EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE GOLDEN CITY:
A Historical Geography of Rossland, British Columbia

By
Michael R. Ripmeester
B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1988

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
( Department of Geography )

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
September 1990
© Michael Robert Ripmeester, 1990
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of GEOGRAPHY

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date SEPTEMBER 24, 1990
Rossland, British Columbia, like many other Kootenay towns was the child of a turn-of-the-century lode mining boom. As such, Rossland was a frontier settlement, but it was also part of an industrial mining complex which had been working northward out of the California gold fields of the 1840s. The period under examination extends from the discovery of ores on Red Mountain in 1887 to 1902, by which time Rossland was established as a mature mining city. I argue that there was a relationship between the level of mechanized mining on Red Mountain and the social structure of Rossland. Research indicates that the rapid mechanization of Rossland's mines produced a stratified social structure, a specific residential pattern, and an ethnically segmented labour force. Very quickly one's occupation, one's gender, and one's ethnicity determined what one's opportunities and experiences would be.
# Table of Contents

Abstract........................................................................................................... ii
List of Tables................................................................................................... iv
List of Maps..................................................................................................... v
Acknowledgements........................................................................................... vi
1. Introduction: Of Dioramas.............................................................................. 1
2. Setting the Context: Lode Mining in the Western Cordillera........................ 14
3. From Bar to Boardroom and Other Stories................................................. 41
4. Class, Gender, and Ethnicity in Rossland................................................... 76
5. Conclusion.................................................................................................... 146
Bibliography...................................................................................................... 149
Appendix A....................................................................................................... 157
List of Tables

Table 1-Rossland Mining Statistics, 1891-1897 .................. 47
Table 2-Rossland Mining Statistics, 1898-1902 ................. 66
Table 3-Rossland Mining Business Statistics, 1895-1902 ....... 67
Table 4-Occupational Structure among Males
by Marital Status .............................................. 83
Table 5-Occupational Structure among Females
by Marital Status .............................................. 84
Table 6-Relationship to Employment by Sex .................... 85
Table 7-Rossland Occupational Groups 1901 ..................... 86
Table 8-Occupation and Wage Structure among
Employed Males ..................................................... 88
Table 9-Occupation and Wage Structure among
Employed Females .................................................. 90
Table 10-Distribution of Ethnic Backgrounds
by Census Subdistrict ......................................... 121
Table 11-Distribution of Ethnic Groups in
the Labour Force (Male) ......................................... 126
Table 12-Distribution of Ethnic Groups in
the Labour Force .................................................. 127
List of Maps

Map 1—Some Western Cordilleran Ore Strikes, 1848-1910 ........................................ 19
Map 2—South-eastern British Columbia and Bordering States ..................................... 44
Map 3—Rossland and Vicinity ................................................................. 59
Map 4—Rossland Town Site, 1897 ............................................................. 101
Map 5—Rossland: First Avenue and Lincoln Street, 1897 ........................................ 102
Map 6—Ethnic Neighbourhoods in Rossland, approx. 1902 .................................... 145
There are many who contributed to the completion of this thesis and my participation in the Master of Arts program of U.B.C. I would like to use this space to acknowledge their efforts. I would like to thank Dr. D. Hiebert, my academic supervisor, for his guidance and support through my participation in the M.A. program. I would also like to Dr. R.C. Harris for his insights and aid in developing my thesis. I am also eternally indebted to my wife, Anna, who not only put up with me, but gave her support and her talents as a proof reader and artist. I am also very grateful for the help of those associated with the Rossland Historical Museum Association: Joyce Tadevic, Jenny Langille, Jack MacDonald, and Harry Lefevre. Finally I would also like to acknowledge the aid of the staff of the Special Collections Department, Main Library, U.B.C.
Introduction: Of Dioramas

Rossland, British Columbia was, at its zenith, a well known and much discussed town. Mines delved into the bedrock of surrounding mountains yielded more than $4 million in gold per year during years of peak production. For a number of years around the turn-of-the-century Rossland, known as the Golden City, was a hive of activity. It was also part of a wider world, wherein distant events had far reaching effects. Yet it was a place where people lived out their lives, tried to make sense of the world, and created and maintained communities and relationships. There are many possible methodologies and techniques within the discipline of geography that can be used to interpret turn-of-the-century Rossland, most with some merits and all with shortcomings. One that holds appeal is the diorama approach formulated by Torsten Hägerstrand.

