many left and tried to join in the consociational alliance; at least those who were not wholly identified as radicals and progressives. They no longer wished to be identified as political pariahs. Membership also decreased as a result of death and migration out of the camp. The progressives who remained found they could not recruit new supporters, even among their own children, through the old symbolic class code and were unable, or unwilling, to find a new symbolic code to express themselves. Class as an ideology was dead as a recruiting tool; it remained as a bond only for a small group of increasingly aged prewar ethnic progressives and radicals.

Class as an organizational principle was dead or dying in the camp as it seemed to be in the rest of Canada (except possibly for Quebec). Economic expansion, increased purchasing power and government welfare programmes allowed for the incorporation of the working class into the wider capitalist economy and maintenance of the status quo (Johnson 1972:172). Class was no longer a principle in which the political dimensions of Canadian society were to be discussed let alone be open for competition. It was becoming a concept related to a subjective materialist attitude (i.e., middle class) and rank rather than revolutionary consciousness related to the modes of production (Johnson 1972:142).

Locally, under the influence of the consociational alliance, which was both interclass and interethnic, ethnicity and class consciousness was ultimately disassociated. It was this disassociation which has hindered class
as a basis of organization in the Porcupine Camp, Ethnicity had been the
major support for class (as well as its major weakness) but with
disassociation class was removed as a political and economic interest in the
camp. Ethnicity was also hindered in this dissolution but it was not
irretrievably weakened. It would be restructured and later function as a
political and economic interest because it was the only basis for collective
action available on the local scene. In the interim the consociational
alliance held firm even in the face of changes in the contextual basis of
Canadian society through the introduction of federal policies such as
bilingualism and multiculturalism.

Such federal policies could have had a detrimental effect on the
alliance in the camp because they restructured national economic and
political interest to the benefit of the English and French Canadian charter
groups. These changes in the context of Canadian society, however, would
initially bypass the Porcupine Camp because of the area's isolation, a
postwar economic depression and a de-emphasis on local history. While the
rest of Canada experienced a postwar economic boom, which fueled the
alterations in social structure, the Porcupine Camp was in an economic
decline from which it did not begin to arise until the late 1960s. No single
group was able to gain total control of political and economic power in the
Porcupine Camp. The French and English Canadians might well hold the reins of
local power but because it was not consecrated, through such a process as
official bilingualism or even an official local history and former conflicts
were muted in favour of an accommodating and classless interethnic mythology,
it allowed all groups equal access to political and economic power according
to nominal universal criteria.
X. COMMUNITY BREAKDOWN AND REVIVAL

Mine and Ethnic Decline

In the 1950s the Porcupine Camp experienced a massive economic depression which left the future of the camp in doubt. Mines began to close down and ethnic communities began to dissolve as members left for better jobs in the south. The only community to gain under these conditions were the French Canadians. They did not choose to leave and continued to support the local consociational accommodation with the Anglo and the remaining ethnic communities. The consociational alliance did, however, come under attack by other French Canadian interests, led by a new group of French Canadian Catholic priests, which favoured creation of parallel institutions within the French Canadian community to maintain a separate language and culture as well as political and socio-economic system. This initial attempt was to prove unsuccessful as the general consociational accommodation in the camp was still strong. Nevertheless this was not the last attempt to revise the consociational alliance and it was a precursor of similar efforts by newly emerging interest groups after the stabilization and revival of the camp.

In the aftermath of the 1929 Depression the Porcupine Camp had not experienced the same economic problems as the rest of Canada. Even during World War II the government had purchasedbullion and the mining companies had been able to maintain a stable, if diminished, market. Yet in the Canada-wide postwar industrial boom the Porcupine Camp suffered an economic decline.
The price of gold was fixed at $35 U.S. and what profit the mines enjoyed depended on the difference in the exchange rates between the American and Canadian dollars. In July 1946 the Canadian dollar was set at par which cost the mines $3.50 in revenue per ounce of gold (Lougheed 1958:42). In response to the mines' worsening financial problems the federal government passed the 'Emergency Gold Mining Assistance Act' in June 1948, agreeing to buy all the gold produced and pay the mines 50% of the cost of production in excess of $18 an ounce. (Lougheed 1958:45) This extended the lives of the Porcupine mines but it was not enough to help them for long and conditions in the camp continued to deteriorate.

The 1953 strike had not aided the gold mining industry and the Ontario government's special inquiry of 1954 into the 'Socio-Economic Problems Of The Goldmining Industry in Ontario' served to make clear the deteriorating conditions in camp. The Steelworkers union local in Timmins presented its own study to the commission which showed that the Porcupine Camp had a tuberculosis death rate higher than any other Ontario municipality, work weeks eight hours longer than the Ontario average, third lowest personal income in Ontario and 30% below the decent family living rate, mines which indiscriminately used an untested silicosis treatment, collective bargaining which was little more than a protest vehicle, substandard housing and high unemployment with few jobs for women (Roberts 1979:1).

The commission report 'Gold Mining in Ontario' came out in 1955 and pointed out that 40% of the work force was 45 years of age or over. This work force had entered during the boom periods of the 1920s and 1930s and turnover within this group had been low. The younger employees, who had entered after the war, had a high rate of turnover as they left for employment in Southern Ontario. From a peak employment of 9,191 in 1941 the mine labour force in the
Pomupine Camp had dropped by 1954 to 5,605 or 60.9% (Dominion 1960:ix:10-11).

The number of miners in the town of Timmins decreased from a 1941 high of 4,535 to 2,892 in 1951, a decline of 36%. The percentage of the workforce engaged in mining also decreased from 43% to 29% due to a loss of production and increased mechanization. There was an increase in other occupations in the same 1941-51 period, professionals (6.3 - 7.5%), clerical (5 - 8.2%), proprietary and managerial (4.7 - 7.4%) and lumbering (1.1 - 1.9%), which took up some of the slack (Dominion 1960:49). Mining was fading and employment shifted towards support services in the community as well as towards lumbering but it was French Canadians who entered these new occupations.

The population of Timmins was similarly in decline. During the 1921-31 period the population had increased 270% versus the national increase of 18%. Between 1931-41 it was 103% versus the national rate of 11%, but between 1941-51 there was no increase while the Canadian population grew 22% and in 1951-56 no increase versus a 14% national increase (Dominion 1960:46). In 1951 the population over 55 was 9.8% but by 1961 it had risen to 13.4% while those between 25-54 declined from 40.6 to 36.3% of the population.

The French Canadian population in Timmins, however, increased from 10,472 (37.31%) in 1941 to 11,493 (41.4%) in 1951 to 13,234 (45.2%) in 1961 versus a decrease among the ethnics from 6,907 (23.9%) in 1941 to 6,185 (22.3%) in 1951 and a marginal increase to 7,214 (24.6%) in 1961 (due mostly to the incorporation of other townships). In Mountjoy township the ethnic decrease was drastic, from 285 (16.5%) in 1941 to 59 (4.1%) in 1961 as many sold their farms to French Canadians. In Tisdale there was only a slight change in the ethnic population from 3,738 (39.5) to 3,653 (46%) and in
Whitney a slight increase from 462 (31%) to 537 (35.5%) (fig. 9 and 10).

In Timmins between 1931-41 the French Canadian population increased 110.5% and by 1961, had increased a further 26.5% so that they constituted 45.2% of the Timmins town population (fig. 10). This coincided with the development of new interest groups within the French Canadian community led by cleric authorities who advocated expanding Catholic schools and French language programs. There was already a large increase in French Canadians within the managerial and professional levels. This growing French presence was in contrast to the essential decay of the ethnic presence in the community as a result of their increasing migration out of the camp.

Postwar immigration had swelled the ranks of the ethnic communities but in a remarkably short time the numbers fell drastically. Economic conditions in the Porcupine Camp were on the decline while those in the rest of Canada were improving. The vast majority of the newly arrived Displaced Persons who came to the camp after the war only stayed long enough to learn English and the social mores of the host society. Jobs in the bush and the mines were far from ideal when better paying jobs could be found in Southern Ontario. There was in fact such a drastic decline in ethnic numbers that the mines were forced to import a large number of Scottish miners in the early 1950s to provide a steady work force. Those 'ethnics' who did remain were interested in adapting quickly to the host society and joined the consociational alliance which served to further weaken local ethnic organizations.

This was indicative of a lack of commitment by members of all ethnic communities. A commentary often heard in my interviews on the subject of involvement is, "My kids don't care about this whole thing. He was born in Canada and he is Canadian." or "I try to discuss with my son who is 41, married, with two sons of his own, about the old organizations but he says;
"It is not my organization as I am Canadian." The postwar immigrants took a similar attitude. There was an increasing generational gap between the old immigrants, who had come before World War II and their children and the postwar immigrants.

This new generation which came out of the ethnic halls no longer attached much importance to their ethnic identities as a means to acquire resources. They often intermarried with other groups so that the social support for the ethnic communities began to disintegrate in the face of mixed interests. The progressive associations were the first to suffer as they had been unable to recruit members among the new immigrants. Most of the progressive halls were forced to closed down by the early 1970s. Those which remained became ethnic centers for the elderly as few of the new generation took an active part. The president of the local AUUC has remained in that position since 1945 as the post became largely nominal. There was only one major first generation leader in the AUUC Hall, Stanley Kremyr and he was forced to admit that "The last big event of the Ukrainian (radical) community was in 1946 just after the war when all the people came back. But then they quickly began to leave. Within six years after that it was all gone; no more concerts or anything." The major problem that the progressive movement in the camp had to face in the postwar period was one of commitment. Mine Mill had been defeated and Workers Co-operative was in increasing difficulty. Workers political interests and could no longer be reconciled with economic facts. Competition from chain stores soon reduced Workers to a single small store in South Porcupine.

The Ukrainian nationalists were able to survive longer than the Ukrainian progressives through recruitment among the refugees but their members also began to leave the camp in large numbers. Those who remained
allied with the Ukrainian Catholic Church rather than the Prosvita Hall. The hall was sold in the late 1960s and the nationalist association met in the Church hall or in a member's home until it dissolved due to a lack of interest. The only major Ukrainian organization remaining by the mid 1970s was the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League. Even the church began to experience increased difficulty as a result of the population decrease and intermarriage in the Ukrainian population. As the Ukrainian priest lamented:

It used to be a very powerful parish back then. All young, powerful. They worked and whatever they earned they spent for the Church. Now it is very hard to get money from them because they have houses and don't want to spend their Money here. There are not many left...I am losing numbers constantly and pretty soon none will be coming here. They are moving south as they do not want to work in the mines...and they are intermarrying so they do not go to church or anyplace. It's not a good thing.

Schumacher, the community which had been essentially a Croatian town, was similarly losing population as the young moved out to find better jobs. Some of the older generation, upon retiring from the mines, often moved to small fruit farms in the Niagara area or even back to their family farms in Croatia.

The Croatian progressive club closed in the 1960s. Croatian Hall membership decreased in the midst of the population decline and a growing conflict between the older followers of the Croatian Peasant Party and the first generation and postwar immigrants. The Croatian Hall survived only because it was rented out as a banquet center to sports and community associations in the camp. Croatian commitment to the Peasant party also diminished while involvement in the Catholic Church increased as it was less politically oriented. Now even the Croatian Communist leader could be heard to comment that "All my kids go to church. My wife and I were not churchgoers before but we now go to church sometimes and I get along well with the
Father,"

The immigrant Finns who came after the war quickly gained a new reputation that was the complete opposite of their previous radical stereotype. Now they were known as people who made "good Canadians" as they adapted well and easily to the host community. They swelled the English language classes and did not join the older pre-war Finnish ethnic institutions. The Finn Halls and the Harmony Hall in Timmins were losing members as were the Finnish Churches. In Timmins the Finnish United Church closed and the Timmins based St. Mark's Finnish Lutheran Church became an appendage of the South Porcupine St. John's Lutheran Church which operated as a purely Lutheran organization (St. John's pastor was an English Canadian). All the Finn halls in the Porcupine Camp were closed by the early 1970s.

The only ethnic community to experience any sustained growth during this period were the Italians. The Italian population of Timmins went from 1,551 (5.4%) in 1941 to 2,110 (7.2%) in 1961 and in Tisdale from 584 (6.1%) in 1941 to 830 (10.2%) in 1961 (fig. 10). New immigrants came along family networks and settled in Moneta, which was amalgamated to Timmins in 1946 and maintained the ethnic enclave far longer than other groups (fig. 11). Many found jobs in the mines but a growing number also found employment in local industries, especially construction, as a number of Italians opened their own construction firms (DiGiacamo 1982:36).

In 1946 the 'Moneta Recreational Club' was formed by first generation Italian Canadians and young immigrants in the hall formerly occupied by the Fascist 'Sons of Italy'. This was a general recreation club but its position in the Italian enclave also made it an 'Italian Club'. It was important as one of the few ethnic institutions to be part of the local consociational alliance. English was the language most commonly spoken and the club included

- 276 -
many non-Italians who were interested in its recreational activities (DiGiacamo 1982:39).

The older immigrants, however, wanted a separate Italian cultural center and in 1952 they formed 'The Porcupine Dante Club'. This was to be, as its sign proclaimed, 'the center of Italian culture in Timmins'. Individuals bought shares or contributed time to work on the center with the understanding that no individual or single interest group was to control the club (DiGiacamo 1982:40). It was to be a club for all Italians without regard to class or regional differences. The club was not only a cultural center but a business for it had the best banquet facilities in the camp and became a center for wedding receptions and association meetings. It did not engage in any overt ethnic welfare or political organization feeling that both were the prerogatives of the Canadian government.

By the early 1960s, however, Italian immigration came to a virtual standstill as family links were completed. The population decline of the Porcupine Camp penetrated the Italian community as many began to move south with few new immigrants to replace them. The Italian population of Timmins dropped from 2,110 (7.2%) in 1961 to 1,910 (6.7%) in 1971 and in Tisdale from 930 (10.2%) to 730 (9%). The Dante Club was forced to relax its membership rules and allow non-Italians to join as associate members (DiGiacamo 1982:51). One result has been that the Dante Club has also become an important consociational institution.

In the 1950s the depressed price of gold, threats of mine closures and developing ethnic communities and job opportunities in the south, led ethnic labour to see work in the mines only as a last resort. The mines were no longer considered an acceptable occupation. The ethnics did not want their sons to go into the mines as it was an occupation which offered little chance
It was always being drilled into our heads that we should get an education. There was no possibility in the minds of our parents of us ever entering the mines.

All the men have worked in the mines and none of them wanted their sons to be miners. Now only a few stay on. They all get an education and move on.

Although many had become mining specialists they considered the mines an employment trap with few alternatives especially as the Porcupine Camp's future was uncertain. Many ethnics understood the temporary reality of mine camps and decided to move on. French Canadians, however, rarely planned to move on and began to take up those positions in the mines left by the ethnics. The ethnic middle class, especially Jews, were forced to sell their businesses to the only buyers available, the French Canadians.

After all when people are moving out and they want to sell their businesses and a French person wants to buy it they sell it. Whether they want to or not isn't the point as there is not much choice up here. If they want to buy it and take the risk of business fine but it's usually well-established businesses they are picking up anyway. Still when the time comes to close out the business one has to go. This all started with the threatened closing of the Hollinger and the depressed condition of the town in general.

Conditions in the Porcupine Camp only continued to worsen. The Buffalo Ankerite Mine closed in 1956, the Coniaurum in 1961, the Broulan Reef in 1965 and the Paymaster in 1966, along with a number of smaller mines. The greatest blow came in 1961 when the Hollinger announced that it was going to cease operations within five years. There had been rumours about the Hollinger closing for years before, which did little to help local stability, but the formal announcement served to accentuate an already worsening situation. It was now a certainty in everyone's mind that the Porcupine was going to simply "blow off the map".

In 1964 this certain decline was cushioned with the announced discovery
of rich copper, zinc, lead and silver deposits by the Texas Gulf Sulphur Company in an area fifteen miles northeast of the town of Timmins. The Texas Gulf discovery was a rich deposit and a new mine and concentrator were soon in full production. Texas Gulf absorbed many of the ethnic miners who were losing their jobs in the closure of other mines and saved the life of the Porcupine Camp. In 1972 the rise in the price of gold added to the new prosperity as the gold mines began to thrive once again.

Timmins once again became a boom town as well as the retail, distributing and regional center for Northeastern Ontario. In January 1973 the government of Ontario forced the townships of the Porcupine Camp to amalgamate into a single centralized municipal government. The 'Super-City' of Timmins was born, one of the largest cities in North America with over 1,200 square miles of territory (fig. 3). The camp's future was now assured; it was no longer to be simply a flimsy camp but a stable city.

The boom, however, did not affect the population. The mines were becoming mechanized so not as much labour was needed. The result was that the Timmins population remained stable between 1961-66 at about 29,270 but declined 3% to 28,490 by 1971 which was largely a result of a decline in the ethnic population from 7,214 (24.6%) to 5,875 (20.6). In the township of Tisdale the population increased from 7,934 to 8,105 but the ethnic division decreased from 3,653 (46%) to 2,895 (35.7%). Again the only significant increase was among the French Canadians. In Timmins the French Canadian population went from 13,234 (45.3%) in 1961 to 14,145 (49.6%) in 1971 and in the largely French Canadian township of Mountjoy the French population almost doubled from 1,117 (78.5%) to 2,064 (73%) in 1971, the largest increase of any town or municipality in the area.
French Canadian Accommodation

S.D. Clark (1976:91) has stated that in the development of the Northern industrial communities "no ethnic group was in a more potentially strategic position than the French Canadians to take advantage of the opportunities offered." They were the largest single community in the Porcupine Camp. Yet after making this assertive statement Clark (1976:91) inappropriately represents the French Canadian community in Timmins as separate from all other communities, isolated and institutionally dependent on the Catholic Church or fully assimilated to English Canadian institutions. But, as I hope I have proved, the French Canadians were able to take action on a number of occasions in their interest and to maintain the status quo.

The French Canadian middle class assumed the reins of municipal political leadership in 1939 when it appeared that the radicals would gain control of the town council. After World War II the Catholic Church and French Canadian workers aided the English Canadians by drawing French Canadian support away from the Mine Mill union. French Canadians were becoming committed to a community in which the English Canadians continued to be dominant but with an allowance for French Canadian mitigation.

Instances of individuals who maintain, "I was born French but talk English all the time" became the norm in the community especially as the teaching of French had been a minimal part of the school curriculum. In 1951 there were only six Catholic separate schools teaching French in bilingual classes (Tremblay 1951:36). There was no secondary school support and the costs involved in sending a child to Sudbury or Quebec for French secondary education were prohibitive for any but the wealthy (who were more likely to be committed to the Anglophone community). The majority of French Canadian students went into the local English high schools. The result was a French
Canadian population which maintained close connections to the English and ethnic populations; firm supporters of the consociational alliance.

Continually throughout my interviews the French Canadians were characterized in this period, by members of other communities, as "one of us", or, "we were all together then". The premise being that they had all been engaged in the same educational and assimilative structure whereby they could all agree on the consociational basis of communication, values and beliefs.

As a result French Canadians in the Porcupine Camp do not restrict their social networks but inevitably include ethnics and English Canadians in that network through intermarriage, friendship or contact in the workplace. The French language was largely used in the home and among close friends and acquaintances though rarely in business unless that business catered exclusively to a French Canadian clientelle (which was rare). Even when French was used the result was often a 'patois' which switched back and forth between French and English. Words such as 'l'edifice' were unknown when 'le building' seemed to suffice. 'Cite de ville' was thought of as a hotel rather than the City Hall.

These words imply a dangerous rate of 'anglicization'. It has been observed that the French Canadians in the Porcupine Camp have an appalling anglicization rate of 15.2% as against only a 7.5% rate in the more predominantly French Canadian community of Kapuskasing (Savard et al 1977:70c). Nevertheless while French Canadians in Timmins see a problem they do not relate it to the Anglophone community.

The basis of their identity is in part dependent upon anglicization to the extent that it allows them to speak English easily without a French accent which might identify and stigmatize them as outsiders and hinder their
access to jobs. They need not be fully educated in French but should be able to speak at least some of the language even if they do use a large number of English words in their conversation. This is often the major defining parameter of French identity in Timmins, an inability to speak the language perfectly. This is what makes them unique, what makes them, as one French Canadian informant said, 'Timminsois'.

This difference is the basic distinction between older established and newly arrived French Canadians which has resulted in a split within the French Canadian community between what are often termed the 'Native French' or 'Northeast Gang' and the 'Quebeckers' or 'Quebecois'. One English Canadian informant recognized this difference within the group. "They did not get along very well and they always knew who came from where and stayed away from each other." The Timmins French would feel ill at ease among the Quebecois who could speak better French, without the use of English words. The French Canadians from Quebec denigrated the Ontario French Canadians by viewing them as an Anglo Saxon version of the Quebecois. The absence or presence of a French accent when speaking English was the identifying code in a casual conversation and a marker of wider differences of interest.

Those French Canadians who have been educated in Quebec recognized that "they do not speak the right type of French around here". Individuals educated in the camp found that when they went into high school they would often have difficulty reconciling their utilization of the language (prior to the last few decades) with the proper type of French which was being taught. As one French Canadian informant lamented, "In high school I took Latin and Greek rather than French because the teacher spoke differently than I did."

There was also a further distinction in the French Canadian community. Some French Canadians had committed themselves to a traditional community
structure based on rural activity and the church. These are the individuals Clark (1966:79-80) identifies as the "happy and contented" elements whose activities revolved around church and family and on which he bases his analyses. But they are a small group living in the Mountjoy area and anomalies in the town of Timmins where the majority of French Canadians reside. The majority of French Canadians have always been ready and able to carry out activities outside of church control and alongside other communities.

In the postwar period ethnics, English and French Canadians had expanded their prewar political accommodation on a local, provincial and federal level into a new alliance. All agreed on the consociational nature of their alliance to such an extent that they even shared political positions.

In 1948 Emile Brunette chose not to run for mayor after nine years in office. He became a Conservative member of the Provincial legislature serving as the minister of Mines and Northern Resources (and the only French Canadian member of the provincial cabinet). One of the leading French Canadian candidates for the 1948 mayoralty declined to run saying that a French Canadian should not enter the field as an English Canadian should be mayor. "I believe that the honour of representing Timmins as Mayor should be divided regularly between both races." (Porcupine Advance 16 October 1947, p.1)

The next mayor was Karl Eyre who then became Liberal MP for the new federal riding of Timmins in 1949. His victory was in part attributed to the alliance between French Canadian Liberals, led by J.V. Bonhomme, and English Canadian Conservatives against the radical ethnics and the CCF candidates. The provincial CCF candidate, who had been elected previously, was defeated by this new coalition which continues to hold political power. Philip Fay, a French Canadian, became the new mayor and later an MP. He was in turn
followed by J.W. Spooner who went on to become provincial minister of Lands and Forests.

In 1955 Leo Del Villano, an Italian Canadian, was elected mayor and was to hold that office for the better part of the next twenty years. He was not originally considered a candidate in the mayoralty race as the other two possible candidates were a radical labour candidate, Workers Co-op manager Garth Teeple, and a French Canadian Liberal and real estate entrepreneur, J.V. Bonhomme. They would have divided the community between labour and business, English and French and so both talked Del Villano into running as a compromise candidate to avoid this conflict. The ethnics therefore gained the mayoralty though the town council continued to be divided between French and English Canadians. Many senior municipal were increasingly taken by French Canadians who continued to uphold the consociation.

Jules Bergeron became clerk administrator of the town of Timmins in 1958 after six years as clerk treasurer of the township of Mountjoy. The clerk administrator was a pivotal position and was often more important than the mayor or council because he supervised all the civic departments, provided central personnel services and was in charge of public information (Faludi 1967:58-60). Bergeron was a former president of Le Cercle youth club and he had been educated in French but he was also born in Ontario and committed to an English-speaking system modified by French Canadian leadership. He opposed a number of later attempts to introduce institutional bilingualism and other forms of separation in the town hall.

The political accommodation in the camp was institutionalized so that French Canadian Liberals are in the Federal parliament and English Canadian Conservatives in the Provincial legislature. Each party offers only tacit opposition. At the present time the local Liberal MP (former assistant
Conservative MPP Allan Pope is the provincial minister of Mines and Natural Resources. Though Pope is an English Canadian he is also married to a French Canadian and is the only French speaking member of the provincial cabinet at this time.

This points to an interesting fact. The primary provincial government spokesman for French Canadians in Toronto has generally been a Timmins representative (or from a neighbouring electoral district) who has presented a circumspect and accommodating perception of the Franco Ontarian community. This in part explains the lack of commitment by the Ontario government to institutional bilingualism and the lack of influence of French Canadian interest groups on the provincial government.

The only response open to those French Canadians who did not choose to participate in this consociational structure was to retrench within the traditional church dominated community. But even this community was beginning to undergo changes under the influence of Catholic priests who began to emphasize 'nation' identity and pressed for the creation of French Canadian parallel institutions. The supporters of this initiative were mostly recent French Canadian migrants who came to Timmins in the 1950s and 1960s from Quebec and the smaller Northern Ontario towns where French was predominant. This group became increasingly disaffected because they were being limited from access to local resources in the Porcupine Camp, not only because of their lack of English language skills but because the older French Canadian working class, middle class and elite groups controlled access. Another important group of supporters were French language teachers and professionals, especially lawyers, who formed a new elite group which attempted to circumscribe consociational control by changing the basis of
competition from consociationalism to a dependence on French Canadian community institutions. They were led by Catholic priests who pushed for the development of parallel French Canadian institutions in a wide appeal for separation against the old consociational accommodation.

Separation

The concepts of 'nation' and the creation of separate French Canadian institutions were developing themes within Quebec in the 1950s and 1960s when French Canadians were attempting to gain an equitable share of economic and political resources from English Canadians. Many of the postwar French Canadian migrants who came from Quebec to Timmins came with strongly formed nationalist ideas. These ideologies had existed for decades in Quebec (Trofimenkoff 1975:718), promulgated by Catholic priests, but they had not penetrated the Catholic clergy in the Porcupine Camp. The older clergy in the Porcupine had accepted that French Canadian accommodation to an Anglophone system and most of the priests supported the consociation. Changes, however, began to occur in the mid 1950s which created new conflicts over the nature of local accommodation.

The consociational accord was threatened when it lost a major advocate, Father Theriault, who died in May 1956 after forty-seven years in the Porcupine-Camp. The priests that followed were fully indoctrinated in concepts which called for an emphasis on French Canadian 'nation' identity and parallel institutions under the guidance of the Catholic Church. The church called for a return to the French Canadian fold which was seen as disintegrating under the onslaught of English urban society. Bishop Tessier of the Diocese of Timmins was a major supporter of the new order and Father Celestine, who succeeded Father Theriault, became a leading advocate. The troops of the changeover were to be the 'Peres Oblats de Marie Immaculee' of
Montreal who came into the camp as teachers in 1956.

One of the immediate results of the introduction of this new ideology was an initial attempt at historical restructuring, especially of early agricultural activity, in order to justify French Canadian rights to increased local status against the consociation. In spite of the fact that agricultural activity in the camp had always been of minimal importance the new French Canadian Catholic priests attempted to emphasize its importance, presenting it as an essential activity and the foundation for local French Canadian proprietary claims. The priests wished to present all French Canadian society as essentially rural and under their control, to contrast it with English Canadian urban industrial society and the French Canadian middle class who were pictured as traitors to this tradition (Marchak 1975:85). They were helped in this assertion by social scientists who only peripherally examined the local community.

The priests further emphasized a program of Catholic and French language education. In 1958 they built Ecole Secondaire du Sacre Coeur and in 1959 Ecole Secondaire College Notre Dame to provide secondary French language education which had previously been lacking. Other Catholic grade schools were opened including O'Gorman High School in 1961 to provide secondary education for the English-speaking Catholics but the major efforts were among the French Canadian population. These actions created animosity in the community as they came to be perceived as attempts to introduce an unnecessary division in the population; a threat to the consociational alliance. One ethnic informant explained the development in this manner;

Back then there was only one high school. Everyone went no matter if you were Jewish, Ukrainian, Russian, Finnish, French - everyone went. But the minute you start dividing schools you will divide people...It didn't matter if you spoke Chinese, Hindu, French. You grew up together and were all part of the same gang. When they put
the Catholic school there the first thing you know this fellow was going to the Catholic French school and this one to the English public school so there was a gang on one corner and a gang on the other. It caused a lot of trouble. They looked at each other for the other fellow's faults whereas before you just accepted it as just a little difference because he was a different nationality. This way he was a total stranger, going to different schools.

