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NL-339 (r. 88/04) c

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LAKEHEAD UNIVERSITY

BEAT AROUND THE BUSH: THE LUMBER AND SAWMILL WORKERS UNION AND THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY OF LABOUR IN NORTHERN ONTARIO 1936-1988

BY

DOUGLAS THUR ©

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

THUNDER BAY, ONTARIO

FALL, 1990

ISBN 0-315-69148-4

Canada

ABSTRACT

The New Political Economy of Labour, with its emphasis on the rank and file workers, departs significantly from the first generation of labour historians who were concerned with larger issues, or what McNaught has aptly described as "top down historical writing" (1987,149). No longer dominated by Historians, Sociologists have begun to study the effects on the labour process by analyzing workers responses and struggles to various forms of subordination in different aspects of production that have been introduced into the work place. Phillips feels that these studies have "...contributed to one of the most exciting approaches to both historical and contemporary political economy of labour, namely, the study of the labour process" (1989,86). This research contributes to the literature on the labour process by analyzing the forest workers of Northern Ontario and their union, the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union (L.S.W.U.). The L.S.W.U., since its inception in 1936, fought for and won various concessions for its forest workers. The L.S.W.U. was founded by Communists who had a radical and militant tradition among the forest workers. Many of the strikes that were undertaken often resulted in company equipment being damaged or destroyed. The extent to which these strikes were violent was a result of the severe exploitation that the forest workers were subjected to and the fact that workers resisted the various methods capital employed to reduce labour and increase production. The results of these strikes had a profound impact on the labour process in Northern Ontario.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of this thesis would not have been done without the help of many individuals and organizations. First and foremost my thanks goes out to Dr. J. D. Stafford who originally proposed the topic of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union, and, as my thesis advisor guided this project through to completion. Of course my thanks also has to be extended to Dr. R. Nelsen and Dr. E. Epp of the Department of History, who also read and made useful suggestions and comments on various aspects of this thesis. Financial support was made available to me by two generous awards from the Presidential Advisory Committee on Northern Studies and as well as a Vast and Magnificent Land Historical Research Grant. In addition, many people helped me conduct my research. In particular the staff at both the National and Provincial Archives. More importantly, to Roger Sheldon, Director of Communications, at the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners head office in Washington D.C. who permitted me free access to all the early (and later) files of the L.S.W.U. locals in Northern Ontario. As well, the staff at the Lakehead University Archives who allowed me to research documents from the Oscar Styffe Collection that had yet to be processed. I would also like to thank Dr. Ian Radforth of the University of Toronto who acted as my external examiner. Finally, the support, and encouragement I received from Sharon Scanlan and the unselfish contributions of my parents all assisted me in ways too numerous to mention. For any errors that may appear, I bear full responsibility.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Prior to 1970, the study of the working class was " largely the domain of a small number of left wing labour movement journals, a scattering of antiquarians, and the staid fraternity of institutional labour economists..." (Kealey and Heron, 1985, 50). In what Palmer calls the first generation of labour historians, severe limitations result from their lack of attention to the " rank and file workers" (Palmer, 1987, 127). Palmer believes that this first generation has recently " taken to heart J.M.S. Careless's 1969 call for attention to region, ethnicity and class....but they have done so in predictably limited ways" (1987, 128). As such, it is the issues of interest to leaders that this first generation has been most concerned with. McNaught has aptly described this as "top down historical writing" (1987,149).

It was only with the revival of the New Political Economy in 1970, that a new generation of labour historians emerged to challenge the stolidness that characterized the earlier generation. Phillips (1989), argues that the New Political Economy of Labour had its origins in pi-

oneers such as Stanley Ryerson and Clare Pentland. Ryerson and Pentland both brought "...a Marxist approach and thereby class analysis, to the study of Canadian labour" (Phillips,1989,83), that was absent in the first generation of labour historians.

Since this time, Phillips argues that a new group of scholars has also contributed to the development of the historical analysis of the Political Economy of Labour. These left-leaning young scholars, "...were more concerned with the lives of the common people than with the parlour games of the high and mighty" (Phillips,1989,85). Generally, studies came under the rubric of ethnicity, gender, region or rural-urban experiences. These studies also departed from traditional labour studies, in that working class culture or experience was studied to " analyze Canadian labour in a historical context" (Phillips,1989,85). Their most important contribution, however, has been their focus on the "...struggle of the skilled worker to maintain control over the work process, to resist the real subordination of labour embodied in technological and work organization changes associated with the emergence of factory production and large scale capitalist production" (Phillips,1989,86). Phillips feels that these studies have "contributed to one of the most exciting approaches to both historical

and contemporary political economy of labour, namely, the study of the labour process" (1989,86).

The labour process analyst, Phillips feels, looks at the ways a workplace has been organized. More specifically, a labour process analyst studies the workers 'responses and struggles' which ultimately influence the labour process. Phillips argues that the gist of the labour process analyst is

> Simply, employers attempt to maximize surplus value by organizing work, introducing technology, and structuring employment relations and labour markets in such a way as to purchase labour power (the capacity to work) at the lowest price and to exact the maximum labour (work effort) out of the employed workers. Workers resist such exploitation and adopt opposing strategies, from institutional and collective responses and political action to individual action - turnover, absenteeism, poor quality work, systematic soldiering, and so on- but only when they perceive a wrong. (1989,87).

Bill Freeman argues that the political economy approach "...is not a rigorous methodology and does not have a unitary approach" (1982,10). However, Freeman feels the

> ...modern practioners of political economy share a similar tradition. They 'believe that the task of political economy is to identify and analyze social relations as they relate to the economic system of production; they try to understand social relations in terms of the mode of production; and they stress the interdependence between various elements in society. Finally, political economists believe that the only way to understand social phenomena is by concrete analysis of issues within a historical context.....What

> political economy insists upon is concrete historical analysis that relates social phenomena to the economic structure of society and its mode of production. (1982,10).

The labour process analyst, as a branch of the Canadian political economy of labour, studies worker's struggles and responses to capital's efforts to extract the maximum labour possible from an employee. As well, these struggles are analyzed in a historical context, which Laxer has argued is the new political economy's saving grace (1989,187), and within the traditions of the political economy approach, as outlined by Freeman.

Although there are differences between Marxist and more traditional labour historians, both share "an interest in social history and class attitudes, and particularly in regional and local experience" (McNaught,1987,146). The following paper will expand on this body of knowledge, by discussing the case of the forest workers in Northern Ontario, and their Union, the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union (L.S.W.U.).

Schmidt has argued that "there is no lack of militant and often radical working class history in Canada.....workers do not adjust passively to their role as wage labours.." (1981,86). In this case, the forest workers and their Union have had a militant and radical working

class history. In many cases, the responses to various labour saving measures have influenced the labour process.

From the Union's inception in 1936, for example, the forest industry, which includes the logging, forest, wood and paper industries, has had more than 145 strikes with a combined loss of more than 2,900,000 man working days. (see Appendix One). Many of these strikes were violent and a few men have been killed during worker struggles. Nevertheless, these strikes have essentially changed the working and living conditions in the bush and influenced the labour process.

This paper will be concerned primarily with the forest and logging industries. Even though the L.S.W.U. has negotiated contracts with various pulp and sawmills, with its latest being the proposed South Korean company-Shin Ho, the Union maintained its primacy in the logging or forest industries. Since 1936, dealings with various forest companies have been conducted in the various L.S.W.U.s in Northern Ontario, including Blind River, Fort Francis, Fort William, Kapuskasing, Longlac, Norman, Port Arthur, Rainy Lake, Sudbury, Thessalon, Thunder Bay, and Timmins, with a Joint Council established in 1947 with locals from Port Arthur, Fort William, Sudbury, and Timmins. For one

reason or another, many of these locals fell to the way-side or merged with one of the two locals that are still in existence. As such, this paper is concerned primarily with the L.S.W.U. movement in Northern Ontario as a whole, with particular emphasis on Thunder Bay and Kapuskasing locals 2693 and 2995 respectively, which are still in existence in 1990 as part of the International Woodworkers of America.

Although much of the documentation on the early history of these Unions has been lost with the passage of time, a valuable source of information on early Union activities has been found at the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in Washington D.C. The Brotherhood was the parent Union of the L.S.W.U. until 1988. In addition, various government publications have been used, and supplemented with oral histories of some of the earlier bush workers and business records of Oscar Styffe, a former local contractor in the Thunder Bay area. Finally, documentation on Union activities has also been drawn from the personal papers of A.T. Hill, and the L.S.W.U. publication, The Ontario Timberworker. McNaught has argued that it was lack of interest, not sources, "that has been the reason why most previous historical writing virtually ignored the life of the common people"

(1987,146).

McNaught also argues correctly that his survey of this type of writing "leaves one with the strong apprehension that the more concerned authors are with description and narrative, the more implicit their analysis, and the less obtrusive their ideological imperatives, the more effective is the result" (1987,146). In this paper, narrative and description will be used to relate the history of industrial conflict and outline the effects the forest worker and the L.S.W.U. have had on the labour process. Historical case studies such as this, "provide a basis for grounding contemporary-substantive research and theoretical debates, since historical patterns affect contemporary developments" (Creese,1986,49).

This paper is organized chronologically. Chapter 2, for example, discusses the early conditions of the forest industry and workers efforts to deal with the injustices of the bush, both individually and collectively. Chapter 3 discusses the formation of the L.S.W.U., and its efforts to counter capital exploitation through the use of the Industrial Standards Act of Ontario. Chapter 4 looks at capital's demands for labour during World War Two and the Union's response to the labour shortages. From this, capital succeeded in obtaining German

prisoners of war, at reduced wage rates, which were paid to the Federal government. Chapter 5 discusses the post war labour unrest that characterized this period. Workers, unhappy with working and living conditions and wages, launched one of the largest strikes ever. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of the reasons for the Communist purge of 1951, and how it affected labour relations and the labour process in Northern Ontario up to 1960. Chapter 6 analyzes technological advances that were introduced, in part, to counter high wage rates and to increase worker productivity, and workers responses to these measures. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of more recent events in the history of the workers movement in Northern Ontario that affected the labour process, and the relative decline of importance of the L.S.W.U. Chapter 7 concludes the thesis.

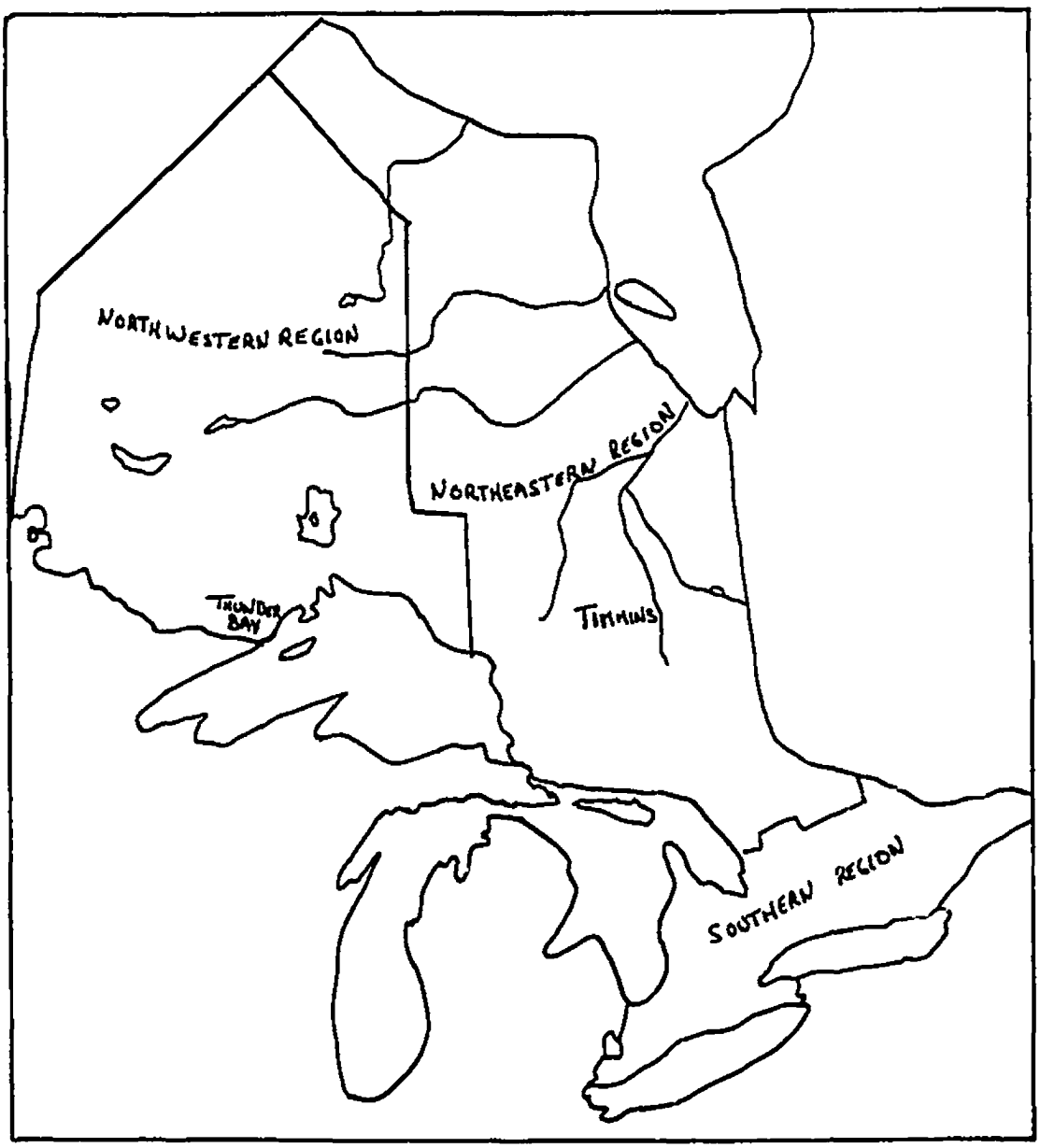
2. Capitalist Exploitation and Worker's Revolt: Individual and Collective Responses 1910-1935.

The forest industry of Northern Ontario, which includes the Northwestern and Northeastern Ontario Planning Regions (see figure 1), had an auspicious beginning. As early as the 1870s, the development of the forest industry began in earnest. This development resulted, in part, from the depletion of forest reserves in the Ottawa Valley and United States, the rapid expansion of the west, the need for timber for the expanding railways (Weller,1977), and the rapid growth of the United States which created a "tremendous new market for lumber" (Hipel,1942,121). In addition, " provincial government policies, the geographical distribution of pine stands, the availability of water transport and the primacy of the American markets" (Smith,1984,76), all contributed to the development of the forest industry in Northern Ontario.

Smith (1984) identifies three overlapping periods in the development of the forest industry in Northern Ontario. The first period lasted for approximately thirty years, from the 1870s to the early 1900s. This period was characterized primarily by the cutting of pine, for

Figure 1.

Ontario Planning Regions



Source: Ministry of Natural Resources, The Forest Industry in the Economy of Ontario (Timber Sales Branch), 1981.

both lumber and timber. As well, tamarack was harvested for pile timber, which was used for the construction of wharves and the grain elevators at the Lakehead. Pilings were also used for the construction of the railways, which further facilitated the growth of the forest industry. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, for example, began in 1875 and required extensive amounts of railway ties. Subsequent rail lines continued to facilitate the need for rail ties. In addition, railways "had not yet begun to use treated ties, and the replacement, per mile per year, required 400 new railway ties in addition to what had been used in the original construction" (Bertrand,1959,38). Bertrand (1959), estimates that more than 55 million railway ties were taken from the forests of Northwestern Ontario between 1875 and 1930.

Although the cutting of pine for timber and lumber and the rail tie industry played a large role in the early development of the forest industry, and subsequent rail lines improved and enlarged the markets for forest products, a new industry was emerging that would eclipse the advances made in the rail tie industry. This second period began in the early 1900s and would continue until after the second world war when an entirely new period emerged. This second period corresponded

with the emergence of the pulp and paper industry. After experiencing a number of technological advances in Europe and North America, paper was developed using wood. Northern Ontario had abundant sources of spruce, which was the preferred wood in the new production of paper. The new pulp and paper industry also differed substantially from the lumber industry in that each mill required a larger amount of wood, a huge tract of land which could guarantee wood supply, and an abundant water supply for the making of pulp. Pulp mills could also use smaller diameter trees "which meant that more trees in any given area were cut.." (Smith,1984,80). In general, the pulp and paper industry put larger demands on the forest reserves.

The term 'pulp and paper' does obscure the various aspects of the industry. Generally, the pulp and paper industry consists of three distinct industries: first, the logging operations which cut wood for pulp; secondly, the industry which processes pulpwood into wood pulp; and finally, the manufacturing of wood pulp into paper (Burley,1971).

The manufacturing sector of the lumber and pulp and paper industries in Ontario was assisted greatly by Provincial government policies. Ontario lumbermen and the Provincial government, for example, witnessed the "sudden rise in exports of unprocessed logs in the

1890s" (Nelles,1974,63), to the United States, partially in response to the freer trade conditions that existed. As a result, saw logs were being boomed and towed to American sawmills, where the "...timber would be cut, dried, sorted and shipped" (Nelles,1974,65). Nelles (1974) argues that the Department of Crown Lands estimated that in 1892 more than 33% of exports of forest products were in the form of logs.

In 1897, The Americans imposed the Dingley tariff. The Dingley tariff imposed a duty on Canadian lumber but permitted Canadian sawlogs free entry. Ontario lumbermen lobbied the Federal government to restore export duties on sawlogs, but to no avail. These same lumbermen, however, sought protection from the Provincial government, which was not referred to in the Dingley tariff. After a great deal of lobbying by various factions in the lumber industry, the Provincial Premier "...introduced a bill requiring that pine timber cut on crown lands be sawn into lumber in Canada. This amendment to the Crown Timber Act, called the manufacturing condition, was to take effect upon the issuance of the annual licences on April 30,1898" (Nelles,1974,73). The manufacturing condition was primarily established to protect Ontario workers and industry from American

encroachments, and foster a manufacturing industry in Ontario. In the years that followed, a number of new mills were established which provided employment to over 1000 men. (Nelles,1974).

The Dingley tariff was also extended to the pulp and paper industry. Tariffs were imposed on Canadian pulp and paper, but Canadian pulpwood was permitted free entry. Canadian papermakers lobbied the Provincial government to impose an export tax on all pulpwood. The government responded by "extending the manufacturing condition of the Crown Timber Act to include spruce pulpwood" (Nelles,1974,87). From this point on, all spruce taken from Crown lands had to be manufactured in Ontario. Nelles argues that "since the industry did not yet exist in the province on a large scale, the manufacturing condition effectively established new ground rules for location" (1974,87).

The manufacturing condition, however, differed between the lumber industry and the pulp and paper industry. Government policies could not be given sole credit for the expansion of sawmills after 1898. Rising prices, greater demand and comparative advantage were factors which contributed to the success of the manufacturing condition in the sawmill industry. As well, sawmills required less capital and were easily moved. (Nelles,1974).

The pulp and paper industry, on the other hand, required larger amounts of capital to establish and build pulp mills. In addition, large tracts of land were needed to provide a continuous supply of wood to the mill, and provide the necessary 'backing or support' to capitalist investors. In the early 1900's, Nelles (1974) argues the United States papermakers still had sufficient reserves of pulp wood, and could export pulp wood from Quebec, which refused to join Ontario's efforts for the manufacturing condition. In addition, Americans were able to secure pulp wood from mining lands, private property, and veteran homesteads in Ontario (Bertrand, 1959).

Despite American resistance to establishing pulp mills in Canada, the first Canadian mill was erected "in Sturgeon Falls in 1894 by the firm of Paget, Heat and Company of Huntsville, Ontario" (Bertrand, 1959, 95). This small ground wood mill acquired power rights to the Sturgeon River from Martin Russell of Renfrew. The mill, however, encountered financial difficulties and changed owners a number of times in the succeeding years (Bertrand, 1959). Subsequent mills were established by both Canadian and foreign investors, primarily Americans, in Sault Ste. Marie (1895), Espanola (1905), Fort Frances (1914), Dryden (1914), Iroquois Falls (N.A.), Smooth Rock Falls (1916),

Port Arthur (1918), and Kenora (1922) (Bertrand, 1959).

A number of other developments were occurring between 1900 and 1910 in both Canada and the United States which would further promote the manufacturing of pulp in Canada. A vocal lobby group of Canadian papermakers appealed to Nationalist sentiments in an effort to prohibit the export of unmanufactured pulpwood, and "save Canada's spruce forests from Americans" (Nelles, 1974, 337). In the United States, rapid increases in the demand for newsprint contributed to two developments: firstly, the rapid denudation of American wood reserves which were required for the production of newsprint; and secondly, the demand for newsprint "exactly equalled domestic production capacity" (Nelles, 1974, 340). As such, prices rose to meet the demand. Canada received an unlikely ally in the form of American newspaper interests, who were interested in securing cheaper Canadian newsprint through a free trade agreement. The American Pulp and Paper Association, however, argued that the removal of the tariff on newsprint would result in " a migration of paper mills to Canada where production and raw material costs were lower" (Nelles, 1974, 340).

Although President Taft recommended a reduction on the tariff on

Canadian newsprint from $6. to $2. a ton in 1909, Canadians were less than pleased with the measure. Finally, the Payne-Aldrich tariff threatened higher tariffs "unless the provinces removed their pulpwood export limitations" (Nelles, 1974, 342). Canadians, however, were in a strong position to resist, as Americans were increasingly dependent on Canadian forest reserves. This resolve was further strengthened when Quebec agreed in 1909 to prohibit the export of pulpwood from crown lands. Nelles argues that the united action paid off, and the provinces "were rewarded by a flood of new pulp and paper company promotions during 1910" (1974, 342). After a series of negotiations which were initiated to avert a trade war, Canada could claim victory. The new Underwood Tariff "established unqualified and unprecedented free trade in mechanical pulp and newsprint..." (Nelles, 1974, 346). Nelles argues that when President Wilson signed the Underwood Tariff on October 3, 1913, it "may be taken as the founding of the Canadian pulp and paper industry" (1974, 346).

In Northern Ontario, the exportation of pulp wood continued, despite the manufacturing condition in the second decade of the century. In 1919, for example, Ontario exported a large percentage of the pulpwood that contributed to the manufacturing of one-half of "the

newsprint consumed in the United States that year" (Nelles, 1974, 376). A large percentage of the exports of pulpwood was attributed to political patronage and corruption. The Tory Timber Ring, for example, dominated any cutting that was done in the Northwestern region of the province. The Tory Ring also protected their positions, and promoted government appointees in the Department of Lands, Forests, and Mines who would abuse the regulations that would be implemented in their respective offices (Nelles, 1974).

Unscrupulous contractors were able to secure pulpwood for export by purchasing homesteader's wood, trespassing and cutting on crown lands, establishing townships for settlement - with new owner's land being cut for export, and the exploitation of the Mining Act (Bertrand, 1959, 76). The Mining Act allowed the cutting of timber, for what was expected to be the construction of a mine, but contractors used the Act to cut pulpwood for export, which was within the law. The mining tracts were purchased for considerably less than a similar forest tract of land. As a result, hundreds of thousands of dollar's worth of pulpwood was cut and exported to the United States, all with the collusion of various government agents. It was not until 1918 that amendments were made to the Mining Act which prohibited

this type of extraction.

Exemptions to the manufacturing condition could also be granted by the Minister in charge of Lands and Forest, after amendments were made to the Crown Timber Act in 1913. These amendments were established to alleviate the plight of the homesteaders who inevitably lived in poverty (Neiles, 1974).

Pulpwood exports were also permitted on Indian Reserves. For example, Charlie Cox, past Mayor of Port Arthur, was able to secure exclusive rights "from the Indian Reserve at Longlac from the Federal government" Bertrand, (1959, 78), which he resold to an American company for an estimated $60,000 profit. Other methods were also used to secure timber rights, most of which were received through political corruption and contributions to the political party in power (Bertrand,1959).

It was during this period that American capital was expanding into the pulp and paper industry of Northern Ontario. The Pulp and Paper Magazine of Canada in 1920, for example, reported that sources estimated 75% of the capital invested in Canada's pulp and paper industry was American (in Burley, 1971). The new impetus of American capital also put great demands on the Ontario government. The de-

mands resulted, to a large extent, in the manufacturing condition. As huge pulp mills required extensive capital and large tracts of land, certain conditions had to be met before investments were made.

In this regard, the government entered into an unholy alliance with capital to establish the pulp and paper industry in Northern Ontario. In 1918, for example, "George H. Mead, president of Spanish River Pulp and Paper, investigated the possibility of expanding his company's Espanola mill in 1918, his investment banker, Alex Smith of Peabody, Houghteling and Co. of Chicago agreed to finance the project, but only if the government could guarantee the company much larger pulp limits" (Nelles, 1971, 387). After talks with Howard Ferguson, Minister of Lands, Forests, and Mines, Mead applied for exclusive rights to a land tract of approximately 5 000 square miles. Despite the fact that "all pulp limits must be sold by public tender" (Nelles, 1974, 387), Ferguson approved the request contrary to law. Similar arrangements were extended to Abitibi Pulp and Paper, with more than 1 500 square miles of pulpwood set aside for its use. Such practices were conducted with timber companies as well, with costs levied far below the prevailing rates. Despite a Royal Commission into the practices relating to the forest industry in 1920, the govern-

ing United Farmers granted timber reserves in ways similar to that which Howard Ferguson had been castigated for (Nelles, 1974).