Hägerstrand suggests the diorama approach be used like those museum displays where the exhibit is set in its natural surroundings. He argues that "...we must include both what is very close, even what is hidden under our roofs, and what is very distant, say, the clouds and the
stars.\textsuperscript{1} These propositions are closely related to Hägerstrand's insistence on the need for context in geographical inquiry, and as he insinuates, for inquiry in general. He states it this way:

...human action always has to enfold (sic) in real dioramas and whatever foreseen or unexpected consequences come about, they depend upon what is present and what is absent and in what sort of relations precisely where the actions happen...by shielding off—in other words making absent—everything but the one or two variables one wants to study, one is also creating conditions that do not exist and probably very often cannot exist in any imaginable world.\textsuperscript{2}

Of course no inquiry, geographic or otherwise, can hope to encompass an entire diorama. Such a perspective would by definition include a global perspective, yet be fine-grained enough to pick out individual paths and projects. Hägerstrand recognizes and allows for this, but he suggests that what is omitted should at least be kept in mind.\textsuperscript{3}

Hägerstrand uses the diorama approach as a setting for his formulation of time-geography, some of the concepts of which are important to this thesis. There are two important components to time-geography, paths and projects. The premise that lies behind time-geography is that the consecutive actions that people make in the course of a day,

\textsuperscript{1} T. Hägerstrand, "Diorama, Path, and Project," \textit{Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie}, v.73, no.6, 1982, p.325.


\textsuperscript{3} Ibid, p.378.
year, or lifetime have spatial and temporal attributes. Thus, the history of each and every person, and as Hägerstrand contends, every other continuant whether living or not, can be seen as having a trajectory or path through space and time. Allan Pred describes this movement as a dance, the most significant steps of which occur at stations, such as homes and places of work, strung along the paths. While paths are meant to convey movement through time and space, projects delineate the complete array of tasks needed to complete any goal or intention-orientated behavior. Projects include an incredibly vast range of behavior from the most trivial personal activities to the most important policy decisions of the world's political units.

Time-Geography has received much recognition, some of it critical, some lauding. One author who has given time-geography considerable attention is Anthony Giddens. Giddens, an influential social theorist, has worked to unite two often disparate themes, namely structure and human

agency, in a theory of structuration. Briefly stated Giddens' central argument is that:

...in the reproduction of social life (through systems of interaction) actors routinely draw upon interpretive schemes, resources, and norms which are made available by existing structures of signification, domination and legitimation and that in doing so they thus immediately and necessarily reconstitute those structures....

Giddens finds time-geography attractive because it offers a contextual setting for the everyday actions that are so crucial to his formulations. In other words, it allows for connections to be made between the reproduction and transformation of social structures in the actual settings where they occur.

However, Giddens is also sharply critical of time-geography:

First, it [time-geography] operates with a naive and deficient conception of the human agent.... Agents are regarded as purposive beings in the sense that their activities are guided by 'projects' which they pursue. But the nature and origin of projects is left unexplored. Second, Hägerstrand's analyses therefore tend to recapitulate the dualism of actions and structure.... Stations are themselves taken as givens, the outcome of uninterrupted processes of institutional formation and change...little emphasis is placed on the transformational character of all human action.... Third, concentration solely on the constraining properties of the body, in its movement through time and space, is unwarranted. All types of

constraint...are also types of opportunity, media for the enablement of action.... Finally, time-geometry involves only a weakly developed theory of power. Hägerstrand does talk of authority constraints, which he links to capability and coupling restraints. But these are both vaguely formulated and invoke a zero-sum conception of power as a source of limitations upon action.11

The common thread which runs through these critiques concerns the relationship between human actors and the social structures with which they must deal. In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to sort out where agency and structure lie in the unfolding of social life seen in a time-geographic perspective.