The clergy's attacks on the consociation soon resulted in confrontations between the communities and within the French Canadian community itself. One incident stands out.

Father Celestine had been placing a number of calls to Montreal to his order and, at that time, all outside calls went through the switchboard. But he found that none of the operators would speak the numbers in French, either because they could not or because they had been given orders not to give out numbers in French. This was not company policy but seems to have been introduced by one supervisor. It became a major issue as Father Celestine was incensed and publicly pointed to this as an example of what was being done against the French Canadian community. He went to every French elementary school and told the children to tie up the phone system which they did so that businessmen and even the fire department found it hard to receive calls. The priest was making his point but it was at a heavy cost for it was dividing the community. Conrad Levigne, the owner of the French language radio station, went on the air and appealed to parents to stop their children and abandon the priest's scheme. "In his view the behaviour of the priest went against the kind of accommodation that the French and English had worked out in the region. 'Such aggressive conduct,' he concluded, 'would have led to bad blood between the two groups.'" (Arnopoulos 1982:39)

Lavigne was part of the consociational accommodation even though he owned a major parallel French Canadian institution, the French language radio station 'CFCL' (whose call letters stood for 'Canadienne Francais Conrad
Lavigne'), which was founded in 1950. Lavigne's interests, however, had expanded into television throughout Northern Ontario and he operated effectively in an entrepreneurial world which accepted that English was the language of communication. It was said that he became a "multi-millionaire, in English, not French." (Toronto Sunday Sun 6 February 1983, p.35) But he was also active in the caisse populaires and in introducing bilingualism into Laurentian University. However, he had married a Jewish woman which served to ostracize him from the Catholic based community. He was not a supporter of the church's cause and they resented that he did not use his wealth, influence and radio and television facilities more effectively for French Canadian 'nation' interests as did other companies, such as Mallette Lumber.

In the mid 1960s the Mallette Lumber Company brought in a large number of bush workers from Quebec. This started a major influx of Quebec French Canadians into the Porcupine Camp into occupations where French was, for the first time, the only language of work. Mallette continued to expand and hired only French Canadians who joined expressly French Canadian institutions rather than adjust to an English-speaking environment. The importation of these workers served to reinforce the power of the French Canadian clergy and the French language separate schools. The Quebec French were likely to participate in separate French institutions and voluntary associations rather than join the consociational organizations. They were the ones who supported the church's ideology. They were opposed by the older group of French Canadians who wished to maintain the accommodation as any restructuring would be at their expense.

In the 1960s the priests and their supporters took their initiatives a step further by attempting to introduce official bilingualism into municipal government. They hoped to have the use of French accepted as official policy
in the town hall and as such add to their own political power. They were hindered, however, by French Canadian members of council who took action to stop the introduction of bilingualism to the council. One of the councilors elected in 1960 was Jean Larcher who had been a councilor in 1950 but had left for family medical reasons. When she returned and entered council again she found herself caught in the middle of a confrontation which had not existed when she left. She did not believe in official bilingualism and fought its introduction to the extent that she gained the reputation of being "pro-British".

Other French Canadian councilors, such as Emile Brunette, the former MPP who had returned to town council, also did not support bilingualism. The councilors and the French Canadian municipal employees, who were strong supporters of the consociation, were able to stall the introduction of bilingualism into the council proceedings where it would have become a divisive issue. Mayor Del Villano reported that he had a number of confrontations with Father Celestine on the issue in which he emphasized, as did the French Canadian members of council and municipal government, that it was unnecessary since there were individuals in the town hall who spoke French fluently. As Mayor Del Villano remarked;

I speak French. If someone wanted to talk French I would talk. But Father Celestine was really pushing it and he got his ears pushed back...Emile Brunette stalled and threw out bilingualism in City Hall because there was no use for it as there was a lot of French there already.

The attempt to resurrect the Catholic Church as spokesman for the French Canadian community did not succeed. The French Canadian middle class in particular had accommodated to the new consociation and had gained too much to see it lost when another institution attempted to take away its constituency (Clark 1976:110). Their success and the failure of the church is
Clark's (1966:89, 108) characterization of Timmins as an area which was experiencing a great deal of English - French animosity during the early 1960s, indicative of wider national relations, was true for only a short period of time. The fences were being mended between the English and French Canadian communities though they were not completely mended with the ethnic communities. In exchange for their support of the consociational alliance the English Canadians willingly allowed French Canadians increased access to local resources, even helping them to create a few separate institutions such as a French Language High School. The ethnic minorities, however, who were the most dependent on the consociational alliance because of their small numbers, felt that the French Canadians were taking advantage of their numerical position and gaining privileges they had not earned since it was evident to the ethnic minorities they were a minority much like themselves and were not deserving of any special privileges as that would be outside the consociational agreement.

Though the English Canadians did not perceive the French Canadians as threatening the local accommodation, the ethnic minorities did; they saw their ethnic enclaves, which had already been weakened by a loss of population, penetrated by French Canadians. In Schumacher the largely Croatian and Italian population was Catholic but they all went to the public school. The French Catholic bishop, however, pressed for introduction of a Catholic school. The local ethnic communities saw this as an attack by the French bishop against their public school system. They knew that it would mean the end of the Schumacher High School which was already having trouble keeping student enrolment up with the dispersal of the ethnic population. Nevertheless the
Catholic school was built and the high school was forced to close. Large numbers of ethnics chose to stay with the public school until it was closed and then went to the Timmins public school.

The introduction of the Catholic school was seen as the first "foot in the door". The French Canadians, bolstered by the availability of Catholic education in their own language, began to move into Schumacher in increasing numbers. A similar development occurred in Porcupine and South Porcupine. Of course much of this population displacement was due to the numerical decline of the ethnic population and the growth of the French Canadian population. But the ethnics did not choose to perceive this development in this way. The ethnic population, both progressive and conservative, saw the introduction of French Catholic schools as one of the biggest changes in the history of the Porcupine Camp; the beginning of the destruction of the consociational alliance.

-Now a lot of French are moving in especially since we got our Catholic school here in Schumacher fifteen years ago. The Croatians stuck to the public school. The bishop wanted the school and the priest got after some of the people.

-The big change here in the Porcupine is the French. They educated them all in French-speaking schools. Then we were all English-speaking - all learning English together. It happened gradually starting with the separate schools here. First in Timmins. That was the big change I've seen; the division of the camp.

The vehemence and extent of this reaction, as well as the fact that it was largely limited to the ethnic communities, can be explained by the local nature of the consociational limitation on dominant group control of political and economic power. The French and English Canadians might well be the most numerous communities but this was not a framework on which they could restrict ethnic access to resources. All groups held equal right to political and economic power (except for the progressives) according to
nominal universal criteria. While Canadian society was being contextually changed to the benefit of the English and French Canadian charter groups, and charter group proprietary claims were confirmed on a national level, they had no such authorization on the local level. The ethnics, in spite of a recent decrease in numbers, retained rights to local status and interests in accordance with the consociational alliance's basic premises. Changes had begun, however, which threatened this consociation as New French Canadian elite groups arose which attempted to revise the alliance.
XI. ELITE REACCOMMODATION

French Canadian Renegotiation

In the postwar period French and English Canadian society developed a new national accommodation. Where French Canadians had previously been subservient to the wider collective structures of Anglo-dominated Canadian society, which symbolically characterized them as a traditional, 'quaint' rural society, e.g. lumberjacks wearing toques (Hopkins 1913), it was now a modern urban industrial system. French and English Canadians were now much more alike but French Canadians found themselves in a position which did not allow equal access to national resources. The more public manifestations of the 'quiet revolution' of the 1960s were an attempt to redress these grievances (Morris and Lanphier 1979:208).

The federal government responded to the 'quiet revolution' with creation of the 'Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Multiculturalism' in 1963. The Commission explored the economic, educational and linguistic disparities between French and English Canadians. In reality it established the new rules of public culture in Canada on both a structural and symbolic level, focusing on language as the expression of culture.

The Commission report of 1967 introduced a policy of institutional bilingualism to offset the destruction of parallel institutions, whose loss was said to be vandalizing French Canadian society. The report favoured a federal policy of institutional bilingualism as a way to create equal opportunities for both English and French Canadians through an alliance.
between the next generation of Anglophones and Francophones. The Commission sought to fortify the declining French Canadian presence outside of Quebec by the introduction of a wide bilingual policy in which Quebec, with its parallel institutions allowing economic and political access to both English and French Canadians, was to act as the model (Morris and Lanphier 1979:209). With government acceptance of the Commission's findings policies were introduced which created a new group of individuals, the 'bilinguals' and gave them unprecedented power both in Quebec and, more importantly, in Ottawa. Whereas before a bilingual was an informal broker now they were to be sanctioned as the new national elite (Morris and Lanphier 1979:210).

These developments, however, did not have a direct effect in the Porcupine Camp as there was a local limitation on any attempt to introduce federal bilingual policy in spite of the fact that there was a substantial English and French Canadian population that might have supported the new accommodation; the consociational alliance was still in force and did not allow for any formal measure of institutional bilingualism. There was as yet no large-scale separation between the ethnic, English and French Canadian communities in the camp. Further the camp was far removed from the major metropolitan centers of power and was only then beginning an economic revival.

This does not imply that the new policies were wholly ineffectual on the whole community. The government's bilingual policy did serve to bolster a new economic and educational elite, both English and French Canadian, in the Porcupine Camp. This new elite was especially powerful within the French Canadian community. It consisted of Catholic school teachers and professionals, especially lawyers. As one ethnic informant defined them; "They have their own circle. Four, five French lawyers, four, five French
doctors—all educated in Montreal. They are very affluent and when you are affluent you are influential. That's how the French problem started here."

They were attempting to acquire resources which were controlled by participants in the consociational alliance. Their only recourse was to try to break down the alliance by forming new institutions in an attempt to force a new accommodation which would recognize their role as brokers.

The first attempts at introducing reaccommodation had been led by French Catholic priests but had been defeated by French Canadian middle class and elite members who chose to maintain the consociation with the Anglos and ethnics. Introduction of a new formation of parallel institutions and brokers threatened their own roles as brokers. The new elite were unsuccessful in their initial attempts but they continued their efforts. However, instead of relying on the leadership of the Catholic priests they began to place greater emphasis on creating local-level institutions particularly through such actions as introducing a French language high school, a French Canadian cultural center and renewed attempts to introduce official bilingualism in local government.

**French Language High School**

The new French Canadian elite which had emerged in the early 1960s and allied with the Catholic Church on the principles of 'nation' and separation had been defeated in their initial attempts to revise the consociation. As a result they turned their attention to a less confrontational approach, supporting the creation of a parallel cultural and language system. The organizational basis of this action was to be the local chapter of the 'Association Canadienne-Francaise d'Education de l'Ontario (ACFEO)'. Though initially concerned with educational issues upon its establishment in 1910 and until the end of the 1960s, ACFEO (ACFO in 1968) became more politically
active in the late 1960s as it pressured the governments for recognition of Franco-Ontarien rights. As part of this process ACFO leaders sought to institutionalize French Canadian communities with schools, cultural centers and militant associations (Savard et al 1977:125).

ACFO found its greatest supporters among the new elite members, lawyers and teachers, of the French Canadian community in Timmins who were the first to support creation of a French language public high school. They were aided in this attempt by the Ontario provincial government’s introduction of legislation favouring French language education in keeping with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

In July 1968 the provincial government adopted Bill 140 recognizing French as a language of instruction in primary schools and Bill 141 which allowed for the establishment of French language secondary schools on the demand of parents. The requests were to be made to local ‘French Language Advisory Committees (FLAC)’ where they would be examined and transmitted to the local school board where the final decision would be made (Lee and Lapointe 1975:23-4). French language rights were said to be part of the price Ontario must pay for national unity (Churchill 1970:445).

Before the French language bills had even become law, the Timmins French Canadian community, under the leadership of the local branch of ACFO, presented a request for a French high school to the Timmins Board of Education. The brief was submitted to the school board in May 1968 and immediately accepted at the same meeting. In contrast to the vehemently negative reaction against introduction of a French language High School in Sturgeon Falls at the same time, the Timmins proposal received little local comment. "What is striking is the absence of briefs, letters to the editor,
or any official stance." (Lapointe and Lee 1975:16). In none of my interviews did any English Canadian express animosity towards creation of the French language high school, which was appropriately named after Father Theriault. The English Canadian mayor (who was a councilor at this time) proudly remarked:

You will find that in comparison to Sturgeon Falls, North Bay, Cornwall, Penetang, Timmins is way ahead. Theriault was the first French language public high school in the province and is now the largest. Nobody said they shouldn't have it and everybody agreed.

The English Canadians, whose financial support was necessary to gain government approval, accepted the creation of this primary parallel institution in part because they had little choice. The French Canadian population was increasing, especially in the town of Timmins, while their own decreased from a high of 11,411 (39.6%) in 1941 to 10,065 (36.2%) in 1951, 8,822 (30.1%) in 1961 and 8,470 (29.7%) in 1971 (fig. 10). They supported the creation of parallel institutions in exchange for French Canadian commitment to a new consociational accommodation with the English Canadians.

The only ones who did not champion parallel French Canadian institutions were the ethnics who lamented what they perceived as a breakdown in the consociation. They regarded the pursuit of French language in the schools as a strategic ploy by the French Canadian elite. "My impression is that they are very French nationalist because it helps their business if they promote this French nationalism." The ethnics, however, were few in number and no longer had a strong institutional framework from which they could oppose the English and French Canadian agreement. The basis of this Anglo-Franco accommodation, however, was a specifically localized interpretation of the bilingual policies being introduced by the federal and provincial governments.
To organizations such as ACFO and the Association of Francophones

Outside Quebec bilingualism was an unfortunate characteristic of Francophones. Anglophones were seen as superior unilinguals who would remain so without the introduction of official bilingualism. In Timmins, however, the bilingual characteristic of French Canadians allowed that the majority of jobs in a bilingually conscious community would go to them.

Most French Canadians in Timmins feel comfortable in the English speaking environment. One need only go down the halls of the French language schools to find the students speaking more often in English rather than French. One young Timmins Francophone responded to a telephone survey question on language use by saying, "So what! I was born French Canadian; now I speak more English than French because of the environment. I must think of the future; I do not live in the past." (Chaperon-Lor 1974:61). This is indicative of a wider pragmatic attitude among many of the younger French Canadians in Timmins who feel that too much dependence on the French language would remove them from contention for jobs. They accept that English is the language of occupation but also realize that their French language ability, even if limited, allows them greater benefits in their local role as bilinguals.

The Anglophones in Timmins have always characterized the French Canadians as 'bilinguals'. The French Canadians were brokers in a consociational community which was on the boundary between a largely French Canadian hinterland and an Anglo Canadian metropolis to the south. It was a role that the Timmins French Canadians willingly accepted as they also perceived themselves as bilinguals. In their comparative study of the introduction of French language schools in Timmins and Sturgeon Falls D. Lee and J. Lapointe recognized the significance of these definitions.
Both in Sturgeon Falls and in Timmins, the Anglophones accept 'bilingualism' for the French and define them as bilinguals...It seems as though the French in Timmins also define themselves as 'bilinguals', while a substantial amount of the French in Sturgeon Falls perceive themselves as essentially Francophones (they even refer to bilinguals as 'vendus'). (Lapointe and Lee 1975:16-7)

The ACTO elite's support of the French language high school did not gain them prestige in the community because they were not credited with having been instrumental in obtaining the school. English Canadians had not reacted against creation of the school as they had done in other Ontario communities (Sturgeon Falls, Cornwall, Windsor) and the French Canadian community did not find it necessary to coalesce into an opposition group (Lapointe and Lee 1975:16). The Anglos did not perceive the high school as a threat to their resources but as a simple redressing of an imbalance. Timmins needed another high school and the equal population numbers ensured that each school could count on an equivalent number of students. Any lingering Anglo animosity over creation of a new school was resolved with a provincial grant to refurbish the English language school and creation of a new school in 1981. The new school stands next to the French language high school and this is pointed out by members of both the Anglophone and Francophone communities as symbolic of their accommodation.

It was clear that the points of integration between the communities were more numerous than their points of separation. Members of the ethnic, English and French Canadian communities all belonged to the same Chamber of Commerce as well as the same clubs and associations. The large number of voluntary organizations in the camp allowed for open channels of communication between the communities at the same level (working class, middle class or elite) of contact (Lee and Lapointe 1974:16).

French Canadian entrepreneurs and lawyers could not and did not,
restrict their clientele to French Canadians alone. Neither did the ethnic or English middle class who, realizing the significant increase of the French Canadian population, began to hire French Canadian clerks in their businesses. The French Canadians did not find it necessary to take confrontational action when informal mechanisms were available to mediate disputes and maintain cohesion (Kerri 1976:32). The French Canadians were able to advance their positions but it was not at the expense of English Canadians.

The limited separation that first the church and later the ACFO elite had thought to sponsor in the Timmins area was illusory not solely, as Clark (1976:112-113) asserts, because French Canadians were limited in their lines of advancement to the northern industrial community whereas the English could advance into the outside world but also because the alliance between the English and French Canadians remained strong. Even creation of a French Canadian cultural center did not significantly sever French Canadian relations with the English Canadian community or threaten the accommodation but eventually added to it.

La Ronde

By 1968 ACFO had broadened its interests from education to creation of a French Canadian infrastructure to act as a base of support and fill the gap left by the declining influence of the Catholic Church (Lamy 1977:15). In Timmins many of the same elite members who had helped in creation of the French language high school (without acquiring community prestige) joined to form a French Canadian centre culturel. The center was called La Ronde and designed to provide the French Canadian community with "stimulation and direction" (Savard et al 1977:127).

Part of the center's purpose was to build up support for the ACFO elite
through judicious control of membership. This control favoured the elites and
the middle class while ensuring that no one who opposed ACFO were accepted
into the center. Former Councilwoman Jeanne Larcher was excluded on the
grounds that she was "pro-British" because she had fought the introduction of
official bilingualism into the town hall. Older members of the French
Canadian community were also excluded as their commitment to French Canadian
identity could not be completely depended upon since they had grown up in an
Anglophone environment.

The ACFO elite, supported by Catholic priests, organized special
meetings at La Ronde in which French Canadian businessmen came to discuss the
formation of parallel business associations. They found, however, that many
French Canadians were ready to deflate any attempt to create parallel
institutions in opposition to existing ones. One municipal employee
informant, one of the individuals who had been instrumental in keeping
bilingualism out of municipal government, remembered one such meeting at
which he took a prominent role. The meeting was led by Father Celestine who
attempted to get French Canadian businessmen to form a separate Chamber of
Commerce. Father Celestine implied that French Canadians should create their
own chamber because they were not welcome in the existing chamber but this
was firmly refuted and a separate chamber never formed.

Father Celestine was leading the meeting and he pointed out that
all the presidents of the Chamber of Commerce were English but I
pointed out that the president at that time was French as were
many of the members of the executive. He then says well that guy
really had to struggle then to get that position. I saw that the
guy was there at the meeting and I asked him and he said it was
horseshit. That the people begged him to become president. The
conclusion was that they would get twenty-five businessmen
together to decide if they should form a separate chamber but I
said the chamber was open to all and anyone who was active could
get to be head. That was the weakness of the French community,
trying to get involved in separate clubs.

Attempts to create a separate community support base were failing. The
French Canadian elite began to lose interest in the center. Working class members of the French Canadian community were already criticizing La Ronde for being elitist. The center was losing support in the community and was in danger of closing.

By the mid 1970s La Ronde was forced to open its doors to a more general French Canadian working class clientele. Even non-French Canadians were welcome to join. Many individuals who had intermarried into other ethnic communities found themselves welcome. La Ronde no longer had connotations of direct political interests in the community. One Croatian informant compared his own ethnic community's preoccupation with politics unfavourably with La Ronde. "Look over there in Timmins they've got a big hall called La Ronde and they've got nothing to do with the FLQ, Quebec, France, nothing. They just go there together and talk in French." Another Croatian informant, who had married a French Canadian, felt more at home at La Ronde than at the Croatian Hall.

I am no longer a member of the Croatian Hall but I am a member of La Ronde and I go there for a cheap beer and go to their dances and listen to the French singing. It is not a nationalist organization. They are interested in French culture. They know me...I go to their Christmas dances and New Years. I speak English with them and there is no problem. They will talk French if you know French and English if you don't, it doesn't matter.

By 1976 La Ronde was once again successful and sought to expand its facilities. They bought two adjoining English Catholic schools for a nominal amount and with grants from the federal and provincial governments created a new Centre Culturel La Ronde which officially opened in 1981. La Ronde now had the finest banquet and social facilities in the region and became the focus for socials, dances and special cultural events. La Ronde expanded its activities with increased participation in the Timmins Winter Carnival. They were able to introduce French Canadian symbols such as toques and the
carnival mascot 'Bonhomme Carnival' (a Québec carnival snowman character). In 1981 La Ronde assumed full leadership of the winter carnival which took on all the connotations of a French Canadian event.

La Ronde's prominence in the French Canadian community should not be overstated for it is as much an informal meeting place as an institution. People go there occasionally to dances or bingo nights and need not have a strong commitment to the center. In the bar the beer is the cheapest in the city and though the bar is supposed to be restricted to members and their guests there was an open policy; many English Canadians could be found drinking with their French Canadian friends.

La Ronde does not even overtly support French Canadian political candidates although at election time local councilors and mayoralty candidates address La Ronde meetings. But they are as likely to address them in English as in French though a few words in French are appreciated. La Ronde is similarly unprepared to support the introduction of official bilingualism on the municipal level. The Timmins Mayor from 1976 to 1981, who was half French and a prominent member of La Ronde and had also fought the introduction of bilingualism in city hall, commented on their influence.

La Ronde is the finest cultural center of its kind in the province. The French all go there. It is what they relate to and not just for the people at the top. They go to dances. A lot of people have the attitude that it is for the bigger ones but there is a strong group in La Ronde that has backed away from L'ACFO. They don't want to be associated with a group that can come on too strong and say that the city be declared bilingual or strong politically. I have had to deal with this. The people on the executive have had their fill of these people and they feel very strongly. They backed away from them. They wanted to be known as a cultural center. A place that you can go and have a chance to express yourself in the French language. They'll back away from anybody who comes on too strong.

Again the only criticism was from the ethnic communities. The center's success in gaining government grants angered ethnic leaders who said the new
center was "undeserved". The leader of the Ukrainian Hall, who was trying to get federal money at the same time, stated that "La Ronde was built for them". The French Canadians were perceived as having been "bought off" by the government. They were not seen as having invested their own time and money but were being bought these new "toys" to placate them. La Ronde was perceived as another threat to the local consociational alliance though in fact it had become an important consociational institution, if only between the English and French Canadian communities.

The ACFO elite was unable to utilize the cultural center to marshall community support. They had committed much of their resources to the creation of La Ronde but it had been wrested from their control and was now supporting their enemies in the consociation. The ACFO elite was in a weak position if they hoped to continue their initiatives.

**Municipal Bilingualism and the Elite**

The Catholic Church had abrogated its leadership in both education and politics in the mid 1960s to the local chapter of the ACFO. While ACFO members were nominally successful in helping to set up the French High School and the French Canadian cultural center they did not marshall community support. Despite this lack of success the provincial ACFO organization represents Timmins as a major center of activity. The local ACFO leadership has become limited to presenting a face of solidarity to the outside world but it cannot sustain any direct confrontation. They are reduced to phoning the Timmins city hall to ask for census data on the percentage of French Canadians in the local population and presenting that data to the provincial and federal governments as a measure of their local support. While ACFO is attended to by federal and provincial governments and given large grants they are unable to present themselves as leaders in the Timmins French Canadian
Similarly French Canadian political leaders from Timmins have always been careful to make a distinction between their internal and external community positions. Thus they may support the introduction of bilingualism in the province of Ontario without implying criticism or conflict at the community level. As a result Timmins MP Ray Chenier could state publically in March 1981 that he did not understand the Francophones in Ontario not demanding their bilingual rights and criticizing the provincial government for refusing to introduce official bilingualism, without criticizing local conditions. On the community level bilingual policy is not an issue discussed by the local, federal or provincial representatives. In the same manner ACFO is recognized by the provincial and federal governments but not recognized in the Timmins area.

Provincially ACFO was able to introduce an important symbol, the concept of 'Franco Ontarienne', as a collective distinction for French Canadians in Ontario to distinguish them from Quebecois who increasingly chose not to be spokesmen for French Canadians outside Quebec. ACFO hoped to use the new symbology of 'Franco Ontarienne' to gain resources and take action on behalf of the French Canadian minority in Ontario. It was a word which came to be accepted by provincial and federal governments and even social scientists but it has little meaning in the Timmins French Canadian community. The majority, especially of the older established group, refuse to acknowledge the word. As one elderly French Canadian informant expressed it, "Do not call me a Franco Ontarienne - that hurts my ass." Others did not recognize the use of the word in conversation. In the community it was clear that they were French Canadian and they had little interest to see themselves redefined for the interests of an overarching collectivity many did not.
recognize let alone affirm.

The ACFO leadership in Timmins were forced to retreat into the local school board. One of the most prominent ACFO leaders in Timmins, lawyer Gilles Racicot, came to chair the board's 'French Language Advisory Committee (FLAC)'. Other leaders such as Dennis Carriere, a French language separate school principal, and Treva Cousineau, a French separate school teacher and wife of a prominent French Canadian lawyer, also became members of the Board of Education and the 'French Language Advisory Committee'. The FLAC committee was to be the new framework for continued pursuit of the local bilingual initiatives. These attempts continued, in spite of the relative frailty of community support, because they were sustained by provincial government policy.

In 1974 and 1975 the Ontario government established a 'Council for Franco-Ontarian Affairs' to advise the government on French language secondary education. New grants were made available and ACFO, especially in Ottawa, gained a large number of new grants as well as unprecedented recognition as spokesman for the French Canadian community in Ontario. In response the Timmins ACFO and FLAC members, buoyed by this new support, moved once again to introduce official bilingualism into municipal government.

This pro-bilingualism faction was led by Treva Cousineau who attempted to have the issue introduced directly to city council. This move alarmed the council. As one former councilor admitted, "When they started pushing it really panicked the council as they were afraid that it would be brought to them and they would have to vote. The councilors could not have won as they would have alienated the population either way." As before, however, French Canadians within city hall opposed the introduction of bilingualism and were able to fight its presentation into council. This group consisted of
clerk-administrator Jules Bergeron, economic administrator Jim Reed and Mayor Mike Doody. Civic officials recommended a stalling tactic through formation of a committee to study the financial costs of bilingualism. The committee was to consist of individuals like the city-administrator and city treasurer who were bilingual and who would have found the proposition economically untenable. This tactic was unnecessary as the mayor made clear to Cousineau that no one in city hall was prepared to support bilingualism.

She was told that the administration could not afford to translate all the material that went out of the office. The mayor, who was half French Canadian, made clear to her that bilingualism was unnecessary as the city hall had many French Canadian employees who could aid those who wanted to be served in French. The mayor confirmed that "We are not about to break down doors that are already open." The pro-bilingualism faction did not receive any support from La Ronde which wished to avoid a political confrontation. On a personal level Cousineau's lawyer husband was losing business as English Canadians refused to utilize his services and French Canadians did not make up for the loss. She and her family also began to receive phone calls criticizing her position. She became identified as a 'troublemaker' who was trying to upset the harmony of the community.

There was no trouble out here until Treva Cousineau started it. She was a school teacher and got on the board of education and she was going to have French in everything—all French council even. All this was doing was causing trouble between French and English which they didn't need because everybody was getting along. It didn't matter if a Frenchman lived next door or not as you got along with him as much as anybody else. She started causing all this trouble until she was told to shut up and I didn't hear much since. Like the mayor he is from Quebec and is French, that helped him get in especially when everybody got fed up with Leo Del Villano. But he told Cousineau that we have French in city hall, French in the Works Department, anytime any French come in here we can always accommodate them. A lot of the French are against her too because all she is doing is causing trouble. I've talked to a lot who said that they didn't need her because they were getting
along 100% before that. Nationality doesn't mean too much up here.