Despite the unholy alliance between capital and the state, the demand for newsprint continued until the depression (Radforth,1987). Backed by the government, American capital made huge investments in the pulp and paper industry. Radforth argues that in1926, "13 per cent of all U.S. direct investment in Canadian manufacturing was in the wood and paper sector and approximately four-fifths of the newsprint produced in Canada was exported to the United States" (1987,18). Capital was anxious to secure as much pulp wood, for their share of the blossoming pulp and paper industry, as possible during this time.

As such, capital was interested in having direct control over its labour. In this case, American and Canadian capital secured pulp wood from the forest industry by employing men directly or 'sub-contracting' the cutting of wood to a jobber, who would structure the labour process for his own men. In both cases, the goal is to "increase the profitability of [the] enterprise by extracting greater surplus value from labour" (Marchak,1985,689). Surplus value is the value of the portion of the product that exceeds the costs of producing that product. Capital introduces various measures to lower the costs of

production, in an effort to maximize surplus value. To accomplish this, forest workers were exploited. Capitalists were able to disguise this exploitation, and structured work and the labour force by introducing piece-rates, wage concessions and sub-contracting. In addition, capital employed seasonal and immigrant labour, promoted ethnic divisions, employed marginal men, utilized the vast distances between camps-which made organization next to impossible, black listing men and reducing the costs relating to the living arrangements of the forest workers. However, "the history of subordination of labour is also a history of resistance, for though labour is segmented and divided, obliged to sell its power for a wage and therefore dependant on employers for subsistence, workers do not passively accept all that is imposed on them" (Marchak,1985, 691).

Between 1910 and 1935 forest workers in Northern Ontario were subjected to some of the worst living and working conditions in the bush. Bunkhouses were often crowded and cold in the winter, and lacked bathing, toilet, and washing facilities (Veltri,1981). The standard construction of a bunkhouse was logs laid on top of each other and dovetailed at the ends. Moss was used to fill the cracks between the logs. The roofs consisted of poles, which were laid side by side

and covered with tar felt (Bertrand,1959). A normal camp would sleep 90-100 men, and was heated with a pot-bellied stove or a converted oil drum. In one camp, men slept in tents (Scorback,1972).

Men slept in bunks known as muzzle-loaders, or in double decker beds. Muzzle-loaders required men to climb into the bunk head first. Often the top bunks would be hotter than the bottom, where men had their hair freeze to the outer wall. A former bush worker recalled one camp, where men wore heavy woolen stockings on their heads to keep from freezing their hair to the wall (Borg,1972). In some camps, men were required to sleep two to a bunk (Friberg,1972; Landmesser,1972).

Because of the lack of bathing and washing facilities, the forest workers had to hang their wet clothes up in the bunkhouse to dry after a day of cutting. These clothes were used only for cutting, as gum from trees usually covered them. Bunkhouses often smelled from the stench of the unwashed clothes and the smell of spruce wood (Lein,1972). Many of the camps were lousy as a result of the unsanitary conditions.

Lein argues that the food in the camps ranged from "very very good to God awful" (Lein,1972). In some cases, men were fed heavy rations

of beans for breakfast, lunch and supper (Landmesser,1972). In other camps, beef was brought in 'on the hoof', and slaughtered as needed (Barrett,1972). Some diets were supplemented with wild game that had been killed by the cook's helper. A number of strikes were called to protest against a poor cook or bad food.

Conditions did vary greatly among the camps. Smaller camps or sub-contractors often had poorer sanitation conditions than the larger companies. The Thunder Bay Labour History Interview Project in 1972 interviewed a number of former bush workers who often complained of specific sub-contractors who were only out to make money, and cared for little else (Landmesser,1972). Workers tolerated the poor conditions in efforts to save money, as any improvements in the camp conditions would be charged to the workers. As such, "'sanitary inspectors found it almost impossible to educate these people in matters pertaining to sanitation'" (Radforth,1987,93).

In addition to the poor living arrangements, work was often dangerous. In 1929, for example, the Lumbermen's Safety Association reported more than 2 103 serious accidents in Ontario. From this, "...17 per cent involved accidents with axes; an equal proportion from falls; 13 per cent from felling or rolling logs; 8 per cent from falling trees;

7 per cent from jammed logs; 3 per cent from horses; and 3 per cent from muscular strains" (Radforth,1987,66). Radforth has argued that the vast majority of reported fatalities were from falling trees or by drownings (1987,66).

Early efforts to deal with the injustices in the bush took the form of grievances. Grievances, "were usually formulated by camp committees or by mass meetings of all the lumber workers in the district and then presented in the form of a petition" (Veltri,1981,20). Unionizing bushworkers was often difficult during this time. A.T. Hill, an early union organizer, felt that the "...organization of the workers in the lumber industry was not an easy task, because workers were distributed to various lumber camps, workers did not know where they would be going for the next season, and then their movements were easily noted by the bosses and stool pigeons ready and handy" (sic) (1952,1). Capital also structured the labour process in such a way that discouraged workers from leaving a job or going on strike.

Despite the difficulties in organizing forest workers, some efforts were made as early as 1910 to unionize the workers of the bush. Although a number of unions were formed between 1910 and 1935, the union movement had only moderate success. The vast majority of

strikes would occur as a result of a specific camps grievance. Einar Nordstrom (1972), for example, argued that for each demand, a strike would have to be called, and the concession would only be good for that season. As such, strike after strike was needed to win any demands.

Nevertheless, the first union in Northern Ontario was the Ontario Lumber and Railroad Workers Ring (O.L.R.W.R.). The O.L.R.W.R. was formed by Finnish radicals who hoped "to organize into one unit workers in two seasonal industries where labour demands dovetailed and where many immigrants found jobs" (Radforth,1987,111). Radforth argues that the impacts of the union were probably limited; there is a lack of information available in the Port Arthur Finnish papers, which usually published reports on strike activities. As well, the Port Arthur Finnish newspaper, Working People, published an editorial in 1913 which called for the unionization of lumber workers with no mention of the O.L.R.W.R. (Radforth,1987). Similarly, the Department of Labour's, Report on Labour Organization in Canada makes no mention of this union.

The Report on Labour Organization, however, mentions the formation of the International Union of Shingle Weavers, Sawmill Workers

and Woodsmen local 27, in Port Arthur in 1913 (Department of Labour,1914). Although little is known about this union, the Report indicates that the union had three union locals in Canada, with a combined membership of 50, and membership elsewhere totaling 4 950. It may be inferred that the editorial was written in support of this union which was formed on June 6th. Galenson (1983), argues that the Shingle Weavers were granted a charter by the American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.) in 1903, in the United States. After this time, the Union "... after several mergers with timber workers' unions, had gone out of existence in 1923" (Galenson,1983,252).

In the years that followed, a number of Unions were formed which indirectly led to the formation of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union (L.S.W.U.) in 1936. A number of organizations and individuals played a direct role in the course that the union movement would take in Northern Ontario. The decisions that were made, and the course taken, relied on events which were occurring in other provinces, nationally, and internationally. Despite the confusion surrounding these events, one individual and the Finnish organization emerged that would guide the process over the next 20 years in Northern Ontario.

A.T. Hill formed a number of Unions among forest workers in

camps near Ignace and then Raith, Ontario during the 1916-1917 cutting season (Hill,1973). Hill would play a large role in unionizing forest workers in the next 20-25 years, as well as becoming an influential member of the Canadian left. Although Hill's accomplishments have yet to be chronicled in any detail, he was involved in a number of organizations which sought to improve the lot of the working class.

Hill had immigrated to Canada in 1913 from his native Finland. Radforth argues that "...since he and his family were socialists in the old country, it was only natural for him tc take part in the socialist hall near his new home in Northwestern Ontario" (1987,111). Hill became a member of the Social Democratic Party of Canada in 1913. In 1915, Hill was drawn to the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), through the war time election campaign of socialist Eugene V. Debs in the United States. Hill had offered to sell Debs campaign buttons, 'No man, no money for war,' that fall while he worked in North Dakota and Montana. At the time, Hill argues he was "...attracted to a delegate of I.W.W. Industrial Union 120 who had membership cards with him" (Hill,1952).

After organizing some camps in 1916-1917, Hill moved to Port Arthur in April 1917, where he worked on establishing the co-opera-

tive restaurant, the Hoito, of which he became the first manager (Hill,1973). The early camps, although it is not clear, appear to have been members of the I.W.W. no. 120 (Radforth,1987). Hill argued that the I.W.W. no.120 was supported by the Finnish Federation of the Social Democratic Party.

Wilson has commented that the significant role that the Finnish-Canadians played "...in the development of labour and radical left movements in Canada" (1978,10), has gone largely un-noticed. Since this time, however, a significant amount of material has been written on the role of the Finns in these movements. Laine's study of Finnish groups in the first four decades of the century found that "...locally based Finnish societies began as of 1906 to join the recently founded Socialist Party of Canada" (S.P.C.) (1981,97), with the most prominant locals of the S.P.C. in Toronto, Port Arthur and Vancouver (Laine,1981). Shortly after this, Finnish groups, which took their socialism seriously (Lindstrom-Best,1981), began to challenge S.P.C. policy. The S.P.C. moved quickly to remove the Finns en bloc. As a result of their expulsion, purged Finns formed a new socialist party called the Canadian Socialist Federation (C.S.F.) in 1911. Local Finnish groups, however, formed their own organization which came to be

known as the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada (F.S.O.C.). The F.S.O.C. was later granted a charter to the C.S.F., which was renamed the Social Democratic Party of Canada (S.D.P.C.) in 1911 (Laine,1981).

During the first world war, the Port Arthur F.S.O.C. and its paper, the Working People, were censored. Later in 1917, the F.S.O.C. established the paper Vapaus in Sudbury which, too, was censored. In addition, the S.D.P.C., the F.S.O.C. and the I.W.W. were suspended (Laine,1981). As a result, Hill argues that the Lumber Workers local 120 of the I.W.W. functioned "...as small underground groups, supported by the Finnish Federation" (Hill,1973). The F.S.O.C. had changed its name to the Finnish Organization of Canada, and conducted its business in English to circumvent restrictions under the War Measures Act. Once restrictions were raised in 1919, the organization resumed under the name F.S.O.C. (Laine,1980).

The I.W.W. had a large following among Finnish forest workers because it catered to the unskilled and those with little skill (Department of Labour, 1912), who had been ignored by the American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.). The I.W.W. also wanted to organize all ethnic groups in the interest of proletarian solidarity of the working class (McCormack,1985). Low membership dues and the I.W.W.'s

"...strong distrust of labour bureaucrats and leftist politicians; an emphasis on direct action and the propaganda of the deed.. [allowed the I.W.W. to pioneer]..the strike on the job, mass sit downs, and the organization of the unemployed, migrant and immigrant working people" (Jewell,1976,36).

Although the Lumber Workers Industrial Union 120, of the I.W.W. had been outlawed and small groups did function underground, the majority of the forest workers in Northern Ontario switched their alliance to the Lumber Workers Industrial Union (L.W.I.U.) in 1919. The L.W.I.U. had its beginnings in British Columbia, where forest workers had organized themselves into the B.C. Loggers Union in early 1919. Hak argues that the rise of the Loggers Union "...coincided with a worldwide increase in working-class radicalism and militancy in the years after 1917 of which Canada was a part" (1989,67). The Loggers Union changed its name to the L.W.I.U. in July 1919, after it affiliated with the One Big Union (O.B.U.). Phillips (1967), argues that the L.W.I.U. was the most militant branch of the O.B.U.. By the end of the year, the L.W.I.U. had more than 15,000 members in B.C., Saskatchewan, and Ontario.

Despite the spectacular rise of the L.W.I.U. in B.C., the leadership

decided to continue their expansion. In late 1919, the L.W.I.U. had established a Port Arthur district office, which signed up more than 500 new members in less than a week. In the first six months of 1920, the L.W.I.U. had established district offices, among others, in Port Arthur, Fort Francis, Cobalt and Timmins (Hak,1989).

The L.W.I.U. was an attractive alternative to the I.W.W., whose restrictions had been lifted by now. For the Finnish workers in Northern Ontario, the L.W.I.U. was closely associated with the S.P.C. As Finnish socialist ideas were "...an integral part of the day to day life of the Finnish community" (Lindstrom-Best,1981,119), the L.W.I.U. would best represent their interests. Despite the fact that the Finns resented the S.P.C.'s insistence on pure socialist ideologies which spurned reformism (Lindstrom-Best,1981), it would appear that the Finns chose the L.W.I.U. because it would incorporate "revolutionary socialism and militant industrial unionism" (Hak,1989,76). Nevertheless, Hill argues that the F.S.O.C. did not join the O.B.U., but declared itself a 'Propaganda Organization' of the O.B.U., and "...declared its support for the policy of industrial unionism" (1973,3).

Ernest Winch, who was a prominent member of the S.P.C., was also the leader of the L.W.I.U. Winch had decided to spurn the Trades

and Labour Congress (T.L.C.) and join the O.B.U. in July 1919 after a vote of 2032 to 28 in favour of the move (Bercuson,1978). The L.W.I.U. made up "...forty per cent of the total O.B.U. membership" (Hak,1989,77). The affiliation to the O.B.U., however, was not to last. The O.B.U. was concerned with the expansionist tendencies of the L.W.I.U., despite the fact that the L.W.I.U. "...was willing to relinquish non-logging locals to the appropriate O.B.U. unit when membership numbers and circumstances were opportune" (Hak,1989,78). In the spring of 1920, the O.B.U. was determined to impose geographical restrictions on the L.W.I.U.. In effect, this would mean that the L.W.I.U. members would pay dues to the O.B.U., and the executive would have no money or power (Hak,1989).

Hak argues that the conflict climaxed in September 1920 at a convention in Port Arthur. Some argue that the convention was held in Port Arthur because it was so far from Vancouver, where the L.W.I.U.s support was strong (Bercuson,1978). The O.B.U. used the occasion to limit the voting power of the L.W.I.U., who it claimed was in arrears on payments. During the convention, A.T. Hill was one of the delegates from the Fort Francis local of the L.W.I.U.. In the months following the convention, the L.W.I.U., by referendum, voted to sever its ties with

the O.B.U. (Department of Labour,1921). The L.W.I.U. executive, however, did not have the support of the local members of the L.W.I.U. in Northern Ontario, who decided to stay with the O.B.U. (Hak,1989). In the years that followed, the L.W.I.U. collapsed (Jewell,1976).

As a result of the collapse of the L.W.I.U., the I.W.W., the O.B.U. and the Communists "...all made bids for the former members" (Jewell, 1976, 40). Radforth (1987) argues that it is uncertain how many members there were in Northern Ontario, but support for the L.W.I.U. was concentrated mostly among Finns, with other Europeans and Canadians comprising the remainder of the membership. Despite the sudden collapse of the L.W.I.U, the union had been able to generate discussion on the poor camp conditions in the O.B.U. paper Le Travailleur/The Worker (Radforth, 1987).

A number of developments resulted from the collapse of the L.W.I.U. In Northern Ontario, two competing unions were formed immediately after the split with the O.B.U. This first union consisted of members loyal to the O.B.U.. After enjoying support from social groups in Port Arthur, Nipigon, Sault Ste Marie, Timmins and Sudbury, this group slowly began to transfer membership to its old rival the I.W.W. L.W.I.U. no. 120. Between 1923-25, 1200-1500 O.B.U. members

transferred their membership (Radforth, 1987). The Department of Labour, however, argued that the I.W.W. had claimed that 2 000 former O.B.U. members had switched alliance. The O.B.U., on the other hand, disputed the membership numbers and stated that the lumber workers voted 232 in favour of joining the I.W.W., and 34 against (Department of Labour, 1924). The disputed numbers, although Radforth's sources would appear to be correct, could be attributed to the rivalry between the O.B.U. and the I.W.W. at the time. The I.W.W. had only recently begun to reestablish in Canada after having relinquished its Canadian affiliations in 1915. The Annual Report on Labour Organizations argues that Vancouver was the first local established since its revival, "although it is known that a number of I.W.W. sympathizers were located in Port Arthur Ontario" (Department of Labour, 1923, 208). A later report lists the formation of the L.W.I.U. 120 of the I.W.W., in 1924, in both Port Arthur and Sudbury (Department of Labour, 1925).

The second union which formed in Northern Ontario and which subsequently became the precursor of the L.S.W.U., was the Lumber Workers Industrial Union of Canada (L.W.I.U.C.). The L.W.I.U.C. was originally formed from the remnants of the original L.W.I.U. in British Columbia. Although the origins of the L.W.I.U.C. are sketchy, it appears

to have been an independent union until 1922. The L.W.I.U.C., at the time, became an affiliate of the Red International of Labour Unions (R.I.L.U.). It is often erroneously reported that the L.W.I.U. became an affiliate of the R.I.L.U. (see Lipton, 1973, 227; Angus, 1981, 132; Penner, 1988, 82). As a result of its affiliation with the R.I.L.U., the L.W.I.U. 120, of the I.W.W. in Vancouver (as mentioned earlier) was formed by members unhappy with the move to the R.I.L.U.

The R.I.L.U. was formed in July 1921 and was "committed to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Communist commonwealth" (Department of Labour, 1923). The R.I.L.U. wanted "to break up dual or independent unions and bring them into locals affiliated with the A.F.L., which the communists hoped to capture from within" (Jewell, 1976). The Third Communist International established the R.I.L.U. "as a medium through which to propogate its doctrine in the trade union..." (Department of Labour, 1923).

In Ontario, the L.W.I.U.C. was established in mid January 1921, although organization would not take place until 1924. Hill states that he and Harry Bryan met in Sudbury where a small meeting of unions members took place. Bryan was subsequently elected secretary-organizer of the L.W.I.U.C. in Ontario. Hill goes on to say that Bryan was

later replaced by E. Kuusela of Bruce Mines. The L.W.I.U.C.'s Ontario office was located in Bruce Mines for some time, but "with many difficulties and lacking any touring organizer the Union existence was in balance" (sic) (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 2141).

Other developments were occurring in Ontario which would also affect the course of the union movement. A.T. Hill had moved the F.S.O.C. further to the left. Laine (1981) argues that Finnish Canadian radicals were encouraged by the Bolshevik takeover in Russia, which was seen as a sign for the triumph of the working class struggles around the world, and the impetus of Finnish 'Red' immigrants. Hill was elected secretary of the F.S.O.C. in 1921, and subsequently "...affiliated with the Workers Party of Canada as its Finnish Socialist Section" (Laine, 1981, 99), In 1921. The Workers Party of Canada (W.P.C.) was formed on February 17, 1922. The W.P.C. later changed its name to the Communist Party of Canada in 1924, and was formed, among others, by A.T. Hill and Tim Buck, who was secretary of the recently formed Trade Union Educational League (T.U.E.L.).

Divisions occurred within the Finnish community as a result. Radical leftists wanted to protect the assets of the F.S.O.C. from the Communist Party. A plan was devised to transfer cultural properties

to a new organization entitled the Finnish Organization of Canada (F.O.C.), which received its charter from a reluctant Federal government on October 24, 1923 (Laine, 1981, 100). Hill (1952), by his own word, seemed to be opposed to this. Despite this, the Finnish section comprised 50% of the Communist Party (Laine, 1981).

The radical left continued to function under the auspices of the Communist Party and its affiliated organizations. The Young Communist League, for example, was established to 'educate' young people, and draw them away from capitalist organizations. The Young Communist League was established in 1922, and its first chairman was A.T. Hill. The Trade Union Educational League (T.U.E.L.) was also established in 1922 and worked to promote more militant, powerful organizations. The T.U.E.L. worked under the auspices of the R.I.L.U. (Department of Labour, 1927).

The close ties between the Communist Party and the L.W.I.U.C. eventually led to the expansion of the L.W.I.U.C. in Northern Ontario. J.M. Clarke, who was the leader of the L.W.I.U.C., was also one of the founders of the Communist Party (Hill, 1973). In correspondence from Clarke to Tim Buck on April 5, 1923, Clarke asked Buck if anything was being done in Ontario. Clarke states that he received two letters

from potential parties interested in organizing, but one was in Finnish and the other was in English, and barely readable. Clarke goes on to argue that committees appear to be the "only method by which we can start down there" (Clarke to Buck, National Archives, R.G. Intrim Vol. 7, M.G. 28, IV, 4, Vol. 51, File 63).

In a subsequent letter 12 days later, Clarke decides that it is best to forget a central establishment in Ontario and proceed with committees, with centralizing activities run out of Vancouver. He asks Buck if he had any objections. If there were none, Clarke asks Buck if he can set up the connections to which Clarke would proceed as quickly as possible to organize. From the letter, it appears Clarke was anxious to start organizing the L.W.I.U.C. in Ontario, and interested in securing any funds that could be raised (Clarke to Buck, National Archives, R.G. Intrim Vol. 7, M.G. 28, IV, 4, Vol. 51, File 63).

Despite Clarke's interest in securing the L.W.I.U.C.'s place in Ontario, it was not until early 1924 that two Communist members began organizational drives in Northern Ontario. "That spring, under the auspices of the Finnish section of the C.P.C., a meeting of woods workers at Sault Ste Marie launched the new Lumber Workers Industrial Union of Canada" (L.W.I.U.C.) (Radforth, 1987, 120).

In the years that followed, the L.W.I.U.C. continued with its organization drives. Its main support came from the F.O.C., which was, as mentioned, closely linked to the C.P.C.. The L.W.I.U.C. was also able to utilize the F.O.C. for the recruitment of members in their many halls in Northern Ontario. The L.W.I.U.C. also made use of the Finnish paper Metsatyolainen (The Lumber Worker) as a forum for articulating "the complaints of bushworkers and in turn making the workers conscious of their exploitation" (Radforth, 1987, 121).

The L.W.I.U. 120, on the other hand, met with little success in the years immediately following the formation of the L.W.I.U.C.. Laine argues that the formation of the F.O.C. divided the solidarity of the working class, who had previously supported the O.B.U. and the I.W.W. (Laine, 1981). The vast majority of Finns, it seems, supported the L.W.I.U.C.. By 1928, two conferences of the L.W.I.U. 120 were held, both in Port Arthur and Sudbury. In Port Arthur a resolution was adopted to merge the I.W.W. and the O.B.U.. The purpose of this was to have the O.B.U. join the I.W.W., so that the I.W.W. could utilize the O.B.U. administration and its newspaper, the O.B.U. Bulletin. It appears that the I.W.W. was trying to secure its membership, which had continued to fall. By 1928, the I.W.W. had only seven branches in Canada:

"Lumber Workers in Port Arthur, Sudbury, and Vancouver, Agricultural Workers in Vancouver, and general recruiting unions in Port Arthur and Calgary" (Department of Labour, 1929, 170). Although the L.W.I.U. 120 had successful strikes, membership usually crumbled after concessions were won, as the I.W.W. "refused to sign binding contracts with employers" (Veltri, 1981, 69).

Although the unions had little impact on the labour process during this period, one strike in 1926 showed that concessions could be won when a united strike effort was launched. The L.W.I.U.C. and the L.W.I.U. 120 endorsed this strike for higher wages. During the strike, strikers received the full support of the left wing Finnish community. In the end, capital agreed to the demands or a satisfactory compromise on wages. The Unions felt this strike was a major success (Radforth, 1987).

The co-operation between the L.W.I.U.C. and the I.W.W. was not to last. During a bitter strike in the Shabaqua area in 1929, in which two unions organizers, John Voutilainen and Viljo Rosvall went missing, tensions between the I.W.W. and the L.W.I.U.C. climaxed. Repo (1981/2) has argued that the strike was as much for union recognition as it was for higher pay, better working conditions and better cuts of

timber. The I.W.W. even organized rival meetings to criticize the leadership of the L.W.I.U.C.. The strike was deemed a failure, and the two missing men were subsequently found in April 1930, dead from an apparent beating. However, the official cause of death was deemed as accidental drowning (For a comprehensive review see Repo 1981/2). The L.W.I.U.C. and the L.S.W.U., in addition to the Finnish Canadian left, hailed these men "...as martyrs of the bushworkers organizing struggles and as heroic victims of the class war" (Radforth, 1987, 125).

During the time of the Shabaqua strike, the Trade Union Educational League in the United States, "acting on instructions from the Communist International, began to change tactics from boring from within to the creation of the second union central organization, the Trade Union Unity League. Shortly after, in December of 1929, the Canadian counter part, the Workers Unity League (W.U.L.) was formed under the national secretary , Tom McEwan" (Phillips, 1967, 102) (Other sources list Thomas Ewan as Chief Secretary of the Workers Unity League, see Department of Labour, 1932). Ewan was also one of the original founders of the C.P.C..

The purpose of the W.U.L., which was a section of the R.I.L.U., was to organize Canadian workers into powerful industrial unions, which

would improve the lot of the working class, and ultimately lead to the overthrow of the capitalist class (Department of Labour, 1931). The W.U.L. was also active in organizing the unorganized and the unemployed. Although Lipton (1967) argues that the W.U.L. was never a majority force, it was important.

The revolutionary nature of the W.U.L., and the Communist party, did draw the wrath of the state. Using section 98 of the Criminal Code, several influential members of the Communist party and the W.U.L. were arrested, including A.T. Hill, Tom Ewan and Tim Buck (Department of Labour, 1932). The Federal government also used Section 98 to deport two Finns. This was a clear message to Finnish radicals that the government would not tolerate the actions of the left (Laine, 1981). As a result, many Finnish radicals left the F.O.C., which was perceived to be violent and illegal. Others left for Soviet Karelia during the 1930's. Laine (1981) estimates that more than 3 000 Finns had left Canada as a result.