The question of agency is one that is directly addressed by Hägerstrand. In "Diorama, Path and Project," for example, he reminds us that at the head of each of the paths being traced through time and space:

...stands a living body subject endowed with memories, feelings, knowledge, imagination, and goals—in other words capabilities too rich for any kind of symbolic representation but decisive enough for the direction of paths.12

But as Hägerstrand admits in this paper and elsewhere he finds the pursuit of human intentions and goals to be problematic. Thus he contends that while there is no barrier to the recognition of intentions and goals, they are doomed to remain as obtuse to observation as the realizations of these projects remain clear.13 Consequently, he concentrates

on the paths people weave, the projects they create or join, and the constraints they must deal with. As a result Hägerstrand creates a mode of inquiry where the focus is not so much on the actions of subjects, but on their movements between stations. That constraints restrict the paths woven by human actors is a given and is ably captured using the methods of time-geography. But, as Giddens argues, humans are also knowledgeable actors able to deploy power, act or not act and thereby effect the process of events. These concepts are absent in Hägerstrand's formulations because of the autonomy he awards to projects.

The question of intention or autonomy lying behind the formation of projects follows closely the question of agency. Hägerstrand contends that projects are to be taken "...from the blueprint library more or less the same way as a pianist picks out ready-made tones from his instrument." This would appear to be a justification of his conception of projects as autonomous and helps him avoid the world of intentions where he admits he is uncomfortable. Thus, when he describes the unfolding of a project it is the

14. See, for example, the diagram on p.330 of Hägerstrand, 1982. The detailed mapping out of the weekly movements of different groups of people in the town where he grew up is interesting but the stations, the home, school, church, and work, etc. are represented simply as empty boxes.
project itself that weaves its way through time dealing with the situations that arise, the human actors merely playing the roles needed to effect its completion. This may bring to mind the question of where the ability of projects to meet changing circumstances lies. Where, for instance, does the ability of a business firm to adapt to market changes lie: with the company and its production mandates, or with knowledgeable directors who are aware of economic viabilities and act on this knowledge?

Another serious flaw, as already hinted at, concerns the lack of analysis of action at the various stations along the paths. Often these are portrayed as empty boxes, or as Giddens describes them, as black boxes.\(^{18}\) This is indeed unfortunate for it is at these stations that the actions of humans reproduce and transform social structure.

The world in a time-geographic perspective is then one of constraint imposed by the capabilities and the involvement in projects of the human subjects. But as Giddens argues those things that constrain actors also enable them. Pred has described useful ways with which to deal with the dialectical interplay between what is done and what can done.\(^{19}\) His suggestions depend on the joint operation of what he calls the internal-external dialectic and the life path-daily path dialectic. It is important to

\(^{18}\) Giddens, 1984, p.135.
\(^{19}\) Ibid, p.367.
note that these mechanisms are under way while the actors are busily involved in their projects and therefore provide an element missing in time geography.

Pred suggests that no action can take place without any prior mental activity and offers two mechanisms by which this necessary process operates. The internal-external dialectic refers to the interplay between what one does and what one will or can do. As a person creates a path through time and space (s)he draws upon past experiences, both consciously and unconsciously, in negotiating its direction. As new projects are created or joined they too become part of a person's experiences, to be drawn upon in creating or joining future projects. It is important to note that the decisions to create or join projects are made by nobody but the individual involved. The result is that by the use of this mechanism, knowingly or not, social structures are both reproduced and transformed. The life path-daily path dialectic involves the interplay between everyday actions and experiences and long-term opportunities. In other words the experiences of everyday life cannot help but exert influence on both the formulation and joining of projects. The joint operation of these mechanisms means that a person's biography cannot be considered on its own, but must

be seen in light of the accumulation of unique experiences, encounters, and impressions that have been accrued from association with both personal and institutional projects. The implication of this is that human actors, while at the stations portrayed as 'black boxes' by Hägerstrand, undergo experiences that must influence future decisions about personal and institutional projects.

To be fair Hägerstrand acknowledges these criticisms. He also has reservations concerning the application of them to time-geography. For example, he suggests that more empirical work needs to be done before any judgements on the autonomy of projects can be made. There is a danger, however, in depending too heavily upon empirical results, for as Hägerstrand himself suggests there is more to a diorama than meets the eye. He is also concerned that such inquiry will relegate the study of human geography back to the study of the particular and the unique. In a way this cannot be avoided, for the interplay between actors and structures will unfold in various ways in different times and places.