This was an attitude which was forcefully presented by this Anglo Canadian informant but was echoed by ethnic informants and partially, though in a muted manner, by French Canadian informants. In the end the pro-bilingualism leaders were forced to retreat from their positions and remove their bilingual proposition in the face of massive opposition. The local ACFO leadership were further discouraged by a change in policy by the provincial ACFO. The early 1980's were a period of crisis for ACFO. New proposals, which recognized the organization's dependence on provincial government largesse, sought to change ACFO into a political interest group which would seek to influence the provincial government in Toronto. One result was the movement of ACFO's headquarters from Ottawa to Toronto. The corollary of this policy was a de-emphasis on community development and local interests (Frenette 1984). The local ACFO leadership could not accept this change and soon drifted away.

One member of ACFO, Dennis Carriere, allied himself with Anglo Canadians in the newly formed Timmins Museum Committee where he introduced a French Canadian presence for the first time. Gilles Racicot removed himself from affiliation with ACFO feeling that it was no longer a valid organization and limited himself to action within the board of education.

Cousineau, however, switched her emphasis to the provincial level. In 1977 she was appointed by the Ontario government as Timmins representative to the 'Council for Franco Ontarian Affairs (Conseil des Affaires franco-ontariennes)' and was joined in 1980 by Gaston Mallette, founder of Mallette Lumber. Cousineau became chairman of the Timmins Separate School Board in 1980, president of the 'Association des Conseils Scolaires de
l'Ontario' which represented French school trustees and FLAC members throughout Ontario in 1980. She became president of the Ontario School Trustees Council in 1981. Her interests turned increasingly towards general education. In 1982 she ran for an aldermanic seat on the city council on the basis of her parent and education association experience without emphasis on the bilingual issue. She lost out on a seat by a small margin and to no less a figure than former mayor Leo Del Villano who had decided to return to politics.

The pro-bilingualism faction was now largely dispersed but another group of younger supporters were to take their place. They would also pursue bilingual issues but in a less activist and more localized fashion. Instead of relying on the direct promotion of government policy as ACFO was seeking to do they sought to bolster local charter group status through control of heritage and cultural symbols. This was a development which was already being carried out by a new Anglo elite group.

The Museum and The Pioneers

A new English Canadian elite group was developing alongside the ACFO elite. They did not, however, choose to acquire resources through an activist policy. Rather they pursued more circumspect initiatives through attempts to control local historiography; a history which had been de-emphasized in the interest of the consociation but whose manipulation might aid in the acquisition of local status and resources.

The foundation of the Anglo elite's attempts to revise local history was a new institution, the 'Timmins Museum and Exhibition Center'. It was created through the instigation of a small group of English Canadian elite members who were interested in ratifying their families' 'pioneer' status and, therefore, their own elite status. With creation of a museum they
collected, channelled and rearranged the material elements of local history to suit their local interests.

Though primarily interested in a local museum, which could better control local historiography, the Anglo elite found that there was no federal grant money available for creation of a local museum. But there was grant money available for a federally sanctioned 'Exhibition Center'. In 1973 a Museum Committee was created to plan the Exhibition Center. The committee received a federal grant of $100,000 as well as $130,000 from the City of Timmins and began to build on land in South Porcupine supplied by the Dome Mine. The center was built in February 1975 and a director hired to administrate. The director, however, found herself in conflict with a powerful clique within the committee. The director realized that this clique was attempting to change the framework of the center away from the extensive programming of an Exhibition Center towards the limited structure of a local museum in which they would define and control the basis of local history. The elite pressure on the director was such that she was forced to resign. In December 1975 she was replaced by a new director who was more conducive to elite control of local history and plans were made to create a new addition to the center.

In November 1976 the Timmins Museum Advisory Committee, in an effort to further their control of local history, made a submission to the Timmins City Council for establishment of a museum alongside the Exhibition Center. It was emphasized that this museum would be of community interest as it would reflect the 'unique character' of the region on the themes of fur trading, mining, forestry, agriculture and domestic life. The proposal was accepted and the 'Timmins Museum and National Exhibition Center' was completed by the end of 1977 and became the focus of renewed elite activity.
Archival material has been collected only in the short time since the inception of the museum. This has been gathered by elite members of the museum affiliated 'Friends of the Museum (FOM)'. This organization was an Anglo elite dominated voluntary association with particular interest in local history. A recently arrived museum curator described them in this manner:

This group one finds is mostly Anglo-Saxon Protestant and very active in the local Anglican Church. Only 10% of the group is Roman Catholic but 60-70% of the community as a whole is Catholic. Mostly they are people whose families were pioneers or the women are married to pioneers. They are the main community power structure.

The Friends of the Museum included some ethnics particularly the ethnic elite. All could agree on the mutual definitions of 'pioneer heritage'. This was not limited solely to an English Canadian defined boundary but to a general Anglo conformity within which the designation of 'pioneer' was paramount. Nevertheless to avoid including the ethnics in the 'pioneer' designation they were redirected to a museum-sponsored ethnic festival. Despite their efforts the museum elite's definition of pioneer came into conflict with the definition presented by another new organization, the historical society.

The 'Porcupine Camp Historical Society (PCHS)' was formed in 1974 among a diverse and elderly group of Jews, Norwegians, Finns, British and French Canadians. The participants rarely had any major institutional affiliation but they, or their families, had been in the camp since its founding. They, like the Museum elite, considered themselves 'pioneers'.

One would think that a word such as 'pioneer' would have a precise definition. In part it does as it is supposed to be applied to those individuals who were present at the founding of the camp and before the Great Fire of 1911 which destroyed the preliminary camp (Porcupine Advance 30
January 1913, p.1). In this way it can be said to have a clear historical base. But the word has come to be used by individuals who have little claim to its usage.

Pioneer status is a symbol and keeps cropping up in the most modern of contexts and the most recent of conflicts. It is used by some ethnics to justify their status against what they see as an intrusion by French Canadians, especially through the introduction of official bilingualism. It is also used by French Canadians to support their right to local economic and political power as a local charter group. These French Canadians efforts to advance their historical role in the community have come under attack by ethnics in an attempt to illegitimate their contribution. As one Ukrainian leader said, "We ethnics came here and built this town when it was bush and they come in when it is all built. The French act is if they are the pioneers."

It is an important community distinction because the localized elements of historiography, the myths and legends, were not formalized (in the interest of the consociational alliance). Pioneers, however, appear to retain a certain right to define and control the legitimating framework of history, with the right to define the meaning of different symbols. It is little wonder that individuals will fight for their right to hold that status and will try to accumulate evidence to support their assertions.

The community had always defined its pioneers rather openly as those who were here from the inception of the camp but rarely had this included those specifically designated as ethnics. The ethnic communities had their own histories which were not considered part of the general community history. The members of the PCHS, while often consciously attempting to limit their own ethnic designations, were the only group willing to include ethnic
distinctions as part of the general definition of pioneer. They did not wish to be defined as ethnic community pioneers because, under the circumstances, this would have created a number of problems vis-à-vis the host society as well as within the ethnic communities as to who could and should be allowed to designate themselves as pioneers. Instead they presented themselves as pioneers of the Porcupine Camp in general. Thus one participant in the PCHS took great pains to emphasize his larger community status and downplay what had been a radical role in support of union activity and socialism in his ethnic community.

The historical society had realized that local status could be aided through the control of historiography. This placed them in conflict with the museum organization. The PCHS president was reluctant to give any of the historical society's archival materials to the museum since they could be used to support the museum's concept of pioneer status rather than the historical society's version. Any alliance with the museum and the Friends of the Museum would have hindered their attempts to create what they considered a balanced and fair history. As the former President of PCHS, a Jewish-Ukrainian and former public school teacher, remarked;

I think it's important that we get our past down now because pretty soon there won't be any left to tell about the past. It's very important but you know we have to take it for its true value. You've got to remember the right thing. What we want is a true history and not just a French history, not just a Jewish history, not just a WASP history but an overall one...At the time of the fiftieth anniversary of the town of Timmins they asked a woman (now a member of the Museum Committee and FOM) to write a book about the Porcupine Camp. I don't think there was more than a line about the foreign population. It was all about the Anglo-Saxon population. There was one line about Mr. Levinson being a grocer, Mr. Cattarello having a store. You see what I mean. We don't want the picture to be onesided. It does not have to be a unilateral view but a comprehensive report of all.

Yet even within the society itself there were problems in defining and
designating 'pioneer' status. In July 1976 the society had set up an
historical plaque to the 1911 Fire, the primary focus of pioneer status. At
the dedication ceremonies individuals from as far away as Florida came to
participate and ratify their status. A list of pioneers was read out which
included people from all major ethnic communities (though with no attempt to
separate them on that basis). Yet many individuals who had not been here from
the fire, entering the camp in the mid 1920s, were also included and given
the designation of 'pioneers', in part because of their contributions to the
PCHS. Others who had more right to the status (according to length of
residence) were left out and lamented, "You know for a long time I wanted to
be called a pioneer but they wouldn't call me a pioneer. I am going to be
seventy-soon and I hope they call me a pioneer by then."

The plaque ceremony was the highpoint of the PCHS because they were in
virtual control of pioneer status. A short time later the FOM built its local
museum and began to expropriate the pioneer designation. The interim result
was a growing animosity between the leadership of the PCHS and the FOM
culminating in the 1981 expropriation of the historical society by the FOM
who were then able to fully control pioneer and heritage status. The FOM
restructured the historical society to take greater cognizance of the role of
the charter groups and decreased the role of the ethnics. A few French
Canadians, such as former ACFO member Dennis Carriere, allied themselves with
the Anglo Canadians in the newly formed Timmins Museum Committee where they
introduced an overt French Canadian presence for the first time. Other Franco-
elites, however, pursued their own initiatives through manipulation of local
symbols, particularly bilingualism.

Bilingual Symbolism

During the 1980s bilingualism in Timmins became less substantially
important and much more symbolically significant. This was due in part to the provincial ACFO's change of ideology and the local ACFO elite's lack of success in introducing official bilingualism to the municipal level. It was becoming increasingly clear to French Canadians in Timmins that increased access to resources and introduction of official bilingualism was not going to result from government policy. It was also evident that the local-level was more important as an arena for their interests. But within that arena their interests could not be pursued in a direct manner. Only through the control of heritage and local symbols could they add to their local status. The policy of bilingualism was not as significant as local symbolic interpretation of bilingualism. This was made evident with the attempt to introduce the word 'bilingual' into the larger confines of Northern College.

In 1968 the province had created Northern College in South Porcupine as a general arts and technology vocational college. It came to serve a large number of French high schools in the surrounding area and many of its classes were in French. The college was bilingual in all but name. Preference was given to the hiring of bilingual personnel and a French language co-ordinator was hired to provide bilingual services and coordinate activities. This perhaps could be taken by many as the next best thing to a complete triumph but to ACFO and the college FLAC it was a failure. Their goal was the full institutionalization of bilingualism in name as well as form. FLAC and ACFO, however, came up against intransigent college board members who challenged the introduction of institutional bilingualism.

Northern college's French Language Advisory Committee acknowledged the college was doing everything it could for the French Canadian community but felt that the college was still "perceived as unilingual" and that perception had to be changed. The FLAC members introduced a motion in September 1980
that "Northern College will provide services in the French and English languages within the existing enrolment guidelines of the college". The wording was expressly designed to avoid the term bilingualism since it "bothers some members of the board". Members of the board, however, immediately asked if this motion was not synonymous with 'bilingualism' and should be stated clearly as such. The motion was changed to read "will provide bilingual services". The word 'bilingual' became the symbolic issue.

All agreed on the provision of French language services but as one opponent said, "I don't see what Northern College gains by having the tag 'bilingual'." He was answered by the assertion that this was a way to "assure fifty per cent of the population that there is a place for them in Northern College". A small group of supporters at the meeting applauded but this only served to anger those board members in opposition. One member, a French Canadian wife to an Italian Canadian city councilor, felt that if the measure passed it would only serve the FLAC members who would say they had won it all themselves. In an exchange with the leader of the FLAC group she was challenged when asked if French were her mother tongue and she retorted, "First, I am a Canadian!" This only added to the heated exchange. The final vote defeated the motion 5-4. It was clear that the board did not want to give recognition to bilingualism because of its political connotations. The ACFO president said that the board governors had reacted out of fear that if 'bilingual status' was given, even marginally, it would allow francophones to dominate the community.

Timmins Board of Education trustee Jean-Francois Aube came up against a similar difficulty when he tried to introduce a small measure of bilingualism into the board's proceedings in October 1980. He introduced two motions. One asked that "the name Conseil d'Education de Timmins be officially adopted as
the name used by the board when it is referred to in French communications".
The other would allow board receptionists to answer the phones with "Timmins Board of Education, Bonjour" as a courtesy for French speaking taxpayers as was common in many other boards of education in Northeastern Ontario. The other board members disagreed saying that while the French element of the board had to be made evident they were still a public school board and not a bilingual one.

The French language high school in Timmins had been in existence for some twelve years without experiencing any major difficulty but this small change became a major issue. A large group of Anglophone opponents, which included a small number of French Canadians, packed the meeting when the motions were brought to a vote. They applauded when the major motion of a bilingual title was defeated 8-5. The motion on telephone answering was approved only by a 7-6 vote as it allowed an informal indication of French service availability without the stigma of bilingualism. Aubè saw the defeat as an unnecessary reaction by the Anglophone community which was fearful of Francophones exerting their rights. Nevertheless he did not seek to pursue the decision further feeling that it did indicate the true pulse of the community. It was also clear that few French Canadians were prepared to support the motions if it meant a direct confrontation with the Anglo community.

A new and younger French Canadian elite, sons and daughters of lawyers, doctors and businessmen, realized this as well; another pathway was necessary if they hoped to advance their elite interests against the consociation and they soon found it. They turned away from the provincial interest of ACFO towards local control of cultural symbolism in organizations such as the St. Jean Baptiste Society. They realized that symbolism was the
key to success just as the symbolic basis of bilingualism had been the basis of earlier defeats.

Up to this point the St. Jean Baptiste Festival had been a church-sponsored event held every June in which the symbols of French Canadian identity, the Catholic Church, St. Jean-Baptiste, the family and traditional life, were emphasized. The event had been church oriented and defined and as the church was in decline as leader of the French Canadian community so was the festival. The festival, however, was soon restructured by the young elite to serve their local interests.

Yves Mallette, son of the founder of Mallette Lumber, gave up his position as ACFO president and became committee secretary for the St. Jean Baptiste Society in 1980. The next president of ACFO also became committee president of the festivities and was, in turn, followed in that position by the secretary of ACFO. The young elite members had decided to focus on the symbolic elements of culture within their own community as away to build up the French Canadian community rather than seek to revise the local consociation through direct means.

In this manner they were able to integrate French Canadian community institutions, including La Ronde, the church and the French language schools, ostensibly for a traditional religious celebration in honour of the patron saint of French Canadians, but also for their own interests. What had been a muted church festival became a focus of local community identity.

On St. Jean Baptiste Day in June 1980 the French Catholic Bishop said an open air mass with a huge Franco Ontarian flag (fleur di lis and trillium) developed by ACFO, symbolically in the background. Emcee at the festivities was the local federal grants officer who gave out the money for special projects in the community. Most of these grants have gone to French Canadian
groups carrying out historical projects which have redefined the cultural
history of the region and added support for French Canadian charter group
status or, more precisely on the local-level, pioneer status. Resources,
especially cultural resources, became more valued and open to competition as
the new museum director was to find out.

I really didn’t realize the divisions until I was in a position
to give out money, I was a recommender for money to artists. There
was $15,000 and I tried to make sure that the money went out 50%
to the French since the town is 50% French. I created a committee
of two French, two English and two neutral but it was like a bomb.
I started out on the premise there wasn’t any animosity because
they all told me there wasn’t any but when it came down to the
dollar and money was being given out, it was a different story.
Out of the twenty-six applications only one was French and the
French members of the committee said they should give $7,000 to
the one French applicant and the remainder to be split up among
the English applicants. There was a real fight. I disbanded the
committee. Either you decided along linguistic lines or along
creative lines. Even this guy was of mixed origin as he was
Italian and French. That was the first time I was caught and I
resented the spot I was in. I thought of it purely in terms of
giving out money to artists. Wonderful. But it blow up and I gave
it up.

A number of the young ACFO leadership were also involved in the
creation, in October 1980, of a French language newspaper in Timmins, Le
Raconteur. The ACFO secretary was in charge of administration and Yves
Mallette, former ACFO president, wrote the first editorial. The paper took a
middle-of-the-road approach acting as a general information newspaper rather
than rallying point for the Francophone community though the contributors
hoped the paper would become spokesman for the Francophone community. The
newspaper did not last beyond its first few issues because the Francophone
population was not prepared to support a French language paper. They were
already served by an English language paper or, if they chose to read French
language papers, there was the regional newspaper Le Nord which was published
in Hearst as well as newspapers or tabloids from Ottawa and Montreal. The
French Canadian population in Timmins was larger than ever but they were not ready to support a newspaper or even elect members to city council.

French Canadians form a large enough percentage of the Timmins population to control municipal government but have not chosen to do so. In the 1980 municipal election one of the two mayoralty candidates was a Francophone and the other an Anglophone who eventually won. The majority of the French Canadian community in Timmins voted for the Anglophone candidate who was judged on his local merits of experience and being well known in the community. In a street pole of six French Canadians in the French language paper Le Raconteur, five favoured the Anglo candidate and only one the French candidate. The single supporter, however, chose to base that support on his being a Francophone. "C'est un candidat francophone qui peut servir mieux que ses adversaires, les residents de langue francaise de Timmins." (Le Raconteur 5 November 1980, p.3)

The results of the 1980 election found not a single French Canadian member of council, even though the council included Ukrainian, Croatian and Italian Canadian members. One French Canadian informant, who opposed bilingualism, feared that this must be the start of the long awaited Anglophone 'backlash'. Most French Canadians, however, did not seem to feel that the results were an attack on their community. They considered the best councilors had been elected and the French Canadian candidates were generally seen as inexperienced and not deserving of election. They also felt it did not make a difference because there were already personnel in municipal government who spoke French. In the meanwhile the French Canadian young elite continued to expand their control of cultural symbols.

In 1981 the ACFO president of the St. Jean Baptiste celebrations was succeeded on the committee by the secretary of ACFO who was also to become
local coordinator for the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation sponsored 'Heritage Festival' which would introduce a wider definition of French Canadian heritage, as will be seen later. The St. Jean Baptiste festival now took on a wider symbolic importance. As one member of ACFO said, "Les fetes de la St-Jean c'est l'occassion de re flechir sur notre heritage, notre identite."

The alteration was from an emphasis on social change to a reliance on cultural symbols which could be utilized to bring about social change and break down the consociational alliance. The shift was to a surreptitious control of local symbols which, though it did not appear to be confrontational and did not seem to threaten the consociation, aimed for its restructuring (Lee and Lapointe 1979:100-105). This change was paralleled within ACFO itself as the younger and more militant members joined with the conservatives in 1984 to repudiate the policy changes which favoured provincial over local interests (Frenette 1984).

The French Canadian and English Canadian elites in Timmins developed a new accord outside of the consociational alliance. The French Canadians in particular assumed a new role as a dominant charter community but both elites retained the right to control local historiography. Now the ethnics found that they had to respond to a community framework which was being changed before their eyes. They had to compete with increasing English and French Canadian restrictions on access to local economic and political resources, notably through the revision and control of local history and heritage. Their response would come in the formation of a new panethnic alliance which sought to compete directly with the charter communities.
XII. ETHNICITY AND THE NEW ACCOMMODATION

Ethnic Reactions To An Increasing Bilingual Framework

The ethnics in the Porcupine Camp were placed in an increasingly tenuous position as a result of postwar accommodation between French and English Canadians. Nationally the ethnics appeared to have little recourse to economic and political power as they were being circumscribed into an 'ethnic group' status increasingly defined by the two dominant groups control of federal government policy (i.e. traditional, non-political). This was enshrined in the 1968 policy of official bilingualism which effectively restricted ethnic access to a sphere of public action defined increasingly to the benefit of two dominant (i.e. charter) groups and languages with the ethnics set aside as cultural anomalies. Even the introduction of the policy of multiculturalism in 1971, which was designed as a conciliatory redressing of this imbalance under ethnic political pressure, only served to accentuate charter group power because multiculturalism was made subservient to bicultural policy.

The local consociational accommodation, however, continued to allow for ethnic input (through a partial assimilation to the Anglophone community). The ethnics had committed themselves to the consociation and lost the enclave based relationships which had partially guaranteed their intracommunication and social support. Social networks of a less ethnic and more universal (and Anglo) orientation served as a framework for communication and support. In the face of French Canadian encroachment on their enclaves as well as status,
the ethnics placed their trust in Anglophone community reactions. But changes were occurring on the community level which resulted in a new elite accommodation between the English and French Canadian communities. The ethnics did not react against the Anglos, their erstwhile allies, whom they accepted as the dominant community, but they did react against French Canadians who gained new local status which the ethnics perceived as undeserved. The ethnics felt they were being forced to respond to French intrusions in situations to which they had already adapted to in English.

-(Italian)- Everything here is now bilingual. You go into the stores and everything is turned to the French side. Whatever you go to buy the French labels are all to the front. You go to Bucovetsky's here—a Jewish department store—and they have a sale and first its in French.

-(Croatan)- My daughter used to work in a pharmacy which her cousin owned and she speaks a little French. But what burned her was that the French would come in and she knew they spoke perfect English, but they would only want to have the girl who was French take care of them.

-(Croatan)- I went to Mike's Supermarket and there is a girl there I went to for years and she started speaking in French to me. I spoke to her in Croatian and she stopped. She said in English that she did not understand and I said that I didn't understand her and I was bilingual as much as her. If there is a group of Croatians talking and a couple of English come in they will speak in English but the French do not do that; they just keep talking French. English should be the first language here.

This has led one ethnic leader to comment upon what he saw as a situational change in the rules of the 'game' which no longer allowed for ethnic participation. This was based on a precise understanding of the local consociational alliance; that the ethnics had given up their institutions in the interest of the alliance but now found French Canadians gaining new institutions (e.g. schools) which served their local interests outside of the alliance.

The French schools were here but the priests did not let anybody get in unless they were French and Roman Catholic. As a result
there was no way for us to get French education then. Now the French have created bilingualism and no one speaks French except the French. Everything was open to them in English. The change puts all the ethnics out of business. All provincial and federal offices are now in French. One Frenchman gets in and he hires only other Frenchmen. Ethnic groups are starting to boil and I see things developing like in Czechoslovakia or Northern Ireland. Ethnics get a job only accidentally when they do not have a Frenchman.

The ethnics perceive that there had been a change in the consociational rules on which they had come to depend, which has left them with few institutional bases from which to compete for local resources, particularly jobs. Any position which became available outside of the mines, especially in the federal or provincial government, in which the bilingualism is institutionalized or municipal government, where it is informalized, meant that their children would not get the jobs if a bilingual person applied even with less qualification. As one Croatian informant argued:

The problem here is that when they ask for bilingualism in a job it is the French who will get it. They are all as English speaking as anybody but they are also bilingual as not too many of our kids speak French. The last few years the different ministries have been hiring here in Timmins and who gets the jobs? Not the ethnics!

While ethnics perceive French Canadians affecting their access to jobs, the English Canadians rarely mention this as a reason for their displeasure, if they mention any reason at all. English Canadians do not feel threatened in this environment; their control of jobs has not been hindered.

Although ethnics were able to gain positions on the city council these representatives were elected from a large ward rather than from a single enclave and were not fully committed to an ethnic client group. The city council positions were also often secondary to the more stable civic bureaucracy positions which were controlled by English and French Canadians. The French Canadians were also increasing their numbers in the mines (though
rarely as gatekeepers). The French Canadians were becoming the new dominant group in the Porcupine area and their influence became pivotal in the new structure of local relations.

French and English Canadians successfully acquired jobs and local positions in government and service industries while the ethnics have been forced to either yield to the new alliance or move south. Many have chosen to leave but those that have remained have responded with greater emphasis on restricted ethnic relations as an important framework for the acquisition of local resources. They focussed on promoting ethnic interests, if only on a limited basis.

This is possible for a number of reasons not the least of which is that the ethnics, by reason of seniority, now occupy the key positions of employment gatekeepers in the mines, positions which had formerly been denied them. These ethnic gatekeepers have a reduced ethnic clientele due to ethnic migration out of the camp but they now utilize their positions more precisely than before to channel members of their own and allied ethnic communities into jobs in the mines. Remnants of the ethnic communities, weakened by migration, were strengthened. The president of the Croatian Peasant Party, because of his role as foreman at Texas Gulf, channelled Croatians and Italians into the mine. He asserted they made better workers than the French Canadians. In the same manner Italians at the Dante Club channelled Italians into Texas Gulf knowing that this is the most modern and stable mine as well as paying the best wages.

One result is that while many French Canadians have entered the major mines few have risen far in their positions. One estimate, by the city economic administrator, is that only 2% of the supervisory personnel at Texas Gulf are French Canadian. Gatekeeper is one of the few
economic control mechanisms the ethnics have left in the community and they compare it to a similar situation at Mallette Lumber whereby only French Canadians are hired. Paradoxically while continuing to support the consociational alliance the ethnic gatekeepers channelling of ethnics, Croats and Italians in particular, into jobs at Texas Gulf has weakened the Steelworkers union as an important consociational institution. This is because Texas Gulf is a non-union mine (one reason for the higher wages); many ethnics are thus giving up their unionism and come to rely on the ethnic gatekeepers who helped them get their jobs. As a result this has added to the further decay of the consociational alliance and increased ethnic reliance on ethnic criterion.

The ethnics place the blame for their increasingly marginal position in Timmins on federal bilingual policy and the Liberal party which they state has addressed itself solely to French Canadian interests. Just as the ethnics place their trust in the Anglo community to hinder attempts to introduce municipal bilingualism they also trust their Anglo provincial representatives to ensure that bilingualism never becomes entrenched in the province. They perceive the provincial government as being the only government that can address their interests. As a result there has been an increase in the number of ethnics who are supporters, if not members, of the provincial Progressive Conservative party. As one Croatian leader remarked:

The Liberal party is for the French. Trudeau is no good because he is just using the power to bring the French in and takeover. But I know (Ontario Premier) Davis and (MPP) Pope. They will never let bilingualism into Ontario. They will talk and say different things but I know them and they will never let it happen.

Not all French Canadians are similarly criticized. Many are set apart. They are termed as the "good French" because of their commitment to the consociational alliance and their invariable attitude against bilingualism.
Some participate in special events set up by the ethnic institutions, such as the Dante Club or Ukrainian Hall, to the extent that they are often considered "honorary ethnics." Some have, through intermarriage, even become accepted as members of the ethnic communities.

Intermarriage, however, also serves to ostracize those individuals who refuse to participate in the ethnic communities. A number of my ethnic informants have married French Canadians and chose to opt out of their communities. As a result they became identified derogatorily by other ethnics as 'French'. These individuals are not committed to French institutions but their children often go to the French language schools and are thus becoming 'bilinguals' who will have greater access to local jobs. These individuals are in an advantageous position in the community because they can take advantage of any new accommodation between the English and French Canadians. They rarely think of leaving the area for their children have a future here.

The majority of ethnics, however, continue to feel themselves restricted by the French Canadian advancement (as well as a new Anglo-Franco accommodation). As one old Croatian miner lamented, "When I go down into the mine now all I hear is French. This is the first time I felt like a foreigner since I came to Canada." It was a feeling echoed by many ethnic informants and was indicative of changes in the consociational alliance to which the ethnics must respond or eventually be forced to conform or migrate.

Timmins Ethnic Festival Committee

The ethnics had to respond to revisions in the local consociation by either maintaining the consociation or competing for a position in the new accommodation. The basis for these efforts would be a new organization, 'The
Timmins and District Ethnic Festival Committee, which formed around the museum-sponsored ethnic festival that had been originally designed to divert ethnic attention from the new accommodation.

The Timmins Ethnic Festival was first introduced in 1974 through the instigation of the first museum director. The festival was essentially an exhibit of national heritage, with material supplied by national embassies in Ottawa, under museum sponsorship and control. It was not indicative of local ethnic interests at the time. The director had trouble getting the different communities to cooperate as they had little initial interest in participating. Local participation was largely from those individuals who were members of the newly formed 'Friends of the Museum' and the 'Porcupine Camp Historical Society' rather than from ethnic institutions.