The L.W.I.U.C., which had continued to expand until the 1930's, voted at a convention in Port Arthur in April, 1930 to extend its jurisdiction to cover agricultural workers. As such, the L.W.I.U.C. changed its name to the Lumber and Agriculture Workers Industrial

Union of Canada (L.A.W.I.U.C.) (National Archives, M.G., IV, 4) At the same time, the L.A.W.I.U.C. chose to affiliate with the W.U.L. (Department of Labour, 1931). Despite its affiliate to the W.U.L., the L.A.W.I.U.C. had trouble following the dictates of W.U.L. because of the slump in the forest industry.

Radforth (1987) argues that the L.W.I.U.C. made every effort to expand beyond its Finnish base in the first years of the 1930's. This could be due to the declining importance of the F.O.C., and the mass migration of Finns to Soviet Karelin. As the forest industry showed signs of recovery in 1933, the L.W.I.U.C. also "took a leadership role in a series of large, militant strikes that involved not only Finns, but also substantial numbers of French Canadians, English Canadians, Swedes, Slavs, and others..." (Radforth, 1987, 127). Penner believed that a large number of the W.U.L. strikes were militant because "employers knew that the state would back them in refusing to recognize a union affiliated to the revolutionary W.U.L., which was affiliated to the even more revolutionary R.I.L.U. abroad" (1988, 106).

The most violent W.U.L. strikes, Penner argued, were in Saskatchewan where 3 miners were killed (Penner, 1988). Northern Ontario, however, also had a number of violent strikes between 1933

and 1935. The first substantial strike occurred in 1933 against the Pigeon Timber Company. In addition to the demands for higher piece rates and lower board rates, strikers wanted the yellow dog contracts eliminated. The Yellow Dog contract is one requiring new employees to pledge they will not join a union. In the ensuing strike, operators publicly condemned the strike as communist run (Radforth, 1987). The L.W.I.U.C., however, stuck with their demands and continued to use a variety of tactics which aided their militant positions. The Pigeon Timber Company's barns, for example, were picketed by the L.W.I.U.C. and its support groups the Finnish Organization, the Scandinavian Workers and the Farmers Club. When the R.C.M.P. and the Ontario Provincial Police "tried to break the picket and round up the union leaders, thousands of people from Port Arthur's south end began streaming out of their homes.....[until] the whole block surrounding the Pigeon Timber barn on Machar Avenue was packed with people" (Manley, 1984, 265-6). At the conclusion of the strike, the L.W.I.U.C. claimed victory (Radforth, 1987).

During the Pigeon Timber Company strike, another union formed which tried to stabilize "the labor end of the timber industry" (Manley, 1984, 305). The Canadian Bushmen's Union (C.B.U.) was a company

union affiliated with the All Canadian Congress of Labour (A.C.C.L.). The C.B.U. provided information to the R.C.M.P. and O.P.P. on various communists. By November 1934 the union was out of existence (Manley, 1984).

With the success of the Pigeon Timber Company strike, the L.W.I.U.C. and the I.W.W. held a wage conference in mid-August, 1933. In the fall of 1933 a number of strikes occurred in "Thunder Bay, Fort Francis, Hearst, Kapuskasing, Iroquois Falls and in neighbouring Rouyn, Quebec. In early January, 1934 Chapleau tie makers had also walked out" (Radforth, 1987, 128).

The Chapleau strike was of particular interest. The W.U.L. took leadership of this strike and was aided by Communists in Thunder Bay who picketed "...highways leading out of the city and issuing travel permits to travellers who could show they weren't prospective strike breakers" (Manley, 1984, 262). The strike 'petered out' in early February.

After continued strikes and criticism over the lack of intervention, the "Ontario government introduced the Woodsmen's Employment Inquiry Act in the Spring of 1934" (Radforth, 1987, 130). Under the Act, the Minister of Lands and Forests could appoint investigators,

who would investigate the terms of employment of jobs on crown lands. Subsequently, the investigator would make recommendations to the Minister who would make binding recommendations. Even though no standards were established, the government did acknowledge "some responsibility for employment standards in the crown forests" (Radforth, 1987, 130).

In the last six months of 1934, strikes were occurring in the Cochrane and Ansonville Districts, Sault Ste Marie, Kapuskasing, Thunder Bay District and Sioux Lookout. More than 2 045 men were involved, with a combined 53 400 man working days lost (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series VIII-1). Reports from the Halleybury O.P.P., at the time, stated that

> There is a growing violence in these strikes and leaders are becoming more insistent that their followers use violence if opposed in the least way in any unlawful action. The strikers were arming themselves with clubs cut out of the bush and did not hesitate to use them.
> (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series VIII-1)

There were many reasons for the growing militancy. In the fall of 1934, for example, W.U.L. officials and Communist Party members were released from jail. As such, both the Communist Party and the W.U.L. 'moved out of the underground.' In addition, membership was growing in both organizations. The growth could be explained, in part,

from the desperate times and conditions in the camps in the 30's, and the subsequent desire to do something. Finally, the lack of government regulations concerning the employment of forest workers helped contribute to the growing polarization between employees and employers.

Radforth states that the Nipigon strike, in June 1935, was the last effort to which the L.W.I.U.C. was involved. This effectively ended an era in the history of the unionization of forest workers in Ontario. Although the Finnish organization would play "a somewhat less prominent role" (Radforth, 1987, 132) in the future, the continuing role of the Communists would dominate the labour process in Northern Ontario for the next fifteen years.

3. The Emergence of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union: 1935-1940.

In 1934 the Communist International decided to abandon dual movements everywhere (Phillips, 1967). Angus has argued that the change in policy was a direct result of Stalin's panic over "Hitler's 1933 triumph in Germany" (1981, 317). As a result, Stalin's left wing revolutionary tactics of the early 1930s gave way to more conservative policies. Angus felt that Stalin's reversal was not just to oppose facism, but to enlist more favourable views of the Soviet Union, with the ultimate goal of securing allies.

The Seventh, and final, Congress of the Communist International was held in early November 1935 to legitimize Stalin's directives. During the meetings, the 'united front' tactics of Lenin were to be dissolved and the strategy of the popular front to be invoked. The popular front conception advocated the subordination of Communist programs, "...to the programs of their hoped for bourgeois and petty-bourgeois allies, and fight for a minimum program that did not challenge capitalist property relations or pose the need for socialist

revolution" (Angus, 1981, 318). Communists were to abandon their revolutionary unions and reestablish with existing mainstream labour movements such as the T.L.C., and the American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.).

Penner has argued that "the Communist Party of Canada lost no time in abolishing the Workers Unity League after the Party's delegation had returned from the Seventh Congress of the Comintern" (1988, 143). Two meetings took place in the later part of November 1935, which reinforced the tactics of the Communist International and moved to dissolve the W.U.L.

The L.W.I.U.C., as a result, moved quickly to establish itself within the A.F.L.. Radforth has stated that the L.W.I.U.C. in Northern Ontario first tried to join the Iroquois Falls local of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the A.F.L., but were refused. Soon after, the L.W.I.U.C. began negotiations with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (U.B.C.J.) of the A.F.L.. By March 1936, the L.W.I.U.C. held their last convention in Northern Ontario, and ratified the move to the U.B.C.J.s under the name of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union (L.S.W.U.). The L.S.W.U. locals would be affiliated to the U.B.C.J.. In British Columbia, the L.W.I.U.C.

backed a similar resolution in April 1936, by a referendum of 1 048 to 23 (Radforth, 1987; Phillips, 1967). The move to the A.F.L. was in complete contradiction to the resolutions adopted at the Seventh Annual Convention of the L.W.I.U.C., which was held in Port Arthur in April 1930. At the time, the L.W.I.U.C. resolved that

> the policy of the A.f. of L. in Canada in no way differs from the policy of A (sic) American imperialism; its task is to subject the Canadian workers under its jurisdiction to the dictates of capitalist exploytation (sic); and for this subjection it receives the recognition of the bourgeoisie governments by appointments to office, trips to Geneva etc. (National Archives R.G. Interim Vol. 7, M.G. 28, IV, 4, Vol. 51, File 65).

Nevertheless, a number of changes were occurring in the A.F.L.. The A.F.L., for example, granted the U.B.C.J. complete jurisdiction over the lumberworkers in early 1935. Prior to this, the U.B.C.J. was obsessed with craft unionism, which catered only to skilled craftsmen. Organization efforts for the unorganized and unskilled were non-existant. The A.F.L. had, however, granted a charter to the Shingle Weavers in 1903, and the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumberman, after the dissolution of the Shingle Weavers in 1923. The Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen was the only organization for lumberworkers in the United States from 1923 to 1933. Galenson has argued that the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act, among

other things, allowed employees to "have the right to organize and bargain collectively without interference, restraint, or coercion by employers" (1983, 239). As a result of this, the A.F.L. began organizing drives, and by the end of 1934 it had succeeded in chartering "...118 federal locals of lumbermen, loggers, and shingle weavers" (Galenson, 1983, 252). After this succcess, the A.F.L. had considered chartering a Northwest Council. However, the U.B.C.J. opposed this move and asserted its jurisdiction. The A.F.L., which wanted to avert potential conflict, decided to turn over 7 000 workers to the U.B.C.J. On February 20, 1935, the A.F.L. notified the lumber locals about the transfer (Galenson, 1983).

Abella has argued that the "...haughty Carpenters refused to accept the lumberworkers as equals, and granted them instead a non-beneficiary or second class status" (1973, 112). Contrary to popular belief, this assertion is incorrect. In correspondence from Frank Duffy, General Secretary of the U.B.C.J., to William Green, President of the A.F.L., Duffy states

> we will charter these local unions as beneficial or non-beneficial, just as they desire. If they select the beneficial class they will be entitled to all insurance features, disability benefits etc., as prescribed in our laws. Their dues cannot be less than $1 per member per month. The tax to the General Office will be 75 cents

per member per month.

If they select the non-beneficial class, they can set their own monthly dues, but the tax to the General Office will only be 25 cents per member per month. This covers our journal, tax to the A.F. of L. and the departments to which we are connected.

It also fully protects them in trade matters, such as hours, wages and working conditions. Besides that, it gives them the protection of our organization in any difficulties they may encounter. They will also be entitled to the services of an organizer whenever such is required. (United Brotherhood of Carpenter and Joiners files, 1935-39, President's Office) (F. Duffy to W. Green).

This policy was also reasserted at the 23rd general convention of the U.B.C.J., which was held at Lakeland Florida, in December 1936 ("Lumber and Sawmill Workers at the Convention,"1937).

The vehemently anti-communist U.B.C.J. and the A.F.L. were a strange affiliate for the Communist-led L.S.W.U. in Northern Ontario. The U.B.C.J., however, may have tolerated the Communist-led organization for one specific reason; organizational abilities (Zeitlin and Stepan-Norris, 1989). At the time, the U.B.C.J. would have been interested in securing a foothold in Ontario, and later preventing the I.W.A. from securing its position. As well, the U.B.C.J.'s leadership or key positions would not be challenged, because the L.S.W.U. in Northern Ontario chose non-beneficary status, which mean't that they could not vote. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but one could specu-

late that the seasonal and transient nature of forest work would preclude the higher membership dues that were needed for beneficary status. The policy of 'boring from within', would be relatively ineffective as a result of their status.

The A.F.L. was also consistantly losing membership in Canada from 1920 to 1934. The final statement of the W.U.L. argued that the A.F.L. had lost more than 70,000 members in Canada during this time (National Archives, R.G. Interim Vol. 7, M.G. 28 IV 4, Vol. 52, File 79). Although the A.F.L. and the U.B.C.J. condemned industrial unionism, both realized the importance of the membership.

The rank and file of the L.S.W.U. in Northern Ontario, however, were not entirely clear why the Union affiliated with the U.B.C.J.. One former organizer for the L.S.W.U. felt the union should have joined the C.I.O. (Borg, 1972). The Finnish lumberworkers, who still made up the bulk of the L.S.W.U. membership, were also confused about the affiliation with the U.B.C.J.. In correspondence between G. Sundqvist of the F.O.C., and the L.S.W.U. in November 1936, Sundqvist asks what will be done by the union to clarify the reasons for the affiliation to the A.F.L. to the Finnish lumberworkers. Sundqvist condemns the way that the union affiliated with the A.F.L. without consulting the mem-

bers. Sundqvist also offers the union full use of the Finnish newspaper Vapaus to clarify its position (National Archives, M.G. 28, V 46, Vol. 16, File II 32).

There are many reasons why the L.W.I.U.C. in Northern Ontario affiliated with the U.B.C.J., and resisted any alliance with the I.W.A.. The Finns that had returned from Soviet Karelia were becoming increasingly dissenchanted with the Communist movement (National Archives, M.G. 28, V. 46, Volume 16, File 33). There is no doubt that these Finns would have discussed the situations in the Soviet Union with their fellow Finnish lumberworkers when back in Canada. The leadership of the L.S.W.U. was primarily Communist, and may, in part, have chosen the more conservative Brotherhood to pacify the concerns of the Finns, who still made up the bulk of its membership. In addition, the Communist-led L.S.W.U., as non-beneficial members of the U.B.C.J., may have thought they could pursue their own agenda, free from the influences of the U.B.C.J. or the C.I.O..

The Communist leadership of the L.W.I.U.C. also acted in accordance with the Communist International directives, which encouraged the joining of existing International unions. Bruce Magnuson, who had been secretary of the L.W.I.U.C., and later president of the L.S.W.U., felt

that it was important to join the A.F.L., because the union had to work closely with A.F.L. pulp mill unions, which was not the case in British Columbia (Radforth,1987).

Bruce Magnuson would play a significant role in the union movement in Northern Ontario in the next fifteen years. Magnuson was an immigrant from Sweden, who had worked for five years on a farm in Saskatchewan upon his arrival to Canada. His first encounter with the forest workers came in 1933 when Magnuson, like so many other farmers at the time, came to Port Arthur to seek employment in the bush. However, upon his arrival, Magnuson encountered the fall strike of 1933. Magnuson was sympathetic to the strikers and was soon elected secretary of the strike committee for the L.W.I.U.C.. Although Magnuson was blacklisted for his role in the strike, he was able to secure employment after the completion of the strike as a teamster. On his first day of work, Magnuson was seriously injured. After a long period of recovery, Magnuson worked in relief camps and was elected secretary of the L.W.I.U.C.. He later worked as an organizer and then president of the L.S.W.U. (Magnuson, 1972).

Like Magnuson, many other former members of the L.W.I.U.C. began to organize for the L.S.W.U. locals. Between 1936 and 1940, L.S.W.U.

locals were established in Blind River (2822), Fort Francis (2558 & 2560), Kapuskasing (2651), Port Arthur (2786), Rainy Lake (2601), Sudbury (2504), Thessalon (2825), Timmins (2507), and one other local, 2566 (no town is indicated in the sources for this local in Northern Ontario) (United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Union Locals files). Although details are sketchy, there appears to have been a District Council, the Rainy River Valley District Council, which was established to co-ordinate operations in the various locals, with Bruce Magnuson as secretary (United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Blind River files,1937-1940). Radforth has stated that the sawmill workers in Fort Francis had been granted a charter by the A.F.L. prior to 1936, but later became Fort Francis local 2558. Although the organization of the L.S.W.U. locals appears to have begun after early 1936, charters were not issued until 1937, except Kapuskasing which received its charter in 1939, and Port Arthur, in 1936. The Rainy Lake local of the L.S.W.U., however, appears to have been organizing as early as June 1935, well before the L.W.I.U.C. decided to join the U.B.C.J. It is unclear if this may have influenced the L.W.I.U.C. into joining the U.B.C.J. (Correspondence from G.A. Prall, Special Representative of U.B.C.J., to President Hutcheson of the U.B.C.J.

on his audit of local 2601, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Rainy Lake files). Nevertheless, support during this time was provided by Brotherhood officials Andy Cooper and Albert Locking, who was also President of the Rainy River Valley District Council.

From the files of these early Union locals, it appears that there was a great deal of difficulty in organizing the forest workers. A.T. Hill, who was president of the Sudbury local upon his release from jail, later argued that he used the name Oscar Koskela to avoid detection from company bosses during this period (Hill,1973). It was also difficult to solict union dues from members during this time, which may also have contributed to the union selecting the cheaper non-beneficiary status from the U.B.C.J. Many of the union locals asked for exemption from the per capita tax from the general office. Probably the most disheartening problem for these union locals was the lack of financial and manpower assistance from the Brotherhood. Some of the locals often asked for a Brotherhood official, only to be told he was busy elsewhere. The Rainy Lake local, in a series of letters to the Brotherhood head office in May 1936, asked for strike benefits, even though they acknowledged that they had not given the U.B.C.J. sixty days notice of a strike. After the strike was called, the Broth-

erhood stated that the local, as a non-beneficial member, was not entitled to strike benefits or donations. In a subsequent letter, the recording secretary stated that "Our international officer, Brother A. Cooper led us to believe, when we were organizing, that the precapitation (sic) tax was used to pay for our magazine, International officers saleries and strike benefits" (United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Rainy Lake files). At the conclusion of the strike, President Connor of the Rainy Lake local wrote the President of the U.B.C.J., to inform him that the strike was settled, and was "...thankful to say that at all times we had the sympathy and cooperation of the public" (United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Rainy Lake files).

The conflicts between the L.S.W.U. locals in Northern Ontario, and the U.B.C.J. would continue for some time. Radforth argued that "...it must have been with some apprehension that the Communist L.W.I.U.C. leaders, accustomed to having a free hand in the W.U.L., accepted the authority of one of North America's most conservative unions" (1987,136). In addition to the problems encountered with Brotherhood officals and the bureaucratic hindrances of the U.B.C.J., Magnuson challenged the provisions relating to the constitution of the U.B.C.J. In

correspondence with William Hutcheson, president of the U.B.C.J., Magnuson argues that as non-beneficial members, they have a right to vote on matters relating to their locals. Magnuson felt that anything contrary to this "...tends to inflict upon the democrazy (sic) in the Unions as well as the liberty of individual members" (Magnuson to Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Fort Francis File).

Despite the problems encountered with the U.B.C.J., the L.S.W.U. locals in Northern Ontario continued to fight for wage increases and better working and living conditions by using the Industrial Standards Act of Ontario (I.S.A.). The I.S.A. was originally proposed by the opposition Liberals of Mitchell Hepburn, during the provincial election of 1934. The I.S.A. was primarily used to attract the working vote. By April 1935, the Liberals, who had come to power passed a compromise proposal. Radforth argued that Hepburn "...felt the new legislation would improve 'the social standards of labor (sic) and at the same time...eliminate unfair and cut-throat competition in industry'" (1987,137). Under the act, the Minister of Labour designated officials who would set up meetings between union officials and employers to discuss wages and hours of work in the industry. Agreement between

the preponderance of employers and employees in the district, would result in a binding agreement for a period of one year. Radforth argues that in the logging industry, "...where labour relations had been especially tumultuous, the I.S.A. became a vital aspect of labour management relations" (1987,137).

The I.S.A. was not fully endorsed by capital. The Canadian Lumbermen's Association (C.L.A.), for example, in correspondence with the Provincial Minister of Labour in late March 1935, felt the I.S.A. should, like mining and agriculture, be exempt from the provisions of the I.S.A. because the forest industry is also seasonal work. The C.L.A. felt that limiting hours in the forest industry would be improper, because work depends on weather and other conditions. James Marsh, Deputy Minister of Labour, replied to the C.L.A.. Marsh stated

> ...that the Industrial Standards Act does <u>not</u> empower or authorize the Government to arbitrarily set the wage rates or hours for an industry, but on the other hand provides the opportunity for employers and employees, if they desire to do so, to meet in conference and mutually agree as to the rates of wages and hours of labour and other conditions peculiar to the industry under review.....May I assure you that the principle behind the Act and the intent of the Government is to be helpful only to employers in industry in the matter of levelling out the wage costs as between employers and at the same time having given the employees the opportunity of discussing these matters with the employers openly and frankly with, if it is deemed necessary, an official of the Government presiding as chairman (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7,

Series II-4, Vol. 1).

The I.S.A. of Ontario was used successfully by the L.S.W.U. to increase wages and provide for several other non-monetary provisions, for the forest workers of Northern Ontario. Other groups also tried to use the I.S.A. to call conferences, and to set wage rates and hours of work. The Wood Sawers of Port Arthur- Fort William District, for example, tried to have a conference called for the forty odd wood sawers in the district, who cut firewood for homes in the area. In a somewhat humorous series of letters, it was determined that a conference could not be called because the citizens of Port Arthur and Fort William did not constitute employers, as intended under the I.S.A. (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series II-4, Box 3). The Wood Sawers later joined the L.S.W.U.

The recognition of both employers and employees would continue to hamper the early conferences that were established under the I.S.A.. During the first conference to establish wage schedules in early 1936, in Port Arthur, Louis Fine, chief conciliation officer of the Ontario Department of Labour, met with both employees and employers of the district. The employees, Fine noticed, had trouble expressing themselves, and it was later learned that the employees

were sent to the conference by the companies they worked for. Later in the day, members of the L.W.I.U.C. met Fine, who agreed to recognize the L.W.I.U.C. and later the L.S.W.U. as legitimate representatives of the employees (Radforth,1987). Radforth argues that this was a significant breakthrough for the union, "...where most operators had long refused to bargain collectively with their employees....in the years ahead the Lumber and Saw would try to use the forums provided under the I.S.A. as a means of achieving a kind of quasi collective barginning relationship with employers throughout the north" (1987,138). The first conference resulted in an agreement which was signed by employers who had some 3 500 employees and by representatives of 1 900 employees (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series I-2, Box 3, Vol. 3).

At the conclusion of the first agreement reached under the I.S.A. in October 1936, both employers and employees met again to work out a new agreement. Some L.S.W.U. locals had asked for a Province-wide conference prior to this, but were denied because proper employer representation would be impossible. During the negotiations, the Port Arthur L.S.W.U. under the leadership of Bruce Magnuson, pushed for concessions other than wages and hours of work. Although the Thunder Bay Logging Advisory Board, a group of employers and labour

leaders representing the logging industry, had approved of limited entry of union organizers in the camps, the operators at the conference rejected this provision. At the conclusion of the conference, no agreement was signed, as companies refused to accept the demands that the L.S.W.U. had proposed (Radforth,1987).

By January 7, 1937, a large strike was undertaken by the L.S.W.U. in Flanders Ontario. The Fort Francis local had been turned down for an I.S.A conference, and resolved to strike in an effort to force the major companies to grant concessions (Radforth,1987). Both the Shevlin-Clarke company and the J.A. Mathieu company refused to recognize the union. In a memorandum to the Minister of Labour, Louis Fine discussed the events surrounding the strike. Fine argued that after negotiating a settlement, he was informed by Bruce Magnuson "..that the men had repudiated the previous settlement and now wanted union recognition, the 8 hour day and their former demands for wage increases" (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series I-2, Box 3). After calling a meeting, which Fine had addressed, Magnuson was reported to have spoken, and denied that he was party to the various new arrangements that Fine had said he drew up in accordance with the strike committee. According to Fine's memo, U.B.C.J. official Andy

Cooper also backed him. Nevertheless, Fine reports that members voted not to accept the agreement. Fine stated that Magnuson had lied for his own benefit. After further discussions, the union members voted to go back to work, and agreed to sign the original settlement which provided for wage increases of four to six dollars per month (Archives of Ontario, R.G.7, Series I-2, Box 3).

In the years that followed agreements were reached in the various districts in Northern Ontario. By 1938, in addition to wage increases to $42.50 per month for general bushmen, agreements provided for suitabie board and lodgings for all days including Sunday and holidays, scale slips to be issued no longer than seven days after the piling of wood, free mail service and no charge for baggage transportation. As well, provisions were granted that prevented employers from charging more than the retail price for tools sold to employees, all camps had to meet Department of Health sanitary conditions, poor or scattered wood entitled pieceworkers to special rates and compensation had to be granted for cutters engaged in road construction. Two years later, general bushmen received $46.75 per month, as well as the provisions granted under the 1938 agreement (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series I-3, Box 2).

Although the I.S.A. of Ontario was originally designed to attract voters, and later provide a forum for employees dissatisfied with wages and hours of work, the L.S.W.U. was able to capitalize on the Act, win union recognition from the government, increase wages, and provide for several non-monetary provisions for the forest workers. Capital resisted a number of the provisions, but the union could claim a limited victory.

Meantime, events were occurring in Europe which would have an affect on the labour process in Northern Ontario. Although capital had, to a large extent, tolerated the provisions that were granted in the late 1930s, the advent of war would require capital to restructure its operations to accommodate labour shortages which would inevitably result from the war effort. The subsequent reorganization, and state intervention in labour matters would require the continued action of the L.S.W.U., to ensure that the gains made in the late 1930s would not be sacrificed.

4. Labour Shortages and State Intervention During the War, 1940-1946.

> Canada's declaration of war on 10 Sept. 1939 heralded the beginnings of profound changes in the nation's labour markets, policies, and movement (Radforth,1987,141).

Unemployment in 1939 had stood at 11.2 percent nationally, and in 1941 had fallen to 4.4 percent (Phillips,1967). During the five and a half years of war, about 41 percent of men aged 18-45 passed through the armed services (Satzewich,1989). With full employment, severe labour shortages developed in many industries across the country, including the forest industry. Because the war was deemed a national emergency, the federal government became the "...pre-eminent power in labour matters" (Radforth,1987,141).