What, then, can a time-geographic perspective offer? It would seem to be a useful tool to interpret both landscapes and events. It provides a grounding in time and space for

---

social theory like structuration, where it is often missing. Pred suggests that a combination of the two can overcome the deficiencies of both to show how structure and human actors interweave in specific times and places to both reproduce and transform society.27

This thesis will be presented in a manner which approximates a diorama. The argument will be that Rossland's economic base of heavily capitalized lode mining played a large role in determining the cities social hierarchy and the experiences and opportunities open to people of different backgrounds. The thesis can be viewed as being made up of three distinct yet interdependent chapters. The second chapter sets the broad context. This chapter traces the development of western cordilleran lode mining from the gold fields of California in the 1840s to approximately the end of the nineteenth century. An attempt is made to tie together several threads: the spatial diffusion of mining; the growth of mining as a capital intensive industry; and the technological advances in mining equipment. Also introduced in this chapter are some of the social ramifications of these changes: the transformation of the relationships between miners and their tools; the rapid closure of the mining frontier; and the development of unionism among western miners. In terms of a diorama this chapter can be seen as the background.

In the third chapter the perspective is narrowed. It describes how the economic geography introduced in the first chapter imposed itself on the wilderness of south-eastern British Columbia to produce a dynamic industrial landscape. Chapter three outlines the period from the discovery of the first ores on Red Mountain in 1887 to 1902, by which date Rossland had become a mature mining town. Much of this material is already known, but it is important because it sets the specific contexts for the discussion contained in the fourth chapter. This chapter, in diorama terms, can be seen as providing the coarse detail.

In the fourth chapter the perspective narrows again, focusing on the social geography of Rossland. In Rossland the frontier period, if it existed at all, passed quickly. A social hierarchy like that of an industrial city was rapidly reproduced. Analyses of the changes to the social structure will be carried out along four divisions. The first division revolves around class-based issues. That there was a class-stratified social structure should not be surprising considering the rapid mechanization of mining at Rossland. Class identification, however, extends far beyond the identification of occupational groups and an attempt will be made to uncover a more subjective set of class relations. The second division revolves around gender and gender relationships. Rossland was a male-dominated place, both in terms of employment and in population. For women there were
fewer opportunities. For both men and women, life chances and experiences revolved around class distinctions. The third division concerns ethnic relationships. It would not be unexpected to find ethnic tensions in Rossland. Studies of other cities have shown that considerable animosity existed between ethnic groups, but in Rossland ethnic identification closely overlapped with class identification, thus tempering ethnic relationships. The Chinese were an exception. Though they were a substantial community, the Chinese were marginalized socially, economically, and spatially. This chapter will demonstrate that the social hierarchy of Rossland was dynamic and variegated. Returning to the diorama analogy, this chapter can be said to be the featured exhibit.

The diorama can, then, be a useful tool in working to understand a place like Rossland. Its value, however, does not lie in its strict application. Instead it is useful because it allows the city, its history, its geographic location, and its people to be viewed as a complete entity. In the second and third chapters it may be difficult to discern its use. These chapters, nevertheless, supply the historical and economic context for a study of Rossland and its people. In the fourth chapter the diorama perspective should become more apparent. Ties can be made between events in the third chapter and the changes in the social geography of Rossland. As Rossland evolved from a tent camp to a
mature mining town a corresponding change in its social structure took place. The formulations of Pred and Giddens should also become manifest in this chapter. It is important to remember that the residents of Rossland did not confront the structures of an industrial mining city in a vacuum. It is crucial to the central argument of this thesis that the daily experiences of interaction between the work place, the home, the community, and the people associated with these places played a role in the formation of ideologies and identifications. As in the case of the miner the experience of being a miner permeated lives well beyond the work place. It extended into the home, social relationships, and the union hall. It determined family survival strategies, attitudes towards ethnic and racial groups, and how the rest of society was perceived. There is merit in doing a close analysis of the economic or social geography of Rossland on their own terms, but hopefully there will be some appeal to the synthetic approach outlined in this introduction.
The unexpected discovery of gold at Sutter's Creek, California in 1848 started a remarkable transformation of western cordilleran North America. Thousands thronged to California, eager for instant wealth and, as new strikes were made, to other locations ranging from Arizona to the Yukon, thus creating new patterns of settlement and transportation networks. An offshoot of the initial placer mining was lode (hard-rock, quartz, vein) mining. As prospectors moved from California throughout the west, lode mining grew in importance. In its initial stages lode mining was a simple operation, but by the turn of the century some mines had become huge concerns employing hundreds of employees and a variety of newly developed mining machines. The technological advances and the results they obtained were impressive and in a short time effected profound alterations in all aspects of work. The changes in lode mining became reflected in the social organization of the towns which sprang up around the mines. In these towns social structures resembling that of industrial cities were quickly reproduced. The focus of this chapter will be on the
development of lode mining: its spatial diffusion and technological advances. But it will also introduce some the sociological consequences of these developments: the closure of the frontier, the changing relationship of the miners to their jobs and tools, and their reactions to these evolving circumstances.