The museum director that succeeded her continued sponsorship of the 'Timmins' Ethnic Festival' but instead of having weekly displays at the museum by different ethnic national groups, opted for a one day and more 'ethic group' oriented festival. She invited the ethnic communities to participate, specifying that it would be "an ideal opportunity for Timmins' ethnic communities to share their cultural heritage with the broader community in which they live." (Timmins Porcupine News, 3 March 1976) The change in format emphasized a government defined 'ethnic group' designation and ostracized the French Canadians at La Ronde who, though they had participated on the basis which defined only general cultural heritage, now refused to participate on the basis of 'ethnic group' as this did not recognize their charter status on either a local or national level (Jackson 1975:25). The museum director also realized the problem:

The idea was just to have a party where the people could say that 'This is my heritage.' The French group might have thought that this was cutesy and might have segregated them from being
Canadian. The Scottish and English groups were there. We approached La Ronde but it is hard to know which is the official authority for the French community.

The Timmins Museum's sponsorship of the ethnic festival compares with the Royal Canadian Legion's sponsorship of ethnic participation in the 1935 Jubilee and ethnic extension of the festival into an annual cultural festival. In both the basis was similar for only the politically 'loyal' ethnic groups were allowed to participate. At both times the ethnics were being differentiated and removed from the arena of competition but the difference lay in the fact that the Ethnic Festival Committee emerged as a powerful interest group in its own right against attempts by the English and French Canadian communities to circumscribe ethnic status.

The ethnic representatives in the ethnic festival were often remnants of the 'loyalist' ethnic communities who had participated in 1935 Jubilee Celebration but who had since largely lost their institutional base. The Ukrainian representative was the former nationalist leader of the Prosvita Hall organization. She became a member of the FOM at its founding and was involved when the ethnic festival was first proposed. She soon assumed much of the responsibility to get the ethnic communities to participate. The first chairman of the ethnic festival organization was leader of the Scottish St. Andrews Society but was succeeded in 1976 by the Ukrainian representative who held the position for the next four formative years.

The festival was originally known as the 'Timmins National Exhibition Center's Summer Ethnic Festival' but its initial success created interest in the ethnic communities. Ethnic leaders began to be intrigued by the possibilities for the new organization. Many of their organizations were either defunct or in the process of disintegrating due to a lack of membership and disinterest. The committee could serve them as a means to ally
weak organizations and associations into a strong alliance which could take collective action to maintain local ethnic status and access to local resources against English and French Canadians attempts to restructure the consociation in their favour.

The 1976 Festival was held in the South Porcupine arena and included participation by the Polish White Eagle Society, the Italian Ethnic Association of the Dante Club and the Ukrainians. Native Indian dancers also participated under the auspices of the local Ojibway-Cree Cultural Center. The Ojibway-Cree center is the headquarters of the Treaty Nine Organization which is concerned with Native Indians in the Northern Reserves, though not in Timmins where they are few in number (fig. 10). Timmins was simply a convenient midway point for its headquarters and even the dancers provided for the festival had to be brought in from Moosenee.

The members of the committee realized that operation as a purely ethnic group association would bring them under federal multicultural control and limit the association's ability to compete for local resources. As a result they began to change the framework of the association from a general ethnic group to a localized ethnic community organization which essentially opposed federal multicultural policy. The localized nature of this emphasis permitted the organization to compete for local status and resources against charter community initiatives and attempts to refute ethnic status. They chose to exclude federal control of local symbols and even began to repudiate federal grants. The committee became increasingly independent under the leadership of the Ukrainian representative.

The festival continued to ask for small grants when they found it necessary to bring in outside entertainment but, as they grew in size and strength, they placed more emphasis on local talent and input "to reflect the
culture of the community". The committee began to debate whether they should ask festival patrons for voluntary contributions or charge admission instead of relying on grant money of any kind.

The extent of this local commitment was made apparent in a vote taken during the November 1976 meeting on whether or not the name 'ethnic' should be retained in the festival title or whether it should be changed to the more neutral term of 'multiculturalism' which would be in keeping with federal initiatives and might possibly help to interest French Canadians in joining the organization. The change, however, would have introduced ethnic group restrictions and limited local ethnic initiatives. The resulting vote was overwhelmingly in favour of retaining the word 'ethnic' and the festival was renamed 'The Timmins Summer Ethnic Festival'.

So many groups became interested in participating in the revised organization that a special meeting was held in February 1977 in which representatives from those groups who had previously participated in the ethnic festival, Italian, Indian, Scottish, Irish, Ukrainian and Polish, were joined by representatives from the Slovak, Hungarian, Greek, Jewish, French (not French Canadian), Croatian, Dutch and West Indies groups. A film of the 1976 festival was shown and speakers from the previous year's participants gave an account of their activities in order to benefit those organizations contemplating joining the festival.

The 1977 Summer Ethnic Festival, held in the South Porcupine arena, was largely separate from direct museum control. The festival participants included Scots, Indians, Italians, Ukrainians, Poles, Croatians and Hungarians, with some 3,000 people in attendance. In 1979 the ethnic festival, having outgrown the South Porcupine Arena, was moved to the larger and more central McIntyre Arena in Schumacher. There were now some thirteen groups
participating, including Croats and Philipinos. The success of the festival continued to add to the self-respect of the ethnic communities.

The festival organization continued to be reflective not only of new ethnic initiatives but also of past political confrontations and continuing personal battles within the ethnic communities. It accepted only those individuals who had previously belonged to the loyalist rather than progressive ethnic communities. Whenever anyone became interested in including members from the progressive communities the Ukrainian chairman of the committee was quick to insist they not be included because they were all "Communists". The association, however, included many who were not interested or knew little about the old politics which had divided and defined the ethnic communities. These were the new postwar immigrants such as among the Finns, as well as totally new immigrants communities such as the East Indians. All agreed on the necessity of a new local ethnic alliance.

The festival organization members, in their belief in consociational organization, considered themselves to be equals among equals no matter a community's actual population or representative's actual support within the ethnic community. The Italian group, which was by far the largest, had only two votes in the committee, as much as many smaller groups. The representative of the West Indies had only one vote but she was the only member of her group in the camp. It was an odd situation in which the movement of a single family out of or into the community could either subtract or add to the ethnic representativeness of the committee. Numbers meant little; only representation and unity in the alliance.

The festival committee met once a month on a regular basis at different ethnic halls and churches. Each meeting was hosted by an ethnic community or organization whose members would provide ethnic foods and a presentation on
their particular group to help educate the others. Some groups did not have
institutions but were able to use other member's facilities with interesting
combinations. A meeting held in 1978 at St. Mary's Rumanian Orthodox Church
was hosted by the Scots, a meeting at the Polish White Eagle Hall by the East
Indians and at the Italian Dante Club by the Germans. This served to maintain
cohesiveness between the groups as new social networks were formed and
strengthened (Kerri 1976:32).

This also points to the fact that the actual purpose of the committee
is in fact not the 'Timmins Summer Ethnic Festival', a one day celebration.
One has only to join in the meetings of the committee to realize that
festival preparations are handled speedily in a few meetings before the date
of the festival. The meetings are actually designed to acquaint participants
with other individuals and groups in order to develop a closer consociational
alliance between leaders and ethnic communities. The committee has become the
basis of leadership in the specific ethnic communities. This leadership is
self-defined whereby if one is accepted into the committee then one becomes
the representative of an ethnic community. The committee is thus able to
build a strong core of committed individuals who are able to marshall a small
but effective group of participants for the festival and for competition for
specific resources.

This was further made evident in March 1978 when the Festival Committee
was reorganized into "The Timmins and District Ethnic Association". Its new
constitution listed its objectives as:

a) to promote friendly tolerance and understanding among all
people of whatever background they may be.

b) to take the opportunity wherever possible in utilizing local
communications media.

c) to organize and prepare the yearly "Timmins Summer Ethnic
Festival".

d) to conduct seminars of each group's cultural and historical
background so that ignorance about ourselves will be kept to a
minimum.

Each organization appointed two members with voting powers to the
committee. Officers were to consist of a president, vice-president, secretary
and secretary-treasurer. The constitution emphasized that "Members shall
respect the heritage and culture of any group of people of whatever ancestry
they may be." The result was a cohesive institution in which the individual
organizations were secondary to the larger association.

The individual organizations did not address the host community as
separate entities except under the umbrella of the larger committee. They
were admonished if they took individual action on the community level as
local cohesiveness was seen as a necessary condition of their collective
survival. On a provincial or federal level they could present themselves as
representatives of ethnic communities but on the community level the true
nature of their support was open to conjecture. At this point they had to
present a united front behind the festival committee.

The committee had to build up its strength. As a result it was forced
to limit its initiatives to the festival though its interests were certainly
broader. Bilingualism was a major concern for many participants who pressed
the committee leaders to take a stand against "the bilingual problems in the
city and province". The committee leaders, realizing their own weakness,
decided that they should not take part in a what was perceived as a
"political controversy". They said it was up to the individual groups to take
a stand on the problems if they wished but the association had to abide by
its own principles.

In point of fact the committee leaders often stated that they wished to
get the French Canadians to join in their organization (in a revised

- 335 -
consociationalism) but they had little reason to believe this could succeed. The Ukrainian chairman often remarked that she wanted French Canadians to join (on ethnic terms) but at other times she seemed to consider both the Communists and the French Canadians as equally unfit to join the committee.

Why should the French come to us when they have everything on a silver platter. They don't want to join anything because they have got everything. They have that building which the government pays for with their own restaurants and shops so why be interested in this. They did not belong with us, them and the Communists, those two.

The committee's initiatives continued even with a change of leadership. In 1979 a new festival committee executive was elected. The former Ukrainian leader did not run for another term. She was succeeded by the representative of the Daughters of Scotland (who was married to a representative of the Polish group). The vice president, a Romanian Orthodox priest and leader of the Romanians, was succeeded by the leader of an increasingly strong Finnish group. The former secretary, leader of the Polish group, was succeeded by the West Indies representative while the Polish representative took over the treasurer's position vacated by the new president.

A new proposal to change the name of the organization to multicultural from ethnic was again presented at the opening meeting in November 1980 but defeated as the name 'Timmins Summer Ethnic Festival Association' was reaffirmed. The members of the committee continued to believe that any change would be kowtowing to the French Canadians. The festival committee had again not chosen to deal with the concept of multiculturalism, choosing to keep the boundaries of their arena self-defined rather than defined by overarching governmental structures they had little access to and less control over. They could control the basis of ethnic community to a much greater extent.

The committee would not abrogate their roles as local ethnics as they
had been able to develop new alliances and resources on that basis. They would not redefine themselves as multicultural, circumscribed ethnic groups, in which they would have to develop new alliances and have limited access to resources. As one Rumanian informant affirmed, "We are not multicultural; we are ethnics."

The festival committee's stance appeared to be succeeding if the festival was any measure. Over 4,000 people came for the one day event in 1980. The festival's influence could also be measured by their ability to bring in the local MP and MPP as well as mayor and councilors to address the festival and pay deference to their power (even though it may well be illusory if put to the test). The local MPP, Allan Pope, confirmed to the festival participants the contributions of the ethnic communities by pronouncing the festival as an example of the "history and tradition that has contributed to the national identity of all." MP Ray Chenier sent a message which said the festival "demonstrates the great vitality and sense of tradition shared by the ethnic groups that work and live in this community". Mayor Doody said they could all be proud to live in a country, province and community with the spirit shown by the festival. Alderman Power, who was to succeed Doody as mayor, added that "This is what Timmins is all about - all of these different sorts of people working together." (Timmins Daily Press 14 July 1980, p.3)

The committee was also aided and encouraged by the large ethnic representation on the city council; Ukrainian, Italian and Croatian councilors, with no French Canadian representation. This was taken by committee participants as a measure of their own local success though it was certainly not a result of ethnic community initiatives. The elected representatives, however, often began to perceive themselves as ethnic
representatives and were quick to support local grants to offset committee costs. Committee members were also more inclined to address the councilors according to their ethnic affiliations and ask for their aid in committee affairs.

Committee interests expanded with committee influence. Continued changes in committee leadership again did not alter committee initiatives. When there was a leadership turnover in 1980-1981 the presidency went to the representative of the East Indian community, the Finnish vice-president continued in that position while one of her co-leaders in the Finnish group became secretary of the committee and the Polish leader continued as treasurer. This new leadership continued to try to make the committee independent of federal initiatives. The new president also began to think of branching out into more activities throughout the year as he wanted to de-emphasize the festival. He commented that "I would rather not have that frozen (festival) image in that way. We should be able to get more involved and see what kind of contribution we can make to the community. Not through the festival alone but a much more direct contribution."

The committee could not have continued to put on the festival indefinitely since the novelty was wearing thin. The president had to expand festival committee interests. The Croatian leader suggested that the committee take over operation of the Dominion Day (Canada Day) festivities which had been weakened by a lack of consociational support.

With the change in emphasis to new symbology, limited resources in all communities have been committed to cultural celebrations such as the Winter Carnival, St. Jean Baptiste Festival and the Ethnic Festival as well as to newly revised institutions such as the Timmins Museum, La Ronde, the Croatian Hall, the Dante Club and the Ethnic Festival Committee. One result has been
that, in contrast, the large-scale consociational celebrations, such as Dominion Day or Canada Day, have declined in their importance and have not been held in recent years because of a lack of interest. The Canada Day celebrations had previously been supported by consociational organizations such as the Moose and Lions but they have been losing membership while the new cultural organizations were gaining support. In a small community there are only so many organizations and celebrations an individual can support and Canada Day, symbolically, has suffered in the contest.

Any committee attempt to vitalize and operate the local Canada Day celebrations this would force their recognition as integral parts of local and national society. But it would also entail a greater commitment of resources and direct confrontation with the charter communities which they could not yet afford. They remained committed to the festival but options for direct competition with the charter communities remained available. The festival president seemed to be preparing for just such a confrontation though he continued to hope that the French and English Canadians would join the ethnics in a new consociational accommodation.

They look at us and they will say that they only do the festival, dances, sell food and artifacts. When we become stronger and more vocal that is the time we will really know who our friends are. This is what we have to do and what I will do. I don't see a great deal of problem with the other groups as there will not be a clash of interest. We will still be plugging and maybe the French and English will join with us. But I am not really concerned that they do join us if we as a group do contribute something tangible. There won't be a problem. Why the Governor-General himself is an ethnic.

The Timmins and District Ethnic Festival Committee has become the pivotal panethnic institution in Timmins. Its purpose was to represent ethnic communities which no longer had the cohesion or ability to represent themselves and to take public action on their behalf. The Ethnič Festival
Committee maintained the ethnic position in the community against local and national intrusions. It had to contend with local initiatives from the FOM, La Ronde and the St. Jean Baptiste Society which were attempting to create a new accommodation between the English and French-Canadian communities. It must also contend with provincial and federal government policies which continue to introduce new variety into the local arena to which the committee and its members must respond. In order to carry this analysis further it is necessary to examine the organizations involved in the festival committee as well as their relation to the committee and their own ethnic communities. This will provide a counterpoint to an examination of their opponents within the ethnic communities and to a concluding examination of the influence of governmental policies in creating new bases for public action.
XIII. ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS

Ethnic Festival Groups

The Timmins and District Ethnic Festival Committee consists of a diverse and fluctuating group of ethnic representatives. The committee is not only illustrative of recent ethnic initiatives but indicative of past confrontations over class and ethnic community politics. It is therefore necessary to examine some of the ethnic institutions and individuals involved in the festival committee in order to understand their relationship to the committee and the community.

The Chinese form a specific ethnic community which has maintained an occupational niche in the restaurant industry since the inception of the Porcupine Camp. Nevertheless they have no single-institution or leadership. A 'Chinese Community Center' exists but it is mostly an old folks home rather than a representative institution. A Protestant church also functions as a meeting place for a small Chinese subgroup.

This is not to say that the Chinese have not attempted to participate in the community. They joined in the fiftieth anniversary ceremonies of the town of Timmins in 1962 but have not attended a similar public forum since. They were offended because their contributions to the anniversary ceremonies went largely unacknowledged in the anniversary booklet. The Chinese are not interested in joining the festival committee and often perceive the ethnics, French and English Canadians as a single 'white' group which has always discriminated against them.
Other small ethnic communities, such as the Jews and the Filipinos, have become associate members of the festival committee. Their activity, however, is restricted to finding out the date of the festival and showing up on that day. The Jews no longer have the community numbers to support direct involvement and in the last few years have not chosen to participate, especially as the festival's growth necessitated greater commitments. Similarly the Filipinos did not participate in 1981 feeling it was too much trouble to get their people involved.

The Germans forms a relatively large community in the Porcupine Camp but remain a small, though important, section of the ethnic committee. They are recent immigrants who choose to present the 'Bavarian' aspect of their cultural identity, wearing lederhosen and placing their emphasis on sauerbraten und strudel. The German Ethnic Association is an informalized social network among a group of friends and acquaintances. This includes one lady who is married to a Chinese gentleman with the paradoxical result that her husband often helps in the German exhibit in the festival. The German group, in spite of its small size, has the potential to expand and become a dominant ethnic association especially as there is little internal community division which might create an opposing leadership.

The Polish representatives to the committee are leaders of the local chapter of the Polish White Eagle Society which, like the Ukrainian Prosvita, was created in the early 1930s as a loyalist institution. Its membership changed in the postwar period as prewar members were replaced by a new influx of immigrants who swelled the hall's membership. But in a short time the Polish population of the town of Timmins dropped from 1,018 in 1961 to 575 in 1971 (fig. 10). The hall was threatened with closure until interest was revived with participation in the ethnic festival.
The Rumanian group is a small association formed around 'St. Mary's Rumanian Orthodox Church'. Their representative in the festival committee is the church priest who has a great influence on the committee. He was vice-president of the committee and is able to speak a number of languages including German, Croatian and Ukrainian. As such he can converse with most of the committee members in their native languages. He is particularly influential among the Croatian and Ukrainian groups and supports their stand against including 'Communist' groups in the committee. He is often the only spokesman for his small association which means that Rumanian participation on festival day is limited. In 1981, there was no Rumanian exhibit simply because two Rumanian ladies who the priest depended on to create the exhibit had gone on vacation at that time.

The Ukrainian representation is closely allied to the Rumanians and Poles but their organization consists almost solely of a small Ukrainian Catholic Women's Association led by the major Ukrainian leader. The Ukrainian leader's participation and commitment to the festival association, however, has given the Ukrainians an inordinate power within the committee even though their community has been greatly reduced.

The Scots form a particularly important group within the committee. The first chairman of the ethnic festival was a Scot. The Scottish presence within the association is twice as great as any other community since they have two organizations in the committee with each having two votes. The other festival representatives recognize the importance of the Scots and do not feel that this is too much representation for one community. The two Scottish organizations in the committee, local chapters of the 'St. Andrew Society' and the 'Daughters of Scotland (Loch Lomond Camp no. 23)' grew out of the large influx of Scottish immigrants into the camp in the early 1950s when...
many of the ethnics began to leave. The Scots are in many ways the strongest ethnic community in the camp since, as new arrivals, their families are intact and have not yet migrated out. The local chapter of the Daughters of Scotland was formed in the mid 1960s and the St. Andrew Society in 1972 in an effort to develop their culture rather than in response to federal multicultural policies. Multiculturalism as a government policy did not interest them and they did not seek financial assistance feeling that government funding was a crutch they could do without. They promoted their culture on their own and in 1973 created the 'School of Gaelic Arts', held each July at Northern College, which brings teachers from Canada and Scotland to teach bagpipes, drums and Scottish dancing.

The Scots were the strongest cultural group in Timmins when the idea of an ethnic festival was first proposed in 1974 and they immediately became its leaders. They considered the festival a natural extension of their interests. The Scots provided much of the initial support for the ethnic festival and continue to provide a large measure of festival events from highland dancing to parade marshall.

Another group which has become important in the ethnic committee is also one of the newest in Timmins, the East Indians. The first East Indians in the Porcupine Camp came in July 1965 and there are now only a dozen families. They have had little difficulty in adjusting as they hold high level occupations as teachers, engineers and doctors. This has become part of their identity in the community, a positive stereotype. One ethnic informant identified them by saying that "East Indians are all named Gupta and are all doctors." Few have thought of migrating south to the larger cities because they see the discrimination East Indians have to face in Toronto and compare it unfavourably to their easy acceptance in Timmins.

- 344 -
In part this is due to the fact that the East Indians have not attempted to institutionalize their differences. They hold informal religious ceremonies in their homes on occasion or rent a hall and show Indian movies but they do not go out of their way to push their religion or identity to their children. As one leader commented, "At home we do not put a lot of effort in perpetuating what we have because the kids spend 80% of their time in school and with TV so they are members of this society and we don't have much control over that."

The East Indians were first invited to participate in the ethnic festival in 1977. The invitation was addressed to the first East Indian in the camp who, with his wife, created an informal 'East Indian Ethnic Association'. In a short time the East Indian association has become one of the strongest in the festival committee.

In 1980 the president of the East Indian Ethnic Association became president of the festival committee and another East Indian, who succeeded him as the East Indian Association president, became committee publicity secretary. The East Indians thus have increased their presence on the committee to an extent out of proportion to their size. They readily support committee ideology and the expansion of committee interests.

The East Indians perceive the festival committee as a necessary structure for their adaptation and involvement in the local sphere of public action. Through it they are able to establish their own ethnic community identity as well as their Canadian identity. "Maybe we are presenting a certain artificiality with all this dancing and arts but if we did not present such a ceremony you cannot distinguish yourself. Groups in different dresses can distinguish themselves whereas as Canadians you cannot." Without such involvement they might have come under discriminatory attack.
The Italians in Timmins form the largest community beside the English and French Canadians with some 2,685 or 6.48% of the Timmins town population. They would also appear to be the largest and most powerful community in the festival committee but this would be an incorrect conclusion. The Italians have had little need to retreat within the festival committee to seek mutual support and resources as they can compete directly with French and English Canadians. While Italian immigration into the camp has ended and the community has stabilized they have been able to recruit new members through intermarriage and as associate members.

Italian involvement in the festival committee is secondary to their commitment to the Dante Club which serves them as an institutional base. The men control the club while the women are subservient, cooking and cleaning. It is a measure of Italian community commitment to the festival committee that the women of the Dante Club are the ones sent to attend committee meetings. While one of the male members originally participated in the committee he soon left feeling that the committee was becoming too concerned with "women's work". The men show up only on the day of the festival itself when they can be seen in their "Italian' costumes; a red kerchief around their neck and a red sash around their waists. This has little connection to Italy but it also does not identify any one region and serves as a general symbol. In the festival booth the men stuff sausages and make wine. After the festival they are not seen again. The women return to the festival committee and periodically report to the Dante Club executive.

Unlike the Dante Club many ethnic organizations depend on the Timmins and District Ethnic Association to maintain their organizations which often would not exist otherwise. Some have developed into strong organizations in their own right. They emerged just as many of the smaller organizations were
opting out of the committee. The smaller organizations have floundered as they have not been able to gather enough support to participate in the meetings and the festival as this took increased personal and financial commitment. The committee was placing less reliance on government grants which provided less direct monetary incentive for participation by the smaller groups. The local resources which the committee increasingly chose to compete for, both material and symbolic, were useful only to those organizations large and strong enough to engage in the wider local struggle. These groups are well exemplified by the Finns and Croatians.

Finnish Ethnic Association

Among the prewar Finnish group there has been a breakdown of the major ethnic institutions, especially the halls. Many intermarried with English Canadians and turned away from direct ethnic involvement. The only institutions which remained were the Lutheran and the Pentecostal Churches and the only organization was the Porcupine Finnish Club. Despite their proximity there was little contact between the prewar and postwar Finnish groups. Few of the prewar Finns and their descendants even recognized that there was a Finnish organization left in the community.

There is no Finnish group now. The children grew up and intermarried. You see the Finns can marry anybody else. They get along with everybody. The old ones dies, the ones who had the real power, who had started the whole thing with the plays and meetings. They are all dead and their children intermarry and move away. There is no Finnish organization left. They had the Harmony Hall in Timmins and they sold that and its a parking lot. There is the Lutheran Church and the parents are there but the children are all over the country.

The postwar period had seen an influx of new Finnish immigrants who settled but did not choose to support the already existing ethnic hall institutions as they considered them too political. They only supported nominal institutions such as the churches and church based clubs.
The primary Lutheran Church was St John's in South Porcupine; the other was St. Mark's in Timmins which was an appendage of St. John's as one pastor served both churches. St. Mark's membership consists of older Finns so that its future appears in doubt. St. John's continues to thrive because English services have been introduced to serve English Lutherans and those Finns who do not understand the language. The older Finns at St. Mark's refuse to allow the pastor to set up separate English services. The only other Finnish institution is the Saalem Finnish Pentecostal Church in South Porcupine (founded 1956) which also continues its services in Finnish.

In 1978 the Timmins and District Ethnic Association invited the Finnish Club at St. John's to join the committee and in March 1978 they joined as the 'Finnish Ethnic Association'. Their initial success, selling food and displaying their native costumes and handiwork, gave the Finns confidence to make a greater commitment to the festival committee.

In September 1979 the new president of the Finnish association became vice-president of the festival committee and held that position to 1981 when the Finnish association secretary became the committee secretary as well. The Finnish association was one of the few festival groups to ask for a government grant to offset the costs of bringing in Finnish dancers from Thunder Bay to play at the festival. The grant and dancers both aided in the promotion of local Finnish culture.

Though most of the grant was used to pay off the expenses incurred in bringing in the dancers, a surplus was available which enabled the Finnish association to introduce Finnish language instruction and folkdancing in the community. The Finnish language program developed with the arrival of a new Finnish pastor who supported the education program. The Finnish group were able to set up a classes at Northern College in 1980 aided by the College
The dean who was a member of St. John's Lutheran Church and whose secretary was also secretary of the Finnish Ethnic Association.

Despite their importance it is interesting to note that the Finnish churches did not emerge as ethnic institutions for a number of reasons. In the Pentecostal Church the pastor was young and not respected by his congregation. The Pentecostals, as a group, were also an isolated subgroup within the Finnish Community as they were not Lutherans, the traditional Finnish religion. The Finnish Ethnic Association was largely a Lutheran group, people who had known each other in the Young Lutheran League and the Finnish Club. They included a Pentecostal member because she had been a teacher in Finland and was needed in the language school but they were suspicious of her as an outsider and religious zealot who might try to convert them. The Lutheran pastor, a powerful figure who well knew his own ability to lead the Finns, did not choose to do so feeling that the church "should not be the focus of cultural activity. I have tried to keep that separate." He offered advice and support but chose to let the Finnish Ethnic Association operate on its own though it used the St. John's Church basement as its headquarters.

The leaders of the Finnish Ethnic Association were surprised by the success of the language classes as all the courses were easily filled. Those who knew no Finnish, sometimes non-Finn husbands or wives who wanted to converse with their in-laws, took starter courses while those who knew the language took the advanced adult course. The accomplishments of the program enabled the Finns to expand and sponsor the program under the Heritage Language Program subsidized by the provincial government.

The language school allowed the Finns to educate their children, as well as many of their non-Finn spouses, to provide the necessary linguistic
framework for ethnic identity. Many Finns in Timmins have married other Finns but others have married English and French Canadians. The Finnish Lutheran pastor commented that in Sudbury most of the Finns married Italians but in Timmins most seemed to be marrying French Canadians. The non-Finn spouses rarely retain connections with their own ethnic communities while their Finn spouses are often members of the Finnish Ethnic Association.

The Finnish association was also buoyed by the move of the Suomi Club and the Lutheran Church to sponsor the forty-third annual 'Finnish Grand Festival' to be held in South Porcupine in July 1982. This was symbolic of a growing Finnish community identity in the Porcupine Camp. This was to be the fifth time the festival would be held in the Porcupine (1946, 1950, 1959, 1965) though the last time had been some seventeen years before. The ethnic association was not directly involved in the sponsorship but its members were to act as the secretary and treasurer of the planning committee and the Finnish Festival served to strengthen the Finnish association.

Involvement in the language program and the Finnish Canadian Grand Festival did not, however, allow the Finnish association to extend their commitment to the festival committee. There were questions as to whether the Finns would be at the 1982 Ethnic Festival since the Grand Festival took place a few weeks later. The Ethnic Festival Committee, however, supported the Finn's expansion of interests. The Finns maintain their commitment to the festival committee with their representatives standing as vice-president and secretary of the committee. The Finn leaders did not wish to remove themselves from involvement with the other ethnic communities or place themselves on their own against the French and English Canadians. They planned to reaffirm their commitment to the committee after their language program was firmly established and obligations to the Grand Festival ended.
The Forty-Third Annual Finnish Grand Festival was held July 2 - 4, 1982 and consisted of sports and cultural activities with Finnish groups from across Canada. For the first time the Finnish Ethnic Association members learned special Finnish dances and involved their husbands in Finnish association activities. They emerged from the festival with the cultural support and confidence to reaffirm their position as a major ethnic community on a par with the Italians, English and French Canadians and with a distinctive right to be considered part of the "heritage" of the Porcupine Camp. They were unwilling to see any restructuring of heritage which did not include themselves or the other ethnics.