The federal government was determined to avoid the problems that had developed during the first World War. Various policies were implemented to ensure maximum production was reached and inflation controlled (Phillips,1967). Radforth has argued that the policies were designed to win the support of workers and unions, "However, labour was soon alienated by the government's attempt to halt inflation by imposing a wage freeze and by its refusal of compulsory collective

bargaining," (Radforth,1987,141).

In Northern Ontario, the communist led L.S.W.U. responded to the federal government's policies by fighting for wage increases under the Regional War Labour Board. The Union was also affected by the various changes that had occurred in the Communist Party of Canada (C.P.C.). With the out-break of World War 2, the C.P.C. supported, then, acting on instructions from the Communist International, rejected the imperial war that was being waged against Hitler. In the general election, in March 1940, the C.P.C. campaigned against conscription and for an all out effort to "Withdraw Canada from the War!" (Penner, 1988,163). The anti-war policy of the C.P.C. did not go unnoticed by the federal government. By an order-in-council, under the War Measures Act, the federal government outlawed the Communist Party and 14 other auxiliary organizations on June 6, 1940. In the months that followed, the R.C.M.P. began arresting individuals who were sympathetic to the C.P.C., and to communism in general. The legislation also provided for internment of all communists, even though they may have suspended their membership in the C.P.C., after the legislation was passed into law on June 6 (Penner,1988).

Penner has stated that Mackenzie King was lobbied from both

sides to do something about the Communist movement. King had resisted the advice of three top civil servants at the time, who felt that nothing should be done. The pressure to act against communism in Canada originated in Quebec, where Cardinal Villeneuve launched a campaign as early as 1936 to resist communism. It was likened to the Bolshevik atheism that the Roman Catholic church was opposed to in a holy war in Spain at that time. Subsequent legislation was passed in Quebec under the direction of the Cardinal and the newly elected Maurice Duplessis. Penner argued, (at a time when the Catholic church exerted a great deal of influence over one's life), that it "...was no great surprise therefore to find Minister of Justice Ernest Lapointe and his successor Louis St Laurent as the main advocates in the federal Cabinet of measures against the communists, even after the Soviet Union had entered the war as an ally of Canada" (1988,171). Both Lapointe and St Laurent, as members of Parliament from Quebec, were unsympathetic to the pleas for the release of interned communists.

In Northern Ontario, Bruce Magnuson was arrested under Section 8 of Regulation 22 of the Defence of Canada Regulations on August 7, 1940. Magnuson was President of the Port Arthur L.S.W.U. and Secretary of the Port Arthur Trades and Labour Council (T.L.C.) at that time. The

particulars surrounding Magnuson's arrest indicated that the authorities had reason to believe that Magnuson was an advocate of the policies of the C.P.C., and the Canadian Labour Defence League, which was also abolished by the government. The particulars also indicated that Magnuson was closely associated with Tim Buck and George Cotter, General Secretary and Secretary respectively of the C.P.C., as indicated by his presence at a meeting in Schreiber in June, 1938 (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.P. 9166, M.H.S.O. Collection).

Magnuson's involvement with the Communist Party would continue to dog him throughout his years with the L.S.W.U. It is not entirely clear whether Magnuson was a member of the C.P.C. at that time, but he was closely associated with the Party. A.T. Hill, for example, has argued that such Communists as K. Salo, A. Hautamaki, Harry Raketti and Bruce Magnuson were all instrumental in forming the L.S.W.U. in Northern Ontario (Hill,1972). After Magnuson's arrest, C.D. Howe wrote W. Eggleton, secretary of the Port Arthur L.S.W.U., to inform him that Magnuson was arrested because he was listed as a prominent member of the C.P.C., and had continued to work on its behalf, regardless of the restrictions (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R., 9166). Magnuson himself would later deny that he was a Communist in the

1940s, and that his imputed association with Tim Buck was based on a car accident he was in while sharing a ride back from a meeting in Schreiber with Buck (Magnuson,1972).

A number of letters were sent by labour organizations requesting the release of Magnuson because of his contributions to Canadian labour (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041). By August 1941, both Fred Cullick, acting President of the Port Arthur L.S.W.U., and Bruce Magnuson's wife were lobbying for Magnuson's release. Cullick, for example, initiated the services of Winnipeg lawyer E.J. McMurry to oversee the hearings for Magnuson's release. It is not entirely clear whether McMurry proceeded with this appeal, but he did respond to the L.S.W.U., and complained that the legislation under which internees were held was unsatisfactory and one- sided (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9166). Considering the cost of McMurry's services, which was $750, it is unlikely that the L.S.W.U. decided to pursue the matter.

Bruce Magnuson's wife, however, continued a letter-writing campaign to both Lapointe and St Laurent. In April 1941, Karen Magnuson joined a delegation of wives who met Lapointe to urge the release of the internees. Karen Magnuson also appealed to Lapointe, in a letter

at the end of August 1941, about the conditions under which her husband was interned. By February 1942, she was preparing for her third trip to Ottawa to try to secure the release of her husband as well as to attend the Ottawa conference on democratic rights. At the conference, she addressed Louis St Laurent (who had succeeded Lapointe as Minister of Justice), on behalf of the wives and families of interned anti-fascists. She was encouraged by St Laurent and wrote him on March 14, 1942, to extend her support for the release of some of the internees, and to appeal once again for the release of her own husband. She argued that he had been a respected member of the community and had twice been re-elected as President of the L.S.W.U. while he was interned. Mrs. Magnuson also argued that there was a growing conviction that Bruce Magnuson had been interned for his 'trade union work'. She insisted that Magnuson supported the war and that he had collected $300 for Victory Bonds one evening while he was interned (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9166).

The internment of her husband was obviously taking its toll on Karen Magnuson. In the letter to St Laurent, she related to him the unhappiness of her situation since her husband's internment. She also argued that she was earning her own living and purchased Victory

Bonds "...despite the blows I have received at the hands, it would seem, of Democracy itself" (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9166). She had been involved in union activities, as a stenographer for a District Trade Union conference in early March of that year.

Although the history of labour relations in Northern Ontario was largely influenced by men, the role women played cannot be dismissed. A.T. Hill has argued that the struggles in the camps could not have been "...carried out without many women's groups, wives of lumber workers, or women's circles of Cultural movements (Finnish Organization Women's Circles and others) giving assistance" (1952,10). During the war women became increasingly involved with labour's struggles. In January 1943, the U.B.C.J. recognized the role of women and agreed to provide membership to women who received the same pay as men. Soon after, the U.B.C.J. agreed to allow women memberships and Isabel Regimbal was elected the first female recording secretary-treasurer of the L.S.W.U. local 2759 in Mattawa, Ontario. Records of the U.B.C.J. do not indicate if she was the first female member, but her appointment was "...sufficiently new for The Carpenter to feature her picture" (Brooks, 1981,149).

Although Russia had joined the allies in June 1941, the federal

government continued to resist any moves to free the internees during 1941. It was not until 1942 that the government agreed to hear appeals concerning the internment of Communists (Penner,1988). On July 23,1942, Bruce Magnuson's case was dealt with by labour lawyer J.L. Cohen (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9166, M.H.S.O.). By the end of September, 1942, all Communist internees had been released from internment or jail (Penner,1988).

Upon Magnuson's release from internment, he resumed his position as President of the Port Arthur L.S.W.U. on September 14,1942 (see Appendix 2 for the list of Presidents of the Port Arthur L.S.W.U.). During Magnuson's internment, the L.S.W.U. local had had a considerable amount of trouble with W.R. Eggleton, secretary of the local (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9166, M.H.S.O.). The local had been indebted to the U.B.C.J. for more than $950 in unpaid per capita taxes, which it had made no attempt to pay off. In correspondence with Brotherhood official Andy Cooper on October 21, 1942, the U.B.C.J. asked Cooper to proceed to Port Arthur to secure the required money and threatened to revoke the charter if this money was not paid. At the same time, it was suggested to Cooper that Magnuson would have to communicate directly with the President of the U.B.C.J., stating his

reasons for eligibility in the U.B.C.J. (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9116, M.H.S.O.).

Less than one week later, Magnuson had written the President of the U.B.C.J. and expressed the difficulties in maintaining membership dues during the war. Magnuson made no mention of the reasons why he should be allowed membership in the U.B.C.J.. Magnuson's letter was apparently well received by the U.B.C.J., as all unpaid per capita taxes were canceled up to November 1, 1942 (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9116, M.H.S.O.). This good will gesture, however, was not to last. Just eleven days later, U.B.C.J. President W. Hutchenson wrote to Magnuson on November 17 to state a 'situation' had been called to his attention after he had granted the cancellation of the unpaid per capita taxes, and that the previous dispensation was to be disregarded pending the outcome of a report by Andy Cooper (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9116, M.H.S.O.).

It was obvious that the U.B.C.J. had been informed of Magnuson's internment for his communist beliefs. It appears that Cooper discussed the 'situation' immediately with Magnuson. Subsequent correspondence with the U.B.C.J. on November 25, 1942, indicates that Magnuson was made aware of the 'situation'. In his letter to the U.B.C.J.,

Magnuson indicated that the reasons for his internment seemed to stem from organizational drives he undertook for the International Boiler Makers Union, not the Communist Party, as was alleged. Magnuson did not dwell on his internment in this letter but pledged to bring the affairs of the L.S.W.U. local under control. He also enclosed a letter of support from Great Lakes Paper Company, one of the largest employers at the time (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9116, M.H.S.O.). It appears that Magnuson was a good friend of B.F. Avery, who was part of the management of Great Lakes Paper Company. (Avery later wrote the foreward for Bruce Magnuson's 1944 book, Ontario's Green Gold.)

Once again the Brotherhood accepted Magnuson's letter but decided to discharge W.R. Eggleton as secretary of the Port Arthur local. Magnuson was not completely free of suspicion from the anti-communist U.B.C.J.. On December 17, 1942, John Stevenson of the U.B.C.J. wrote Magnuson to inform him that he would have to swear an affidavit indicating that he was not a member of the Communist Party or any other organization that had similar objectives. Magnuson responded with a terse affidavit that indicated he was not a member of the Communist Party or any other organization that was illegal under

the Defence of Canada regulations. This of course did not satisfy the U.B.C.J., which had a blank affidavit drawn up, with the required information and a clause stating that Magnuson would not become a member of a communist party or any other organization whose purpose was contrary to the U.B.C.J. constitution. By April 29,1943, Magnuson received his letter confirming his membership in the U.B.C.J., providing he would abide by the constitution of the U.B.C.J. (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9116, M.H.S.O.).

Magnuson was no doubt relieved that he had been accepted as a member, but his membership was dated from January 1943. Although it is not entirely clear, it appears that Magnuson was suspended as President on or about the same time as Eggleton was dismissed, and that Eino Raappana once again resumed the position of President of the Port Arthur L.S.W.U. local. On May 3,1943, Magnuson wrote Andy Cooper to express his concerns about his membership being approved from January 1943, which would disqualify him from holding office. Magnuson went on to say, "In the event that these problems are not looked into as soon as possible, it will be very difficult to carry on. Personally, I have no desire of doing so until I have a much clearer understanding of my own position as well as that of the union local"

(Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9116, M.H.S.O.). As luck would have it Brother Raappana had been called to the Army and he was left to do the work of President with Brother Koskinen (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9116, M.H.S.O.). Considering the affairs of the local, which had continued to falter during Magnuson's internment and eventually led to the dismissal of Eggleton, Cooper had little choice but to have Magnuson reinstated as President, a position he would hold until his retirement at the annual meeting in 1946.

The continuing problems that plagued the union as well as Magnuson's internment appear to have had little impact on the outcome of the labour relations in Northern Ontario. However, in 1940, E.E. Johnson of the Pigeon Timber Company Limited complained that the wages and conditions that had been negotiated under the I.S.A. were far too favourable to the employees; he produced comparative wage rates for other areas of Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba and the Maritimes, which indicated that wages in the Thunder Bay area were substantially higher than those in the other areas. Johnson also insisted that the annual wage scales that had been negotiated were not a true representation of the operators in the district. Johnson submitted his findings and a list of operators that had not signed the

agreements to the Minister of Labour for Ontario. Johnson's pleas for lower wages and the request to have the proposed wage schedule for Thunder Bay district reconsidered were not taken seriously by the Minister of Labour and the new schedule was incorporated for the period April,1, 1940, to March 31,1941 (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7,Series I-3). The terms of the new schedule were the same as those that had been agreed to under the 1939-40 agreement (Labour Gazette,1941). At the conclusion of the 1940-41 agreement, operators and representatives of labour met again to work out another agreement under the Industrial Standards Act. The 1941-42 agreement was essentially the same as the previous agreements and continued to provide for several non-monetary matters such as free mail service and luggage transportation. The wage schedules that had been negotiated during Magnuson's internment provided for only modest wage gains during the 1941-42 agreement, and no new increases for the 1940-41 wage schedule. It appears that the L.S.W.U. had been pre-occupied with internal difficulties, and was unable to lobby the government for higher wage increases under the I.S.A.

The 1941-42 agreement under the I.S.A. proved to be be the last schedule enacted by the provincial government. For the remainder of

the war, all labour matters would be conducted under the direction of the federal government. The most direct intervention in the labour process in Northern Ontario occurred with the formation of the National War Labour Board (N.W.L.B.) and its affiliate, the Regional War Labour Board (R.W.L.B.). Both the N.W.L.B. and the R.W.L.B. were established "...to administer the Wage Stabilization Orders established by successive Orders-in-Council to deal with the problems of rising prices during the war years" (National War Labour Board,1989). The R.W.L.B. had immediate control of issues relating to the forest industry, and was comprised of members representing both employers and employees. In Ontario, Peter Heenan, formerly Minister of Lands and Forests, became Chairman of the R.W.L.B.

The first intervention of the R.W.L.B. in the forest industry occurred on November 15, 1941 when P.C. 8253 "...Made the minimum wages established under the Thunder Bay I.S.A. agreement of 1941, the maximum for the entire Ontario pulpwood industry" (Radforth,1987,142). Shortages of labour had driven up the wage rates and many operators were paying more than the wages that had been established under the I.S.A. Radforth (1987) argues that the announcement of P.C. 8253 caused a great deal of confusion because

many operators were paying their men more than the minimum wages that had been established under the I.S.A.

Despite the confusion surrounding P.C. 8253, another conference was held in Port Arthur on April 21 and 22, 1942, between employers and employee representatives of the woods industries. It appears that wages were increased in an effort to nullify the confusion around the low wage rates that had been established under P.C. 8253 (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 687, File 2). Radforth argues that negotiations continued throughout the summer of 1942 and a new agreement was reached in the fall of 1942. However, employers continued to ignore the wage schedules and paid their men more than the R.W.L.B. had agreed to. A ten- dollar-a-month service bonus was also provided for men who would provide three months or more of continuous service (Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 18).

The federal government was becoming increasingly involved in labour matters during 1942 when labour shortages were particularly severe in the forest industry. In March 1942, for example, the federal government established the National Selective Service. Other measures had been taken to co-ordinate manpower during the war (see "Canada's Labour Resources and the War Effort", Labour Gazette, Jan-

uary 1942), but the National Selective Service was established "..to effect the orderly and efficient employment of men and women of Canada for the varied purposes of war" ("Establishment of National Selective Service in Canada,"1942). The National Selective Service was given the power to prevent any person from accepting a job unless he/she had a permit from a National Selective Service official ("Rationing of Man-Power on Priority Basis in Canada," 1942). Satzewich argues that the provisions of the National Selective Service had created "...a form of unfree wage labour because of the political-legal restrictions which were placed over circulation in the market" (1989, 94). By July 1942, more than 250 000 workers were needed for the war effort ("War Industry and Manpower Situation in Canada,"1942). The forest industry also continued to face severe labour shortages, and by October 1942, the National Selective Service launched a campaign to secure 100 000 men to work in bush, sawmill and pulp operations in Canada. The National Selective Service also made it easier for farmers to engage in forest work without changing their agricultural status ("Recruiting Harvest and Lumber Workers,"1942). The Service had issued permits to 12 520 men to work outside of agricultural by December 1942. Of these 12 520 men, Ontario received 4 301

agricultural workers who worked in the forest industry (Activities of National Selective Service,1942).

A number of events occurred in early 1943 that had a significant impact on labour relations in Northern Ontario. Timber operators met in Port Arthur on January 20,1943, for example, to extend service bonuses to those men who would be called away from work before the required three month time limit because of military service or their return to agricultural work. This measure was taken to encourage men to work, regardless of the amount of time they could spend on the job. At the meeting, a resolution condemned P.C.5693, which was the schedule of wages issued by the R.W.L.B. in September 1942. The timber operators argued that the wage schedule was compiled without the assistance of employers and employees and that the orders under P.C. 5693 were continually abused by operators. Two other resolutions were adopted at this meeting which eventually led to the formation of the Ontario Forest Industries Association (O.F.I.A.), and a committee to study wage rates for the next wage conference in April 1943 (Oscar Styffe, M.G. 7, B, Box 18)

A subsequent meeting was held on February 20, and the Thunder Bay Timber Operators agreed that a province-wide association of tim-

ber operators would benefit the forest industry as a whole in Ontario. B.F. Avery proposed this resolution (Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 18). Some years later, B.F. Avery wrote a history of the O.F.I.A., and argued that there was increasing government intervention in the forest industry and that the relationship between licensee and the Crown was becoming increasingly less formal and more structured. Operators foresaw a termination of control regulations from the government, with the termination of the war, and decided that an organization to assist in coordinating the dealings its members had with the provincial government would be advantageous. As a result, a proposal was undertaken to form the Ontario Forest Industry Association. The Thunder Bay Timber Operators Association (T.B.T.O.A.), sent two delegates to the initial meeting in Toronto on March 15, 1943, which endorsed the formation of the O.F.I.A. On June 21, 1943, the O.F.I.A. received its charter (Avery, 1989).

The O.F.I.A. did not play any role in labour relations up to the signing of the 1943 wage schedules. The Thunder Bay Advisory Committee (T.B.A.C.), which was a group of employers and representatives of labour in the Thunder Bay area, dominated all the negotiations. The T.B.A.C. would call meetings that were attended by opera-

tors, government representatives, and representatives of labour, much like the meetings previously held under the I.S.A., and discuss recommendations that might be made to the R.W.L.B. The T.B.A.C. was an adjunct of the R.W.L.B. For the L.S.W.U., the quasi-collective bargaining position it had achieved under the I.S.A. was maintained under the R.W.L.B. (Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 18).

The various steering committees that oversaw and recommended various wage rates leading up to the 1943 wage conferences of the T.B.A.C., consisted of both employers and employees. The Thunder Bay Timber operators, who had formed a committee to study wage rates on February 20, reported on April 11,1943, that the existing wage schedule provided no incentive for increased production, that the difference in rates for wage labourers and piece workers precluded equal earning potential, and that work conditions prevented some men from earning more than others. The committee recommended that the new schedule address these concerns and provide a production bonus to workers who exceeded the normal production (Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 18).

The L.S.W.U. generally accepted the recommendations of the employers committee, but had some reservations about P.C. 8253 that

made the minimum wage rates the maximum for the industry. The L.S.W.U. felt that the minimum wage rates did not even represent the average wage paid to workers. The L.S.W.U. also submitted a separate brief to the R.W.L.B., which addressed these concerns (Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 18). The L.S.W.U. submitted a wage schedule that it felt would more accurately reflect "...a fair and reasonable basic rate" (L.S.W.U. Brief to R.W.L.B. in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 18).

The R.W.L.B. established a new schedule based on the extensive recommendations of the employers and the L.S.W.U., on July 1, 1943. The schedules seemed to benefit the employers, who had argued for a maintenance of the existing 1942-43 wage rates. Maximum rates were increased for cookees, bullcooks, camp watchmen, barn bosses, night watchmen and dam and storage ground watchmen. All other workers' wages remained the same as those established under the May 1942 wage schedules. The wage rates were considerably lower than the L.S.W.U. had proposed in its brief to the R.W.L.B. (see Appendix 3). The L.S.W.U. felt that maintaining the 1942 wage rates would continue to depress wage rates for workers, which were actually the minimum established under the I.S.A. Operators had consistently paid more than

the minimum, but the continued enforcement of the wage rates as maximum would keep the wage rates low. Despite the concerns of the L.S.W.U., the R.W.L.B. implemented the wage rates for the remainder of the war (Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 18; Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series XIV, 4 A, Box 2).

In a confidential letter to R.H. Neilson, Chief Executive Officer of the National War Labour Board, on October 27,1944 , J.B. Metzler, Chief Executive Officer of the R.W.L.B., argued that the establishment of wages in the logging industry was one of the most difficult problems that the R.W.L.B. faced. Metzler stated that the minimum wages established under the I.S.A. had not been uniform and that the R.W.L.B. tried to "...adopt standard conditions for the entire industry because of the desperate lack of bush help. If we had not done so, one or two operators in each area would have had all the help and the others would have been forced to suspend operations until normalcy returned" (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series XIV, 4 A, Box 2). Metzler went on to say that enforcement of the wage schedules had been questioned, but he felt that the threat of prosecution was effective as a deterrent, even though there were abuses of the wage schedules (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series XIV, 4 A, Box 2).

To a large extent, neither the employers nor the L.S.W.U. benefitted from the rulings of the R.W.L.B. The L.S.W.U. was able to maintain its quasi-collective bargaining position but was unable to raise wages for its forest workers. The L.S.W.U., however, retained the provisions that were granted under the I.S.A. Capital, on the other hand, was able to keep wage rates low but was unable to secure the labour that it needed so desparately. The inability to secure labour and the restrictions on wage rates did strengthen the resolve of capital, which regrouped and later lobbied the government for a continuation of its manpower policies that were enacted to alleviate the labour shortage.

The federal government had begun to implement a number of policies that would ultimately alleviate the labour shortages in the forest industry. The most striking policy was Order-in-Council P.C.2326 which authorized the use of prisoners of war (P.O.W.), for agriculture and other labour on May 10, 1943. The Minister of Labour stated in the House of Commons that the P.O.W.s to be engaged in labour would be those who volunteered for the work and were considered reliable by camp authorities. Limited numbers of military personnel would also be assigned to supervise the P.O.W.s. The Minister of Labour stated,

"Wood cutting and mining work and selected types of agriculture work appear to offer the most suitable opportunities for employment" ("Use of Prisoners of War in Agriculture and other Labour,"1943).

A subsequent Order-in-Council (P.C. 5550), on July 29,1943 established wage rates for P.O.W.s, as defined by the Geneva Convention of 1929. The rates varied, but P.O.W.s were generally to be paid a token fifty cents a day for an eight hour day and, when possible, provided with an incentive for increased production ("Rates of Pay for Prisoners of War on Labour Projects,"1943). Non-P.O.W. general hands received $2.88 per day for forest work (Radforth,1987,Appendix 6). Employers received P.O.W.s after submitting requests to the Department of Labour. The Department of Labour would pay the P.O.W.s the fifty cents a day in token money. Employers, on the other hand, were required to reimburse the Department of Labour for wages that would normally be paid, based on the going rate. By October 1945, more than 15 584 P.O.W.s were working in 169 labour projects in nineteen different industries. Satzewich stated that "...most were employed as woodworkers but they also made important contributions in the harvest of grain, fruit and vegetables" (1989,96). Satzewich stated that from 1943 until 1947, employers paid the Department of Labour $12.7

million for P.O.W. labour "...of which $3.7 million (or 28 percent) was net gain" (1989,96).

The first P.O.W.s to work in Northern Ontario arrived in the fall of 1943 (Young, 1972; Melady, 1981). The number of P.O.W.s employed in Northern Ontario, has been estimated at 8 400 (Avery,1989). Japanese Canadian internees were also engaged in the forest industry in Northern Ontario (Young,1972). The P.O.W.s were required to cut one cord per man, per day, and were paid the token fifty cents a day. R.S. Young, former superintendent of Great Lakes Paper has said that the token money was used to purchase goods from the company van. Young argued that this kept Great Lakes busy meeting the demand for items that the Germans wanted. An incentive system was also in effect, under which a certain number of cords of wood (38) over and above the quota had to be produced in order for the Germans to receive a movie. Young (1972) remembered that five or six Germans would produce the extra wood and then charge the others admission to the movie.

For the most part, the P.O.W.s did not cause any trouble in the bush, although there were some complaints from the men. Capital, it seems, began to use P.O.W.s for bush work in the summer. Horst

Braun, a former P.O.W., stated years later that "The woodcutting should only have been a winter operation-because of the bugs. We had to work summer and winter and in the summer they gave us black dope to smear on ourselves to ward off the bugs" (in Melady, 1981, 57). Young (1972) also confirms the use of P.O.W.'s in the summer, when he mentioned that they were not allowed cigarettes in the bush in the summer. In what had been a seasonal operation, the P.O.W.s summer work appears to have been a precursor of the year round operations that began in the later 1940s.