The discovery of gold at Sutter's Creek brought thousands, mostly Americans, rushing to the area from the coastal cities of California, from the east coast, and from other settled areas of the country. Those who made the arduous journey to California were looking for placer gold deposits, that is gold that had been eroded away from a vein and carried away by stream and eventually, because of its weight, had collected in gravel or sand bars or in potholes. The appeal of placer mining was obvious. The equipment was easy to obtain and relatively simple to use. Wash pans were originally the tool of choice, but eventually cleated boxes and sluices also became popular. The principle for all three was similar; water and dirt were mixed and washed and the gold separated out by virtue of its greater weight.

The population of California boomed from 48,000 non-natives in 1848 to about 100,000 in a year as tent camps sprang up around every stream or creek near the first discoveries. Not all of those who had hastened to the diggings were miners; many were hoping to cash in on the strikes in other ways. An assortment of merchants, lawyers, tradesmen, and others of more dubious occupations made early appearances. Some were undoubtedly disappointed by their fortunes near the original sites and began to go further afield. It did not take long before placer mining operations had spread along a 150 mile portion of the Sierra Nevada Mountains known as the Mother Lode. The volatile nature of these rushes and the eagerness for wealth meant that miners would leave promising or paying claims to go to a new locale where even better opportunities might be waiting. In some cases prospectors were handsomely rewarded, but often they were not so lucky. One author suggests that few miners made more than enough for the basic necessities of life.

---

5. In 1852, the peak year of gold production more than $81 million in gold was recovered. Between 1852 and 1885 $15-$20 million in gold was extracted. U.S. Dept. of the Int., 1967, p.14.
6. R. Riegel, America Moves West, (U.S.A.; Henry Holt and Co., 1947) p.423. Miners were reputed to make approximately $2.00 per day, on average. While this figure seems high in comparison with wages in eastern U.S. cities, it did not go far in the west where costs of living were high.
By the early 1850s the most readily obtainable placer gold had been mined and more sophisticated means of recovering gold were beginning to appear, all of which required more operating capital and greater degrees of organization than had placer mining. River mining was one of the first, appearing in 1849, involving damming, diverting and then working the exposed river bed. This method was successful, but by 1850 most controllable rivers had been worked out. Prospectors also soon discovered that there was placer gold in dried up and aggraded stream beds, buried in rock, dirt and other debris. One alternative was to tunnel into these masses, but this was costly and speculative. A more direct approach was hydraulic mining, wherein slopes and hillsides were blasted away by water drained from pent up sources, but this also was expensive, requiring a sizeable labour force and considerable capital to purchase pipes, nozzles, and wood for building sluices. The most important development, for the purposes of this thesis, was the tracing of placer gold back to the veins where it had originated and removing it directly from them. Lode mining began in 1849, but extracting the ore from the veins proved to be a daunting task in light of existing techniques and equipment. Within a year of the first discoveries, then, the face of mining in California was

7. See Paul, 1963, pp.28-31 for more detail concerning the development and early use of these mining methods.
changing as new modes of mining requiring organization and capital began to replace the individual prospector.

The 1850s were an important decade in the development of lode mining in the western cordillera for many reasons. First, early in the decade the placer mines of California were nearing exhaustion and more capital intensive forms of mining were becoming dominant. Reacting to diminishing opportunities in California, prospectors began to spread out in search of placer deposits following rumour as much as fact. When word of gold on the Queen Charlotte Islands leaked out a minor rush began in 1852, but was summarily put down by the Haida Indians. By 1857 it became known that there were quantities of gold along the Fraser and Thompson Rivers in British Columbia, and by 1858 a trickle of prospectors became a small flood. But this rush also ended in disappointment for most gold seekers, many of whom left again after a few weeks or months. Stories of lost Spanish and Indian mines in Arizona drew small rushes to the area around Ajo in 1854. Still other strikes created stirs in south-western Oregon, north-eastern Washington and in central Idaho (See Map 1). The greatest sensations were

8. The date for the exhaustion of placer mines has been set by some at 1853, H. Carter. Far Western Frontiers, (Washington, American Historical Association, AHA Pamphlets, 1972) p.37.
Map 1
Some Western Cordilleran Ore Strikes 1848-1910.