**Croatian Hall and Cultural Committee**

On the other side of ethnic identity in the Porcupine Camp are those organizations which became divided by festival committee activity. This is in part exemplified by Croatian community involvement in the festival committee which created new political interest groups within the ethnic community.

The Croatian Hall had been formed in 1930 as the institutional foundation for an expatriate nationalism which had been formalized in the local chapter of the Croatian Peasant Party. The Croatian Hall remained the major institution of the Croatian community in Schumacher though hall membership, like the Croatian population in Schumacher, declined after World War II. The Croatian Hall was controlled by the Croatian Peasant Party but their support was mostly among the older members of the community. The party leaders could not recruit new members because even their own children were not interested in the "old politics". They could not recruit members among the newer immigrants as their political affiliations were often open to question. Many were refugee supporters of the rightwing Ustashi (rebel)
regime which in May 1941 had proclaimed the Fascist Independent State of
Croatia.

The Croatian Hall was subjected to a loss of territorial control within
their former enclave in Schumacher. Croatians were moving out of the enclave
into other parts of Timmins or out of the camp entirely. The vacuum was
filled by French Canadians who began to enter the community in greater
numbers. French Canadian encroachment occurred just at the time of new
industrial growth. This new growth aided the Croatian Hall and Peasant party
as Croatian miners were able to find jobs, especially in the new Texas Gulf
Mine and remain in the area. The leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party and
hall acquired key gatekeeper positions in the mine and utilize their
positions to aid their supporters. As one Croatian said of the president of
the Peasant party;

He gets jobs for all the Croatians down at Texas Gulf. He was the
first one there and he has hired all the Croatians and TG lets him
because they make the best workers. That is why all the Croatians are
for him because he has helped them so much. No matter who you are
if you need a job you just go to him and you'll get it. That's why
there is I think about 5% of the men at Texas Gulf are Croatian.

The leaders attempted to maintain control of the enclave against French
Canadian intrusion. This meant finding jobs for Croatians to ensure they
would stay (most Croatians were not even buried in the community). The
corollary was to exclude French-Canadians from key jobs in the mine. As the
party president proclaimed;

I can get every Croatian a job in Texas Gulf no matter the
politics. Every Croatian application that comes across my desk, no
matter if they are not a member of the Hall or not, I hire them.
The company trusts me and if I say that this guy is good they will
hire them. Most of the jobs at Texas Gulf are Croatian rather than
French. The only reason the Croatians do not leave is Texas Gulf.
They can die here now. More than 60% of the Croatians now work at
Texas-Gulf, more young men to their forties as people are getting
back into the mines.

It is not enough that jobs be found in the mine because these jobs do
not ensure the continuance of the ethnic community or of the specific ethnic nationalism promulgated by the party. The children of these miners will be educated in turn and wish to find better jobs in other areas. The Croatian leaders decided that they had to compete directly with the French Canadians who they saw going from an 'ethnic group' to a dominant charter community. The Croatians feel threatened, as do the other ethnic communities, with what they perceived as a new accommodation between French and English Canadians and attempts to exclude them from direct competition over local resources, especially jobs. Already with informal bilingualism they see their friends and relatives being passed over for positions in government and, with French and English Canadian control of businesses, find themselves largely restricted to the mines.

The Croatian party leadership felt that the only option left to them, especially in the face of a threatened breakdown of the local consociation, was to meet the French Canadians directly in the political arena. This was not possible within the confines of the Liberal party which they identified as the "French" party. Instead they turned to the provincial Progressive Conservative party as a means to maintain the hall and to ensure that bilingualism never became institutionalized. The Peasant party president felt that in this way he could better ensure that French Canadians would be constrained provincially no matter what happened on the federal level. Though political "lip-service" might be paid to the French Canadians, he felt that they would not receive concessions on the provincial level at ethnic expense.

The president of the Croatian Peasant Party relies on the support he garners in the community not only as a job gatekeeper and leader of a relatively defunct organization but through his political connections to the
host society as a longstanding member of the local Conservative party organization. Through these connections he is able to gain provincial grant money to improve the Croatian Hall and in turn provides the hall to the Conservative party for its local conventions at a nominal cost. The leader has called upon Croats to forget about the old ethnic nationalism and the old problems in Europe and take a greater interest in Canadian politics. In this regard the Croatian Hall is becoming restructured to a local form of ethnic nationalism, a localized political institution, an adjunct of the provincial Conservative party.

The Croatian Hall in Schumacher has been restructured to pursue direct political goals (jobs, anti-bilingualism) and has maintained only the pose of its old nationalism in this redefinition. The party has decided to confront their problems on a direct political level as an interest group rather than as an ethnic group. "I told Premier Davis that our group is interested in Canada first, Ontario second and Croatian third." In doing so they have allowed others to take up local ethnic interests which has threatened their revision of ethnic nationalism. The Croatian Peasant Party had developed a restructured ethnic nationalism but they soon came up against a new culturally defined ethnic community movement which sought to circumvent the party's influence.

With the success of the Timmins Summer Ethnic Festival in the 1970s there was a call, both from the festival committee and Croats who knew about the festival, for Croatian involvement. This involvement began in 1978 and was led by Croats who were identified by the party leader as "Fascists". These were individuals who had been ostracized from any direct participation in the hall because of their perceived political affiliations. Hindered from joining the Peasant party's new political restructuring they
turned to cultural activity which the party appeared to have disavowed. They formed the 'Croatian Cultural Committee' and quickly gained the support of young Croatians and more recent immigrants. As the leader of the cultural committee said:

The way it developed was that the Croatian Hall was here but there was not much activity and it was not doing much activity. The hall is not a cultural thing totally because it was political but that was what we were trying to change—to go from political to cultural and that way get more people in the hall. We started in 1978 as we noticed the Finns were getting started and the other groups and they brought in the Finnish dancers from Thunder Bay and they were able to get money to bring them in. So we started to develop our resources. The people who are involved now are the next generation after the first involvement. What I want to see is the transition of the hall to make it non-political so that everyone can have his say there.

The younger members of the community, uninterested in the old politics of their parents and the Croatian Peasant Party, which they saw as emblematic of those politics, called on the party to give up its control of the hall. They wanted the hall to become a purely cultural organization like the Dante Club. But the party was reluctant to give up its political base. The Peasant party was pressured, however, into allowing the committee to meet in the hall. The cultural committee leaders had come to the realization that culture was a platform which they could utilize to their advantage. The old political platform was no longer useful especially as they had no access to the restructured ethnic nationalism which the party controlled.

'People are tired of hearing about politics and the ones who talk about it do not know what they are talking about anyway. They are always talking politics but this politics is no longer real and doesn't make sense. They are not doing anything or helping anything or achieving anything. This generation is not interested in the old country issues. The young people are tired of the old troubles and bickering and that is why they stay away from the hall because they have had enough of that sort of thing. They are interested in the culture now and for that they will come. They do not care if Yugoslavia is taking over Croatia or the politics there. They are Canadians and that is what they are interested in now...We are trying to present a view that represents everybody -
me, her and even him (the party president), as much as he says that he might dislike me.

Culture was recognized by the committee leaders as a necessary ingredient in the pursuit of limited resources with and against other communities, particularly the French Canadians. The party leader, however, saw culture simply as a political instrument in an internal Croatian community struggle.

It is politics because whatever they (the 'Fascist' leaders) do is politics. They push culture all of a sudden and it's because of politics. We were involved in multiculturalism before it became politics. We here in the hall started it all but they have divided from the hall and tried to take it over...These people are still carrying out old country politics of fifty years ago when they should be concerned about Canada.

In spite of this vitriol the Croatian committee became an important segment of the ethnic festival organization. The Croatian committee leader, a noted painter, created the festival's main ensignia which shows twelve national flags around a central Canadian flag and all growing out of a large red maple leaf. The Croatian committee was so successful it was soon able to expand with the creation of Croatian language classes under the auspices of the provincial Heritage language program. They also formed a kola (hay) dance group called 'The Adriatic Pearls'. The dance group was led by a nephew of the committee leader, a professional dance teacher in Toronto, who agreed to teach the girls during the summer with the stipulation that politics was to be avoided at all times. One of the members of the troupe was the daughter of the Peasant party leader. She had been given instructions by her father to watch for any attempt to make the cultural organization into a Fascist political front.

Tensions grew between the Croatian Cultural Committee and the Croatian Peasant Party as the committee easily co-opted the party's role as cultural
spokesman for the Croatian community. The Peasant party leader now began to characterize the committee leaders more openly as Ustashi and Fascists. He was even prepared to accept that his old Communist enemies were better than these new ones. "I would say that he (the former Croatian Communist leader) is a better guy than the Fascists...I hate them worse than Communists." The Croatian committee leader in turn said that the Communist leader was a better man than the leader of the Peasant party. These were unthinkable statements two decades before but were symbolic of structural changes in the community.

The conflict came to a crisis in May 1980. The party leader wanted the dance group to perform at the Croatian Hall before a number of provincial Progressive Conservative party guests, including Premier Davis and local MPP Allan Pope, which would confirm his political connections. Instead the dance group chose to perform at a Croatian National Festival in Montreal on the same day. There appears to have been some miscommunication. The party leader insists the dance group was informed and had accepted the invitation to perform before the Premier a month before but the committee leader said they were informed only on the day of their departure. The loss of the dancers was taken by the party president as an insult to the Premier and himself.

When the dance troupe returned home the party leader's daughter also informed him that the Croatian Festival they attended was a 'Fascist festival' and she resigned from the dance group.

In that Kola group I was a member for a few years and the Franciscan fathers at that festival gave out literature and I knew enough about politics that they had the Ustashi crest on the paper and I saw that but the other kids did not know what was going on. I grew up with my father's politics and I did not want to have anything to do with the old country politics.

The party executive refused to let the dance group use the hall any longer. The result was a break in the Croatian community between those who
supported the Peasant party, the older immigrants and those supporting the
croatian Cultural Committee, the younger immigrants and first generation.
Committee supporters saw the expulsion as an unnecessary political
development, a return to old country politics, which they had hoped to
avoid.

The party president called for a meeting between the party and
committee executives but committee leaders refused to attend as they
suspected the meeting would be used by the party leaders as an excuse to gain
control of the cultural committee. The president of the Croatian Cultural
Committee tried to resolve the impasse by appealing to local MPP Allan Pope
to use his influence to allow them the use of the hall. They saw the use of
the hall as their right as Croatians since they characterized the hall as a
cultural organization. Pope did not choose to use his influence and sided
with his friend the party leader by not getting involved. The party leader
saw this attempt as an effort by the cultural committee to use the government
to gain control of the hall. He insisted that he had used his greater
influence to circumvent their efforts. The Croatian Cultural Committee
continued to meet in the hall but the barring of the dance troupe was a
warning by the party leader to get in line. The dance group continued to
practice at other halls in the community.

In spite of the party's best efforts the Croatian committee was able to
gain a number of new members who supported their cultural emphasis.
Individuals who had not previously associated because of their politics
seemed ready to support each other on the basis of culture. Confident of its
support the Croatian committee agreed to meet the party leaders and resolve
their problems. The meeting occurred in the Croatian Hall in February 1981.
The party again attempted to bring the cultural committee under its firm
control but many of the people present at the meeting felt that this was mixing politics with culture. The Peasant party leader bragged during the meeting that he had used his influence to block the attempt by the Croatian Cultural Committee to use his friend MPP Allan Pope. He also bragged of his own power and influence in obtaining Ontario government grants which would, he implied, not be available without his influence. The meeting broke down into a shouting match between the leaders of the Peasant party and the Croatian Cultural Committee.

The leaders of the Croatian Cultural Committee, unable to push the party leadership from control of the hall, responded with a rather unique move. They chose to make the internal bickering between the two groups a public affair. In this manner they hoped to circumvent the internal attack against them, which was on the basis of a strict political nationalism in which they were at a disadvantage, by emphasizing the neutral elements of Canadian cultural activity.

The president of the Croatian Cultural Committee sent a letter to the editor of the Timmins Daily Press in which he criticized MPP Pope for his inactivity in the crisis. "It is apparent from that action that the Croatian Hall in Schumacher is becoming more and more the PC's unofficial headquarters rather than a hall and meeting place of the Croatian people." (Timmins Daily Press 17 March 1981, p.4) He made it appear as if his own group was a purely cultural group and that their opponents were the political group and, in an attempt to circumvent the party leaders's control of economic resources, even made an appeal for money. "I am asking the executive and Pope, 'Where is their (concern for) human rights?' I am also asking Pope if he and his government really support multiculturalism to put their money where their words are." (Timmins Daily Press 17 March 1981, p.4)
The president of the Croatian Peasant Party responded with his own letter in which he presented the 'facts' of the events which had been described. He criticized the idea that there was bickering within the Croatian Hall as impossible since the hall is owned, "and will remain so", by the Croatian Peasant Party. He attacked the committee for sending the dance group to perform at a Croatian Cultural Festival in Kitchener on April 10 a day which he identified as being "to celebrate a Fascist holiday, a day when Croatia officially declared war against the Allies, Canada included!"

(Timmins Daily Press 19 March 1981, p.4) He further attacked the committee president for misrepresenting his group and for attacking MPP Allan Pope, "a good friend of mine, of the Croatian Hall and of all Croats." He said that the Croatian Hall is not a meeting place for just the Progressive Conservative party as other Canadian parties had held meetings there and concluded with an attack on 'political cultural groups'.

The Croatian Hall has always supported and will continue to support, true non-political cultural groups. The Croatian Hall is a meeting place for all democracy loving Croatian Canadians and will always remain so. (Timmins Daily Press 19 March 1981, p.4)

In spite of this assault the Croatian Cultural Committee retained control of culture in the community. They continue to believe in the necessity of changing the makeup of the Croatian Hall from a less politically controlled to a culturally mitigated organization though their opponents see it more distinctly as giving up one political organization for another.

Neither interest could control the Croatian community as the old Peasant party once did. Nevertheless the Croatian Peasant Party was losing support as its membership died off. The cultural committee continued to gain new recruits who were not interested in the old politics but wished to take part only in cultural activity. The committee wanted to end the emphasis on
ethnic nationalism, which they could not control and under which their former
or prevailing rightwing political ideology would have been anathema, to an
emphasis on a wider concept of local ethnic community culture to which they
had greater access and control. The political basis of their ethnic
nationalism was dangerous to them for it could continually be brought up and
made public, as was soon made apparent.

When it was disclosed in November 1982 that the federal government had
made a confidential handbook on the political (i.e. anti-loyalist) activities
of ethnic societies, the Fascist 'United Croats of Canada' was listed as
having a branch in Timmins. This became front page news in the local paper
which interviewed the party president who informed them that there was a
Fascist organization in Timmins. "They're afraid to show themselves though.
They hide behind cultural clubs." (Timmins Daily Press 2 December 1981, p.4)
This was a direct attack on the Croatian Cultural Committee whose president
was forced to state, "I'm not a member. I'm just involved with Croatian
cultural activities. As far as political activities go, I'm not involved."
(Timmins Daily Press 2 December 1982, p.1) The final competition over the
ethnic community was still an ongoing affair and it would take time to
resolve if it ever could be resolved.

A similar development between ideological antagonists could also be
found in the Ukrainian community where the former radical Ukrainian Hall
became the base for a new panethnic organization in opposition to the
festival committee. Where the festival committee was concerned with local
ethnic community structures, the other organization supported federal
government multicultural policies. They utilized multicultural ideology to
gain access to those resources which they previously been denied them because
of their former political affiliations. There was now a change of roles; the
'reds' were now supporting the federal context while the 'whites' were opposed.

The Ukrainian Museum

In most communities in Canada multiculturalism has become the prerogative of conservative ethnic organizations who jealously guard it against left-wing ethnic associations (Peter 1981:64). Ukrainian conservative organizations in particular readily accepted multicultural policy and received political positions, on the Senate and Canada Council, which gave them control of grants as well as ensuring that their political opponents would find it difficult to acquire the same resources (Waggenheim 1968:662; Peter 1981:64). In the Porcupine Camp, however, the national context had been altered locally by loyalist organizations who refuse government sponsored multicultural support. The Ethnic Festival Committee should have been the local agent of multicultural policy but its members, including the Ukrainians, favour local ethnic community control of the arena of public action and place themselves in virtual opposition to government multicultural policy. This opposition left a gap in the community which was filled by another ethnic interest group which was willing to accept multicultural policy; these were the remnants of the ethnic progressives and radicals.

This process began in the late 1970s when the Ukrainian Hall in Timmins, one of the few remaining progressive institutions, found its membership dwindling. Those who remained were mostly the older prewar immigrants. Leadership of the hall fell to one of the younger members of the progressive community, Stanley Kremyr, but he was in his mid fifties when the ethnic festival began in 1974. With the growing importance of the festival committee under the leadership of his major Ukrainian antagonist, Kremyr began to realize that since the festival committee was de-emphasizing...
multiculturalism his organization might be able to utilize it to gain access to resources which had long been denied them. As a result he began to push for a restructuring of the hall from a class conscious ethnic institution to an ostensibly multicultural organization.

In May 1978 Kremyr was delegate and officer to the National Committee of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC) meeting in Winnipeg. In an effort to gain the financial resources which had long been denied them, the AUUC leadership decided to make a firmer commitment to the ideals of multiculturalism calling upon "equal access" to financial and political resources as their "inviolable right" (Association 1978:30). Where previously AUUC leaders had opposed the policy of multiculturalism as "an act of political expediency, designed to maintain the status quo in the teeth of the crisis of Confederation" (Association 1978:27) they now supported it "as a positive and dynamic force capable of adding great riches to the cultural treasure-houses of both Canadian nations" (Association 1978:30).

The AUUC members even began to restructure their history to prove that they had always practiced "the democratic and progressive elements of multiculturalism". Their early dance and handicraft activities were presented as "pioneering efforts". Their involvement in the radical labour movement as a development "without which the material and cultural achievements of today would have been impossible" (Association 1978:30). Contacts with the Soviet Union were now expressions of the cultural rather than political nature of the AUUC. Kremyr strongly supported these changes and returned to Timmins to restructure the Ukrainian Hall into a multicultural organization.

In 1978 he was able to gain a $47,000 grant from the Ontario government lottery organization for creation of a 'Ukrainian Cultural and Historical Museum' to act as a base for Ukrainian heritage and culture in Northern
Ontario. The initial grant was not large enough to reconstruct the Ukrainian Hall but hall members bought material and, through friends and relatives, did most of the work themselves.

The Ukrainian Museum was officially opened in May 1979 by the Timmins mayor at a ceremony which included delegates from the Soviet embassy. Though the cultural aspect of the museum was accentuated its political character continued to remain important. Cultural exhibits comprised material supplied by the hall members, many of whom had visited the Soviet Ukraine and brought back artifacts, and by the Russian-based 'Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations' and the Society 'Ukraina'. The major exhibit consisted of photographs of the early years of the hall which accentuated their historical commitment to the progressive movement. Small sections of the photographic display were set aside for the inclusion of Finnish and Croatian progressive material. The museum was freely characterized by its curator as a "people's museum" and a "workers' museum" and he compared it with the larger Timmins Museum which he characterized unfavourably as a "mine manager's museum".

The museum was thus an important attempt to ensure that the old ethnic class distinctions were not relegated to the junkpile of revised local history in the interests of either the consociational alliance, exemplified by the festival committee, or the elite reaccommodation, exemplified by what the curator considered Timmins Museum attempts to "whitewash" and "hide the truth" about the true history of the Porcupine Camp.

The other museum has money but we don't and I'm fighting like hell for some support because we got a history no others have. I have told them I am presenting the history of the immigrants who really contributed in the mines. I'm not interested in showing what Noah Timmins did...I'm interested in the labour movement and the immigrants -- our immigrants. I'm interested in the immigrants because they are very close together, the Finns and Croatians too.
For many years we all cooperated together in the progressive movement and in the union.

To the government the museum presented itself as a multicultural institution but locally it attempted to maintain and compete for the ethnic-class history of the progressive communities against attempts by English and French Canadians, as well as the festival committee, to circumscribe their status. The museum allowed the progressive ethnic communities support to affirm their position; now they said that they were the true pioneers who had built the whole community from bush and paid with it in misery from silicosis and prejudice at the hands of Anglo-Saxons, French Canadians and conservative ethnics. They even denied that their antagonists had a history of any sort.

"They have no history. How can you have a history with nothing but 'bootleggers and highgraders.'" The Ukrainian Museum curator was thus choosing to compete for one of the most important of local symbols, pioneer status. Nevertheless past political affiliations might hinder their attempts to gain local status for the progressives were not ready to give up their class interests.

The political character of the museum remained strong. At the small museum giftshop one could buy perogis and Ukrainian crafts but one could also find material published in the Soviet Union attacking Ukrainian nationalists as Nazis and collaborators. The museum displayed pictures along the top of its exhibit cases showing Ukrainian prosperity under Soviet rule. Russia was now presented as the epitome of the multicultural nation rather than political state. A handwritten placard confirmed the multicultural nature of the USSR by stating it was a federation of 'nations' as Canada was a federation of 'provinces' and that Ukrainians had equal rights in the Soviet Union and were "contributing to a new socialist culture which will represent
a unified and strong homeland".

The museum's political affiliations were confirmed when Workers Co-operative finally shut the door on its last store in late November 1980. The Ukrainian museum curator, a long standing member of the co-op executive, made certain that all records and materials would go to his museum rather than the Timmins museum. The Ukrainian museum was the depository of working class history in the Porcupine Camp and Workers Co-op was part of that history. The banner had been passed to the only surviving progressive institution and the curator made plans to create an exhibit on the co-operative since. "It served its purpose in the history of these (progressive) people." He was careful, however, to emphasize Workers panethnic nature, bringing together Ukrainians, Finns and Croatians, above its class nature in order not to draw attention to the only remaining progressive institution in Timmins, the Ukrainian Museum.

In spite of the curator's attempts the Ukrainian leader of the festival committee perceived the museum as just another guise for what had always been a political institution. "They changed their name and now it is the Ukrainian Museum. They say that they are not a political organization but still waters run deep." The Rumanian orthodox priest, leader of the Rumanian contingent of the festival committee, affirmed, "The museum is not Ukrainian but an agency of Soviet propaganda. People are visiting an arm of Soviet propaganda."

The conservative leaders of the festival committee did all that they could to ensure that the Ukrainian museum was identified as a radical organization. Thus when the curator attempted to get the government grants that the Ukrainian festival committee leader had repudiated, he found that, after the initial grant, the government was reluctant to give him more grants. This was because they received complaints from the ethnic committee
leaders about government sponsorship for a 'Communist' organization.

In response the museum curator asked city council in early 1980 for financial assistance. He cited the museum as contributing a great deal to the community by helping "Canadians to understand one another". He added a firm statement on museum purposes that was devoid of political comment and a virtual statement of multicultural policy calling on support for the different ethnic groups in a pointed address to the ethnic members of city council.

Firstly, to acquaint all Canadians as to who the Ukrainian immigrants were by showing their origin, display their culture. 'Easter eggs' and 'perogis' are not the only culture of that nation. We want to show their contribution in the growth of Canada - in farming, industrial inventions, art, literature, music, song and dance, the building of trade unions and the labour movement, churches, etc. Secondly, we hope in a small way, to help this great country of ours to solve the problem now existing between our two founding nations and make them understand that the ethnic groups in Canada, as in the past, are willing to contribute further, in developing a strong united Canada.

Kremyr felt the museum would contribute to a greater understanding between all the groups in the Porcupine and Canada by teaching about the history of ethnic groups, contributions which were being denied.

In many cases, history in the Porcupine has been reflecting the life and contributions of the English and French populations rather than all Canadians. In order that we may some day enjoy a united Canada it is imperative that the local governments realize and take a lead in our communities to respect the contributions of all ethnic groups and see to it that they receive the same benefits as our two founding people.

He specified that the museum served the whole community, even businessmen, by attracting visitors and serving as an educational tool for school children. He asked the councilors for a 50% municipal tax rebate, assistance in building display cases and removal of parking meters from in front of the museum since no other comparable building, such as the Dante Club and La Ronde, had meters in front. He further insisted that the small
parkette on the south side of the building, which had originally been hall property but was confiscated during World War II and not returned, be returned to the museum or made into a parking lot.

The museum’s reputation as a former Communist stronghold, however, remained in force. The Ukrainian, Rumanian and Croatian leaders of the festival committee continued to point out the hall’s political leanings to municipal officials and local government grant officers. Similarly the local department of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation commented that the museum should not receive grants because it did not meet the requirements of a museum but was more a “private cultural club” where involvement by other ethnic groups was only a token in order to be eligible for funds from the multicultural branch of the ministry. The Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario was equally dismayed by the haphazard manner in which the museum stored and exhibited materials. The Timmins museum director remarked on many occasions to grant proposals that the Ukrainian curator did not wish to develop the hall solely as a museum as it was more a personal and political statement that would probably fold after his death. It was little wonder then that the Ukrainian museum did not receive funding from the city council or the provincial ministry.

Kremyr only increased his attempts to co-opt ethnic group interests from the festival committee. In February 1981 he again addressed city council to endorse a proclamation recognizing 1981 as the anniversary of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. He further asked the councilors to use their influence and support his attempt to gain government grants since he was having difficulty. He further requested that the contributions of all persons of ethnic origin finally be recognized in the community by calling on the council to rename Mountjoy Street, on which the Ukrainian Museum was
situated, or Cedar Street where the Ukrainian Church was situated, to 'Kobzar' (the nickname of Ukrainian revolutionary poet Ivan Franko). He said the gesture would honour all Ukrainians who had lived and worked in the community since the first Ukrainian came in 1908. The large ethnic contingent on council were forced to support him for, as the Italian Canadian councilor from Schumacher said, "It was time that persons of different origins came forth to be recognized".

The matter of renaming the streets was left for the further investigation of the planning and engineering departments. They reported that it would be too costly (as Kremyr knew it would be); as an alternative council offered to rename the parkette beside the museum to 'Kobzar Park' and give the AUUC responsibility for its upkeep and use. This was what Kremyr had hoped for from the beginning.

This action did much to improve Kremyr's community reputation. He now found it easier to get grants from the federal and provincial governments. The museum began to assume a new role in the community that was at variance with its previous reputation. The museum succeeded in co-opting multicultural affiliation. The museum, however, continued to maintain a muted political stance which made any multicultural utilization difficult. In reaction a new organization was formed, the museum associated 'Mosaic Club' which would emerge as the most important multicultural interest group in Timmins.

**Mosaic Cultural Club**

The cultural arm of the Ukrainian Cultural and Historical Museum was the 'Mosaic Cultural Club', formed in late 1979 soon after completion of the museum. The Mosaic Club was founded by the Ukrainian museum curator and his daughter who became the club's cultural coordinator and first president. The focus of the club was a firm commitment to direct multicultural activity and
ideology. The club leaders, sons and daughters of the older Ukrainian progressives, stated that they accepted the government's version of multiculturalism not only as a metaphor but as a structure on which they could build interests and compete for local resources.

For many it was the only course available because the others had already been taken. The festival committee's virtual control of local ethnic identity ensured that the ethnic, as well as political, identity of the children of the progressives could be open to question. Even the museum curator could come under some criticism as his family was historically German and in Timmins the family had intermarried into some six different groups, including French Canadian. His daughter, the club's cultural coordinator, spoke French and was married to a Hungarian. She fully recognized that the ambiguous nature of their ethnic connections, a result of intermarriage, was one of the foundations of the organization;

The people interested are those interested in multiculturalism and who cannot get involved with their own group. There is a whole generation after the war who lost their culture through mixed marriages or it was not pushed and they changed their names to get ahead. An awful lot of the older generation left town and their children had nowhere to go because of the political stigma associated with the Hall. We escaped the politics with this group. You have to be a little left wing though just to consider the concept of the club as we are not chauvinistic enough to say this culture is more important than that. The people in this group are not interested in what is happening in the Ukraine or anywhere else. They are just interested in Canada.