Even though the quotas for the P.O.W.s were relatively small, Young felt that there would have been no wood for a lot of operators had it not been for the P.O.W.s. The O.F.I.A. estimated that the P.O.W.s employed in the Ontario forest industry during the war produced 900 000 cords of pulpwood. The P.O.W.s were so important that the O.F.I.A. lobbied the federal government to have these men remain working "...until civilian replacements were available or until the summer of 1946" (Avery,1989). In April 1946, the federal Minister of Labour announced that arrangements had been made with Britain to have working P.O.W.s "...sent last which means that there will be no danger of disturbing the prisoners who were working in lumber camps until

after the winter season is over unless they can be replaced with ordinary labour" (Humphrey Mitchell in "Return of Prisoners-of-War to Britain," 1946). Mitchell also considered keeping the P.O.W.s in Canada longer. The P.O.W.s greatly alleviated the labour shortages in the forest industry of Northern Ontario.

Nevertheless, labour shortages persisted, and the federal government continued various campaigns to secure labour for the forest industry. In late 1943, for example, the federal government recalled members of the Canadian Forestry Corps from Britain to work in the forest industry in Canada ("Soldier-Workers assigned to Relieve Manpower Shortages,"1943). The National Selective Service also launched a campaign in the fall of 1944, in an effort to secure over 100 000 men from the farms to work in winter operations, 60 000 of whom would be needed for the forest industry ("Seasonal Transference of Farm Labour to Other Essential Industry," 1944). A similar campaign was undertaken by the National Employment Service Branch in October 1945 ("Campaign for Woods Labour,"1945).

Other events which occurred in 1943 directly and indirectly affected labour relations in the forest industry in Northern Ontario. Indirectly, a series of major strikes in other industries resulted in

the loss of more than a million working days (Morton, 1983). Panitch and Swartz have argued that the subsequent labour relations "...did not evolve suddenly from the minds of legislators, judges, and industrial relations experts...Rather, the labour legislation of the 1940s was a product of an heretofore unparalleled shift in the balance of class forces in Canadian Society" (1988,19). Panitch feels the changes began in the mid-1930s and climaxed with full employment in the early 1940s, where "...Canada witnessed an unprecedented tide of sustained and comprehensive working class mobilization and politicization" (1988,19). Panitch, quotes H.A. Logan to the effect that the "...trade union world seethed with discontent over the injustices resulting from the refusal of both private and government corporations to bargain collectively" (1988,19). As a result of the increased working class mobilization and the dramatic increase in union membership, MacKenzie King himself initiated the government response. Committees were established in 1943 to study collective bargaining. Bruce Magnuson, as secretary of the Port Arthur T.L.C., presented a brief to the Select Committee Regarding Collective Bargaining in 1943. Magnuson supported the T.L.C. position, which fully endorsed collective bargaining (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 18, D-I-37, Box/Vol-

ume 1, Volume VIII). In early 1944, MacKenzie King, who recognized the lack of mechanisms for union recognition and collective bargaining, as well as the unprecedented rise in support for the C.C.F., approved P.C. 1003, which recognized the legal rights of Canadians to organize and bargain collectively (Morton,1983; Panitch and Swartz,1988). This legislation was similar to the U.S. National Industrial Recovery Act of 1935, which gave Americans the right to organize and bargain collectively. P.C. 1003 became the precursor of more fundamental labour legislation, the Industrial Relations and Disputes Investigation Act, which was passed in 1948.

Subsequent changes to wage rates were also made in an effort to attract more forest labour. The 1943 wage rates, (for the logging industry other than pulp), that were to be in existence until the end of the war were amended on September 1, 1944. The previous minimum rates that had been made the maximum wage rates for the logging industry were changed. The R.W.L.B. also divided the Province into the two districts of Southern and Northern Ontario. Different wage schedules were established for the two districts with minimum and maximum monthly rates established (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series XIV, 4 A, Box 2).

At the conclusion of the war, the O.F.I.A. was beginning to show its strength. The O.F.I.A petitioned the R.W.L.B., for example, to approve its new wage schedule for the pulpwood industry that the O.F.I.A. had developed to help attract labour to the forest industry. The R.W.L.B. replaced the 1943 wage schedules with a new wage schedule that was considerably higher than the 1943 rates (see Appendix 3). The new wage rates took effect on September 1, 1946 (Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series XIV, 4 A, Box 2).

Although the L.S.W.U. had managed to retain the gains that were made in the late 1930s, including union recognition, no substantial increases in wages or conditions of work were achieved between 1940 and the new wage schedule in 1946. However, capital had reorganized during the war and became a powerful new lobby group. Nevertheless, the increasing strength of the L.S.W.U. would become part of a general trend across Canada after the war that would force substantial changes to the labour process in both Northern Ontario and Canada in the late 1940s.

5. The L.S.W.U. and the Suppression of Labour, 1946-60.

The 1940s were a watershed for labour legislation in Canada. Even before the federal government issued P.C. 1003, in 1944, the Ontario legislature had enacted the Ontario Collective Bargaining Act in 1943. The Collective Bargaining Act provided for freedom of association, union representation by certification and compulsory collective bargaining for industries which fell within provincial jurisdiction. A Labour Court was also established which oversaw the administration of the Collective Bargaining Act. With the implementation of P.C. 1003, the federal government became involved in labour matters relating to war industries, industries that fell under federal jurisdiction and within provincial jurisdiction whenever provinces permitted the federal government to intervene (Sach and Levinson, 1973). The Labour Relations Board Act was enacted in 1944, and "...provided for the application of P.C. 1003 to industries within provincial jurisdiction, created the Labour Relations Board and repealed the Collective Bargaining Act under which the Labour Court had operated" (Sach and Levinson, 1973, 3). The Ontario Board was given jurisdiction and

powers under P.C. 1003 over industries within provincial jurisdiction as well as war industries (Sach and Levinson, 1973).

At the conclusion of the war, provincial Ministers of Labour met to discuss permanent labour legislation. As a result of this meeting, the federal government enacted the Industrial Relations and Disputes Investigation Act in 1948. This Act was to be used as a model for unifying legislation across the country. In Ontario, the government enacted a Labour Relations Act the same year which was subsequently repealed and re-enacted in 1950. Sach and Levinson argue that the Act constituted

> ...a code governing labour relations in Ontario, administered primarily by the Ontario Labour Relations Board. While the Act has been amended from time to time in the succeeding years, most recently in 1970, the Board remains vested with the au thority to determine bargaining rights and control unfair labour practices. The Minister of Labour administers the ma chinery of conciliation; arbitrators hear grievances arising under collective agreements; provincial judges try criminal cases; and the civil courts hear cases relating to picketing and boycotting (1973, 3-4).

Under the Labour Relations Act, procedures were to be included in every negotiated contract to provide for settlement of day-to-day conflicts. The grievance process usually involved a great deal of time, with arbitration being the final step in the procedure. These provisions were incorporated to prevent work stoppages during the

term of a collective bargaining period (Kovacs, 1971).

The period of free collective bargaining, however, effectively controlled the labour movement. Panitch and Swartz (1988) argue that the word "free" has a crucial double meaning. Panitch argues that relations between capital and labour are not equal and that any bargain achieved could scarcely be viewed as free. Capital, for example, has far greater material and ideological and organizational resources at its disposal, and can use them to suppress labour. In addition, the state's coercive powers are all too often used in the interest of capital (Panitch and Swartz, 1988). Although unions won the right to organize and bargain collectively, they were required to act under the provisions of the law, which tended to favour capital. The right to strike, which had been an effective tool for unions, did not exist during the term of an agreement. As well, unions were required to be certified by the Labour Board before any negotiations were undertaken. Panitch and Swartz argue that the certification process weakened the militancy of unions and directed them towards bureaucratic and judicial activities rather than mobilizing and organizing union members. State penalties for infractions of various labour legislation also encouraged labour leaders to "...act as agents of social control

over their members, rather than their spokespersons or organizers" (Panitch and Swartz, 1988, 27).

Capital was also able to take advantage of the ideological scare that developed in the United States and Canada at the conclusion of World War Two, to suppress labour in Canada. Lembcke and Tattam (1984) argue that the ideological scare against Communism was perpetrated by U.S. capitalists who required an enemy so that a war-time economy could be continued during peace time. In the United States, the Chamber of Commerce led the attack against Communism by issuing a number of pamphlets which warned of communist infiltration of various American institutions, including labour organizations. As the campaign against Communism proceeded, business leaders prepared the Taft-Hartley Act. This Act passed in 1947,

> ...stripped labor of most of the rights it had won with the passage of the Wagner Act. It gave employers the right to enjoin labor from striking, established a sixty-day cooling-off period during which strikes were forbidden, outlawed mass picketing, denied unions the right to contribute to political campaigns and abolished closed shops. Most importantly, however, the law required all union officers to take oaths that they were not members of the Communist Party. Failure to do so disqualified the union involved from recognition by the National Labor Relations Board (Lembcke and Tattam, 1984,117).

The campaign against Communism spread quickly into Canada. Immediately following the province-wide strike in the forest industry

in British Columbia in 1946, employers vowed to reestablish their strength in the forest industry. Their main target was the Communist led-I.W.A. Other organizations, such as the Canadian Congress of Labour and the C.C.F., were also instrumental in the battle against the Communist leadership. The I.W.A. International also joined the battle, and suspended I.W.A. members who were sympathetic to Communism, under the guise of misappropriation of funds. The International also ran anti-Red newspaper and radio programs,that eventually led to the 'October Revolution' (Lembcke and Tattam, 1984). The "October Revolution" was the final result of the I.W.A.'s campaign against the Communist-led B.C. District of the I.W.A. On October 3, 1948, the B.C. District voted to secede from the I.W.A. and form the Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada (W.I.U.C.). The new left-wing leadership of the W.I.U.C. likened this organization to their seccession from the U.B.C.J. in 1937. Unfortunately, the W.I.U.C. met with a number of difficulties and eventually rejoined the I.W.A. in 1950 under a more conservative leadership (Lembcke and Tattam, 1984).

The anti-Communist campaigns were not limited to B.C. but permeated the entire trade union movement, including the L.S.W.U. in Northern Ontario. Although Bruce Magnuson had denied his member-

ship in the Communist Party immediately after his release from internment in 1942, he ran as a candidate for the Labour Progressive Party (L.P.P.) in Port Arthur, during the federal election in 1945 (Hill,1973). The L.P.P. was the name adopted by the Communist Party of Canada in 1943, to circumvent the prohibition against the C.P.C. (Penner, 1988). The communist leadership of the L.S.W.U., however, was not affected by the Red-scare until the late 1940s.

While the Communist scare raged in the 1940s Bruce Magnuson had become well known for his trade union work prior to the conclusion of World War Two. In addition to running in the federal election in 1945, Magnuson ran for alderman in the civic elections in Port Arthur, as a labour candidate (Hill,1973). In 1944, Magnuson also published a book entitled Ontario's Green Gold. In this book, Magnuson argued for the proper management of forest reserves and the need to end "...wasteful and destructive methods of exploitation of our resources" (Magnuson,1944,5). The book appears to have formed the basis for the Woodsmen's Charter, which was submitted to the Ontario Royal Commission on Forestry in 1946 by Bruce Magnuson, on behalf of the L.S.W.U. In the Charter, Magnuson advocated increasing the role of the union in the 'conservation and efficient management' of forest

reserves (Stienstra,1985).

Magnuson's term as President of the Port Arthur L.S.W.U. ended in July 1946 when he was transferred to Timmins, where he became organizer for that area (Report of the Eleventh Annual Convention,1946). Although Magnuson had left the Port Arthur area, his work as organizer and chief negotiator for the L.S.W.U. kept him at the forefront of the L.S.W.U. for the next five years. Publicly, Magnuson remained the voice of the L.S.W.U. and a vocal opponent of capitalist exploitation over labour. In February 1946, for example, Magnuson wrote the editor of the Port Arthur News Chronicle to complain about the severe exploitation of the P.O.W.s. The 'slave labour' of the P.O.W.'s, Magnuson argued, constituted a menace to the living standards of Canadians who refused to accept the "...pre-war starvation wage scales" (Magnuson,1946). Subsequent editorials in Port Arthur and Timmins condemned Magnuson's letter and supported the companies who needed P.O.W.s to maintain production throughout the war and immediately after the war when labour remained scarce (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 25).

Einar Nordstrom, a former member of the L.S.W.U., has argued that the union started to think for itself during this time. He felt that the

growing autonomy of the L.S.W.U. proved to be a 'thorn in the side' to Cooper (Nordstrom,1972). In addition to the publicity that Magnuson was generating, the L.S.W.U. was busy struggling to establish itself with the Ontario Labour Relations Board. For the L.S.W.U. to be established as a bargaining agent, it required an employee membership of 50 percent plus one vote in each Company. Capital, however, did all it could to prevent the L.S.W.U. from becoming a bargaining agent. The Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company, for example, had been organized by the L.S.W.U. in December 1945 and the union claimed to have a membership of 80 percent. The Companies submitted a payroll list, however, which indicated that the Union did not have the required membership and the Union's request for certification was subsequently denied (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 25).

Certification became a major problem for the L.S.W.U.. As Panitch and Swartz have argued, the certification process weakened the militancy of various unions, and directed them towards more bureaucratic activities. During the Eleventh Annual Convention of the L.S.W.U. in July 1946, Port Arthur President Jack Quinn argued that the certification process "...places additional burdens on our organizational

forces" (Report of the Eleventh Annual Convention,1946). The certification process was not made any easier by the O.F.I.A. The O.F.I.A. had become stronger as the war progressed and worked with its member companies to collect and compile information on Union activities. In the 1947 confidential Annual Report of the O.F.I.A., Port Arthur office, and the Thunder Bay Timber Operators Association (T.B.T.O.A.), the combined report stated that their major duty was to keep abreast of union activities. The information "...collected was passed on to the member companies and some of it was used at the negotiations in Toronto last year" (Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 28). As well as circulating negotiated contracts to member companies who had, or would have, negotiations with the L.S.W.U., the O.F.I.A. also passed on any information that would assist companies to suppress the L.S.W.U. In a letter dated March 4, 1946, the O.F.I.A. informed its member companies about the problems regarding certification in the Toronto area and suggested that members "...see that the various steps outlined in the section are followed" (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 25). Adhering to the procedures established under the Ontario regulations increased the administrative duties of the Union and slowed their organizational drives.

Despite the problems surrounding the activities of the O.F.I.A. and the certification process, at the Eleventh Annual Convention of the L.S.W.U., leaders stressed the need to raise wages to meet the rising costs of living. Apparently buoyed by the success of the province-wide loggers strike in British Columbia, the leadership of the L.S.W.U. informed its members that they would make the following demands at the July 15 wage conference:

> ...call for the basic minimum wage of $5.00 per day for general labor ....revise the rates for piece work and call for 2 cents per foot for the cutting of road which is the only basis by which compensation can be paid for poor or scattered timber. We must also call for the elimination of double-decker bunks and their replacement by single beds. It should also call for the 8-hour day in the lumber industry (sic) (Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G.7, B, Box 25).

The subsequent meeting, which was called under the Industrial Standards Act, brought no new agreement. The wage conference was still guided by the Regional War Labour Board.

For the remainder of the summer, and early fall, the L.S.W.U. issued a number of press releases threatening to strike if their demands were not met. Conciliation services were also requested by operators but turned down by the Minister of Labour, who argued that the union would first have to be certified. Union officials argued that certification was impossible in a seasonal industry. On October

12,1946, nearly 5 000 bushworkers, mainly from the Thunder Bay District, went on strike (Radforth, 1987). The Labour Gazette reported that a further 5 750 men had gone on strike in the Timmins area (see Appendix 1).

The O.F.I.A., in a circular sent to member companies on October 17,1946, informed them of the continued activities of the Union in the strike. Interestingly, the O.F.I.A. argued that it was mostly 'Reds' that were on strike in Northeastern Ontario. The O.F.I.A. also mentioned that they had, in conjunction with ten member companies, wired the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners General Representative Andy Cooper to ask if the strike was sanctioned by the International. The letter states that Cooper did not reply but reported that several member companies had sent a wire to U.B.C.J. General President Hutcheson to inform him that "None of our member companies has ever been approached directly by the leaders of the present strike" (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 25). The letter concluded by recommending that members of the Thunder Bay Timber Operators Association conduct no further negotiations with the local union, and that any further negotiations should be undertaken only in Toronto with U.B.C.J. representative Andy Cooper and the Provincial

government (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 25).

The extent to which the O.F.I.A. tried to circumvent the L.S.W.U. locals indicates that the member companies would do anything to discredit and undermine the L.S.W.U. However, the U.B.C.J. General President did not intervene. The federal government, on the other hand, seems to have supported the operators in the strike. The O.F.I.A. indicated to its members that the Employment Services offices in Quebec had originally refused to post jobs for forest workers but had reversed its decision on October 16 and men began moving into the camps in Ontario. The O.F.I.A. felt that Labour officials viewed the situation in Ontario as a wildcat strike (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 27).

An agreement was reached, however, between eighteen member companies and officials of both the L.S.W.U. locals 2786 (Port Arthur) and 2995 (Cochrane) on October 30, 1946. Radforth states that both sides claimed victory but that the Union won "...collective bargaining rights by hitting when their employers stock piles were low, product markets keen, and labour in short supply " (1987,146). The agreement was to be in effect until August 31, 1947.

The concessions, however, were not won without costs. As men-

tioned, there were to be no strikes during the term of the agreement and the provisions arising out of the agreement tended to bureaucratize the Union. Capital was able to stabilize its production costs and ensure continuous production. The L.S.W.U. faced a number of problems with the new collective bargaining agreements. The L.S.W.U. appears, however, to have undergone substantial growth after the signing of the 1946-47 agreement. In 1947, there were eleven L.S.W.U. locals in Northern Ontario, with a combined membership of more than 11 500. Port Arthur local (2786), with a membership of 6 170, was the largest in Canada (see Appendix 4).

In March 1947, delegates from Northern Ontario locals met in Port Arthur to elect a joint council which would "...co-ordinate the organizing drive and bargaining strategies..." (Radforth,1987,148). A charter was obtained for the Northern Ontario Joint Council of the L.S.W.U. (Radforth,1987). Radforth has argued that this was a challenging time for the Union which had "...to ensure the smooth functioning of the new grievance procedures, to negotiate popular contracts that would provide for improved wages, better working conditions, and union security, and to win certification votes in the sawlog sector where most small operators remained fiercely hostile to

unions" (1987,148). The Ontario Timberworker was also established as the official organ of the Council and began publishing on a monthly basis. The Timberworker discussed issues that affected lumberworkers directly. To a large extent, the Ontario Timberworker provided a forum for the dissemination of information. Bruce Magnuson wrote regular features in the Timberworker that dealt with union procedures. A.T. Hill also wrote articles on the history of the union movement. A number of editions also featured a column entitled "Have Your Say, But Say It". In this column, bushworkers were encouraged to write about their experiences in the bush.

For the L.S.W.U., 1946-47 was to be the first of two periods which could be described as its heyday. In addition to the Timberworker, weekly radio programs were broadcast on local radio stations. The Woodworkers Welfare Society (W.W.S.) was established by A.T. Hill in the summer of 1947 to serve cultural and recreational purposes. The Society acquired two jeeps and a projector to show various educational and labour movies, such as "Millions of Us" and "Don't be a Sucker" (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 27). The W.W.S. officers were members of the L.S.W.U. It appears that the Union benefited by the close relationship with the W.W.S., which lent

the Union its jeeps for organizational drives (On the Job,1947).

The formation of the W.W.S. coincided with other events occurring within the L.S.W.U. A series of letters from the O.F.I.A. were written to inform members that only accredited organizers could enter their camps. A.T. Hill, who had been given permission to enter the camps as an organizer by President Quinn, had his credentials revoked by Andy Cooper prior to the formation of the W.W.S.. Cooper claimed that Hill had not been a member of the union local for one year and that this disqualified him from being an organizer (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G.7, B, Box 27). Hill was a well known Communist and revocation of his credentials by Cooper marked the first intervention in the Union control of organizers by the U.B.C.J. Representative.

In the months leading up to the August 25,1947 meeting between union officials and operators, the O.F.I.A. circulated various letters to member companies to keep them informed of union meetings and tentative union proposals for the new agreement as they became available. At the conclusion of the meetings, an agreement was reached. The Ontario Timberworker proudly proclaimed in September 1947, that

> History was made during the last days of August when 37 representatives of 18 pulpwood-logging operating companies met with a 14-man committee of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union (AFL-TCL)(sic)in the City of Toronto to negotiate a new working agreement covering some 18,000 bushworkers for the 1947-48 operating season. It was the first time in history that Ontario woods-employees met their employers in direct collective bargaining without the intervention of a third party (5 Day Conference Wins Union Victory,1947).

The union won a number of concessions at this conference, including an increase in piece rates, no increase in the cost of board even though capital had argued that it was costing them 85 cents more per day than the workers paid, provision of tools for piece workers, vacations with pay, improvement of the grievance process and securing of the revocable check off of union dues (Essential Points to Vote On,1947). The agreement also included a clause which required each company to meet with the union to discuss ways in which employers could improve conditions in the bush for their employees (Complete Text of New Agreement,1947). The union admitted, however, that wages were not adequate for monthly and daily labour and that they had not succeeded in obtaining an eight hour day, even though this agreement was the first time that hours of work were specified in an agreement (Essential Points to Vote On,1947; Union Bulletin, in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 26).

Achievement of these collective agreements gave the L.S.W.U. more time for other activities. In the fall of 1947, for example, the union became increasingly involved in lobbying the government for improvements in the forest industry. In September 1947, a delegation from the L.S.W.U. met with Premier George Drew to complain that pulp companies were using good saw logs for pulp, and depriving sawmills of raw material (Copy of a Newspaper Article Circulated by the O.F.I.A. in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 26). Bruce Magnuson was also active in the fall of 1947 lobbying the Unemployment Insurance Commission. Magnuson submitted a brief to the Unemployment Commission which argued for the extension of unemployment benefits to forest workers, regardless of their status as seasonal workers (Unemployment Insurance Welcomed but Inadequate, 1947).

Magnuson's campaign to have unemployment insurance extended to the forest workers of Northern Ontario continued for the next couple of years. In 1949, Magnuson wrote Humphrey Mitchell, federal Minister of Labour, to ask that unemployment insurance be extended to the "...thousands of men [who] are thrown into the huge manpower pool, which is being added to by your planless immigration policies" (Magnuson,1949). The Ontario Timberworker also informed its readers in

1949 that the paper had been contacted by the Chief Commissioner of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, who asked for space in the Timberworker to address any problems with regard to unemployment insurance. Bruce Magnuson reportedly replied "...if you could secure some information on the problem of getting coverage for our industry...we would appreciate it and would give it coverage in our columns" (Lets Talk About U.I., 1949). Magnuson was also a spokesman for a delegation of L.S.W.U. Local Presidents who met the Labour Minister Humphrey Mitchell in late 1949, to argue for the extension of unemployment insurance to forest workers in Northern Ontario as it had been extended to the forest workers of B.C. in 1947. Magnuson presented the Minister with a petition signed by 4 077 bushworkers who endorsed the proposal. Mitchell assured the delegation that the matter was under consideration (Union Delegation Meets Labour Minister,1950).

Although the new collective bargaining arrangements tended to conserve and bureaucratize labour relations between employers and their union, the L.S.W.U. was also able to direct energies into political activities which were associated with labour matters. The L.S.W.U. became involved in a campaign in the latter half of 1947 to protest

the federal government's immigration policies. In July 1947, the Joint Council condemned the importation of displaced persons (D.P.'s) from Europe to work in the forest industry, often in non-union forest companies. Magnuson argued that there was a considerable amount of unemployment among bushworkers in Northern Ontario and the D.P.'s constituted slave labour (Magnuson,1947). The O.F.I.A., in a confidential letter to its members in October 1947, argued that the L.S.W.U. was striving to have D.P.s become members of the union in an effort to "...discourage companies from bringing more immigrants into the country" (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 27). It is not entirely clear how many D.P.s worked in the forest industry, but their arrival encouraged the union to organize these men (D.P.'s Must be Organized,1948).

The Ontario Timberworker, in the February 1948 issue, condemned the Financial Post which claimed the importations of D.P.s was based on "scientific immigration - yet the eagerness with which certain anti-labour forces have used Displaced Persons for shabby political propaganda purposes against organized labor has exposed the main purpose of this supposedly humanitarian effort" (Slavery Won't Do It,1948). The Timberworker argued that poor conditions and low

wages in the bush led to labour shortages and that only "...permanent all-year-round work at wages and conditions in line with the modern conditions and needs is going to solve the problem of labor turnover in the bushcamps" (Slavery Won't Do It,1948). The high turnover rate was a major problem for operators. The O.F.I.A. and the T.B.T.O.A.'s confidential Annual Report indicated that the turnover rate was as high as 30 percent in 1947. The Report stated, however, that the D.P.s, "...had a great effect on the over-all picture and have (sic) contributed greatly to the wood cut" (O.F.I.A. and T.B.T.O.A. Confidential Annual Report in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 28).

On March 3, 1948, Bruce Magnuson and Jack Quinn presented Humphrey Mitchell with a brief dealing primarily with the D.P.s. In the brief, Magnuson condemned the "...willingness of the government to go to any length to meet employers needs..." (The Case for D.P.s, 1948). Magnuson claimed that the Ministry of Labour sent a delegate to settle a dispute between D.P.s and their employers. The D.P.s had apparently been threatened with deportation if they continued to protest. Magnuson argued that the government had circumvented the union, which had a contract with the company where the D.P.s had gone on strike. In his brief, Magnuson asked "...how can there be any law in these cases

when the very agency charged with maintaining the law flouts it?" (The Case for D.P.'s,1948).