Map 1
Some Western Cordilleran Ore Strikes 1848-1910.
created by two discoveries during 1858, one in Nevada, the other in Colorado.

The effects of these strikes were twofold. One, the far flung distribution of the strikes, from Arizona to British Columbia and from California to Colorado, meant that prospectors were not searching blindly. There was considerable evidence to suggest that mineralization was continuous throughout the cordilleran region. The distribution of subsequent major strikes presented on Map 1 shows that with the exception of discoveries in the Black Hills of North Dakota (Leadville), all were in the bounds of those made in the 1850s. Secondly, with each strike new territory was opened up and incorporated into a growing pattern of settlement and transportation networks. New camps sprang up overnight around newly discovered deposits and in some cases (usually associated with lode mines for reasons that will be explained) rapidly developed into thriving towns and cities, while other camps passed into memory as new rushes drew the population away. Prospectors trails became wagon roads and later railway lines and steamboats plied the navigable rivers. Urban hierarchies emerged: San Francisco became the dominant city over a hinterland that included most of the western cordillera; later Denver, St. Louis and Salt Lake City became important supply and/or railway centres. Between these large cities, smaller cities, such as Sacramento, California and
Lewistown, Idaho developed roles as distribution centres to the surrounding towns and camps. Every town and camp served as a jumping off point for further exploration and prospecting, thus further expanding the pattern. By the turn of the century, then, the western cordillera was crisscrossed by trails, roads, steamboat routes, and railways connecting a patchwork of camps, towns and cities of various stages of development and degrees of isolation. By the time the mines at Leadville, South Dakota and Coeur D'Alene, Idaho became productive, it was possible to take the railway for most of the journey to these new mining areas.11

Though lode mining began in California soon after the 1848 rush, many of the problems associated with removing paying ore from the bedrock were worked out on the Comstock Lode of Nevada and in the mines of Colorado. Prospectors looking for placer gold in western Nevada had been for the most part disappointed. One pair of prospectors, more fortunate than their peers, uncovered an outcropping of gold. Their efforts to recover this gold were hampered, however, by the presence of an extraordinary material they are recorded as referring to as "...that blasted blue stuff." A sample was sent back to California for assaying and the results were astonishing. The blue stuff turned out to be almost pure silver and the assay showed returns of

$1,595 in gold and $4,741 in silver per ton of ore. This began another wild rush, the first for silver, to what became known as the Comstock Lode. Although prospectors rushed to the Comstock Lode the deposits were locked in veins beyond the reach of the skills and equipment most prospectors possessed.

Another strike, near Pikes Peak, in 1858 led to a rush in Colorado. This rush attracted primarily eastern Americans although a few Californians appeared, bringing their knowledge of gold mining. Again, most were disappointed. The placer deposits were small and soon exhausted and, when the veins were uncovered, once again problems of extracting paying ore from the surrounding rock proved insurmountable to most prospectors.

The discovery of the mines of Nevada and Colorado marked a turning point in the development of lode mining. Running a successful lode mine required more capital and organizational skill than that possessed by an individual, or even a small group of partners. As a result, most lode mines came under the control of corporations. Many of the technological problems associated with sinking shafts and cutting tunnels were worked out in those regions. The solutions dramatically changed not only the scale of mining

operations, but also profoundly altered the organization and the terms of labour in the mines.

The American prospectors who staked the claims in Nevada and Colorado were, more often than not, unlikely to work them, having neither the means nor the inclination to do so. Most had little choice but to sell their claims to those with some experience gained in California lode mines or to companies which had been formed to mine the Comstock Lode.\textsuperscript{15} The new owners were often corporations of varying sizes and abilities, often with head offices in a distant city, first in San Francisco, then as word of the wealth contained in the mines spread, in East Coast cities such as New York or Boston, and eventually in some of the European financial capitals. Mining was becoming a big business requiring ample sources of capital and was treated as such, with efficiency and the reduction of costs becoming primary concerns.