The club's leadership consisted mostly of first generation Ukrainians who had grown up in the Ukrainian Hall but did not want to be restricted by the old politics. As the second club president, a Ukrainian Canadian who was married to an Irish Canadian, said;

We hope to go above politics and not stay with the same problems. We have a limited number of people working there but we want to participate in the mosaic...We want to stay out of the old political things with the Communist stigma and picayune matters.
It is the old people who have that problem. That's unimportant to me. Why go back. Let's show what Canada is all about. Tell people about the good things. My objective is to expand the club into the community. We will keep growing exponentially.

In line with its acceptance of multicultural ideology the club included French Canadians whom they readily accepted as a multiculturally mitigated charter group and not as an ethnic community. As the first club president emphasized, "The Anglo-Saxons were no good for us. If it weren't for the French Canadians pushing there would not be any multiculturalism." As a result La Ronde gave them more help than they gave to the festival committee.

La Ronde deals with us rather than the others and they have helped us with advertisement in their hall. There is a resentment of the Ethnic Festival Committee because they look at them as ethnic but the committee sees them as a threat and the fault lies with them...They do not want to join the committee because there is this problem. I consider the French Canadians as one of the founding groups rather than ethnic.

The club originally begun with twenty families who did not choose to make their presence known until they had built up their organization. "The recruitment is through word of mouth and friends so we can control our membership better." Suppers and ethnic food nights were held to raise money and educate individuals in different activities. Members were taught to dance, sing, play instruments and participate in an annual concert. The concert tickets were restricted, however, to club members, relatives and friends. This served as a control against critical attack from the festival committee members. As the cultural coordinator remarked, "We have not gone outside the hall for concerts because I do not feel we have been ready. I want to be over-ready because the concept of multiculturalism is still open to criticism."

Their major fear was an assault by the more powerful festival committee.
especially as it was under the control of an opponent to the museum. They were building up an alternative to the committee's 'ethnic community' concept of culture in which their former class base would no longer be a liability. They even proposed that one day the festival committee would join them when it changed to a more multicultural rationale.

The ethnic festival has its uses as the people all get together and they see each other's culture but there is no interconnection. The groups turn out for meetings but each group does their own thing. It is also all run by that woman and she is so much against us that we have not approached the festival committee to get involved. We will when I feel we are strong enough.

The new East Indian president of the ethnic committee in turn proposed to include the Mosaic Club in committee proceedings sometime in the future. He hoped that the ethnics would forget the old political problems and join together in one cohesive and powerful organization which would be more representative of their interests vis-a-vis the French and English Canadians. Internal politics, however, was still too divisive an issue to allow for easy reconciliation.

In the interim the Mosaic Club continued to recruit members, even from communities allied to the festival committee, such as Scots from the St. Andrews Society. They were also able to gain assistance for their dance routines from the Native Indians and Philippines who had been affiliated with the festival committee. Members participated in all the different dances and crafts. There has been a pointed effort to cut across ethnic boundaries; one member of the St. Andrew Society became so good at Ukrainian egg decorating, often painting Scottish emblems on the eggs, that she became a teacher of the art to other members. Club leaders said this was an example of the intermeshing of cultures, of the "flowing" of the different colours of the mosaic outside their own boundaries.
In spite of their affiliation with the Ukrainian Hall the Mosaic Club members were able to largely avoid political stigma. Yet the political aspect of multiculturalism remained of interest for at least some of the Mosaic Club executive, if not membership. The first president and cultural coordinator was an admitted Marxist. She believed that multiculturalism was "leftwing" just as she characterized the ethnic group concept of the Festival Committee as "rightwing". "Multiculturalism is political. It is more leftist as you are not rightwing nationalist but more liberal." Multiculturalism was an acceptable idiom through which to gain access to economic and political resources and this time they were supporting the socio-political context. As the curator's daughter said, "My concept is not contrary to Trudeau's concept of Canada so I am acceptable now and I do not have to push my political ideology because I feel that through what we are doing I am advancing my ideas." In this regard she plans to continue operating the Ukrainian Museum as a "working class museum" after her father's death.

Government policies on bilingualism and multiculturalism are lauded by the club in comparison to the criticism they receive among members of the festival committee. The organization's leaders are not reticent about going after and receiving federal grants. "The government is using us for their devices and we are using them for our own as well and we need the money for now."

The club successfully developed its internal organization and cultural activity to the point that the leadership decided to make their activity public. The prime focus for this public emphasis was a concert. The first concert had been held in 1980 but had been largely restricted to organization members and their families. A more public concert was held in May 1981 and advertised as "A Multicultural Sharing". The announcer at the opening of the
concert, a French-Canadian, presented the club's ideology which included a veiled criticism of the festival committee.

Canada. Our home and native land. Welcome to our second annual Mosaic Cultural Club Concert. We hope our program will impart to you, our audience, just how important we feel that the sharing of multiculturalism is to our great country. We have been learning from each other throughout the year that, in spite of our cultural differences, all Canadians have the same basic dreams--dreams of peace, unity and prosperity. We have set aside our political, religious and cultural differences to help build a truly strong and multicultural Canadian identity. Out of our meager efforts we hope to impart to our community the importance of dropping old country chauvinisms and accepting ourselves first as Canadians and second as a people in a unique position of becoming truly cosmopolitan. We have been accused of watering down culture but we certainly cannot be accused of chauvinism and bigotry. For this our executive is proud. It is hoped that as our skills improve we will prove once and for all that one does not have to be French Canadian to enjoy and take part in French Canadian culture, or Slovenian to enjoy and take part in Slovenian culture. We believe all cultures belong to those who participate in, or experience, its benefits.

The first half of the concert consisted of a presentation by club members of diverse ethnic dances; Native Indian, French Canadian, Scottish, English, Mexican, Slovenian, Chilean, Rumanian, Philipino, Italian and Croatian. The second half consisted of Ukrainian performances by members in celebration of the ninetieth anniversary of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. This successful presentation of multicultural ideology pointed to the fact that the Mosaic Club, as well as the Ukrainian museum, was quickly and successfully co-opting the larger framework of multiculturalism. The club was also gaining the sponsorship of the federal and provincial governments who, through grants, supported their presentation of multicultural ideology. Local success, however, was still limited by the actions of their ethnic opponents in the festival committee, some of whose members maintained a close watch on club activities.

The festival committee could preserve its position only by maintaining
control of local interests and restricting the influence of multiculturalism in favour of their own specific ethnic community definition. Any accentuation on multiculturalism threatened the festival committee because they had committed themselves to ethnic community initiatives and multiculturalism was now largely controlled by their opponents in the Mosaic Club. This explains the vehemence of the committee's reaction against a provincial government Heritage Festival which attempted to redefine local historiography in favour of the charter groups and relegate the committee to accepting circumscribed multicultural resources which they did not control. The Heritage Festival introduced a contextual variety into the Timmins public arena which called for an immediate situational response by different interest groups.
XIV. THE HERITAGE FESTIVAL

The interest groups that we have examined in the previous chapters were all vying for limited resources within the Timmins area. Each was able to maintain a position against attempts by other interest groups to co-opt their position and followers. Each had carved out their own niche and carried out mutual competition that while deliberate was also relatively gradual in its development. They were able to respond to outside policies by a modification of their local group interests according to their own capabilities. However, in the early 1980s a new government initiative was introduced directly into the community and forced an immediate crisis within the community.

This crisis was introduced in the summer of 1981 when the Ontario Government Ministry of Culture and Recreation held a three day festival in the City of Timmins called "Exploring Our Heritage: the Northeastern Experience I". The festival was ostensibly introduced to make people conscious of their region's heritage and to inspire and support local historical initiatives; a praiseworthy attempt to fill a large gap in local and regional history. The festival, however, was to act as a catalyst which served to accentuate a crisis of meaning.

The basis of contention was over the concept of 'heritage'. On the federal and provincial level it applies to a clearly demarcated relationship between French and English Canadians which accepted both as charter groups with rights which went beyond the phlegmatic conditions set by government bicultural and multicultural policies (Peter 1981; Dahlie and Fernando 1981).
As a government directed initiative the Heritage Festival introduced a precise English and French Canadian version of historiography. Yet, within the local community, English and French Canadians had no such right to status since there was no consensus on the nature of local heritage. Any attempt to solidify the definition of heritage would have severely handicapped a large measure of the local community, notably the ethnics. The Ethnic Festival Committee, proponents of a continuing consociational alliance, were forced to react immediately or become subservient to this restructuring.

The reasons for creation of the Heritage Festival can be directly related to French Canadian attempts to develop historical status in Ontario in their fight to be addressed as a provincial charter group. The importance of this attempt is directly related to changes in the structure of bilingual policy. French and English Canadians had developed a new postwar national accommodation on the basis of bilingualism and biculturalism, however, when the Parti Quebecois came to power in Quebec in 1976, the provincial leaders of Quebec no longer chose to act as spokesmen for French Canadians outside of Quebec. The French Canadians in Ontario were forced to act as their own political interest group (Morris and Lanphier 1977:186). One result has been that Franco Ontarienne organizations (ACFO and its affiliated associations) had to pressure for greater provincial government support of cultural activity as a means to strengthen French Canadian identity in Ontario. Since they no longer had a 'motherland' to support their positions they had to build up cultural and historical support for bilingual policy in the province.

They called for support of their "special need for a popular culture which gives them the opportunity to get together, know each other and develop an identity. This would be a good cure for anglicization, apathy and the
other ills which affect them." (Federation 1977:65) 'Popular culture' was a
euphemism for charter group ideology because French Canadians in Ontario had
to force government policy and invoke charter group ideology to maintain and
improve their positions. In Timmins this effort was to find fruition in the
symbolically named 'Heritage Festival' under provincial government
sponsorship.

The Ontario government focus of attempts to develop French Canadian
'popular culture' was the 'Heritage Conservation Division' of the Ministry of
Culture and Recreation. In the 1977 Arts Council of Ontario report on
French-speaking Ontario the Heritage Conservation Division was said to be the
only division with a "patent capacity to further the development of
Franco-Ontarian culture" (Savard 1977:171). The report called on the
government to "do its part in making known and appreciated the heritage of
its French minority, so deeply rooted in the history of this province."
(Savard 1977:171). It called upon the Heritage Conservation Division to
"encourage the gathering and publication of Franco-Ontarian heritage" (Savard

The ministry and its heritage division greatly expanded its French
Canadian representation as the provincial government, under Franco Ontarienne
pressure, extended the terms of reference of the 'Council for Franco-Ontarian
Affairs'. The Timmins representatives on the council were Treva Cousineau
and, later, Gaston Mallette. More bilingual personnel were now hired by
ministry offices, especially in Timmins which became the ministry's regional
center for Northeastern Ontario. Ethnics were relegated to the Multicultural
Development Branch of the Citizenship Division rather than being accepted as
a concern of the Heritage branch since, by their definition as ethnic groups,
they were not part of the true 'heritage' of Canada or Ontario.
Regional 'Exploring Our Heritage' festivals were seen as one means to bring people together and make them aware of their region's heritage, inspire their interest in local historical activities and provide support to charter group activities. In the summer of 1978 the Ontario Heritage Foundation held a special heritage festival in Arnprior, a community forty miles east of Ottawa, called, 'Exploring Our Heritage: The Ottawa Valley Experience'. The Arnprior festival brought together museums, historical societies and other local heritage organizations to examine the history of the Ottawa Valley area. The heritage revolved around the relations between the English and the French Canadian population who founded and continue to be the largest communities in the region. The festival served to support already existing concepts of local heritage and was, not surprisingly, praised by all as a triumph.

The success of the first festival at Arnprior led to creation of a second festival in the long neglected region of Northeastern Ontario. Heritage would again be the operative word as was the accentuation on the Anglo-Franco framework of heritage. The French Canadian heritage emphasis was inspired by previous studies on the French Canadian population of the region (Gavard 1977/Federation 1977).

In 1979 the Ministry of Culture and Recreation sent a French Canadian representative from Kapuskasing, an overwhelmingly Francophone community, to do a preliminary survey on the cultural activities in the area to see "whether heritage groups in the area felt they could benefit from such an event". The response was said to be "overwhelmingly positive". The survey listed the cultural and heritage activity available in the communities such as dancers, local historians, arts and crafts experts but there was an overwhelming concentration on Francophone activities with some English
Canadian organizations but no ethnic organizations. This study, plus the experiences in Arnprior, set the framework of the festival from the beginning; a conditional view of heritage limited to French and English Canadian charter group input.

Timmins was chosen as the site of the festival because of its central location, the availability of facilities and existing heritage groups. The new English and French Canadian elites, which were already attempting to redefine local 'heritage' as a means to develop their own prestige and access to resources, readily accepted the festival as a means to further their ends. English Canadians from the Porcupine Camp Historical Society and the Friends of the Museum, who had been circumscribing pioneer status, as well as French Canadians from Northern College, the Separate School Board and French Canadian associations such as ACFO and the St. Jean Baptiste Society, became the major local supporters of the festival.

The introduction of the Heritage Festival coincided with a move within the Porcupine Camp Historical Society, Friends of the Museum and the Timmins Museum towards a French Canadian orientation. The Timmins Museum and Exhibition Center, under the financial aegis of the federal government, expanded its efforts to allow for bilingual presentations of historical material as well as the use of bilingual staff members and exhibitions. The hiring of a new museum curator in 1980 was with the express stipulation that he learn and utilize French in the museum.

A similar change had already occurred in the leadership of the Porcupine Camp Historical Society as the older, ethnic leadership was forced out. The new leadership was younger, largely English Canadian and museum oriented, and included for the first time a French Canadian representative in the executive committee. There had been some trepidation amongst members of the historical
society in nominating a French Canadian to the society's executive. Older members felt that "once one of them got in the door they would push us all out". Nevertheless the revised historical society, which had been absorbed by the Friends of the Museum, accepted his inclusion as a necessary introduction of "fresh blood".

The French Canadian representative now took on an increasingly important leadership role, often superceding the English Canadian president. He introduced the use of bilingual posters to advertise society meetings. He was instrumental in restructuring the society in the first meeting of the new executive in February 1981 into a four member organizational committee, consisting of the president, himself, a bilingual teacher at Northern College and the new museum curator, to run the society. There a new recruitment drive to bring in new members, especially from the French Canadian community. The restructured historical society became the Heritage Foundation's agent in the community.

When the festival was first proposed many people thought it would be an ideal way to present the history of the Timmins region in a public forum which would include all the different points of view. The structure of the festival, however, was largely set before any call was made for local input. The organization consisted of two advisers who sat on the Heritage Foundation board; one French Canadian, one English Canadian. There was one main coordinator in Toronto and a local coordinator who was to be appointed later. A Regional Programme Committee was to structure the program and activities and a local Timmins Coordinating Committee would only deal with logistics. Even the local members of the Culture and Recreation Ministry began to maintain that the festival was being pushed down their throats. The Museum curator was also hesitant as she saw this as an attempt to "parachute"
festival into the area without much local involvement.

When she (the Heritage coordinator) started talking about this heritage thing she said it was all going to be a big deal like in Arnprior and it is for getting all the people interested in local history. You'll have local high school teachers in talking about how they teach local history in the classrooms and you'll have projects and you'll have this and that. There is not going to be any of that. The only thing I can see is that they are bringing a lot of people up here from Toronto. or down South to talk about Timmin's history or Northeastern Ontario history. This is going to turn a lot of people off...Their concept was based on their experiences in Arnprior and how stimulating it was for the local community. But I think these things are best when they rise from the community like the ethnic festival.

Nevertheless the Heritage Festival coordinator informed the president of the historical society of the success of the previous festival in Arnprior and the possibilities such a festival would offer to the community. The society president thought the festival an excellent idea which would help her own organization since it appeared to be directed towards the same interests. The museum director stated that the heritage coordinator was only trying to make the historical society president take responsibility for the local coordinating committee. "She is being set up as a patsy or a token. It works both ways for the ministry because if something goes wrong it won't matter as they just bugger off afterwards."

The Timmins Coordinating Committee consisted of two bilingual representatives from the local ministry office, the museum director, the historical society president, a representative from the board of education and a French Canadian representative from Northern College. Concerned that the Ethnic Festival Committee not be left out, the museum director insisted the coordinating committee invite them to participate. The ethnic committee was invited to send delegates but from the beginning the ethnics were not allowed to set policy but only act as support personnel, serving ethnic foods at a reception.
The first ethnic festival representative to the Timmins Coordinating Committee was the Croatian leader. She spoke French fluently but the first meeting gave her the impression that the whole festival was, as she said afterwards, "going to be in French and that only the French were going to be accommodated". The Croatian representative reported her fears to the other ethnic leaders of the festival committee. The ethnics told the museum director that they were concerned that only the French Canadian community were being involved, that the ethnics were relegated to support personnel and that the Heritage Festival would be a threat to their own festival. The museum director agreed to address the festival committee in its February meeting to allay any fears.

The museum director answered the ethnic committee members' questions by explaining that this would probably be largely a professional workshop. "I don't want people to feel that they are being put upon or that the heritage group is directing things and doing things around you, which is something I feel as well, but anything that brings people together has to be good no matter what." The Croatian representative to the steering committee emphasized that she wanted the committee to do something as a group besides "just running wire under the stage or directing a shuttlebus." She was concerned that the committee not leave the presentation of 'heritage' solely to the French and English Canadians.

They have not asked us to do anything but we should do something because we do exist and have been here for quite a while and if they don't know about us so far they should find out...They are concerned with heritage and to them that does not seem to have anything to do with the ethnics as such.

The Ukrainian ethnic leader voiced the major view that the program was already set and the ethnic committee purposefully left out. "I feel they have the program all set up and now are asking us to help them. Why didn't they
come to our meetings and address us. Why didn't the coordinator come to our meeting and let us know what she wanted. It seems they have everything done."

This was the viewpoint most members accepted feeling that if the Heritage Festival wanted their contribution why did it not do it the service of addressing the committee and clearly specifying what they wanted.

The committee wanted to participate but felt they were being left in the dark. In order to avoid further denials of their position a proposal was made by the Rumanian leader that the committee president prepare a speech on the history of the ethnic committee and read it at the conference in order to make their presence known. This was passed but so many questions were still left to be asked that the committee decided to send more representatives to the next Heritage Festival meeting to gain further clarification.

The museum director left the meeting feeling she had been caught in the middle. The ethnic committee did not blame her for the difficulties but she was the only person to whom they could address their questions. She now knew that the committee wanted to have a speaker, a say in the programming and know more about what was going on as a whole. She voiced these concerns to the local assistant coordinator who assured her the ethnic committee would be included and promised to address the committee at its next monthly meeting. The museum director, however, felt that the ethnic committee would never get any satisfaction as all the Heritage coordinator wanted them to do was "to serve the food, sit down and play spoons".

Another problem that annoyed the committee was the possible inclusion of the Ukrainian Museum curator in the Heritage Festival program. The curator had heard about the Heritage Festival and phoned the coordinator directly and accepted to make a presentation on local labour history. The coordinator, however, did not realize the problems that this might cause or the type of
presentation that he was going to make. As the Ukrainian Museum curator said, "I am really ready to open up and give them hell at the Heritage Festival. The French history here was not until much later. They talk of Timmins but not of the people who dug the gold out." The Timmins Museum director knew the problems that his inclusion might cause.

She (The Festival coordinator) is being naive because this community is so divided in so many ways and so deeply. Well in some ways she is at an advantage because she doesn’t know and can make moves that I could never chance to make. She is trying to get the Ukrainian Museum curator to talk and she doesn’t know the trouble that will cause yet if I say something about him I will be looked at as a troublemaker so I said go ahead.

The Finnish, Croatian and Ukrainian leaders of the ethnic committee were present at the next Coordinating Committee meeting to observe and have their questions answered. The meeting set the final plans for the festival to be held on the weekend of June 6 and 7 at Northern College. The Friends of the Museum agreed to host a reception on Friday night at the museum and the ethnic committee’s contribution was to provide ‘fingerfoods’ for the reception. The ethnic committee representatives’ questions remained unanswered and the meeting only seemed to confirm their own worst fears. As the Finnish leader said;

I thought the Heritage Festival would include all the people in the community. They are not interested in what the Finns did locally. They do not want us to tell them how we contributed to the community. They will tell us. This is not at all how they said it was going to be. There is a steering committee yet there is nothing to steer as they have already set it up.

In fact the arrangements had still not yet been finalized. Arrangements were made to hire a local festival assistant who would aid the festival coordinator, the Timmins Coordinating Committee and the Regional Programme Committee. The assistant would answer inquiries, provide publicity, contact groups in the region to encourage their participation and find appropriate
people to sit on the Regional Programme Committee. The festival assistant's role was extremely important as the assistant was to be the regional and local representative who would get people who would set the Heritage Festival program. The festival assistant selected, not coincidentally, was one of the leading Franco-Ontarian nationalists in the community who was, at this time, also president of the St. Jean Baptiste Society and treasurer of ACFO. The assistant coordinator's contribution became so dominant that she was given equal standing as a full coordinator on a par with the main coordinator.

The festival's original ideology focussed on 'heritage' which by implication only the charter groups have rather than 'culture' which was something the ethnic groups had. The festival assistant reaffirmed this approach by bringing to the Heritage Festival a demarcated French-English concept of heritage. She informed me that the festival was for "all the groups -- Natives, Francophones, Anglophones" rather than for the ethnic communities. In this restructuring the Native Indians were being given a limited charter group status of a largely autochthonous nature in which they were symbols of the early days of exploration.

This charter group division was carried even further with the assistant coordinator's selection of the Regional Programme Committee. Of the eighteen committee members, ten were French Canadians, six English Canadians and two Native Indians. The Timmins representatives on the committee consisted of the Anglo Historical Society president, two Native Indian leaders from the Treaty Nine - Ojibway-Cree Cultural Center and one French Canadian representative who was also regional president of the ACFO-affiliated 'Federation des Femmes canadiennes-françaises'.

Similarly the Timmins Coordinating Committee came to consist of two
French Canadian representatives from the local ministry office, two English Canadian representatives from the Chamber of Commerce, the museum director, the Historical Society president, a representative from the board of education, a representative from the Separate School board who was also president of the 'Association des Ecole separees de Timmins', a French Canadian representative from Northern College who was a leading advocate of bilingualism in the college, but no representatives from the Ethnic Festival Committee. The ethnic representatives were disenchanted.

In the midst of growing concern by the ethnic committee leaders the Heritage Festival coordinator came from Toronto to talk to the committee and clear-up any misunderstandings. She was told beforehand by the Finnish leader and committee vice-president to state specifically what she wanted the ethnic committee to do because there had been so much misunderstanding. "They want to know do you want us or don't you want us and if you do want us what do you want." The coordinator responded by saying that there were so many Finnish and Italian people in the community why didn't they have an historian who could come and speak. The Finnish representative responded by saying;

"That is the first time I have heard that you wanted a historian. Why didn't you come forward before. You've been meeting us at the local committee. Why not take the time to ask, 'Hasn't your group someone who has lived here a long time and would be interested in coming.' But we were told specifically that all the historians and workshop people were already set up.

The coordinator implied that the problem had probably stemmed from the first committee representative who had not understood what had been discussed. This only further angered the ethnic leaders as this implied that they did not understand the English language. The Finnish leader was particularly offended by the implications;

They figure the ethnics are a bunch of dummies who can't understand English and are misunderstanding everything. As far as
I am concerned I speak pretty good English. The coordinator was hinting subtly that it was the Croatian representative at the first meeting that screwed everything up but she knows English and she knows French. But she keeps saying, 'We notified you.'; 'We sent each one of you an invitation.'; 'Each one should have received one of these'. It was one thing to have something on a piece of paper but there was also what was said to you by people on the committee who are supposed to be high up. If they don't bother talking to you we are not going to be placated by any piece of paper.

The Heritage coordinator did not address the committee leaders' concerns but went on with a speech she had given many times before on the success of the previous festival at Arnprior and about the contribution the festival would make to the museum and historical society. She did not even answer the simple question as to whether the ethnic associations would be paid for their food contributions despite the fact that the festival was budgeted for some $30,000. After the meeting the ethnic committee was even less prepared to participate and they informed the program committee that they would not be making a formal presentation on the history of the festival committee. They no longer sent any of their representatives to the local coordinating committee. As one ethnic member commented, "They don't really need us and don't want us so why pretend they do and call us a bunch of dummies. We'll leave them alone and they'll leave us alone."

The festival coordinator took the attitude that she had gone out of her way to try to explain. She stated that it did not matter if the ethnic committee leaders understood or not because the festival was going on "come hell or high water" and that "It was for their good and they will thank me later." When I questioned her approach she shrugged it off saying that ethnic input was not important as they already had a lot of local input. She did make a small concession to the ethnic committee, specifically the Ukrainian representative, by not including the Ukrainian Museum curator. "He is one of
those people it is not worth inviting as it will just cause trouble." The other part of the problem was that he would also have emphasized the ethnic and class character of local heritage.

In attempting to gain information on the Heritage Festival I also talked to the festival coordinator's supervisor in the Toronto office of the Heritage Foundation. Originally my meeting was to have been with the coordinator but she decided it was better that I talk to her supervisor instead as he could better answer my questions. The information I gained from the supervisor only further added to the distinction I have made between heritage and culture. The rational he gave for the festival was an antiseptic version of getting people interested in their heritage. Whenever I tried to introduce the idea that the ethnic communities might also want input as part of that heritage he felt I was becoming confused since the ethnics were clearly the purvue of the Multicultural Division and not his concern. He saw the ethnics only in terms of their "folk contributions" rather than heritage contributions. The only elements of heritage the ethnics were to be allowed to contribute was on the edge of the real presentations. Ethnic heritage was something which could only be 'displayed', like a piece of art, while charter group heritage was something which could be 'presented' as in a history. There was no realization that 'heritage' and 'culture' could be one and the same especially in a community which could not agree on a local history.

I advised him that the feeling in the community was that the festival was being instigated and largely controlled from outside. He insisted that they were unconcerned with "local parochialism" but were charging ahead even if that implied upsetting local conditions and helping some interest groups over others. "Our goal is to stimulate activity in regions where it was not found before and if, as part of that activity, there is the setting up of
different groups and creative tensions in society we feel it has been
achieved."

The groups which would benefit from this activity were the French and
English Canadian elites. The ethnic communities would suffer as this would
change the meaning of symbols and resources in the community. French and
English Canadians would become enshrined as local charter groups while the
ethnics would be reduced to peripherals. This did not concern the
bureaucrats. "If there are problems within and between groups, that is not
our concern as that is multiculturalism and we don't deal with it." They
would go ahead no matter the problems encountered. "It's my job not to let
the fact that there is conflict interrupt the flow of things."

In spite of the problems the Ethnic Festival Committee experienced with
the Heritage Festival they were being pressured to participate. Acquaintances
in the Friends of the Museum and Historical Society began to tell the ethnic
association leaders that their presence would be missed and that they were
needed in the festival. The museum director used her personal influence and
was able to promise that they would be paid for their food platters. She was
further able to mollify them by insisting that their contributions were to be
for the museum rather than for the Heritage Festival. Only because of their
personal loyalty to the museum director did the ethnic committee leaders
agree to contribute foods for the opening reception and then only because the
reception was also designed to familiarize people with a new exhibit at the
museum.

The Croatian and Polish leaders, who had dance groups available, also
agreed to provide entertainment. They did so in part because the festival
committee might have decided to utilize the Mosaic Club's cultural activities
and thus supersede the ethnic committee's control of local ethnic culture.
The Polish, Finn and Ukrainian leaders also agreed to put on small displays at the festival. The ethnic committee president further agreed, at the last minute, to include his small presentation on the history of the ethnic committee. The president had insisted that the ethnic committee make at least this minimal concession. "We started with a very negative feeling that we should not participate as we had not been consulted. They had their own set plan of action so we should not participate but I wanted us to participate in some shape or form." They decided it was better to be represented in this manner than be left out of the festival.

The opening reception on Friday evening at the Timmins Museum welcomed participants to the 'Exploring our Heritage: the Northeastern Experience' as well as to the debut of the new museum exhibit which told the story of the Porcupine Camp through pictures and artifacts. The exhibit, like the festival, served to bolster the museum elite's control of pioneer status; there was no ethnic display of any sort. The only ethnic recognition was limited to a population pie graph on a small section of the wall which only served to emphasize their small size.