The union realized the divisive effect of the D.P.s and argued that any attempt to build resentment against these immigrants would only divide labour (D.P.'s Must Be Organized,1948). The Ontario Timberworker argued that the D.P.s must come under union agreement (Organize to Smash Anti-Union Drive at April Meeting,1948). It appears that labour and capital were anxious to secure D.P.s for their own purposes. The L.S.W.U. wanted to organize the D.P.s so that it could remain united in its fight against wages and working conditions in the bush. Capital, on the other hand, circulated a letter to its members indicating that the L.S.W.U., after recruiting D.P.s, sent them Communist propaganda (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 28). The federal Ministry of Labour, at a time when anti-Communist feelings were strong, had apparently initiated a campaign to educate the D.P.s about Communism. A Labour official told the Sudbury Star that the Ministry had tried to assist D.P.s to 'find the right political ideas'. The article in the Sudbury Star brought a protest from Bruce Magnuson, who argued that this was Liberal hypocrisy and Fascist ideology, being used to suppress the rights of these immigrants who might have

different views than that of the government. The tactics of the government, Magnuson felt, aroused fear of reprisals for joining any labour organization (Government to Adjust D.P.'s,1948; Union Protests,1948).

The O.F.I.A. and the T.B.T.O.A. also implemented a 'Jumper Plan' to control the high turnover rate in the forest industry of Northern Ontario during this time. The Associations hoped the Jumper Plan would have a psychological effect on forest workers who were leaving their jobs. Member companies would keep lists of the various jumpers and, when new employees were hired, their names were checked with the "Jumper" list. If the jumper's name appeared on the list, he would be required to pay any money that was owing to the company he had previously worked for. Workers were sometimes given advances before going to work on a job or money to pay for their fares to a camp and they occasionally failed to show up. Some workers would also leave their jobs owing the company money for tools and board. The O.F.I.A. felt that the Jumpers List, once known, would discourage workers from leaving their jobs. Between April 1 and December 31,1947, 12 companies participated and reported more than 1 119 jumpers, who owed more than $16 000. Of the 1 119 jumpers, the

O.F.I.A. was able to collect $2 200 from 126 jumpers. The O.F.I.A. and the T.B.T.O.A. claimed that the Jumper Plan was relatively successful and led to better screening and more work in 1947. During their 1947 annual meeting, it was recommended that the Jumper Plan remain in effect until 1948 (O.F.I.A. and T.B.T.O.A. Confidential Annual Report in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 28). The jumper plan did not indicate the number of repeat jumpers. Nevertheless, capital was able to maintain better control over its labour.

The Communist scare was receiving a great deal of attention by this time. In a letter dated January 12,1948, the O.F.I.A. asked its members if there were any Communist members still active in the union and alluded to the fact that this must be kept in mind, as the 1948-49 agreements would be negotiated fairly soon (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 28). A couple of weeks later, the O.F.I.A. informed its members that a major organizational drive was being undertaken in Ontario by the anti-Communist I.W.A. which had established offices in Toronto and Sudbury (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 28). The I.W.A. had little success in Northern Ontario, however, but its presence no doubt had an effect on the U.B.C.J. which was determined to maintain its supremacy in Ontario. With the

campaign against communism so prevalent and the presence of an anti-Communist alternative to the L.S.W.U., the U.B.C.J. would be required to act against Communism within the L.S.W.U.

Nevertheless, two further wage agreements were negotiated before the U.B.C.J. took any action against the Communists. These agreements were becoming more specialized. Both the O.F.I.A. and the L.S.W.U. had established steering committees to formulate alternatives for the new agreements prior to their meetings. The 1948-49 agreement was much the same as the 1947-48 agreement. The L.S.W.U., however, was able to include a seniority clause for layoffs and promotions and for the hiring of experienced local labour when any hiring was to be done. This clause would assist local workers who often competed against a large body of labour from outside the Thunder Bay district. Small wage increases were also implemented for all workers (see Ontario Timberworker, September 20, 1947; October 1, 1948). The 1949-50 agreement included no new wage increases but the L.S.W.U. was able to win the irrevocable check-off of union dues. The Ontario Timberworker proclaimed that "...we have won the irrevocable check-off for the first time in the history of bushworkers in our province. This means we are moving towards the

union shop, and the main objective of our union which was to strengthen union security has been at least partially won" (Union Wins Irrevocable Check Off,1949).

The irrevocable check-off of union dues was an important concession for the L.S.W.U.. The forest industry had become partly a year-round operation after the war and the irrevocable check off of union dues legitimized and stabilized the union. The T.B.T.O.A., on May 31,1949, assessed the labour situation in a confidential report to its member companies. The report argued that year-round operations began during the war when there were labour shortages and that operators had continued the practice after the war to insure that a stable labour force could be built up, and to overcome the administrative problems of hiring transient labour. Transient labour still made up a large percentage of labour in the forest industry (see Appendix 5). The report argued, however, that operators seemed to be going back to a seasonal basis because of the lack of demand for forest products (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 30).

Events leading up to the 1950-51 wage agreement were to have a profound impact on the L.S.W.U.. The Communist scare, for example, was gaining more attention in Northern Ontario. In the summer of

1948, the Sudbury Star apparently attacked the Canadian Seaman's Union (C.S.U.) (What the Sudbury Star Dared Not Print,1948). Radforth (1987) feels the C.S.U. received a lot of attention in the Ontario Timberworker, because the union was Communist-led. Magnuson had written the paper to say that the C.S.U. strikes were perfectly legal and that shipping companies were breaking the law by refusing to bargain with the C.S.U.. The Sudbury Star had written a series of editorials attacking the C.S.U. and the L.S.W.U., in response to Magnuson's letter. The editorials lashed "...out in a vicious Red-baiting campaign, and insinuated that our organization of lumberworkers may be 'replaced' (What the Sudbury Star Dared Not Print,1948).

Bruce Magnuson, who was a member of the Port Arthur T.L.C. and the Ontario Federation of Labour, had apparently been denied his seat at the 1950 T.L.C. conference. Radforth has stated that Magnuson was coming under "...particularly fierce fire in the Lakehead press..." (1987,152). In April 1950, the papers at the Lakehead published stories about Magnuson's being ejected from sessions of the Ontario and Manitoba Council of the Pulp and Paper Mill Unions. The story was published, the Ontario Timberworker claimed, in other papers across Canada. Magnuson denied that he was evicted from the conference,

however, and produced a letter to the press which indicated that he had been invited to the conference. Magnuson did not go to the conference because he had other business in Port Arthur (Desire for Unity,1950; Facts Behind Headlines,1950). Despite Magnuson's denials, these reports further tarnished his role as chief spokesman for the L.S.W.U.

Later that summer, negotiations were completed with 24 companies, covering 27 000 men for the 1950-51 cutting season. The wage concessions that were won added nearly four million dollars to payrolls in Northern Ontario (New Contract Brings Wage Boost,1950). More controversial was a provision that Andy Cooper had apparently secretly included that would give him a veto over who could be an organizer for the union. The provision, under section 5.06 of the new agreement, had been overlooked by the steering committee of the L.S.W.U. Presidents and delegates that had undertaken the negotiations. Previous agreements had a clause which required all organizers to have a certification of authority which was signed by local union officials and the General Representative. The 1950-51 agreement, on the other hand, deleted local union officials from the agreement and specified that all organizers had to be appointed by the

General Representative (Amendment 5.06 Was Not Agreed Upon,1951). This provision was the beginning of a Communist purge that came to a climax almost nine months later in May 1951.

Cooper wasted no time using the new clause to suspend L.S.W.U. officials. Marc Leclerc, former President of Cochrane Local 2995, was the first to be suspended after a company allegedly complained to Cooper that Leclerc had encouraged men to leave their camp to work for another company. The Ontario Timberworker reported, after an examination, that this allegation was false (The Question of the Day,1950). Nevertheless, Leclerc's suspension continued.

Another incident also occurred at this time. Port Arthur Local President John Kipien had been charged by the local executive with "...misuse and embezzlement of union funds" (Local President Suspended Over Fund Issue,1950). At a camp delegate's conference on October 29, 1950, the executive of the local suspended Kipien and replaced him with Dan MacIsaac. Andy Cooper used this incident to cancel the credentials of all organizers and Local officials, including Bruce Magnuson who had returned to Port Arthur in the summer of 1950 to work as an organizer (Local President Suspended Over Fund Issue,1950). A number of resolutions and petitions by various rank

and file condemning the expulsion of the organizers had little impact on Cooper. Cooper restored the credentials of Harry Timchishin, John Zajackowski, G. Espeland and Dan MacIsaac, but he refused to restore the credentials of Bruce Magnuson, Harry Raketti, and Marc Leclerc. The Ontario Timberworker, in a series of articles, appealed to members to keep up the struggle to have these organizers restored and to have the union's autonomy reestablished free from outside interference (see Ontario Timberworker, December 1950). The stakes were raised somewhat, at the Semi-annual Meeting in December 1950 of the Port Arthur Local 2786. At the meeting, a resolution was passed, to be sent to the President of the U.B.C.J. requesting reinstatement of the organizers "...if we are to continue the payment of dues and per capita tax. The right to chose organizers and officials of the local without interference was once more demanded as a fundamental trade union principle" (Request International President Rule on Cancelled Credentials,1951).

The appeal to the International President seems to have strengthened the resolve of the U.B.C.J. to act against the remaining Communists in the L.S.W.U., in an effort to preserve the membership and the per capita taxes. The Ontario Timberworker reported that

Remi Cassey, recording secretary for Cochrane Local 2995, was discharged shortly after this, when a company made accusations against him (Another Organizer is Victim of Section 5.06,1951). At a meeting in March 1951, Port Arthur Local 2786, Sudbury Local 2537, and Cochrane Local 2995, decided to wire U.B.C.J. President Hutcheson to demand the restoration of its officials (Locals Wire Head Office About Members Rights,1951). Hutcheson was strongly opposed to Communists, however, and had at the 1950 U.B.C.J. Convention "...blasted the few Communists who might still be hidden within the Brotherhood ranks, and remarked 'we in the labor movement learned several decades ago that you could not depend upon or even take the word or pledge of a communist'" (Galenson,1983, 300).

In the months that followed, the Ontario Timberworker was uncharacteristically silent on the issue of Local union rights. Magnuson continued to write articles for the Timberworker, but there was no mention of the suspended organizers and officials. The Ontario Timberworker did report that the President of Port Arthur Local 2786, had been denied his seat at the Trades and Labour Council in Port Arthur. Radforth has observed that "...clearly it was only a matter of time before the Communist leaders would face unbearable pres-

sure to leave their positions within the Lumber and Saw itself" (1987,152). The pressure took the form of an Ontario Supreme Court injunction. Radforth states that "On May 4 1951, Cooper and four other out-of-town international officers, armed with an Ontario Supreme Court injunction, marched into the Port Arthur offices of the north's largest Lumber and Sawmill local, no 2786, and seized control of its affairs and property. Charging misappropriation of Union funds, a pretext used against leftists in other unions, the Brotherhood placed the local under trusteeship" (1987,153).

A subsequent statement of claim, on May 29, 1951, set forth a number of allegations against nine members of the L.S.W.U. across Northern Ontario, including Harry Timchishin (Acting President of Port Arthur Local 2786), Natalia Weryha Raketti (Financial Secretary), John Zajackawski (Trustee), Wilfred Norlock (Trustee), Gundald Espeland (Treasurer), August Bartell (Trustee), Dan MacIsaac (President of Port Arthur Local 2786 until May 1, 1951), Marc Leclerc (Organizer), and Bruce Magnuson (District Organizer). The statement of claim disclosed that the members had, among other things, used union money to buy Communist papers, attend conventions and circulate the Ontario Timberworker. These charges were denied by the ac-

cused (Archives of Ontario, M.U. 9041, M.S.R. 9116, M.H.S.O.). Magnuson later claimed that he had used his own money for the Timberworker (Magnuson,1972). The Timberworker had also appealed to members as early as 1949 to donate money to continue the publication ($5 000 Campaign For Timberworker,1949).

These officials of the L.S.W.U. were also suspended by the General President and Vice President of the U.B.C.J. on May 28 for violating the constitution, laws or principles of the U.B.C.J. which required every member to "...declare complete dissociation, present and future, with Communist activities or membership" (Brotherhood Acts after Inquiry into Affairs of Local,1951). The injunction obtained on May 29 was to restrain the nine officials from all union activity until a continuance of the injunction could be granted. Andy Cooper was quoted in the Fort William Times-Journal as saying that these actions were "...part of a move to clear the Communist element out of the union" (Brotherhood Acts After Inquiry into the Affairs of Local,1951).

The injunction, to prevent members from securing L.S.W.U. Local money or carrying out union activities appears to have been prompted by the final issue of the Ontario Timberworker. The Timberworker asked members to send all mail relating to the union to Harry

Timchishin, who had succeeded Dan MacIsaac as President of the Port Arthur Local. It appears that the leaders had tried to secure the Local and isolate the U.B.C.J. The final Timberworker also appealed to its readers to support the Local, and featured pictures of members parading to the local hotel where Cooper was staying to present him with a resolution condemning his actions. The injunction secured by Cooper prevented the purged members from conducting any union business in the name of the L.S.W.U.

The purged members were intent on maintaining their union membership and they met in Port Arthur in what was supposed to be the L.S.W.U. annual convention to establish the Canadian Union of Woodworkers (C.U.W.) (New Union of Bush Workers to be Formed,1951). Five of the nine ousted Communists were elected to the new union executive (Ousted Union Men Seek New Woods Group,1951). The C.U.W. appealed to forest workers to oppose the 'American Committee of Occupation' that had overtaken the L.S.W.U. (Bruce Magnuson's Report to Constituent Convention on June 1 1951, in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 33). Three Locals were subsequently established in Port Arthur, Timmins and Sudbury, with The Woodworker being established as the official organ of the C.U.W. Radforth feels that the union never

really had an opportunity to establish itself, because of resistance from the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the employers and the government. The Ontario Provincial Police apparently arrested members who had tried to enter camps to organize the men. Radforth, quoting The Woodworker, states that "...the Ontario government had permitted 'Yankee corporations to use its police force...to keep Canadian union organizers from organizing workmen on Canadian soil'" (1987,154). The L.S.W.U. submitted a Bulletin to camps in the fall of 1951, stating that the Ontario Labour Relations Board had dealt with the C.U.W., which had requested certification for 18 companies. Of the 18 companies, 8 were dismissed because the C.U.W. did not prove any membership. In the remaining 10 companies, decisions were pending, but the L.S.W.U. claimed that the C.U.W. had enough membership for only one company (Union Bulletin in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 33). Radforth (1987) argues correctly that it was only natural for the big operators to deal with Cooper rather than the left-led C.U.W. After the companies negotiated with Cooper in the fall of 1951, the C.U.W. folded (Radforth,1987).

Gary Marcuse (1988) has argued that the Canadian government never passed legislation like the United States, which penalized mem-

bers of the Communist Party "Instead, the government stood aside and applauded both the efforts of the international unions who applied American anti-communist regulations to Canadian members, and the union congresses who purged communist and fellow travellers from their ranks in a prolonged series of purges..." (1988,199). Marcuse argues that the purges effectively suppressed demands for greater autonomy in locals and the demands for greater union democracy. In addition to silencing left wing leaders, the purges also "...suppressed Canadian nationalism in the union movement for two generations" (Marcuse,1988, 200).

The L.S.W.U. had always been semi-autonomous from the U.B.C.J. The purges in 1951 established direct ties with the U.B.C.J., however, which would continue for 37 years. The events of 1951 marked the end of an era for the union movement in Northern Ontario. The left wing leadership, that had been so successful in winning concessions for its bushworkers, had fallen victim to American anti-Communist ideology. It was only fitting that the U.B.C.J. revoked the charter of Local 2786 on May 28, 1951, and symbolically ended the era of the left wing leadership in Northern Ontario.

In the years that followed, the U.B.C.J. files show that the rank

and file were active in having the L.S.W.U. Locals restored to elected officials. After the purge, Andy Cooper was active as the spokesperson for the L.S.W.U. and established a new local (2693) in Port Arthur on August 1 1951. Officials in each of the locals in Northern Ontario had been installed by Cooper. The rank and file, however, appear to have been dissatisfied with Cooper and his officials. In June 1952, the U.B.C.J. received a letter from John Mahler who requested an election for officials of Local 2693. The letter had apparently been written in response to media reports of a new rift in the union. Two organizers had left the L.S.W.U. and publicly complained about the dictatorial and undemocratic procedures of the U.B.C.J.. The men claimed that the U.B.C.J. had promised to return the local to elected officials but never called elections (New Rift Appearing in Ranks of District Bushworkers Union [News Chronicle-June 5, 1953] in United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Port Arthur 2693 Files, 1950-54).

This publicity did not have any effect in achieving elections. Nevertheless, dissent was growing. A.M. Welsby, who was an executive officer of the Port Arthur local, wrote Andy Cooper in July 1953 to inform him that a lot of good organizers were turning down jobs in the union as long as he remained in the union. The conference that

Welsby attended for Cochrane Local 2995 had condemned Cooper and called for elections. Welsby wrote Cooper to say

> there was a great deal of clamouring for an election and accusations were hurled at you. It was even suggested that I be overthrown from the chair and an election be held in spite of all, however after about one hour of very hot discussions and accusations about you, I managed to get it rolling along smoother lines, but Andy I wouldn't go through that again for all the money in the world (Welsby to Cooper July 7 1953, in United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Port Arthur 2693 files, 1950-54).

Protests continued into the fall of 1953 to have Local control restored with elected officials. Welsby, who was filling in for Cooper who had suffered a stroke, also seemed to support elections.

Finally, on December 20 1953, elections were held in Port Arthur under the supervision of General Representative F.A. Action. A.M. Welsby was elected President and Helmer Borg became first Vice-President (in United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Port Arthur 2693 files, 1950-54). The Local still suffered from U.B.C.J. control after the elections. Union local funds, that had been frozen were not forthcoming and Helmer Borg complained that it was harder and harder to organize men because the local was known as 'Cooper's Union', and the men were fed up with this (Borg to U.B.C.J.,in United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Port Arthur 2693 files, 1955-

57).

Despite the problems the local was encountering, negotiations with lumber companies continued much as they had before. Radforth states that the number of forest companies to sign agreements during the 1950s increased from 24 to 52. Membership also grew from 5 400 in 1951-52 to 10 400 in 1957 (see Appendix 6). The Northern Ontario District Council for the L.S.W.U. was also established in 1955 to coordinate the affairs of the locals. In addition, the Ontario Bushworker, "...the Lumber and Saw's monthly news letter of the 1950s and 1960s, shows that leaders still tussled with the same kinds of problems when handling grievances, organizing an ethnically diverse work force and penetrating sawlog camps" (Radforth,1987,156). Agreements were also signed for two year periods during the 1950s. However, the 1953 negotiations saw a change in the pattern of industry wide bargaining:

> Operators cited the diversity of forest conditions and the increasingly diverse methods of logging as the reasons for their failure to agree to a master contract. Thereafter, the union had to deal separately with each company. However, the task was soon simplified by the development of pattern bargaining, whereby Abitibi usually set the industry standard. Wildcats, some of them occurring at crucial moments during contract negotiations, helped the union wring concessions from reluctant operators (Radforth,1987,157).

The union was successful in achieving clauses relating to safety, the eight hour day, and provisions to establish union bulletin boards (Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G.7, B, Box 28). One local operator, Oscar Styffe, liked the two year contracts but felt that negotiations were still slow. He asked Welsby if there "...was anything that could be done to speed up or facilitate the agreement between us..." (Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G.7, B, Box 28).

For the L.S.W.U., the late 1950s were a period of charges and counter charges against raiding activities. The Teamsters Union was the first union to begin rival organizing in Northern Ontario and appeared to have the support of the Canadian Congress of Labour (C.C.L.). The I.W.A. also began to organize in Eastern Canada in July 1956 (United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Port Arthur 2693 files,1955-57). By May 1958, the International Brotherhood of Pulp and Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers claimed that the L.S.W.U. was raiding marine crews (National Archives, R-47, May 8 1955, H-35). Two months later, the L.S.W.U. once more complained that the I.W.A. was raiding it (National Archives, R 50, H 35). In September 1958, the L.S.W.U. claimed that the Seafarers International Union was raiding tug boat operators in Marathon that were under L.S.W.U. collective

agreements (National Archives, R-53, H 35). The C.L.C. did request the Seafarers to stop raiding and refund money to these operators (National Archives, Reel H 35, File R 53). In early 1959, the L.S.W.U. complained that the International Hod Carriers Building and Common Labours Union was raiding, and succeeded in getting the C.L.C. to issue a cease-and-desist order against the Hod Carriers (National Archives, R 66, H 35; National Archives, Reel H 35, R 66). In a series of letters, the C.L.C. argued that it would be hard to stop the Hod Carriers but, on June 16, 1959, the L.S.W.U. and the Hod Carriers came to a jurisdictional agreement (National Archives, Reel H-35, File 66).

The L.S.W.U. had undergone substantial changes between 1946 and 1960. The Communist leadership had been replaced by a more conservative leadership in 1951, and industry-wide collective bargaining arrangements had been lost in 1953. Nevertheless, Radforth has argued that the union was able to develop a form of pattern bargaining. The Communist purges had also ended the militancy that had characterized the forest industry prior to 1951. From 1936 to 1951, a period which included a no-strike pledge during the war, for example, there was a total of 85 666 man-working-days lost to strikes under the Communist led L.S.W.U. Between 1951 and 1960 the L.S.W.U. was

responsible for strikes which accounted for only 64 880 lost man working days. Radforth argues that the labour scarcity was the chief reason that the union was able to gain better leverage and raise wages during the 1950s. Radforth (1987) argues that a different group of forest workers, also increased the strength of the union. For the most part, the L.S.W.U. was more successful in the 1950s than it had been in the 1940s. Scarcity of labour, a new group of woodsmen and a more conservative leadership in the L.S.W.U. no doubt contributed to better relations between union officials and the forest companies. The 1950s were also a period of substantial technological advances that would pose new challenges for the L.S.W.U. in the 1960s, that would ultimately affect the labour process.

6. The New Era of Labour Relations and the Militancy of the Rank and File, 1960-1988.

The various technological advances that were made in the 1950s had a direct effect on the labour process in Northern Ontario between 1960 and 1988. Originally, mechanization was embraced by capital to alleviate the dependence on the declining labour market and the high wages that the workers were able to secure through the L.S.W.U. in the 1950s. In addition, mechanization helped nullify the harsh natural conditions that pulp companies contended with for the delivery of pulp wood (Radforth,1982). Radforth has argued correctly that both capital and labour had endorsed mechanization in an effort to increase productivity. Chain saws increased piece workers incomes "...from 20-100 percent, depending on an individual's skills" (Radforth,1982,96). The measures that capital had taken, resulted in a

> ...45 percent increase in the amount of wood cut by production workers per man hour between 1954-55 and 1964-65. Meantime,the labour costs per unit of output were kept from rising rapidly. For the eastern Canadian industry, wood costs as a proportion of total pulp and paper costs decreased from 31 percent in 1945 to 26 percent in 1965... (Radforth,1982,82-83).

Although the L.S.W.U. fully accepted mechanization and even

'claimed some credit' for it, Radforth stated that "the most dangerous threat to the union that mechanization posed was contracting in its various forms" (1982,98). Mechanical advances in forest harvesting provided increased incentives for forest workers to work as independents or subcontractors. Independents also worked outside of union contracts and often in conditions that were similar to pre-union bush camps.

The L.S.W.U. critized the process of contracting out or subcontracting in a brief to the Goldenberg Commission in the early 1960s. The Goldenberg Commission was established to study labour unrest in the province of Ontario. The L.S.W.U. felt that the subcontracting provisions prevented the union from obtaining proper certification from the Labour Relations Board. The union complained that the contractor, before and after certification was received, "...subcontracted his work to another contractor or his foreman or clerk, or made his pieceworkers into individual contractors" (National Archives, M.G. 28-I-255, Volume 4). As a result of this, the union would have to reapply for certification. The L.S.W.U. argued that this form of subcontracting was sanctioned by the Labour Relations Board.

Subcontracting also provided capital with a means to hire con-

tractors, without providing for the various concessions that they were required to provide under collective agreements that were entrenched in labour legislation and signed by the company and the L.S.W.U. In a bulletin to members of the L.S.W.U. on February 1, 1960, the L.S.W.U. stated that

> The Pulp and Paper Companies this year have increased tremendously the amount of wood purchased from farmers, settlers, crown permit holders and small crown license holders. This trend is causing your Union Great (sic) concern, because it reduces the number of the Companies' own employees, as the wood is being produced by other workers outside your Union's contracts. The wages being paid to theses (sic) workers are far below Union wages and the working and living conditions are most deplorable, as these workers do not live in camps, but rather in shacks and hovels, batching.
>
> You can readily understand that the wages and conditions, which you have established over the years through your Union, have been put in jeopardy, as the companies have found a source of supply of cheap pulpwood by purchasing the wood rather than producing it on their own limits. The price that these Companies are paying per cord for this purchased pulpwood is approximately 2/3 of the amount that it costs them to produce a cord of their own pulpwood (in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 56).