Nor were the prospectors predisposed to working as employees. As one prospector explained it:

A gold miner never wants to admit that he works for wages, for when he does it's simply to get the wherewithal to get another grub stake so he can go looking for the end of the rainbow.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15} Riegel, 1947, p.440.
Initially mine owners hired Mexican workers who had learned their skills in the Spanish Colonial silver mines. Their techniques and equipment were antiquated and they were soon replaced. Among those who replaced them were English miners fleeing the troubled mines of Cornwall. These Cornish miners brought with them skills learned from a long history of mining. The tools were still simple, (eg. a hammer and a hand held drill) but required some skill to use effectively. A single miner could control both tools, a feat known as single jacking, or a pair of miners could work in tandem, creating a whirling ballet of tools and bodies known as double jacking. While seeming a relatively simple task, miners took great pride in their skills. At roughly the same time Irish labourers also began to appear in the west, fleeing the poverty and destitution that wracked their homeland. The work in the early mines was simply divided. The miners broke ore away from the rock face, which was then loaded into carts by muckers, which were pushed from the mine by trammers. Mining decisions were made by veteran

19. Hand drilling contests were held on holidays throughout the west even after machine drills had made these skills obsolete.
miners who had developed their skills through experience, not by formal education.22

The early mine, however, was not a salubrious work place. Entry, whether by long ladder or rope and bucket, depended on the reliability of the equipment and/or the operator. Once underground, other hazards awaited. Passage through the tunnels and work in the drifts was only dimly illuminated by candles or perhaps small oil lamps. Carelessness could easily result in a serious injury or a fatal fall down a shaft. Cave-ins, missed charges, and fires presented other constant concerns. Neither was the mine a desirable work environment. Besides the darkness and the constant threat of peril, the mines were often filthy, verminous places due to a ubiquitous lack of sanitation facilities. They were also often noisy, there being an unfailing cacophony of drilling, blasting and the rumbling of ore carts.

One of the benefits enjoyed by corporations was the possession of financial power to solve the problems of inadequate technology. At the Comstock Lode, for instance, though the rich ores were thought to extend much deeper, the mines could only be worked to a depth of about 180 feet after which cave-ins and flooding became prohibitive factors.23 In addition both mining and railway interests

23. Ibid, p.64.
clamoured for a working machine drill as hand drilling was both slow and expensive.\textsuperscript{24} For solutions to these problems mine owners turned to technicians and experts. The solution to cave-ins was the invention of square set timbering by a German trained engineer who had worked in California, a system where timbers were arranged into interlocking cubes. In 1870 the first working version of a machine drill was tried and tested in the mines of Colorado and proved capable of drilling five times faster than human drilling teams. Other innovations included steam, then electric power to run the new power hoists, pumps and lighting; a braided wire cable that was more durable and dependable than a heavy rope; and dynamite which was supposed to be a safer replacement for the fickle blasting powder that had been used until that time.\textsuperscript{25} One contemporary expert concluded that:

\ldots undoubtedly greater progress was made in mining in all its departments during the period of 30 years beginning with 1860 than had been made in the preceding 500 years.\textsuperscript{26}

The arrival of these technical advances allowed some mines to become truly huge operations. The mines on the Comstock Lode, for example, went down to depths of more than 3,000 feet and consisted of 180 - 190 miles of tunnels. Thus, the lode mines of Nevada and Colorado were the proving ground

\textsuperscript{24} Some contemporary mining men claimed that hand drilling made up 75\% of mining costs. Wyman, 1979, p.84
\textsuperscript{25} See Wyman, 1979, chapter 4 for a detailed look at the changes in mining technology.
\textsuperscript{26} Wyman, 1979, p.86.
for many of the innovations in lode mining. As lode mining spread and the technology improved it was quicker and easier, especially in the context of expanding transportation networks, to establish industrial mines.