Representatives from the Ukrainian, Finnish and Italian ethnic associations were present at the opening in their ethnic costumes serving their prepared foods. The Finnish representative informed me she was the only one there from her own group because the Finnish leader had promised the museum director but the leader refused to be there herself because of her feelings against the festival. The Italian representatives also felt that they were here as an obligation to the museum director. The Italians had simply cut pizza into small squares and stuck toothpicks into them feeling that was about all the festival people deserved. The Italian group leader felt that these people had no idea of Italian culture or cared to know. "What
do they think Italian food is, spaghetti on a cracker?" In these circumstances the ethnic representatives were simply window dressing as well as cheap serving help and they recognized that they were being perceived as such by the Heritage Festival. Their presence did, however, allowed the coordinator to advertise that the Heritage Festival would have a "multicultural flavour".

At Northern College the next day festival participants presented displays and artifacts on lumbering, railway models, English and French colonial soldiers and forts, Native Indian and French Canadian crafts and historical society presentations. The overwhelming nature of the displays was an emphasis on the major charter groups and their regional history and pioneer status. The ethnic group displays in comparison were small and limited to purely cultural artifacts.

The Polish exhibit, set up by the local Polish White Eagle Society, displayed old country craft samples with straw dolls and inlaid boxes and pictures. The Finnish display consisted of a Finnish loom which was simply left in one of the artifact rooms and could not be distinguished from other artifacts. The Dante Club was listed on the program as having an exhibit at the festival but they had not chosen to contribute which was indicative of the general feeling in the ethnic committee. The Ukrainian group was the only community to participate on a personal level and they were relegated to corner tables doing embroidery and decorating eggs. The Ukrainian leader said she had come because she wanted to contribute in order to meet people. She felt there had been a misunderstanding with the Heritage Festival coordinator and did not want to hold a grudge for this was about heritage and this was what she felt she was presenting.

This brings up a major problem which faces ethnic communities in
Timmins as well as in most of Canada. A forced emphasis on ethnic criteria due to government policy has come to mean that the ethnics have little understanding of what constitutes local heritage. They resurrect mother country symbols which are the only responses they may have available as they have been ostracized from any attempt to establish their local contributions. Ethnics are seen as contributing only partially to the political and economic structure and are left with passive responses within the cultural structure. Similarly the Heritage Festival's concern was with duality and not diversity which called on the ethnics to emphasize their ethnic group differences rather than commonalities.

The talks presented during the festival were divided into French and English language sessions and offered a sanitized version of regional history. They dealt with the contributions of English and French Canadians with a small mention of Native Indians and no mention of the ethnics. What was being communicated was a 'safe' version of heritage stretching from the early Indians to the French and English furtraders to the lumber, mining and railway industries and presenting the northeast as a land of growth and peaceful co-existence without the bothersome complexities that the ethnics might have introduced. Mine owners who had been known for their repressive measures against ethnic miners, such as Harry Oaks in Kirkland Lake, were resurrected as heroes.

On the second day the Heritage Festival changed to a workshop format which combined French and English presentations in the same session. The participants learned how to develop their local heritage through architectural conservation, museum activity and local research. At one of these sessions the president of the Timmins and District Ethnic Association gave his speech which had been reduced by the program committee to a ten
minute presentation. He felt that even this was a necessary contribution as he did not want the ethnic committee to just "stand back".

At the start of his talk on "The History of the Timmins Ethnic Festival and the Timmins and District Ethnic Association", the association president began with a wide-ranging definition of ethnics which affirmed that all the people in Canada were ethnics. He was presenting a statement of philosophy more than a history. He emphasized that Canada was a special country of "unity in diversity" and a land of opportunity which allowed everybody equality. He further stated his interest that the association become more visible outside of the ethnic festival as they became more assured of themselves.

The final results of the Heritage Festival appeared to be of little significant impact on the local-level. The festival did little to strengthen the immediate concept of French - English heritage in the community (though it may have succeeded on a regional level). The Porcupine Camp Historical Society and the Friends of the Museum, as a result of the continuing lack of local interest in historiography, did not succeed in amalgamating or carrying out the ambitious expansion of charter group interests in the community. The Heritage Festival did succeed in arousing the ethnic committee and its associations who no longer wished to see themselves be left out of any attempts to redefine the community's 'heritage'. The festival had forced the committee to recognize the importance of symbolic resources (heritage, culture, ideology) as a basis for interest and action.

After the festival the president began to talk of how the association would have to change to "a more heritage-oriented relationship to Timmins" in which the ethnic communities would compete directly with the French and English Canadians for local resources. As part of this change he proposed
that the ethnic committee begin to gather information from the older ethnics, possibly in cooperation with the historical society, to provide a history of the ethnic communities in Timmins. He even considered expanding the ethnic festival into a two day event which would bring together the traditional ethnic element of the festival with the newer elements of heritage.

The leaders of the Timmins and District Ethnic Festival Committee were in the process of preparing to compete directly and unequivocally with the French and the English Canadian communities. The question remains as whether the ethnic festival committee will succeed in its attempts to maintain and develop local ethnic status in the face of internal divisions and charter group potency. One thing we do know is that interest group action will continue to be restructured by the national context and the situational responses of local interest groups in the ongoing process of interethnic relations in the Porcupine Camp.
The primary purpose of this thesis has been to repudiate the apolitical and culturally traditional model of Canadian ethnic studies. This has been accomplished through an examination of ethnicity and class within a mining community in order to show that even in a mining community, which has been considered one of the bastions of class conflict (Forcense 1975:31), ethnicity can be utilized as a primary basis of action in the pursuit of economic and political goals. The persistent and complex relationship between ethnicity and class is shown to form a major framework for social relationships in one such community. Lack of an appreciation of this relationship has often resulted in the unnecessary opposition of ethnicity and class. The basis of one, however, as we have seen, is often dependent, positively or negatively, on the elements of the other.

The salience of ethnicity and the degree to which members of an ethnic population subscribe to ethnic, class or other ideologies will differ not only between groups but even within the ethnic community. The major conditional elements which will affect this relationship is the 'context', which is imposed by dominant groups, and the situational response of individuals and groups at the community level. The context is imposed both informally and formally through implied conformity (norms and values) and direct policy (biculturalism and multiculturalism). Ethnic and class differences will change according to the changing context within which a community must operate and which will affect the situational responses of
individuals and groups.

The general context defines the necessary requirements, the availability of basic resources to be utilized to meet these requirements and the manner in which they are to be acquired. It sets the limits within which action is taken though this does not mean that individual and group responses are forever constrained. The context can be overturned and, when this has been attempted, the context must be revised or action taken, notably by the government, against those who have attempted a revision. The revision of context is the prerogative of the dominant authorities; any attempt to change the context on the national or regional level is a threat to the prevailing authority structure and action will be taken to redress the threat. Action can be taken, however, on the community level by individuals or interest groups to restructure situationally the local meaning of contextual elements and, or possibly, redefine what are to be considered the important resources for which they must compete vis-à-vis other individuals and interest groups existing in the particular environment.

The major socio-political context of nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian society was one of Anglo-conformity (Palmer 1975:112), a stable structure which was defined by religion (Protestantism), language (English), economic system (urban capitalism) and political system (British parliamentary). French Canadians were allowed a nominal position in this structure, notably in politics, but they were also expected to conform to the Anglo structure. They were inevitably expected to change their language as well as their economic base (from a rural to an urban society) though they were allowed time to adapt. The conflicts which shaped Canadian society, locally and nationally, even to the twentieth century, were tied to the continuing conflict between French and English Canadians over the basis of
this conformity, French Canadian society fought a rearguard action, trying to maintain a rural, Catholic and non-capitalist society as a means to guarantee their economic and social system from disruption by Anglo control. This resulted in a divergence between the societies in the late nineteenth century.

In the wake of French Canadian disinterest, English Canadians were able to define the new Canadian industrial society in their own images. They went out of their way to maintain their exclusivity and access to political and economic power. In the years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century this was essentially effortless as Canadian nationalism was commensurate with a pan British imperialism (Clark 1962:228, 234; McCormack 1981:43). This vision of an 'Imperial nation' had been resurrected by English Canadians after confederation in an attempt to restrict French Canadian access to political power and it came to control competition for political and economic resources even more than later reliances on the limited concepts of nationalism (Wade 1968:384; Millett 1981:70). It set the context for the responses in the arena of public action, restricting French Canadians to those areas which were reserved for them. It took no cognizance of the small trickle of ethnic immigrants as they were considered to be simply sojourners and unlikely to challenge the prevailing conformity.

At the turn of this century, however, these same immigrants, greatly increased in number, came to threaten the prevailing socio-political balance of Canadian society. These immigrants began to clamour for recognition of their ethnic and class roles in the new Canadian industrial state. It had been one of the early myths of that state that these immigrants came to this land disoriented and politically paralyzed, forced to adapt or retreat within their turtlelike shell of ethnic identity (Handlin 1951:8). The vision of the
'stalwart peasant', conservative, hardworking, with a strong back and a weak mind who saved his money to return to the old country or to bring over his own family and assimilate to Canadian society, was a strong symbol for the host society (Avery 1979:13). But these immigrants were not a conservative peasantry and their emigration was less an indication of their conservativeness than of their ability to adapt and seek new mechanisms for accommodation and resource acquisition.

The only means of access the host society offered to these immigrants, so necessary as labour in the era of industrial expansion but unnecessary complications to the social framework of Canadian society, was assimilation. But those immigrants who did attempt to assimilate found it extremely difficult. Assimilation required a large investment of time and money, to learn the language and mores of the host society and even then did not guarantee one's acceptance. The host society defined who were to be assimilable according to negative and positive stereotypes which were often changed so that few immigrants could ever be sure of their acceptability.

In the face of intrusion by large numbers of immigrants the English Canadians continued to emphasize their hegemony. They were so successful in presenting themselves in this light that they came to be seen as a singular and dominating group of largely fictitious construction (WASP's, Anglos, British Canadians, English Canadians) by both ethnics and social scientists (Anderson 1982:18).

In the industrial frontier regions such as the Porcupine Camp, the immigrants were harshly exploited for their labour with little monetary compensation and even less recourse to economic and political power in the community. The only option available to the immigrants, on a local and national level, was to respond on a collective basis to restructure the host
society. This restructuring, however, as they soon came to realize, could only take place with a change in context and a virtual overthrow of Canadian society. A blueprint for change was available in the radical class movements of communism and socialism.

The immigrants began to think less of their own mother countries and more about the restructuring of the new country as a result of their increasing confrontation with the Canadian economic and political system. In turn the English Canadian population saw immigrant attempts to redress grievances and create a new basis of competition as an extremist political position. Symbolically almost all ethnic action, without regard for its political content but only in terms of its acceptance by the host society, became seen as a radicalism. (Ogmundson 1977:254)

The immigrants could not even find support among the Canadian radical political organizations because, in spite of their political ideology, they were English Canadian controlled and maintained a parochial Canadian radicalism which wanted to revise Canadian society but maintain Anglo control. The immigrants responded to this parochialism as well as Anglo restrictions on their assimilation to Canadian society by creating an ethnic consciousness which combined with class consciousness to create a uniquely panethnic class movement.

Kuper (1972:400) has stated that there are some societies which do not follow the Marxist pattern of class differentiation because the racial (or ethnic) structure rather than class structure is the crucial point in revolutionary change. This is especially so in plural societies where the racial or ethnic structure and the differential incorporation of the races or ethnic groups can cause revolutionary change (1972:415-18). Class factors exist but are often simply rhetorical in a movement against the differential
incorporation of competing groups. Class then can perhaps be best understood as an idiom of competition, often utilized by both sides but especially by the subordinate groups.

As a result one may often see, as Berdichewsky (1978:387) noticed, the paradoxical development of ethnic institutions paralleling the development of class consciousness. Nowhere was this more evident than in Canada and especially in the Porcupine Camp where the class movement took on an appreciably ethnic character. However, Berdichewsky has made ethnic consciousness appear as an outgrowth of and even secondary to, class consciousness, whereas in the Porcupine Camp at least ethnic and class consciousness was much less parallel and more integrated in their development.

Class became the ideology of a new panethnic alliance in the pre World War I period which brought together many ethnics and even English Canadian workers. This resulted in a new Canadian class consciousness at a time when the stark elements of Canadian capitalism were most distinct. The ethnic immigrants created a new class consciousness and, provisionally at least, agreed that ethnicity was to be subservient to class and would dissolve in the equitable restructuring of Canadian society.

In the Porcupine Camp, class, union and ethnic associations were all allied in the interests of class solidarity. This panethnic class solidarity was a response to exploitative conditions by the mines and the society. The test of its ability to take collective action, to threaten Anglo control of Canadian society, came in the 1912-13 Strike. The result, an essential failure to hold to their demands as well as to their class ideology, led to the alliance's inevitable breakdown.

The failure of class action strained the alliance between the ethnics
and their English allies. The class alliance was fully destroyed during World War I with the rise of Canadian nationalism. The English Canadians who had been class compatriots with the ethnics began to give up their general class commitment in favour of a new Canadian nationalism; this comprised a new version of Anglo Canadian conformity, more liberal perhaps in allowing lower class English Canadians wider access to resources but just as restrictive against ethnics. (Penner 1977:76)

Panethnic class solidarity dissolved in this new context which emphasized that class ideology was an unacceptable basis of national competition. The ethnics came under massive prejudicial assault for their class commitment. Many were forced out of their mine jobs and out of the camp. Those who remained repaired to their ethnic halls and emerged only to mollify the host community by presenting themselves, for the first time but not for the last, as apolitical ethnic group cultural representatives. Nevertheless the ethnics retained their class solidarity but infused it with a situational reliance on ethnic institutions (i.e. progressivism).

In the mid 1920s, class interests re-emerged in a collective alliance though one infused with a definitive ethnic character. The nature of this particular class consciousness and its dependence on the ethnic community could be seen in the emergence of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) and the CPC's dependence on ethnic involvement in the Porcupine Camp.

The ethnic political support for the CPC must be gauged by the response of the ethnic communities when, in the late 1920s, the CPC called on them to give up their ethnic allegiances in the interests of class consciousness. The majority refused to give up the one for the other in one of the more ironic developments of the class movement in Canada. The Communist Party of Canada, the supposed institutional foundation of the class movement, was dependent
upon the ethnic associations for its survival. The CPC, however, had mistakenly assumed that class was the controlling idiom. When the CPC leadership attempted to override the authority of the ethnic halls, in effect taking resources away from the ethnic progressives and giving them to the Anglo radical leadership, they were defeated by the intransigence of ethnics who began to think less of national movements and more of local interests. The CPC was never able to act as an effective national political force because large numbers of ethnics took this uncompromising position.

The time following the Great Depression of 1929 became a period of crisis as in a few years the ethnic relationship and commitment to Canadian society was altered once again. The seeming collapse of the capitalist economy boded well for the success of another class revolution to which many ethnic radicals were ready to commit themselves as well as their ethnic communities. Before the ethnic radicals could coalesce their support, however, Anglo Canadian authorities reacted swiftly to make clear that they would not accept any ethnic class threat to the prevailing order. The ethnic radicals, as well as their progressive allies, were harassed and jailed in swift order. Radical public demonstrations became excuses for police brutality.

Notwithstanding the success of their physical assaults on the ethnic radicals and progressives, Canadian authorities also began to offer alternatives to ethnics who did not participate in radical activity and did not seek to overthrow their contextual control of Canadian society. They asked for 'loyalty' to the host system (i.e. conformity to Canadian nationalism) allowing alternative options for group operation (ethnic group and 'loyal' ethnic nationalism) in return for increased access to resources such as jobs. Loyalist ethnic organizations received the right to determine
which ethnics would be allowed to work in the mines. Anglo authorities would permit greater allowance for ethnic participation in Canadian society if the ethnics would ensure their loyalty and seek to preserve the structure of the society against the onslaught of those who sought its contextual dissolution. The result was the fruition of new loyalist ethnic organizations in the Porcupine Camp around 1931 which came into rapid conflict with radical and progressive ethnic organizations.

There was now a fundamental split in the ethnic communities. Further this split was institutionalized with loyalist halls and a loyalist co-op and, one side at least, gaining the tacit acceptance of the host society. The community split was between ethnic class supporters (whose efforts were seen as 'unCanadian' activity) and ethnic loyalists who began to co-opt cultural activity as a means to gain host community acceptance. Radical class activity was largely decimated on the national level but progressive support remained strong, if muted, on the community level. Instead of large-scale attempts to revise the socio-political framework of Canadian society the basis of competition was now localized and over local issues. It was largely restricted to a competition for supporters between opposing ethnic institutions in the ethnic communities or for local political power. The local radicals and progressives were able to rebound by the late 1930s and gain partial control of the Timmins town council. But this success was destroyed due to French Canadian middle class pressure and the onset of World War II.

The war created circumstances which seemed to doom all aspects of ethnic class action forever. Radical support for the Soviet Union, which was now considered a military enemy, hurt ethnic class supporters. In a short time all radical and progressive associations became illegal and their
membership scattered. Ethnic representation was taken over completely by the loyalists. Yet a few years later, when the Soviet Union became a war ally, the radicals and progressives re-emerged and co-opted their antagonist's roles as loyal supporters of the host society and its war effort. In turn the host society accepted the radicals as allies rather than pariahs. The ethnic class communities emerged from the war with renewed vigor and once again thought of taking collective class action on the national scene since it appeared they were now accepted as part of the new universal context of Canadian nationalism.

Class was allowed to take the place of ethnic culture, which was seen as an unnecessary intrusion into Canadian life of divisive foreign standards, as a framework for ethnic participation in Canadian society. Class again became an acceptable basis of discussion and organization. Yet, with the rise of the Cold War, class once again became an unacceptable framework for seeking political and economic power on the national level; the context of Canadian society had been changed once again.

The local importance of class was destroyed in the Porcupine Camp in the late 1940s with the weakening of the radical Mine Mill Union. In 1939 the French Canadian middle class in the Porcupine Camp had sided with the English middle class to stop radical control of the Timmins town council. In the late 1940s the French Canadian working class, under Catholic Church pressure, allied with the English Canadian working class to destroy the Mine Mill union's ethnic class base.

In the Porcupine Camp the progressive ethnics were unable to gain support among the postwar immigrants, many of whom were expressly channelled into the camp by Canadian authorities because of their anti-Communist attitudes. The ethnic progressive institutions weakened under the onslaught
and most were forced to close their doors. This coincided with the movement of large numbers of ethnics out of the camp and into Southern Ontario with the fear that the mines were closing down. The ethnics were replaced by French Canadians who bought their businesses and took over their mine jobs.

Class and its radical ethnic supporters failed in Canada as a result of the postwar Communist scare and new economic growth. Class became a virtual nonissue on the national level. At the local-level there was a dissolution of the conditional (i.e. progressive) relationship between ethnic and class consciousness. Without ethnic consciousness, which had long been the basis of local class strength (as well as its major weakness), class support in the Porcupine Camp faltered almost irretrievably. If class was to be resurrected as a viable form of consciousness and an organizing principle it would be without ethnic consciousness which was co-opted into the Canadian social structure. Ethnicity would remain as the only possible basis for economic and political action on the local-level if universality failed, as it would.

The industrial growth of the postwar period allowed ethnic immigrants an opportunity to participate more equitably for new economic and political resources. The contextual basis of this competition was to be universal achievement criteria, for the war had shown the danger of demarcating groups, such as the Jews, according to their ethnic differences. The new framework of postwar Canadian society thus necessitated a large degree of ethnic assimilation and the weakening of ethnic institutions. In the Porcupine Camp this initial universal context allowed for the development of a consociational alliance between loyalist ethnics, English and French Canadians in which all agreed to equal access to local economic and political resources according to nominal universal criteria.

This local consociation was maintained in the face of socio-political
changes on the national level. In spite of the fact that postwar Canadian society was supposed to work according to universal criteria, Anglo Canadians emerged to regain control of Canadian conformity. This brought them into conflict with French Canadian society which had changed into a modern economic and political force in many ways similar to English Canadian society but without the commensurate power. The French Canadians pressured for a restructuring of Canadian society which would take cognizance of their new roles. In 1963 the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was formed. The commission's conclusions were used as the basis for a new national accommodation between English and French Canadians who were to be distinguished as the superior charter groups of Canadian society.

Canadian society enshrined charter group control and excluded large-scale ethnic participation for economic and political power on the national level. Thus one part of Canadian society was given preferential interest group treatment while the other was restricted to universal criteria which were becoming relatively useless (Reitz 1980:239). Universal criteria were of no use to the ethnics if advancement in society and even their jobs, which had formerly been on the basis of ability, was now to be restricted by an added criteria of being able to speak both official languages. The failure of universality and the concept of social equality served to fire the flames of revived ethnic-consciousness (Hughes 1971:144-150).

There was a massive ethnic reaction against the Royal Commission. In the face of widespread ethnic pressure, the government introduced multiculturalism in 1971 as a conciliatory move though they made it subservient to biculturalism. The introduction of multiculturalism as government policy did not measurably add to the economic or political power of the ethnic communities. It was never designed for this purpose but was
rather an attempt to reduce the political controversy over bilingualism through the dealing out of minor resources on a priority basis (Peter 1981:64).

This change in the social context of Canadian society, through bilingualism and multiculturalism, largely bypassed the Porcupine Camp; the local consociational alliance was maintained in spite of national changes. The alliance held for a number of reasons. One was the area's general isolation. Another was that while the rest of Canada was experiencing an economic boom which fueled the changes in social structure, the Porcupine Camp was in an economic depression from which it did not begin to rise until the late 1960s. The third reason was that the consociational alliance had been able to largely erase the record of past class and ethnic conflicts in the interest of the local accommodation. As a result there was no stable historical basis to give one group dominant authority over the others.

There was an ongoing process within Timmins which restructured past events into innocuous elements to avoid an outbreak of interethnic-and interclass conflicts which had long been common in Timmins. In part this has resulted in such local myths as the classless society of the north, the lack of ethnic and class conflict and the continued accommodation through time amongst all groups. Major events were now either largely forgotten (1912-13 Strike) or their meaning was changed (1929 Depression) to make them less dangerous to the accommodation.

The problems which could result from a precise understanding of the history of the Porcupine Camp was all too clear as the ethnics, both as a class and as communities, had come into widespread conflict with Anglo and Anglo - Franco authority. These conflicts were now muted in favour of a new consociational alliance in which no one group gained complete control of
local political and economic power. The French and English Canadians might well hold the reins of local power but because it was not enshrined through such a process as official bilingualism or an official history and former conflicts were muted in favour of an accommodating and classless interethnic mythology, it allowed all groups equal access to local political and economic power according to nominal universal criteria.

This did not mean that conflicts could not arise but rather that when large-scale conflict did occur it was over the historic and symbolic resources which could confirm one ethnic community's rights over another. In this competition it was the nature of 'legitimacy' which became the focus of attention through attempts to control local history (Cohen 1975:1). This conflict began in the early 1970s with the start of a breakdown in the consociational alliance spurred on by an economic boom with the rise in the price of gold which finally solidified the economic future of the camp. New organizations such as the Association Canadienne-France de l'Ontario, Friends of the Museum and institutions such as La Ronde and the Timmins Museum, now became major arbiters of culture and history and began to compete for local dominant group legitimacy.

In this respect the status which is most sought for, as a valued and scarce resource, is the concept of 'pioneer'. The word is a symbol and keeps cropping up as a situational response to modern contexts. It is used by some ethnics to justify their status against what they see as an intrusion by French Canadians, especially through the introduction of official bilingualism. It is also increasingly used by French Canadians to try to add to their right to local economic and political power as a charter group. The recent elite attempts at local history, including the Heritage Festival, were attempts to justify elite and charter group pioneer status in the community.

- 409 -
in the fight over political and economic resources.

New English and French Canadian elites developed in the early 1970s and attempted to emphasize charter group legitimacy since, under the influence of government policy, this would have resulted in the restructuring of economic and political power to their benefit. However, while charter group status was confirmed on a national level it had no such support on the local-level as the ethnics, in spite of a recent decrease in numbers, retained the right to local status. This has resulted in the new challenge over who will control history and culture on the local-level. On the national level it has been largely proscribed to the benefit of the charter groups. But this proscription is still being fought over on the local-level.

The ethnics were forced to respond but since class had been largely destroyed as an ethnic vehicle the only other criteria available were either direct political action or ethnicity. Some chose direct political action. The Croatian leaders in Schumacher revitalized the Croatian Hall and the Croatian Peasant Party to respond to a breakdown in the consociation and what they perceive as an intrusion by French Canadians. They chose to meet the French Canadians directly within the political arena. They did not think this would be possible within the confines of the Liberal Party, which they saw as "the French Party" and turned instead to supporting the provincial Progressive Conservative Party. The Conservative Party was to be a new source of resources to help secure jobs, maintain the Croatian Hall and ensure that bilingualism would never become fully institutionalized in the province of Ontario. In this regard the Croatian Hall became restructured into a localized political institution, an adjunct of the Provincial Conservative Party.

Other ethnics responded by reviving their moribund ethnic institutions
and creating new interethnic associations. The major interethnic association which was developed in response to charter group attempts to gain local status was the Timmins and District Ethnic Festival Committee, a strong coalition of otherwise weak ethnic organizations. The festival committee was able to hinder the English and French Canadian attempts to gain charter group status as well as effectively compete for local status because it refused to accept multicultural policy and be identified as a collection of apolitical cultural groups. The festival committee favoured local control of the arena of public action, with ethnic input, and placed itself in virtual opposition to government controlled multiculturalism. The only groups to fully accept government multicultural policies were the remnants of the ethnic progressives, the Ukrainian Museum and the Mosaic Club. They did so because that was the only means available to them and as a result they have gained local control of multiculturalism.

On the national level the ethnics have been largely limited from direct access to power and forced to rely on circumscribed resources (political appointments and grants). In the Porcupine Camp, however, situational responses have enabled the festival committee to compete more directly with local charter groups. As a result the national policies of biculturalism and multiculturalism have become restricted by local responses. The contextual restructuring of ethnics to apolitical cultural groups which occurred on the national level in the 1960s and 1970s was met in the Porcupine Camp with attempts to revise situationally the conformity in local interests.

Individuals and interest groups in the camp have become more concerned with the control of local resources and the management of the local sphere of public action. The localized resources, both material (gatekeeper positions and jobs) and symbolic (pioneer status), are important because they are
unlikely to be controlled by outside interests, i.e. federal or provincial
governments. The resources cannot be fully assailed or controlled because the
outside interests have little knowledge of their precise local significance,
as was evident in the actions of the Heritage Festival.

The introduction of the provincially sponsored Heritage Festival in
1981 made evident each community's attempts to appropriate status at the
expense of other communities on the basis of the situational control of local
history. The festival was a catalyst which served to accentuate a crisis of
meaning in the local community. The focus of contention was over the
interpretation of the words pioneer and heritage. Timmins was a community
which had not been able to agree on the nature of its heritage or on the
localized elements of what constituted a true pioneer. These matters have
largely been left open to interpretation so that the word 'heritage' has a
number of different meanings in the Timmins environment which apply to
ethnics, English and French Canadians in a number of different alliances
indicative of local adaptation, such as within the local historical society
or interethnic cultural societies.

The festival presentations, however, were essentially charter group
confirmations. They dealt with the contribution of English and French
Canadians and even the Native Indians, with no mention of the ethnics. The
local past was presented as one of peaceful co-existence without the
bothersome complications that the ethnics, in their previous conflicts with
Canadian society, might have demonstrated. The ethnic communities were forced
to react or become subservient to this restructuring and be relegated to
ethnic group status. They did react and identified the festival as a threat
to the local consociation. By this action they effectively negated the
festival's impact while, at the same time, increasing the importance of their
own organizations. The festival committee and the ethnic communities, in the face of the continuing breakdown in the consociational alliance, were prepared to respond to local charter group attempts to control local status and even compete for that status to their own benefit. This response will in turn affect the local arena of public action and lead to new responses by the other ethnic communities and interest groups.

Each community's attempts to appropriate status in the Porcupine region must compete with other communities who attempt to gain support for their claims to economic and political means. Each community will gain, or lose, in competition and alliance with other interests and in their ability to circumvent the attempts of others. This is the true basis for relations in the Timmins area; not class alone or even ethnicity but rather a conditional situational relationship between groups and their interests in relationship to a changing context.