The first of two illegal strikes in this period occurred in early January 1963 and ended with a confrontation with settlers who were doing subcontracting work. After unsuccessful talks between the L.S.W.U. and the Kimberly Clark Pulp and Paper Company (Geraldton and Longlac) and the Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company (Kapuskasing),

workers walked off the job and began an illegal strike to protest the delays in securing a new agreement. More than 1 450 men were involved in this strike. Kimberly Clark had argued that the price of sulphate pulp had dropped and that it was unable to do anything to increase wages or reduce the hours of work. The Spruce Falls Company had proposed an agreement which they considered similar to the Abitibi Power and Paper Company, whose agreements generally set the standards for Northern Ontario. The L.S.W.U. refused to negotiate, however, until the company agreed to a contract that provided for concessions that it had won at Abitibi (National Archives, R.G. 27, Volume 3092).

Although settlers ceased their operations immediately following the wildcat strike, wood began to move from settlers' land by the end of January. The Sudbury Star indicated that union men were supplying 350 000 cords of wood a year to the Spruce Falls Company and the settlers were supplying another 110 000 cords per year (in National Archives, R.G. 27, Volume 3092). During the strike, the National Employment Service Branch stated that there were approximately 1 000 men who operated under settlers' contracts. These settlers were providing substantial amounts of wood to Spruce Falls, which had re-

duced operations at its mill because of a New York printers strike. In effect, the settlers or independents, as a result of the reduced operations, were able to maintain some production at Spruce Falls, and they undermined the wildcat strike.

As a result, these men were subjected to intimidation and violence by union members who were patrolling the highways and dumping any settler's wood that was bound for the Spruce Falls Company. The violence climaxed in early February, 1963, when settlers and union members clashed at Reesor Siding. The Carpenter, the official organ of the U.B.C.J., described the events:

> On the night of February 11, 1963, a group of striking lumber and sawmill workers, all members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, gathered at Reesor Siding, a whistle stop of 50 souls along the Canadian National Railway, 33 miles west of Kapuskasing, Ontario.
>
> A cold wind blew from the north toward Lake Superior, and the little group huddled in hasty conference before starting across the CNR tracks to do what they felt they must do.
>
> As they moved toward the loaded pulpwood at the siding a fusillade of shots rang out from the dark ambush and three men dropped dead. As bullets continued to whine past the group and shotgun blasts crashed through the silence of the Canadian wood-land eight men fell wounded.
>
> The police report of the tragic event showed that Irenee Fortier and Fernand Drouin died instantly. Joseph Fortier died on arrival at Sensenbrenner Hospital in Kapuskasing....It was the first time lives had been lost on such a scale during labor disputes in Canada. The nation and the American labor movement were shocked by the tragedy (Monument to Members who Died for a Cause,1966).

Immediately after the incident at Reesor Siding, an additional 200 police were sent to Kapuskasing. Nineteen settlers were initially charged with intent to wound; however, "... union men were outraged at the mildness of the charge, and rumors spread through Kapuskasing of a mass reprisal" (Stein,1965). The next day the settlers were charged with murder, and 237 union men were charged with rioting. Of the 19 men charged with murder, all were acquitted, except for 3 who were fined $100 each for possession of offensive weapons. One hundred and thirty eight union men were fined $200 each for their involvement in an unlawful assembly (Monument to Members who Died for a Cause, 1966).

This strike so marked by violence, ended when members of the L.S.W.U. and the Company met with Ontario Department of Labour officials in Toronto on February 14, 1963, and agreed to end the strike pending arbitration between the employers and representatives of labour (National Archives, R.G. 27, Volume 3092). On February 16, members of the L.S.W.U. local 2995 met "...to ratify the agreement and voted 733 to 51 in favour of returning to work while arbitration boards decided on new contract terms" (National Employment Services in National Archives, R.G. 27, Volume 3092).

Although the Kapuskasing strike had originally been undertaken to protest the inability to reach an agreement, it ended with the confrontation between settlers and union members. The L.S.W.U. and the public, however, were generally sympathetic to these settlers. Maclean's Magazine, for example, defended the settlers in an article that appeared in 1965. Maclean's argued that

> The farms in this country are poor. The farmer's hold on the land is so tenuous that even though some have been here thirty years,they are still called "settlers". To survive the winter and pay for their spring seed, they depend on the $1000 or so they make selling wood to Spruce Falls (Stein,1965).

The settlerssupplied almost a quarter of all wood used by the Spruce Falls Company. The purchasing of wood from settlers allowed the Company to circumvent labour legislation. In addition, the L.S.W.U. claimed that the Company was securing this wood for 2/3 the cost of wood produced by union men. Because of this, union members were being threatened by non-union cutters who tolerated poorer conditions and lower wages in order to secure work in the bush.

The Kapuskasing area did have an "...unusually large number of settlers who cut pulpwood on private lands..." (Radforth,1987,157). Furthermore, capital was able to secure non-union men who were willing to work as subcontractors. Subcontracting had become an at-

tractive alternative for the company to collective bargaining with the L.S.W.U. Capital was able to absolve itself of all the provisions that the union had fought for over the years, including medical costs, camps, higher wages and limitation of hours worked in any given day.

There was no doubt that the new labour legislation of the 1950s and indirectly the technological advances that were made, enabled capital to circumvent the labour legislation that had originally been designed to provide rights to workers As well, suppressing the right to strike also transferred union leaders into 'agents of the law' who notified

> their members of the legal obligation to abide by this ban. During the 1960s and early 1970s, union leaders occasionally joined their members in defying the law as it applied to a given dispute, but they rarely questioned the general framework of legal regulation (Panitch and Swartz,1988, 26).

Regulating the right to strike, with a resultant reduction in the number of man-days lost due to strikes during the 1960-1988 period, did not necessarily mean that the union was unable to secure wage increases for its members. Radforth (1987), has stated that the working conditions and wages 'improved spectacularly' during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, without the need for prolonged strikes. Capital fought to reduce its production costs, however, by introducing various

new measures to the forest industry, including subcontracting. Although subcontracting was becoming more popular, a review of the strikes that occurred after the Kapuskasing strike reveals no strikes fought over contracting-out provisions until the late 1970s. For the most part, the union was able to ratify contracts without the need to strike, although some strikes were fought for higher wages and fringe benefits (see Appendix 1).

It is difficult to determine how much wood was actually cut by independent suppliers in Northern Ontario between 1960 and 1988. The L.S.W.U. also stated that Great Lakes Paper Company had purchased huge amounts of non-union pulpwood from the United States (Union Bulletin in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 56). Increased mechanization was a catalyst for subcontracting. Piece workers, who had good well developed skills, would choose to work for themselves, for higher wages, rather than working for an hourly wage. Chain saws were relatively inexpensive, and piece workers were able to increase their wages by increasing productivity (Radforth,1982).

During the 1960s and 1970s, more advanced methods of mechanized tree harvesting appeared in Northern Ontario. Skidders, slashers, harvesters, chippers and loaders were acquired by large

companies in an effort to increase productivity while depending less on labour. Although there were initial problems with the machines. mechanization made great gains in the forest industry in Northern Ontario (Radforth,1982). Although the more advanced tree harvesters were expensive, some contractors were able to secure their own skidders and cutting crews. Forest companies were attracted to this alternative source of labour, much as the Spruce Falls Company had used settlers.

It is difficult to determine how many independent cutting crews there were, but by the late 1970s, there was a sufficient number of subcontractors for companies to begin to contract work out and reduce their own cutting crews. This practice was first attempted by the Reed Paper Company of Dryden in 1976. The union feared that contracting out would eliminate hourly paid operations and it launched an eleven week strike to protest the proposal. After the strike, Reed Paper Company withdrew its proposal (Globe and Mail, February 14,1980, in National Archives, R.G. 27, 88-89-015, Volume 13, File 78-0799).

The L.S.W.U.'s constitution and bylaws had always included a clause that opposed piece work. However, contracts and even wage

schedules under the Industrial Standards Act all contained provisions for piece work. The wage rates for piece workers were part of the company and union contracts, and piece workers were able to enjoy many of the concessions that had been given to hourly paid workers.

The Boise Cascade strike that began in Fort Francis, on July 5, 1978, was more than just a strike to protest piece rates; it was a strike to protest contracting-out provisions. (The strike was actually launched against the Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Company, which had become a subsidiary of the Boise Cascade Corporation.) Workers walked off the job illegally to protest "...the company's plans to introduce piece rate work in the company's woodlands operations...and refused to begin work unless piece rate employees who own and operate their own equipment were pulled off the job site" (Globe and Mail, August 14,1980 in National Archives, R.G. 27, 88-89-015, 078-0, 486). In effect, the Boise Cascade Company was trying to scale down its own operations by converting its employees to piece work rates and by selling company skidders to its employees. The employees who walked off the job would not have the benefit of owning their own skidders and feared that their wages would drop, or that feared that they would have to purchase their own skidders to remain com-

petitive.

The illegal strike of these workers caused other problems for the workers. The Boise Cascade Corporation filed writs with the courts to seize the bank accounts of strikers for each day they remained on strike after July 30,1978, the date the courts had begun levying fines. Loggers did not pay their fines, and the courts seized money from the men's bank accounts. Many men, who had more than one bank account at different banks, had money seized from all accounts. Rumors spread that personal property was also going to be seized. The Globe and Mail reported on August 16,1978, that the seizures had provoked rage in the town (in National Archives, R.G. 27, 88-89-015, Volume 13, File 78-0799). The seizures also brought a lot of attention to the issue in national papers across Canada. The L.S.W.U. was unable to support the strike during this time, because it was an illegal strike.

The illegal strike became legal on October 11,1978, when the various procedures under provincial labour legislation had been exhausted. The L.S.W.U. extended its picketing to Kenora's Boise Cascade mill. The L.S.W.U. received the support of inside unions, which refused to cross the picket lines. In the weeks that followed, both the Fort Francis and Kenora mills were closed. By the end of 1978, both towns

were in a state of seige. Strike breakers cars were blown up and burned, people were assaulted and a major brawl between inside workers and members of the L.S.W.U. occurred. The government was reportedly forced to send 80 Ontario Provincial Police to the area, although one hotel worker claimed that the numbers were higher (National Archives, R.G. 27, 88-89-015, Volumes 12 and 13, Files 78-0799 and 078-0, 486).

In the new year, many of the inside unions returned to work, and by April, the leaders of the inside unions argued that the strike had been lost. L.S.W.U. members had also dwindled from 316 to 100 after a year on the picket line. Canadian Congress of Labour President, Dennis McDermott, visited the area and pledged to fight the Company over its efforts to break the union. The strike had become an issue of survival for the L.S.W.U. and its members, who were about to lose their jobs if they refused to buy their own equipment. Part of the desperation that the union felt resulted from illegal activities that had been undertaken by some of the union members. In October the Ontario Provincial Police raided the homes and offices of several L.S.W.U. officials, notably Fred Miron and Tulio Mior, who they feared were conspiring to commit mischief. The courts later declared that the

search warrants were illegal. By the end of the year, the Ontario Ministry of Labour recorded the strike to be over for statistical purposes (National Archives, R.G. 27, 88-89-015, Volume 13, File 78-0799; National Archives, R.G. 27, 88-89-015, Volume 12, 078-0, 486).

Although the strike continued, the company could claim victory. By May 1980, the Ontario Ministry of Labour reported that the company was operating at 120 percent of pre-strike levels, and that Boise Cascade was buying all of its wood from independent contractors. The L.S.W.U. had lost the strike. Twelve members of the L.S.W.U. were charged in 1981 for their role in the strike, and six were convicted of conspiracy in 1983 (National Archives, R.G.27, 88-89-015, Volume 13, File 78-0799).

The Boise Cascade strike was an important turning point for the L.S.W.U. Labour legislation that was originally established to alleviate labour unrest had been circumvented by capital. The concessions that both the communist and the more conservative leaders of the L.S.W.U. had fought for were being eroded by alternatives to organized labour.

Even though piece work had been a common feature in the forest industry in Northern Ontario, mechanization encouraged larger

numbers of piece workers to work as subcontractors, free from collective bargaining arrangements and concessions that the union had been successful in negotiating. Although capital had promised higher piece rates and promoted the values of being an independent commodity producer, workers were forced to absorb capital outlay costs and the costs of production. In addition, subcontractors were not reimbursed for down time or poor weather, a situation that workers at Boise did not have to face prior to the strike. Subcontractors were also required to maintain their own records and look after payments of their unemployment and workmen's compensation premiums. Capital had succeeded in absolving itself of all costs relating to bush-workers, other than the costs of purchasing their products.

Subcontracting also eroded the bargaining power of the L.S.W.U. Tulio Mior, President of the L.S.W.U. during the Boise strike, remarked that the Spruce Falls and Boise strikes were "...black pages in the history book..." With the new technological developments the union could only hope that it "...will be able to maintain its current membership" (Langer,1983). After 1983, however, union membership continued to fall in the L.S.W.U. (see Appendix 6) In 1983, Tulio Mior stated that "...the union will be looking at secondary line forest product indus-

tries for membership and negotiate with companies and the government for a reduced work week without a reduction in pay" (Langer,1983). In 1988, the L.S.W.U. joined its old rival the International Woodworkers of America, and became IWA Canada 2693. The move to the IWA may have reflected the desire to unionize secondary industries. Fred Miron also argued that the union wanted to affiliate with a Canadian based union (Miron,1989). The move to the IWA was also symbolic in that it effectively ended an era in the unionization of the forest industry in Northern Ontario.

7. Conclusions

The New Political Economy of Labour, with its emphasis on the labour process, departs from the traditional 'top down historical writing' (McNaught,1987) that characterized the first generation of labour historians. The gist of the labour process analysis is the study of employers methods "...to maximize surplus value by organizing work" (Phillips,1989,87) and the labour doing it in such a way as to purchase labour at the lowest cost while maximizing the production by that labour. In addition, the labour process analyst looks at 'workers' responses and struggles,' which Phillips has argued "...in many cases significantly affected the final form of the labour process" (1989,87), while embracing the traditions of political economy and historical analysis.

Since 1936 the forest workers in Northern Ontario and their Union have fought various forms of capitalist exploitation. In many cases, capital succeeded in implementing its strategies to reduce the costs of labour and maximize the production by that labour. However,

the L.S.W.U. often resisted various forms of exploitation through individual, collective and political action. As a result, a different form of the final labour process resulted.

In the mid 1930s, for example, the L.S.W.U. fought for and won increases in wages and secured several non-monetary provisions, including suitable board, scale slips, free mail service, no charge for baggage transportation, special piece-rates and better work and living conditions. Although forest Unions had been in operation as early as 1910, they had only moderate success. The L.S.W.U., on the other hand, was able to capitalize on the Industrial Standards Act in the 1930s to improve the lot of the forest workers, while entering into quasi-collective bargaining relations with employers.

Although the L.S.W.U. had less success during the Second World War, their continued efforts and representations before the Regional War Labour Board ensured that forest workers would maintain the provisions that had been won during the 1930s. The unprecedented "...working class mobilization and politicalization..." (Panitch and Swartz,1988,19) of the 1940s also resulted in various new labour laws. This labour legislation provided for legal recognition to organize and bargain collectively. For the L.S.W.U., the new legislation had

two effects. Firstly, the Union had more time to devote to political action. The L.S.W.U. lobbied the Federal government , for example, to extend unemployment insurance benefits to bushworkers in Northern Ontario as they had been extended to forest workers in British Columbia. Finally, the new labour legislation had a more profound effect on the L.S.W.U. As Panitch and Swartz have argued, the new labour legislation effectively controlled and bureaucratized the labour movement. The L.S.W.U. became preoccupied with various procedures that were to be followed for grievances and other matters relating to the new labour legislation. In addition, the L.S.W.U. gave up the right to strike during the term of an agreement. This generally weakened the militancy of the union.

Nevertheless the union continued to fight for better conditions for its rank and file members. Unemployment benefits were eventually extended to forest workers in Northern Ontario. The union also continued to criticize the government for allowing the use of P.O.W.s and Displaced Persons by forest companies.

Despite its success the L.S.W.U.'s leadership faced a new threat from American anti-Communist ideology. This ideology spread quickly into Canada, and many capitalists used this to discredit and rid

unions of their left wing leaders. In Northern Ontario the L.S.W.U. was purged of its Communist members in 1951. In effect, the Communist purges suppressed Canadian autonomy and democracy in unions, as Marcuse has suggested.

The Communist purges and the limitations surrounding the new labour legislation seemed to provide capital with an advantage in labour relations. One of the first setbacks for the L.S.W.U. was the loss of industry-wide collective bargaining. However, the union was able to implement a form of pattern bargaining (Radforth,1987). The union was also successful in raising wages in the 1950s.

Capital's response to the new labour legislation and the success of the union was to circumvent the labour legislation. Capital and labour were both credited with the implementation of various forms of mechanization in the forest industry, but, capital used the new technology to encourage workers to work for themselves. Contracting-out in its various forms proved to be a major drawback for the L.S.W.U. Workers who were drawn to the independence of working for themselves also gave up the benefits that the union had fought for over the years.

The union recognized the divisiveness of contracting-out, and

fought one of the most protracted battles in Northern Ontario when the Boise Cascade Corporation began to implement contracting-out provisions for its employees in Fort Francis and Kenora. This strike marked the beginning of the end for the L.S.W.U. The strike was eventually lost and proved that capital had effectively by-passed the restrictions of the labour legislation. The success that capital had also nullified the L.S.W.U., whose membership has continued to drop since 1980.

As Radforth (1987) has argued, the socialist goals of the old time bushworkers were no closer, but conditions in the forest industry had improved. The L.S.W.U. had undergone substantial changes over the years that had a significant effect on the labour process in Northern Ontario. Phillips argues correctly that the "...emphasis on the organization of work and on the battle between workers and employers for control of that organization has contributed significantly to one of the most exciting approaches to both historical and contemporary political economy of labour, namely, the study of the labour process" (1989,86). Analyzing these patterns in historical case studies remains an important part of the New Political Economy of Labour, as "...historical patterns affect contemporary developments"

(Creese,1986,49).

Appendix 1

Northern Ontario Logging, Forestry, Wood & Paper Industries Strikes 1935- 1989

Locality Industry	# Involved Establishments Workers	Time Loss in Man-Working Days	Particulars & Start/End Dates
Nipigon Loggers	2100	20000	Start: June 19/35 End: July 17/35 Increases in Piece-Rates & Improved Camp Conditions. Compromise.
Fort Francis Saw & Planning Mili Workers	300	1050	Start: October 05/35 End: October 09/35 8 Days Pay Compromise.
Nezah (Sturgeon Lake)	125	125	Start: March 21/36 End: N.A. Against the Discharge of Workers
Blind River	167	474	Start: March 21/36 End: April 01/36 For Payment of Wages Due Terminated in Favour Worker

Upsala Logging, Pulpwood Cutters	80	280	Start: December 05/36 End: December 09/36 Increase Wage Rate, Reduce Rate of Board Terminated in Favour Worker
Flanders Loggers	2300	30000	Start: January 07/37 End: January 22/37 Increased Wage Rate, Reduced Hours, & Union Recognition Compromise.
Iroquois Falls Pulp Mill Workers	43	215	Start: February 15/37 End: February 19/37 Against Employment of Non-Union Inspector in Favour of Employer.
Flanders Loggers	175	262	Start: March 04/37 End: March 05/37 Against Discharge of Workers Alleged to be for Union Activity Partially Successful.
Blind River Sawmill Workers	1/100	1000	Start: July 08/37 End: July 20/37 Increased Wages and Union Recognition. Prov. Conciliation. Compromise on Wage Increase & Workers Complaints Recognized.

Thessalon Sawmill Workers	1/200	1800	Start: July 10/37 End: July 19/37 For Increased Wages, Negotiations. Compromise.
Foleyet & Tionaga Sawmill Workers	2/150	1000	Start: July 22/37 End: August 19/37 For Union Recognition & Wage Increase. Prov. Conciliation. Compromise.
Meaford Pulpwood Loaders	1/18	18	Start: July 04/37 End: Same Day For Increased Wages. In Favour Employer.
Fort Francis Logging	1/80	300	Start: November 02/37 End: November 06/37 Against Discharge of Camp Steward. Camp Closed. In Favour of Employer.
McKirdy Pulpwood Cutters	1/100	200	Start: January 08/38 End: January 22/38 For Improved Living Conditions. Prov. Conciliation. Compromise.
McKirdy Pulpwood Cutters	1/420	4000	Start: January 18/38 End: January 19/38 For Discharge of Foreman. Negotiations. In Favour of Workers.

Fort Francis Sawmill Workers	1/385	15815	Start: April 15/38 End: June 06/38 Against Reduction in Wages and for Renewal of Agreement. Prov. Conciliation. Compromise.
Timmins Sawmill Workers	3/200	200	Start: May 31/38 End: June 06/38 For Increased Wages. Prov. Conciliation. Compromise.
Timmins Sawmill Workers	4/225	600	Start: June 06/39 End: June 09/39 Against Reduction in Rates of Wages. Municipal Conciliation. Partially Successful.
Gogama Loggers	1/75	150	Start: November 10/39 End: November 13/39 For Increased Wages (Piece Rates) & Removal of Charge for use of Horses. Negotiations. Compromise.
Fort William Sawmill Workers	1/154	1700	Start: August 19/41 End: September 06/41 For Union Recognition, Increased Wages & Reduced Hours (8 Hr. Day). Prov. Conciliation. In Favour of Employer.

Fort Francis Pulpmill Workers	1/340	1700	Start: July 20/42 End: July 25/42 For Additional Weeks Holiday with Pay. Conciliation (Prov. & Federal). Return of Workers Pending Reg. War Board. Indefinitely.
Beardmore Teamsters & Loaders	1/12	72	Start: February 02/43 End: February 08/43 For Increased Piece Rates. Replacement. In Favour of Employer.
Nipigon Skidders	1/20	30	Start: February 09/43 End: February 10/43 For Increased Piece Rates. Negotiations. In Favour of Employer.
Fort William Papermill Workers	1/60	120	Start: June 07/43 End: Same Day Against Working With a Certain Offical. Prov. Conciliation. Compromise.
Dalton Mills Bushworkers	1/53	159	Start: November 04/43 End: November 06/43 For More Meat & Butter with Their Meals. Negotiation. In Favour of Employer.

Timmins Bushworkers	1/45	45	Start: February 23/44 End: Same Day For Increased Wages, Piece Rates. Conciliation, Nat. Select Service. In Favour of Employer.
Timmins & Lakehead	25/5750	40000	Start: October 11/46 End: November 02/46 For a Union Agreement Providing for Increased Wages & Improved Camp Conditions. Prov. Conciliation. Compromise.
N.W. Ont.	18/5000	10000	
Cache Bay Sawmill Workers	1/168	1700	Start: July 05/47 End: July 17/47 For Increased Wages & Continuation of Certain Bonouses. Prov. Conciliation. Compromise.
Wahnapitae Sawmill Workers	1/50	400	Start: July 23/47 End: August 09/47 Alleged Discrimination in Lay Off of Workers. Prov. Conciliation. Return of Workers Pending Investigation. Indefinite.
Delray Bushworkers	1/50	150	Start: December 29/47 End: January 02/48 Refusal to Cut Pulpwood on a Piece Work Basis. In Favour of Employer.

Kiosk Lumber Mill Workers	1/260	260	Start: May 08/50 End: Same Day Dispute over Cookhouse Conditions & Poor Meals. Negotiation & Replacement. Partially Successful, New Cookhouse Staff.
Sault Ste Marie Sawmill Workers	1/145	1600	Start: May 07/51 End: May 21/51 Against Dismissal of 5 Workers Alledgedly for Insufficient Cause. Negotiations. In Favour of Workers. (All reinstated)
Kapuskasing Sawmill Workers	2/50	600	Start:July 19/54 End: August 05/54 For a New Agreement Providing for Increased Wages & Production Bonuses. Conciliation Board. Negotiations. Compromise.
Field Sawmill Workers	1/60	45	Start: May 06/55 End: Same Day Protesting Transfer of Union President to Another Job. In Favour of Employer.

Kiosk Sawmill & Veneer Factory	1/137	2100	Start: August 29/55 End: September 21/55 For a New Agreement Providing for Increased Wages & Rand Formula for Union Dues, Following Reference Conciliation Board. Compromise.
Mattice Bushworkers	1/71	1975	Start: January 03/56 End: March 03/56 For a Union Agreement Providing for Increased Wages & Reduced Hours. Dispute Continued, But Employment no Longer Affected. Indefinite.
Cochrane Bushworkers	1/100	900	Start: January 30/56 End: February 10/56 For a Union Agreement Providing for Increased Wages & Check Off. Return of Workers Pending Further Negotiation. Indefinite.
Timmins Loggers	1/75	750	Start: February 23/56 End: March 05/56 For a Union Agreement Providing for Increased Wages & Improved Working Conditions. Conciliation. Compromise.

Fort William Bushworkers	1/600	2400	Start: June 26/56 End: June 29/56 Improved Camp Conditions, Transportation from Camp to Job & Settlement of Grievances. Negotiations. In Favour of Workers.
Field Sawmill Workers	1/81	2180	Start: July 16/56 End: August 15/56 Protesting Dismissal of Union President Following Dispute over Grievances During Negotiation for a New Agreement with Management. Civic Mediation & Return of Workers Pending Ref. to Arbitration. Indefinite.
Cache Bay Sawmill Workers	1/202	7010	Start: July 19/56 End: August 28/56 For Implementation of Award of Conciliation Board for Increased Wages in New Agreement Under Negotiation. Civic Mediation. Compromise.

Timmins Sawmill Workers	1/30	90	Start: July 24/56 End: July 27/56 Protesting Suspension of Two Workers for refusing to Wear Life- Saving Jackets. Negotiations. In Favour of Employer.
Marathon Bushworkers	1/780	9360	Start: August 08/56 End: August 21/56 Protest Against Foreman Operating Equipment & for Improved Transportation to Work Place. In Favour of Workers.
Hearst Sawmill Workers	1/59	530	Start: August 20/56 End: August 29/56 For a New Agreement Providing for Increased Wages following reference to Conciliation Board. Negotiations. Compromise.
Fort Will. P. Arthur Lumber Jobbers	12/88	835	Start: September 18/56 End: September 29/56 For a New Agreement Providing for Increased Wages Reduced Hours from 44-40 per wk., with Same Take Home Pay, Union Shop, Seniority, & Fringe Benifits following reference to Conciliation Board. Neg. Compromise.

Beardmore Loggers (St. Lawrence Corp. Ltd.) U.B.C.J. #2693	625	21,390	Start: January 22/57 End: March 05/57 In Sympathy With Wage Dispute of Truck Owners Hauling for Same Firm. Resumption of work, Parties to Neg. Settlement for Truck Drivers not Included in Agreement.
Kapuskasing Woodlands Spruce Falls Power & Paper Co. Ltd. U.B.C.J.#2995	500	3500	Start: January 22/57 End: January 29/57 Piecework Rate on Log Hauling. Settlement: Equalization of Rates for Tractor & Horse Drawn Sleds.
Relay Logging C. Lacroix U.B.C.J.#2995	42	250	Start: February 05/57 End: February 12/57 Wages. Settlement. Contract for Project Cancelled.
Fort William Foundation Co. of Can. U.B.C.J.#2693	195	195	Start: May 10/57 End: May 13/57 Union Jurisdiction, return of Workers. Referral to Ont. Labour Relations Board.
Fort William E.G.M. Cape Construction U.B.C.J.#2693	105	315	Start: May 14/57 End: Same Day Union Jurisdiction, return of Workers. Referral to Ontario Labour Relations Board.

Timmins N.A. A.E. Wicks Co. Ltd. U.B.C.J.#2995	55	495	Start: June19/57 End: N.A. Wages & Union Security Conciliation.
South Porcupine T.S. Woollings & Co. Ltd. U.B.C.J. #2995	205	500	Start: January 16/58 End: January 18/58 Union Security & Working Conditions. Return of Workers Pending Neg.
Kormak Wood Kormak Lumber Co. U.B.C.J.#2537	112	2125	Start: July 29/58 End: August 21/58 Basic Wage & Rate Increase By 3 Cents per Hr. & Logging Rate 3%.
Caramat Logging Marathon Corp. of Can. U.B.C.J.#2693	370	23,520	Start: January 05/59 End: March 23/59 Alleged Days in Neg. Return of Workers Pending Further Neg.
Nassau Logging Henry Selin Forest Products U.B.C.J.#2995	220	5880	Start: October 03/61 End: November 13/61 Wages, Hours, Working Conditions, Seniority. 7 Cents an Hr. Increase in Planing Mill, 10 Cents Hr. in Sawmill, Higher Piece Rates, Improved Working Conditions.

Longlac & Geraldton Kimberly Clark Pulp & Paper U.B.C.J.#2693	305	10,040	Start: January 14/63 End: February 18/63 Wages, Hours. Return of Workers under Previous Agreement Pending Arbitration Board.
Kapuskasing Woodlands Spruce Falls Power & Paper U.B.C.J.#2995	1150	30,480	Start: January 14/63 End: February 16/63 Wages, Hours. Return of Workers Under Previous Agreement Pending Arbitration Board.
Nassau Lake Forest H. Selin Forest Products U.B.C.J.#2995	120	720	Start: June 17/63 End: June 24/63 Removal of Foreman, Working Conditions, Safety, Seniority in Hiring, Other Grievances. Return of some Workers, Replacement of Others.
Dryden Woods Dryden Paper Co. U.B.C.J.#2693	340	8500	Start: September 20/63 End: October 28/63 Weekly Work Schedule. Wages in New Agreement-40 Hr. Wk.. Dec. 15,1963 Retroactive Wage Increase to Oct. 1, 1962, a Further Increase Dec. 15, 1963.

Fort William Lakehead Builders Exchange U.B.C.J.#2693	132	1320	Start: July 10/64 End: July 23/64 Wages, Retroactive pay for Ready Mix Drivers, other Improvements. 10 Cent Hr. Retroactive to May 1, 64, 10 Cent Jan. 1,65, 5 Cents July 1,65, & Reduction in Hr. (44- 40).
Espanola N.A. K.V.P. Co. U.B.C.J.#2537	350	9010	Start: October 29/64 End: December 04/64 Transfer of 2 Workers to to Other Classifications at Lower Wages. Return of Workers.
Mattawa Wood Weyerhaeuser Can. U.B.C.J.#2759	239	4300	Start: April 05/65 End: April 29/65 Wages 5 Cent Hr. Increase for Males,4 Cent Hr. Females- May 3,1965, 3 Cent Hr. Males Sept. 1/65, 3 Cents Males & 4 Cents Females Sept. 16/65, 3 Cents Men May 1/66. Other Improvements.
Matheson N.A. Feldman Timber Co. U.B.C.J.#2995	100	1000	Start: July 27/66 End: August 15/66 New Agreement, Piecework Rates & Rates per Cord Increased. Other Improvements.

Fort Francis Paper Ont. Minn. Pulp & Paper Co. Ltd. Pulp & Paper Mill Workers #92	531	1380	Start: November 23/67 End: November 26/67
Fort Francis Paper Pulp & Paper Mill Workers#92	450	N.A.	Start: August 25/68 End: November 26/68 Managerial Rights Clause in Proposed Contract. Wage Increase, Improved Vacation, Other Benefits.
Fort William & Port Arthur Abitibi Paper Co. Ltd. Great Lakes Paper Co. Ltd. (IBEW#1565/ AFL- CIO/CLC)	3000	18,340	Start: September 02/68 End: September 23/68 Wage & Fringe Benefits. 35 Cents an Hr. Increase over 2 Yrs., Plus 9 Cents an Hr. for Tradesman.
Fort William Paper Great Lakes Paper Co. Pulp & Paper Mill Workers#39 (AFL- CIO/CLC)	1149	6890	Start: September 07/68 End: September 17/68 Wages- 18 Cent Hr. First Yr - 17 Cent Hr. Second
Hearst Forest H. Selin Forest Products U.B.C.J.#2995	163	410	Start: October 24/68 End: October 28/68 Wages- Return of Workers
Kapuskasing N.A. Spruce Falls Pulp & Paper Co. Ltd.	650	3250	Start: October 27/69 End: November 03/69 Alleged Grievances over Seniority. Return of Work-

U.B.C.J.#2995			ers, Further Negotiation.
Kapus-kasing N.A. Spruce Falls Pulp & Paper Co. Ltd. Pulp & Paper Mill Workers#89	1700	4250	Start: May 29/70 End: June 03/70 In Sympathy of 25 Workers who were Suspended. Return of Workers.
Sault Ste Marie, Iroquis Falls, Thunder Bay Abitibi Paper Co. Ltd. Papermakers #133 & 109	866	4680	Start: October 02/70 End: October 13/70 Wages, Fringe Benefits- 27 Cents Hr. Increase Eff. May 1/70. 26 Cents or 6% Whichever is Higher May 1 1971, 15 Cents or 3.5% May 1 1972, & 2 Cents Plus 3.5 % Aug. 1/1972. Other Improved Benefits.
North Bay N.A. Canadian J-Manville Pulp & Paper Mill Workers#870	100	N.A	Start:May 11/73 End: N.A. Wages, Benefits
Hearst & Calstock Custom Sawmills, United Sawmills, Lecours Lumber. U.B.C.J.#2995	435	N.A.	Start: July 16/73 End: N.A.
Iroquis Falls N.A. United Paperworkers#90	1000	7140	Start: September 07/73 End: September 17/73 Wages & Other Not Reported

Sault Ste Marie N.A. Weyerhaeuser Ont. Ltd. Woodworkers Loc. 2-1000	355	N.A.	Start: December 08/73 End: February 11/74 Wages & Vacation Benefit Settled Through Mediation 2 Yr. Contract With 45 Cents In First Yr. & 35 In Second.
New Liskeard Rexwood Products Ltd. U.B.C.J.#2995	112	11,700	Start: July 03/74 End: N.A.
Kenogami Forestry Kokotow Lumber Ltd. U.B.C.J.#2994	225	4960	Start: September 30/74 End: October 31/74 Wages. Settled By Mutual Agreement.
Thunder Bay N.A. Great Lake Paper Co. Ltd. U.B.C.J.#2693	1272	41,980	Start: October 11/74 End: November 28/74 Wages & Fringe Benefits Settled by Mutual Agreement. Wage Increase & Cost of Living Clause.
North Bay N.A. Canada J- Manville Co. Ltd. Canadian Paperworkers #870	210	7140	Start: April 14/75 End: June 18/75 Breakdown of Negotiations Settled By Mutual Agreement.

Thunder Bay Paper Abitibi Paper Co. (T. Bay Mill) C.P.U.# 249, 134	292	46,740	Start: July 09/75 End: February 20/76 Union wants to Negociate all Abitibi Mills. Terminated By Mutual Agreement.
Thunder Bay Paper Abitibi Prov. Mill C.P.U.#239	400	63,720	Start: July 10/75 End: February 20/76 Union wants To Bargain with all Abitibi Mills Terminated by Mutual Agreement.
Thunder Bay Paper Abitibi Paper Co. Ltd. (F.W. Division) C.P.U.#132	252	36,540	Start: July 11/75 End: N.A. (To Jan. 1976) Union wants to Bargain with all Abitibi Mills.
Sault Ste Marie Abitibi Pulp & Paper Co. C.P.U.#67 &133	380	55,080	Start: July 11/75 End: N.A. (To Jan. 1976) Union wants to Bargain with all Abitibi Mills.
Sturgeon Falls Abitibi Forest Products Ltd. C.P.U.#7135	358	50,890	Start: July 15/75 End: N.A. (To Jan. 1976) Union wants to Bargain with all Abitibi Mills.
Iroquois Falls Abitibi Paper Co. Ltd. C.P.U.#90 & 109	900	145,300	Start: July 13/75 End: February 27/76 Union wants to Bargain with all Abitibi Mills.

Smooth Rock Falls Abitibi Paper Co. C.P.U.#32	330	51,390	Start: July 15/75 End: February 20/76 Union wants to Bargain with Abitibi Mills.
Red Rock Domtar Packaging Ltd. C.P.U.#255 & 528	450	53,340	Start: September 13/75 End: February 29/76 Wages, other Contract Issues. Terminated by Mutual Agreement.
Thunder Bay Great Lakes Paper Co. Ltd. C.P.U.#39 & 257	1400	165,000	Start: September 08/75 End: February 22/76 Wages, Fringe Benefits, Other Contract Issues. Terminated by Mutual Agreement.
Kapuskasing Spruce Falls Power & Paper Co., & Kimberly Clark C.P.U.# 89 & 256, IBEW 1149	1530	169,400	Start: September 12/75 End: February 16/76 Wages, Length of Contract Terminated by Mutual Agreement.
Espanola Eddy Forest Products C.P.U.#74 & 156	725	10,600	Start: October 03/75 End: February 21/76 Wages, Fringe Benefits. Terminated by Mutual Agreement.
Fort Francis Ont.- Minn. Pulp & Paper Co. Ltd. Various Unions	900	82,600	Start: October 22/75 End: March 07/76 Wages, Fringe Benefits. Terminated by Mutual Agreement.

Kenora Ont.-Minn. Pulp & Paper Co. Ltd. C.P.U.#238	121	11,490	Start: October 24/75 End: March 07/76 Wages, Fringe Benefits. Terminated by Mutual Agreement.
Dryden Reed Paper Co. Various Unions	1044	N.A	Start: June 14/76 End: September 22/76 Wages. Agreement Reached Workers Returned.
Thunder Bay Abitibi Price U.B.C.J.#2827	300	12,000	Start: July 02/76 End: August 30/76 Contract Issues 7 Day Wk. Settlement Not Reported.

Forestry 1978-1988

Long Lac Welwood Ltd. U.B.C.J.#2693	325	N.A.	Start: September 07/76 End: March 08/77 Wages.
Dryden Reed Paper U.B.C.J.#N.A.	231	12,250	Start: February 22/77 End: May 09/77 N.A. after 1977.
Cochrane Forestry J.H. Normick Ltd. U.B.C.J.	80	8000	Start: May 22/77 End: October 17/77 N.A.
Timmins Forestry Malette Lumber Inc. U.B.C.J.	295	960	Start: April 24/78 End: April 28/78 N.A.

Hornpayne Forestry Olav Haavaldsrud Timber U.B.C.J.	95	480	Start: June 26/78 End: June 30/78 N.A.
Fort Francis Ont.-Minn. Pulp & Paper U.B.C.J.	140	9380	Start: July 05/78 End: October 11/78 N.A.
Kenora Fort Francis Boise-Cascade U.B.C.J.	350	88,200	Start: October 11/78 End: December 31/79 N.A.
Calstock Lecours Lumber Co. Ltd, U.B.C.J.	86	1720	Start: June 03/85 End: July 02/85 N.A.
Hornpayne Olav Haavaldsrud Timber Co. Ltd. U.B.C.J.	30	270	Start: August 05/86 End: August 18/86 N.A.
Kapus- kasing Spruce Falls Power & Paper Co. U.B.C.J.	366	5120	Start: January 12/88 End: January 30/88 N.A.
Iroquois Falls Abitibi Price Inc. U.B.C.J.	115	2760	Start: February 08/88 End: March 11/88 N.A.
Longlac Kimberly Clark of Can. U.B.C.J.	382	11,460	Start: May 09/88 End: June 21/88 N.A.

Wood Industries 1978-1988

Temagami 100 William Milne & Sons U.B.C.J.	7150	Start: March 28/78 End: July 10/78 N.A.
Cochrane 280 J.H. Normick Inc. U.B.C.J.	5130	Start: October 11/78 End: November 06/78 N.A.
Sapawe 200 Domtar Woodlands U.B.C.J.	1600	Start: January 28/80 End: February 07/80 N.A.
Elk Lake 71 Elk Lake Planing Mill U.B.C.J.	13130	Start: February 21/80 End: November 14/80 N.A.
Timmins 100 Waferboard Corp. Ltd C.P.U.	2290	Start: November 12/82 End: December 13/82 N.A.
Cochrane 135 Normick Perron Inc. U.B.C.J	3100	Start: April 11/83 End: May 12/83 N.A.
Longlac 195 Weldwood of Can. Ltd. U.B.C.J.	2370	Start: April 15/83 End: May 02/83 N.A.
Haileybury 98 Rexwood Products Ltd. U.B.C.J.	11,970	Start: July 05/83 End: June 25/84 N.A.
Hearst 122 United Sawmill Ltd.	10,240	Start: January 23/84 End: May 22/84

U.B.C.J.		N.A.
Calstock 92 Lecours Lumber Co Ltd. U.B.C.J.	6990	Start: February 08/84 End: May 28/84 N.A.
Hearst 98 Custom Sawmill Ltd U.B.C.J.	6960	Start: February 08/84 End: May 18/84 N.A.
Kirkland 71 Lake Normick Perron Inc. U.B.C.J.	4010	Start: January 22/84 End: May 14/84 N.A.
Cochrane 119 Normick Perron Inc. U.B.C.J.	6710	Start: February 22/84 End: May 14/84 N.A.
Timmins 125 Malette Lumber Co. U.B.C.J.	5820	Start: February 22/84 End: April 30/84 N.A.
Sapawe 103 Atikokan Forest Products Inc. U.B.C.J.	4070	Start: February 24/84 End: April 23/84 N.A.
Hudson 135 McKenzie Forest Products U.B.C.J.	5330	Start: February 24/84 End: April 23/84 N.A.
Hearst 206 Leveque Plywood Ltd. U.B.C.J.	8450	Start: February 14/85 End: April 15/85 N.A.

Thunder Bay Northern Wood Preservers Inc. C.P.U.	260	3560	Start: September 28/87 End: October 19/87 N.A.

Paper Industries 1978-1988

Sault Ste Marie Abitibi Paper Co. C.P.U.	133	2000	Start: July 13/78 End: August 03/78 N.A.
Sault Ste Marie Abitibi Paper Co. C.P.U.	351	5460	Start: July 13/78 End: August 03/78 N.A.
Kenora Boise Cascade Ltd. C.P.U.	130	10780	Start: December 19/78 End: April 29/79 N.A.
Smooth Rock Falls Abitibi Price C.P.U.	381	10520	Start: June 22/80 End: July 31/80 N.A.
Sault Ste Marie Abitibi Price C.P.U.	473	11,940	Start: June 23/80 End: July 31/80 N.A.
Iroquois Falls Abitibi Price C.P.U.	1014	19,070	Start: July 04/80 End: July 31/80 N.A.

Port Arthur Abitibi Price (Ft. Wm. Div.) C.P.U.	232	4530	Start: July 03/80 End: July 31/80 N.A.
Port Arthur Abitibi Price (T. Bay Div.) C.P.U.	304	5940	Start: July 03/80 End: July 31/80 N.A.
Port Arthur Abitibi Price (Pt. Art. Div.)	502	9800	Start: July 03/80 End: July 31/80 N.A.
Marathon American Can. United Paperworkers	119	120	Start: December 22/80 End: December 23/80 N.A.
Port Arthur & Fort William Abitibi Price Fine Papers C.P.U.	70	70	Start: October 13/82 End: October 14/82 N.A.
Kapuskasing Spruce Falls Power & Paper Other	118	2360	Start: December 02/82 End: January 19/83 N.A.
Thunder Bay Great Lakes Foresi Products Ltd. C.P.U.	1519	16,150	Start: September 25/87 End: October 14/87 N.A.

Thunder Bay	156	1710	Start: September 25/87 End: October 09/87
Great Lakes Forest Products Ltd.			N.A.
C.P.U.			

SOURCE: Department of Labour, Canada, Labour Gazette 1935-1977
Department of Labour, Canada, Work Stoppages 1977-1988

Appendix 2

Presidents of the Port Arthur L.S.W.U., 1936-1988.

Years	Local	Name
1936	2786	Jacob Jorgenson
1937-1940 (August)	2786	Bruce Magnuson
1940-1942 (September)	2786	Eino Raappana Fred Cullick
1942-1942 (December)	2786	Bruce Magnuson
1943-1943 (May)	2786	Eino Raappana
1943-1946 (July)	2786	Bruce Magnuson
1946-1949 (N.A.)	2786	Jack Quinn
1949-1950 (N.A.)	2786	John Kipien
1950-1951 (April)	2786	Dan MacIsaac
1951-1951 (May)	2786	Harry Timchishin
1951-1951 (December)	2693	N.A.
1952-1952 (December)	2693	A.T. Lajoie
1953-1953 (December)	2693	N.A.
1954-1956 (N.A.)	2693	A.M. Welsby

1957-1957 (N.A.)	2693	N.A.
1958-1983 (N.A.)	2693	Tulio Mior
1983-1988	2693	Fred Miron

Appendix 3

Wage Schedules 1942, 1943, and 1946 for Monthly Men. (Proposed L.S.W.U. Wage Schedule for 1943)

Classification	Rates			
	1942	L.S.W.U. Proposed	1943	1946
30 Day Men				
Cookies	$54	$70	$59	$156
Bull Cook or Chore	$57	$75	$62	$163.5
Cooks (125+ Men)	$150	$150	$150	$232.5
Camp Watchmen	$54	$70	$59	$156
Barn Boss	$69	$125	$85	$193.5
Night Watchmen	$54	$70	$59	$163.5
Dam and Storage Ground Watchmen	$54	$75	$59	$156
26 Day Men				
General Labour	$54.60	$70	$54.60	$153.4
Loaders & Unloaders	$57.20	$78	$57.20	$166.4
Skidders,Helpers, Rollers, Swampers	$57.20	$78	$57.20	$162.5
Teamsters,Skidding	$63.70	$85	N.A.	N.A.
Teamsters,<4 Horses	$53.70	$85	$63.70	$166.4
Teamsters,>4 Horses	$68.90	$95	$68.90	$172.9
Blacksmiths	$100.	$125.	$125.	$195.
Blacksmiths Helpers	$65.	$75.	N.A.	N.A.
Handymen	$90.	$110.	$90.	$192.4
Handymen's Helpers	$54.60	$75.	N.A.	N.A.
Mechanic-	$143.	$180.	$143.	$214.5
(Helper)	$65.	$85.	N.A.	N.A.
Camp/Dam Builder	$81.90	$104.	$81.90	$182.
Tractor Driver-				
(Various)	$104.	$115.	$104.	$192.4
(Scraper)	$140.	$155.	$140	$214.5

Truck Driver-				
(Hauling Trains)	$110.	$125.	$110.	$192.4
(Portaging)	$92.30	$100.	$92.30	$182.
(Helpers)	$57.20	$78.	$57.20	$166.4
Outboard Motor				
Operators	$83.20	$100.	$102.7	$182.
Compressor Oper-				
ator	$117.	$125.	$117.	$201.5
Jack Hammer or				
Hand Drillers	$80.	$100.	$80.	$169.
River Drivers &				
Watering Wood	$83.20	$100.	$97.50	$175.5
River Drivers, Boat-				
men,Bow/Stern	$89.70	$104.	$102.70	$182.
Outboard Motor Op-				
erators on Drive	$89.70	$104.	$102.70	$182.
Sorters & Sluicers	$57.20	$90./100.	$70.20	$166.4
Feeders of Ties/Pulp				
to Jackladder	$57.20	$100.	$70.20	$166.4
Raftsmen/Inland	$83.20	$100.	$97.50	$182.
Raftsmen/Great L.	$96.20	$175.	$109.	N.A.
Storage Ground				
Logmen	$83.20	$104.	$97.50	$175.5

Sources: Archives of Ontario, R.G. 7, Series XIV, 4a, Box 2.
Archives of Ontario, M.U. 687, File 2.
Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G. 7, B, Box 18.

Appendix 4

Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union Locals-Canada 1947

Number of Local	Town/Province	Members
2742	West Summerland/B.C.	37
2768	Kelowana/B.C.	69
2771	Rutland/B.C.	20
2861	Vernon/B.C.	36
2968	Vancouver/B.C.	48
2990	Kamloops/B.C.	47
3003	Victoria/B.C.	36
2537	Sudbury/Ont.	875
2560	Fort Francis/Ont.	188
2578	North Bay/Ont.	40
2601	Rainy Lake/Ont	185
2613	Windsor/Ont.	80
2638	Fort William/Ont.	373
2759	Mattawa/Ont.	193
2786	Port Arthur/Ont.	6170
2807	Norman/Ont.	180
2823	Pembroke/Ont.	200
2827	Port Arthur/Ont.	151
2872	Sarnia/Ont.	19
2912	Trenton/Ont.	77
2930	Port Arthur/Ont.	23
2995	Cochrane/Ont.	3219
2683	Montreal/Que.	9

2849	Saskatoon/Sask.	47
	Total	12 322

Source: United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Correspondence from General President W.L. Hutcheson to Percy Bengough President, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, 1947, Port Arthur Files,1941.

Appendix 5

Men Hired By 13 Member Companies of the Thunder Bay Timber Operators Association, for Northern Ontario, By Area of Origin,1948.

Area	Men Hired	Designated Area	Percent of Total Labour Hired
Northwestern Ontario (Algoma Central Railway to the Manitoba Border)	5 612	Local Labour	41%
Ontario (Algoma Central Railway East)	2 145		
Quebec	2 395		
New Brunswick	3 63		
Nova Scotia	1 77		
Prince Edward Island	32	Eastern Labour	37.5
Manitoba	1 540		
Saskatchewan	9 53		
Alberta	77	Prairie or Western Labour	19
British Columbia	49		
U.S.A.	14		

Newfoundland	3		
No Address	2 61		
Miscellaneous(Unknown)	14	Miscellaneous	2.5
Total	13 635		100

Source: Confidential Report of the Thunder Bay Timber Operators Association, 1949. (13 Member Companies) in Oscar Styffe Collection, M.G.7, B, Box 30.

Appendix 6

Union Membership, Port Arthur 2693,1955 - 1987

Year	Good Standing	Granted Clearance	Arrears	Total
1955	3933	9	511	4453
1956	5827	7	1396	7230
1957	8636	6	1758	10 400
1958	6396	7	1635	8038
1959	6351	4	735	7090
1960	6826	2	921	7749
1961	6136	7	1215	7358
1962	5879	10	596	6485
1963	5980	7	529	6516
1964	4774	5	1447	6226
1965	5168	20	868	6056
1966	5366	7	776	6149
1967	5181	12	1027	6220
1968	4445	3	678	5118
1969	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	5933
1970	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	5944
1971	4813	1	559	5373
1972	5345	2	570	5917
1973	5994	1	457	6452
1974	6217	2	584	6803
1975	6612	1	1031	7644
1976	6442		610	7052
1977	6471	2	806	7279
1978	7369	3	814	8186
1979	7234	3	706	7943
1980	6820	3	731	7554
1981	6486	1	848	7335
1982	5042	0	744	5786

1983	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1984	5377	0	386	5763
1985	5318	0	323	5641
1986	4861	0	483	5344
1987	4348	2	424	4774

Source: Compiled From the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Year End Membership Lists
(Reel #5 4024, 4025, 4526, 4527, 4632, 6784, 7307);
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