Throughout this thesis I have been discussing the importance of the social and political context as an affective structure. This of course implies a certain dominant group interest in maintaining order. But order is rarely prevalent or in fact necessary. Conflict, competition and disharmony are not antithetical to community structure nor does order necessarily exist in parallel to "harmonious interaction" (Jackson 1975:2). The context may imply a prevailing model of custom but that need not be equated to a concept of order. The model rather is a symbolic and political structure (i.e. the context) which is utilized by the dominant group to influence other interest groups through the granting or hindering of an application for resources. This does not mean that we must therefore be concerned with conflict resolution or structured conflict (Jackson 1975). Both imply a model for order as well. Rather in this thesis I have been concerned with intergroup
competition and the situational restructuring of context. This is possible because context and conformity are elements of interest group competition.

Accordingly ethnicity emerges as a basis of action (as does class) when interest groups, pursuant to their goals, seek to form a cohesive internal order and gain members for the pursuit of either a specific or general interest in relation to the context. The immigration of individuals and groups to a foreign and host society, which has its own conformity, necessitates the development of specific responses to a new context by the immigrants. Assimilation is one such response but the rarity of such a development points out the difficulty of total assimilation and its control by other groups. Accommodation is another development; a partial acquiescence to the control of the context. If the individual and group, however, chooses, as they more often do, to seek a revision of the context they must set up a new social order (conformity) of their own which will imply the correctness of their own convention over that of the 'outsiders'. Class may serve as such a convention but class goals are essentially action oriented (Forcese 1975:19). They require a quick victory. The result in Canadian society has more often been a quicker loss. Once this loss occurs it is difficult to hold members to an interest which appears to have little chance of victory or requires more patience than they were initially led to anticipate.

Ethnicity emerges in this circumstance as a much better operational interest and support base. It provides a convention; 'us' -- a commonality of kinship, blood, family, group, language, culture -- criteria which can be both real and symbolic and against which others are measured. It also provides an interest; 'ours' -- which can be carried out with the support (tacit or real) of a membership whose commitment is rarely open to question. The support will vary only according to the perceived value of the interest.
and the level to which it will apply. The lowest such level is the 'ethnic community'; a commonality whose interests have been internalized and confirmed. The fact that it exists points out its own success for its prime interest is to make an individual and private identity in the host society (what had been a public national or regional identity in their country of origin) into a public 'ethnic' identity in which there is a clear understanding of who is a member of the community and who is an outsider.

Identity now becomes a public (community) fact and a cohesive basis for action and interest (Fernandez 1979:16). There are lower levels, individual, family, a concept of sub-community, but they exist in relation to the ethnic community which may or may not have a spatial reality (Vasiliadis 1978). For interests beyond its direct ability the ethnic community may ally with other ethnic communities from the same environment or with similar ethnic communities from another area; communities who can agree on a public identity and so operate as an 'ethnic group' in relation to other such groups. But ethnic group operation is rare and can be controlled by the dominant groups who may do so in order to maintain their own dominance.

Ethnicity is the prime framework of group action and interest in the Porcupine Camp not only because of its ability to hold individuals together but also because of its innate situational flexibility. This flexibility is necessary because the ethnic community is influenced by external (conformity and policy) and internal (individual) interests to which it must respond on a regular basis. This flexibility also allows ethnicity to co-opt and carry out interests which are not exclusively its own. Thus it may co-opt class criteria; an ethnic group (or groups) may behave as a class action group, as I have demonstrated. But if that class interest fails, ethnicity need not fail as well. It may dissolve from competing on the higher (national,
provincial or regional) level yet continue to operate on the ethnic community level. Within that level it is relatively protected from a loss of interest; only when individuals or interest groups begin to operate outside the ethnic community, for instance in political alliance with other communities over federal policies such as bilingualism, does ethnicity become affected by larger issues and interests. On the wider level it is little wonder that ethnicity may become excepted as equivalent to such a criterion as class or be contextually defined. That is what ethnicity is, a transactional and circumstantial socio-political phenomenon. That is its true base: not culture, ethnic identity or ethnic group membership.

This study has attempted a rather ambitious examination of interethnic relations which, by necessity, has placed certain limits on this thesis. Primary among these limitations has been a lack of a truly in-depth analysis of any single specific ethnic community. I could have limited myself to a single community but this would have negated much of the intergroup analysis of this thesis. I could also have extended my contextual emphasis into a more situational examination of ethnicity on the community level. Such an effort, however, would have necessitated many more years of study and also precluded the interethnic focus of this study.
FIGURE 6  Organizations and Abbreviations

AFL----------The American Federation of Labour
ACFO---------Association Canadienne-Francaise de l'Ontario
AUUC--------The Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
CLDL--------The Canadian Labour Defence League
CCL---------The Canadian Congress of Labour
Cercle------La Cercle Canadien-Francais
CPC---------The Communist Party of Canada
Comintern---The Communist International
CIO---------The Congress of Industrial Organizations
Consumers---The Consumers' Co-operative of Northern Ontario
CCP---------The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation
CUC--------The Co-operative Union of Canada
CFOA-------The Council for Franco-Ontarian Affairs
CPP--------The Croatian Peasant Party
FOC---------The Finnish Organization of Canada
FSOC--------The Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada
FLAG-------The French Language Advisory Committee
FOM--------The Friends of the Museum
GWVA-------The Great War Veterans Association
IWW--------The International Workers of the World (Wobblies)
IMMSWU-----The International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union
LPP--------The Labour-Progressive Party
LSWU-------The Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union
Masons------Golden Beaver Lodge of A.F. and F.M.
Mine Mill---The International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union
MWU--------The Mine Workers' Union of Canada
OBU--------The One Big Union
PCHS-------The Porcupine Camp Historical Society
Pros'vita----The Ukrainian National Federation 'Pros'vita' Hall
SDPC-------The Social Democratic Party of Canada
SPC--------Socialist Party of Canada
Steel-------The United Steelworkers of America
T&NO-------Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway
TDEA-------The Timmins and District Ethnic Association
UCA--------The Ukrainian Canadian Association
UCC--------The Ukrainian Canadian Committee
ULDL------The Ukrainian Labour Defence League
ULFTA------The Ukrainian Labour Farmers Temple Association
UMWA-------The United Mine Workers of America
USDPA------The Ukrainian Social Democratic Party
WFM--------The Western Federation of Miners
Workers-----The Workers' Co-operative of New Ontario Limited
WDL--------The Workers Defense League
WPC--------The Workers' Party of Canada
WUL--------The Workers' Unity League
YCL--------The Young Communist League
FIGURE 7  Town of Timmins Institutions

1-Ukrainian Museum
2-Porcupine Dante Club
3-La Ronde
4-Theriault High School
5-Timmins High School (New)
6-Moneta Recreation Club
7-Polish white Eagle Hall
8-Masons Hall
9-Uddfellow Hall

Churches
10-St. Mary's Roumanian Orthodox
11-St. George's Ukrainian Catholic
12-Sacred Heart (Italian) Catholic
13-St. Mark's Lutheran (Finnish)
14-Christ Lutheran (Slovak)
15-St. Mathew's Anglican Cathedral
16-St. Antoine Catholic Cathedral (French)
17-Church of the Nativity Catholic (Irish)
FIGURE 8 ETHNIC INSTITUTIONS IN THE PORCUPINE CAMP

(*-no longer extant)

Chinese
First Baptist Church
Chinese Community Center

Croatian
Croatian Fraternal Union local '608'
Croatian, Peasant Party
*Croatian Club
Croatian Fraternal Union local '931'
Croatian Cultural Committee

East Indians
East Indian Ethnic Association

English
Orangemen
Masons Golden Beaver Lodge A.F. and A.M.
Oddfellows
*Canadian Club
*Cagos Club (pre WWII)
GWVA - Great War Veterans Association - became Royal Canadian Legion
*The Cornish Society (pre WWII)
*The Lancashire Society (pre WWII)
*The Welsh Club (pre WWII)
IODE - Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire
*DOE - Daughters of England (pre WWII)
FOM - Friends of the Museum
APEC - Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada

Finnish
*(FSOC) Finnish Socialist Organization - succeeded by (FOC) Finnish Organization of Canada and located in the Finnish Halls
*Finnish Presbyterian Church group (pre WWII) - succeeded by Finnish United Church
*Finnish Loyalist Society
*The Workers' and Farmers Association located in Harmony Hall
St. Mark's Lutheran Church
St. John's Lutheran Church
Sealem Finnish Pentecostal Church
*Workers Co-op
Consumers Co-op
Porcupine Finnish Club
Finnish Ethnic Association

French-Canadians
St. Anthony's Church - Saint Antoine de Padoue église de Timmins
*Club Champlain - which became Le Cercle Canadien-Francais (pre WWII)
Richelieu Club
ACFO - Association Canadienne-Francaise de l'Ontario

- 419 -
CFCL - French Language Radio Station
La Ronde - French Canadian Cultural Center
Theriault High School

Germans
German Ethnic Association

Indians
Ojibway - Cree Cultural Center
Treaty Nine Headquarters

Irish
Church of the Nativity

Italians
*Italian Society (WWI era)
Sacred Heart Catholic Church
*Sons of Italy (pre WWII)
Moneta Recreational Club
The Porcupine Dante Club
Italian Ethnic Association

Jews
*Jewish Synagogue
*B'nai B'rith lodge 1234
*Jewish Cultural Association

Polish
Polish White Eagle Society

Rumanians
St. Mary's Rumanian Orthodox Church
Rumanian Ethnic Association

Scots
*The Sons of Scotland (pre WWII)
St. Andrew's Society
Daughters of Scotland (Loch Lomand Camp #23)
School for Gaelic Arts

Slovak
Christ Lutheran Church

Ukrainian
Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP) - succeeded by Ukrainian Labour Farmers' Temple Association (ULFTA) - succeeded by Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC) in the Ukrainian Hall
*Workers' Co-op
*Ukrainian National Federation 'Prosvita' Hall
St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Church
Ukrainian Catholic Women's League
Ukrainian Cultural Committee
Ukrainian Hall - became Ukrainian Historical and Cultural Museum
Mosaic Club
Interethnic
*Workers' Co-op
Consumers' Co-op
Lions Club
Kiwannis
Moose
*Mine Mill Union
Steelworkers Union
Timmins and District Ethnic Association
Mosaic Club
FIGURE 9  Mountjoy (M), Tisdale (T) and Whitney (W) Townships
Ethnic Populations 1921-1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Townships</th>
<th>Total English</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>Scottish</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total Brit.</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Austrian</th>
<th>Belgian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>3,118</td>
<td>878</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1,903</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>1,062</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>5,761</td>
<td>1,307</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2,854</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>1,729</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>9,461</td>
<td>1,902</td>
<td>1,549</td>
<td>1,379</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>4,967</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>1,487</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NO COMPARABLE DATA AVAILABLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Townships</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Czech</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Polish</th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>Scandinavian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NO COMPARABLE DATA AVAILABLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Townships</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mountjoy (M), Tisdale (T) and Whitney (W) Townships
Ethnic Populations 1921-1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Townships</th>
<th>Ukrainians</th>
<th>Hungarians</th>
<th>Romanians</th>
<th>Slovaks</th>
<th>Poles</th>
<th>Other Slavic</th>
<th>Russians</th>
<th>Ukrainians</th>
<th>Other Europeans</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Other Asians</th>
<th>Eskimos</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1,059</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10: Town of Timmins Ethnic Population 1921-1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>14,200</td>
<td>28,770</td>
<td>27,770</td>
<td>29,720</td>
<td>28,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>1,515</td>
<td>3,523</td>
<td>4,819</td>
<td>4,406</td>
<td>8,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>1,248</td>
<td>2,631</td>
<td>4,819</td>
<td>4,406</td>
<td>8,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>4,819</td>
<td>4,406</td>
<td>8,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Eng.</td>
<td>1,441</td>
<td>5,727</td>
<td>11,411</td>
<td>10,065</td>
<td>8,822</td>
<td>8,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1,216</td>
<td>4,975</td>
<td>10,472</td>
<td>11,493</td>
<td>13,254</td>
<td>14,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>609</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech-Slovak</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>1,551</td>
<td>1,541</td>
<td>2,110</td>
<td>1,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>801</td>
<td>1,018</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>784</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Euro.</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>1,853</td>
<td>1,853</td>
<td>1,853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian-Esk.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>1,590</td>
<td>1,590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## FIGURE II

**Timmins Population 1912 - 1980**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>3,843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>13,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>13,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FIGURE II

**Immigrant Population By Period of Immigration 1910 - 1961**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910 - 1920</td>
<td>1,194</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921 - 1930</td>
<td>2,071</td>
<td>1,290</td>
<td>799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931 - 1940</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941 - 1945</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946 - 1950</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951 - 1955</td>
<td>1,487</td>
<td>826</td>
<td>661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956 - 1961</td>
<td>2,017</td>
<td>1,057</td>
<td>960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7,999</td>
<td>4,435</td>
<td>3,564</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FIGURE III

**British, French and Ethnic Population Shift 1951 - 1971**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Ethnic-British</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Ethnic-British</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Ethnic-British</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>10,065</td>
<td>6,185</td>
<td>8,822</td>
<td>13,243</td>
<td>7,205</td>
<td>8,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>13,243</td>
<td>7,205</td>
<td>8,470</td>
<td>14,145</td>
<td>5,875</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>14,145</td>
<td>5,875</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 424 -
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event/Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Construction of Welsh Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Building of Ukrainian Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Expansion of Croatian Fraternal Union Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Expansion of Steeler's Union Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Construction of Monarch Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Expansion of Museum Hall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italian Society**
- Sons of Italy - Sacred Heart Church
- Ukrainian Prosvita Hall
- St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Church
- St. John and St. Mark's Lutheran Churches
- Porcupine Finnish Club
- Sacred Pentecostal Church
- St. Mary's Rumanian Orthodox Church
- Christ Lutheran (Slovak) Church
- Calasan Populaires

**St. Anthony's Catholic Church**
- Father Theriault Club
- Club Champain
- La Cerise
- Father Celestine
- CFCL Radio (French)
- Theurial High School
- St. Jean Baptiste

**Masons**
- Oddfellows
- Royal Canadian Legion

**Welsh Club**
- Sons of Scotland
- Lancashire Society

**FIGURE 14** The Institutional Process

- Lions
- Elks
- Moose
- Kivames
- Consecration

**PCRS**
- Timmins Mission
- St. Andrew's Church
- Daughters of Scotland
- East Indian Assoc.
- German Assoc.
- Timmins and District
- Ethnic Festival Committee
In addition to the section on fieldwork in the first chapter of this dissertation, I add these extra comments which, while not directly appropriate to the text itself, are necessary to an understanding of the fieldwork experience which shaped this study. I have attempted throughout this work, consciously and, in part, unconsciously, to smooth out the fieldwork conditions I experienced and was affected by in my role as researcher. While this was designed to add clarity to the analysis and maintain adherence to a central theme, it has necessitated a muting of my experiences and their effect on the work done.

As an individual researcher, I have already focused to a degree on the fieldwork problems that I came up against but I wish to make clear that I was under influences which shaped my approach to these problems and thus to the research itself. Certainly as a researcher in a virtually unknown community, my ability to enter into discussions with community members was, after all, the whole point of the exercise. The difficulties I faced were minimized by my own ability to respond situationally to informants and conditions as I found them.

My own ethnic identity as a Greek Macedonian (Vasiliadis 1978) was an instrumental asset in these endeavors. When addressing French or English Canadian informants, I readily identified myself as a Greek. The general lack of knowledge about Macedonians by most Canadians would have forced me to go into a long explanation before each interview and even then did not guarantee ready acceptance. Greek identity, however, was easily understood and offered no interpretive problems.

Nevertheless, for Croatian, Ukrainian, Slovak and Rumanian informants, it was more advantageous to present myself as a Macedonian and thus as a fellow Slav who spoke a similar language. In these instances, it was necessary to provide an explanation in order to provide a common ground of experience.

In point of fact, my identity may have had an opposite effect from that one would suppose. Certainly my identity-and language capability—would lead one to expect that my greatest success would lie in the Slavic ethnic communities. But the community that was most open to my questions was the Finnish community to which I chose to identify as Greek. The Croatian and Ukrainian communities were often the most difficult to penetrate and receive answers from. Perhaps this was due to the schismatic problems in these particular communities and that my presence might well have aided and abetted one or another internal interest group over others. I certainly found myself being co-opted by one group or another and being asked my opinion on local subjects and conditions. I had to step lightly in offering any answers to proffered questions or else I would have been in danger of being perceived as supporting one or another faction.

This is not to say that I was a master of the tempered two-step. I was often caught in situations that might have been seen as supporting one particular interest group but I made it a rule to always seek opposing opinions and focus on a middle ground when forming my own opinion.
Some comments did directly affect my research as for example the Finnish informant who conspiratorially voiced her belief that the truth was dangerous. This happened somewhat early in my experiences and it would not be unfair to say that this item stayed in my mind throughout my fieldwork and shaped my analysis. I have attempted to downplay its affect but the influence remains and I would never wish to completely deny its importance.

If informants influenced me then I no less influenced the work of those researchers from the York - Timmins Project who joined me in the summer of 1982. The project was designed around my fieldwork. and my realization that the ethnic communities in Timmins were more numerous and complex than initially believed. As a result certain areas and communities were identified for more intensive research. Utilizing my background information the project researchers carried out their own analyses. All researchers, while carrying out often divergent research problems, discussed their findings and problems on a daily basis with me, the field director, and the other researchers. Their information served to supplement my own.

Certainly the publication of the project working papers (DiCicco 1982; Lam 1983; Vesilindis 1983) added to my available information though this was an addition after the solidification of my own research. The working papers were a direct response to the longstanding fieldwork question on the benefit of research to the community; a recognition that any research had (or should have) a reverse obligation for the researchers to return some of the information in a readily accessible form, to the community.

Even this laudable position forms its own innate problems. As we have already seen Timmins was a community which was going through historiographical crisis. Our research might well only serve to exacerbate already existing problems. This is something we must think about but it might be a question for another generation of researchers.
XVII. REFERENCES CITED

Abella, I.M., 1973 Nationalism, Communism and Canadian Labour, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.


Anderson, A.B., and J.S. Frideres, 1981 Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives, Toronto, Butterworths and Co. Ltd.


Angus, I., 1981 Canadian Bolsheviks, Montreal, Vanguard Publ.


Avakumovic, I., 1975 The Communist Party of Canada, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd.


Berry, J.W., Kalin, R., and Taylor, D.M.,
1976 Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada, Ottawa, Ministry of Supplies and Services.

Boissevain, J.,

Bradwin, E.W.,

Breton, R.,
1964 "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants", in, American Journal of Sociology, 170:193-205.

--------,

--------,

--------,

--------,

--------, J. Burnet, N. Hartmann, W. Isajiw, and J. Lennards,

--------, Reitz, J.G., and Valentine, V.,
1980 Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion of Canada, Montreal, The Institute For Research on Public Policy.

Briggs, J.,

Bullivant, B.M.,
Bulmer, M.I.A.,

Burnet, J.,

Burgess, E.W.,

Burgess, R.G.,

Caesar, C.,
1939  The Story of the Prospectors and the Porcupine 1909-1939, Timmins, Porcupine Prospectors Assoc.

Calemon, A.A.,

Canada Manpower and Immigration,

Canada Census, 1921-1971, Ottawa, Queen's Printer.

The Canadian Mining Journal,
1913  "The Labour Question in Porcupine", 34:198-199.

Carr, E.H.,

Casson, A.M., and Griffith, A.I.,

Chaperon-Lor, D.,
1974  Une minorite s'explique, Toronto, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Chimbos, P.D.,
1980  The Canadian Odyssey, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

Churchill, S.,

Clairmont, D., and F. Wien,
"Race Relations in Canada", in, Sociological Focus 9(2):185-197.
Clark, S.D.,
1962  The Developing Canadian Community, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

--------

--------

--------
1976  Canadian Society in Historical Perspective, Toronto, McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd.

--------

Clement, W.,
1975  The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Elites, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

--------
1981  Hardrock Mining, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart.

Cobalt Daily Nugget. 1912, 1913.

Cohen, A.,

--------

--------

Cohen, A.P.,

Connor, R.,

Connor, R.,
1977  "Nation-Building or Nation destroying", in, Race, Ethnicity and Social Change, edited by J. Stone, pp.238-269, North Scituate, Duxbury Press.
Conseil des Affaires Franco-Ontariennes,

1979-1980 Quatrième rapport annuel, Toronto.


Dahlie, J., and Fernando, T.,

Dahrendorf, R.,
1959 Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press.

Darroch, G.,

Dawson, C.A.,
1936 Group Settlement, Toronto, Macmillan Co.

Dennis, N., F. Henriques, and L. Slaughter,

Deverell, J., et al.

DiGiacamo, J.L.,

Dominion Management Associates Ltd.,
1960 Economic Survey Of The Town of Timmins, Ontario, Canada, Toronto.

Driedger, L.,

1978 The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

England, R.,
1929 The Central European Immigrant in Canada, Toronto, Macmillan Co.

Faludi and Associates,

Federation of Francophones Outside of Quebec, 1977  The Heirs of Lord Durham: Manifesto of a Vanishing People, Ottawa, Burns and MacEachern Ltd.


Foster, K., 1926  Our Canadian Mosaic, Toronto, Young Women's Christian Association.


Galenson, W., 1942  Comparative Labour Movements, New York, Prentice-Hall Ltd.


Gibbon, J.M., 1938  Canadian Mosaic, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd.
Glazer, N., and Moynihan, D.P.,

Glenday, D.,

Gluckman, M.,

Gold, G.L.,

Goldstein, J.E., and R.M. Bienvenue,
1980 Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations In Canada, Toronto, Butterworth and Co. Ltd.

Gordon, M.M.,

--------

--------

Grand Trunk Railway System,
1912 The Porcupine Gold Fields and the Cobalt Silver Mines, Northern Ontario, Canada, March.

Haas, J., and W. Shaffer, (ed.),

Handlin, O.,
1951 The Uprooted, Boston, Little, Brown and Co.

Harney, R.F., and Troper, H.,
1975 Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, Toronto, Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd.

Hawkins, F.,
1972 Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.

Haywood, V.,
1922 Romantic Canada, New York.

Heinonen, A.I., 1930 Finnish Friends in Canada, Toronto, Board of Missions of the United Church of Canada.


Hopkins, J.C., 1913 French Canada and the St. Lawrence, Philadelphia, John Winston Co.


Horowitz, C., 1968 Canadian Labour In Politics, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.


--------


Innis, H.A., 1936 Settlement and the Mining Frontiers, Toronto, MacMillan Co.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Editor(s)</th>
<th>Pages/Volume</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>The Shattered Illusion</td>
<td>Kolasky, J.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Toronto, Peter Martin Assoc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>All of Baba's Children</td>
<td>Kostash, M.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Edmonton, Alberta, Hurtig Publ. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kuper, L.,
1972 "Race, Class and Power", in, Comparative Perspectives in Sociology and History, 14:400-421.

Krawchuk, P.,

1979 The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada 1907-1918, Toronto, Progress Books.

Kremer, S.,

Laine, E.W.,


Lam, L.,

Lamy, P.,

Lapointe, J., and Lee, D.J.,

Leach, E.,
1954 Political Systems of Highland Burma, Boston, Beacon Press.

LeBourdais, D.M.,
1957 Metals and Men: The story of Canadian Mining, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

Lee, D.J., and Lapointe, J.,
1974 "Pluralism and Conflict in Four Ontario Communities: Cornwall, Timmins, Sturgeon Falls and Hawkesbury", paper presented at the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Congress, Toronto.

1975 "Conflict Over Schools in a Multi-Ethnic Society: A Case Study", unpublished manuscript, Department of Sociology, University of Ottawa.

Liddle, W.,

Lindal, W.J.,

Lindstrom-Best, V.,

Lindstrom-Best, V.,

Lindstrom-Best, V.,

Lipton, C.,

Lloyd, G.E.,

Lougheed Associates,

Lower, A.R.M.,
1936 Settlement on the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada, Toronto, MacMillan Co. Ltd.

Lucas, R.,

Lupul, M.R. (ed.),
1982 A Heritage of Tradition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

Lynd, H., and H. Lynd,


Makowski, W.B., 1967 History and Integration of Poles in Canada, Niagara Peninsula, Ontario, Canadian Polish Congress.


Memmi, A., 1965 The Colonizer and the Colorized, Boston, Beacon Press.

Merriam-Webster, 1974 The Merriam-Webster Dictionary, Markham, Ontario, Simon and Schuster Ltd.


Mine Mill Union Minutes, 1941, Local 145, Timmins, Ontario.


Montero, G., 1979 We Stood Together, Toronto, James Lorimer and Co.

Moore, W., 1918 The Clash: A Study in Nationalities, Toronto, J.M. Dent.

Morris, R.N., and Lanphier, C.M., 1977 Three Scales of Inequality, Toronto, Longman Canada Ltd.


----------


----------


Nisbet, R., 1953 The Quest For Community, New York, Oxford University Press.

Northern Miner, 1919-1922.


1971 Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change and Conflict, Scarborough, Ontario, Prentice-Hall Ltd.


Philbrook, T., 1966 Fisherman, Logger, Merchant, Miner: Social Change and Industrialization in Three Newfoundland Communities, St. John's, Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University.

Porcupine Advance, 1912-1950.

Porter, J.,
1965  The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

---------
1967  Canadian Social Structure:A Statistical Profile, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

---------

Presthus, R.,

La Raconteur. October and November 1980.

Radecki, H., and B. Heydenkorn,
1976  A Member of a Distinguished Family, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

Ramcharan, S.,
1982  Racism:Non-whites in Canada, Toronto, Buttersworth and Co. Ltd.

Rasporich, A.W.,

Redfield, R.,
1960  The Little Community:Peasant Society and Culture, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Reitz, J.G.,

Rex, J.,

Richmond, A.,

Robbins, E.,

Roberts, W.,(ed.),

Robin, M.,
1968  Radical Politics and Canadian Labour 1880-1930, Kingston, Ontario, Industrial Relations Center, Queen's University.
Rocheleau, M.,
1979   An Inventory of Historical Sites In Timmins-Porcupine, Timmins, Ontario Ministry of Education and Timmins District Roman Catholic Separate School Board.

Rosaldo, R.,

Ross, C.,

Royal Commission On Bilingualism and Biculturalism,

Sarnia Daily Register. 1912, 1913.

Seager, A.,

Savard, P., Beauchamp, R., and Thompson, P.,

Schermerhorn, R.A.,

Shils, E.,
1957   "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties", in, British Journal of Sociology, pp.130-147, June.

Simmons, J., and Simmons, R.;
1964   Urban Canada, Toronto, Copp Clark Publ.

Smith, W.G.,
1922   Building the Nation.

Spada, A.V.,
1969   The Italians in Canada, Montreal, Rivera Printers and Publ. Inc.

Spradley, J.P.,
1979   The Ethnographic Interview, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Stevenson, P.,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publication Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tester, J.</td>
<td>The Shaping of Sudbury: A Labour View</td>
<td>Sudbury, Sudbury and District Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timmins, N.A.</td>
<td>&quot;A Reminiscent History Commencing 1909&quot;</td>
<td>Canadian Mining Journal, September, pp. 353-362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timmins and District Ethnic Festival Committee Minutes</td>
<td>1977-1981</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timmins Citizen</td>
<td></td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timmins Porcupine News</td>
<td></td>
<td>1975, 1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Daily Star</td>
<td></td>
<td>1928, 1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Sunday Sun</td>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tremblay, R.</td>
<td>Timmins, Metropole De L'Or, documents historiques no. 22</td>
<td>Sudbury, Societe historique du Nouvel-Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trofimenkoff, S.M.</td>
<td>Action Francaise: French Canadian nationalism in the twenties</td>
<td>Toronto, University of Toronto Press.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trudeau, P.E.</td>
<td>Statement by the Prime Minister</td>
<td>Ottawa, Queen's Printer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tucker, A.</td>
<td>Steam Into Wilderness</td>
<td>Toronto, Fitzhenry and Whiteside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


--------------------

--------------------

--------------------


--------------------


--------------------
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher/Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Whyte, W.F.</td>
<td>Street Corner Society, Chicago; University of Chicago Press.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td></td>
<td>My Neighbor. Reprint, 1972, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Workers' Benevolent Association</td>
<td>Friends in Need: The WBA Story, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Comet Press.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Yuzak, P.</td>
<td>For a Better Canada, Toronto, Ukrainian Echo Publishing Co., Ltd.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Zielyk, I.V.</td>
<td>&quot;Two Types of Ethnic Communities&quot;, in, Sounds Canadian, edited by P.M. Migus, pp. 147-157, Peter Martin Assoc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>