The new technology was not only supposed to make mining more efficient and profitable, it was also intended to make the mines a safer work place. Unfortunately, the new equipment often brought new hazards to those already faced by the miners. A Montana mine inspector regretfully noted that "...it seems that death works in the things which were designed as benefits."27 The new machine drills were known to explode, the new powered hoists created previously unthought-of risks, inadequate knowledge of electricity and its dangers led to many accidents, and improper ventilation allowed deadly gases to accumulate in the drifts. Other hazards were more insidious. The operation of machine drills created a myriad of fine dust particles around the drilling sites. These particles were small enough to escape the body's natural defence systems, but were large enough to lodge in and congest a miner's lungs. The affected miner would develop a dry rasping cough and eventually fall victim to chronic bronchitis, emphysema, or most commonly, silicottuberculosis and die a "...wheezing oxygen starved old man

of forty five." According to estimates silicosis claimed the lives of 56% of western miners.

Safety considerations were tempered by the hard line of costs and profits. An injured miner or the family of a miner who had been killed had little hope of being compensated for their losses. In the case of contracting silicosis, for example, there was no compensation offered until 1936. Part of the reason for this lies in the legal apparatus of the time. Judges adjudicating cases of injury or fatality in mechanized mines relied on a set of preindustrial precedents: the common law of liability. Using these, judgements were made on three assumptions: assumed risk, that employees were aware of the risks associated with their jobs; contributory negligence, that the employee himself was at least partly to blame for his misfortune; and the negligence of fellow employees, that another employee not the company was to blame for the accident. It is not hard to see that almost any accident

30. Shortcuts might be taken to help keep costs down. These often created hazards to the miners working underground. Men were only one part of the cost/benefit equation. Thus when questioned about the timbering practices of a particular mine, its manager replied that "...men were cheaper than timbers." Young, 1975, p.14 citing F. Crampton, Deep Enough, A Working Stiff in the Western Mines, (Denver: Sage Books, 1956) p.42-46.
could be explained away by one or any combination of these assumptions. The threat of successful legal action was indeed so slight that managers lent little time, effort, or funds to create a safe work environment.  

Aside from the dangers that working a mine presented, other more tangible changes occurred. By the turn of the century the phenomena of the mineral rush was passing. While prospectors remained always searching for that strike that had so far eluded them, prospecting had become an occupation distinct from mining. Prospecting, placer mining, and simple lode mining did not provide an easy living or promise wealth. They did, however, allow a prospector to work on his own terms and if a rich strike were made the profits were his own.

Seeking employment in a mechanized company mine changed all this. There the miner worked for someone else, be it a person or a corporation, and was alienated from the products of his labour. Decisions on when to work, where to work, and acceptable standards of work were made for him. Hard regulations and rules, enforced by a hierarchy of supervisors and foremen, replaced the relative autonomy of the early mines. Miners were subject to the caprices of world metal markets. A change in metal prices could result in a mine being closed down or a portion of the work force

32. For more detail on this topic see Wyman, 1974.
being laid off, with no alternative but to move on to another job or mining town. The increasing use of machinery meant that jobs which had required considerable skill could be done with a machine that took relatively little time to learn to operate. It also meant that work became divided into numerous specialized tasks centred on specific machines or areas of the mines.\textsuperscript{34} This also had the effect of deskilling the work as miners no longer required the vast array of skills to drill, blast, timber, and maintain their tools.\textsuperscript{35}

The deskilling of mining meant that mining jobs became more accessible. Unskilled central and eastern European immigrants who were arriving in North America during the latter part of the nineteenth century were drawn to the west by relatively high wages. Resident miners were highly suspicious of immigrant miners as it was feared they would work for lower wages, even though immigrant workers were often mired in unskilled positions. In one circumstance the arrival of Italian workers in the mines was seen by the other miners to be part of a scheme contrived by mine owners.

\textsuperscript{34} In addition to miners, muckers, and trammers the mine would employ carpenters, blacksmiths, timbermen, engineers, rock breakers, cagers, and errand runners. Wyman, 1979, pp.13-14.

\textsuperscript{35} The use of machinery certainly entailed some skill, but compared to those needed for single or double jacking, operating a machine was far more easily learned. For an example of the relationship between the specialization of mining jobs and skills needed to become a miner, although a few decades later, see, W. Clement, "The Subordination of Labour in Canadian Mining," \textit{Labour/Le Travailleur}, v.5, Spring, 1980.
and steamship companies to import cheap labour.\textsuperscript{36} The high wage a miner received for his efforts was jealously guarded as it barely provided enough to subsist in a mining town where prices were inflated.\textsuperscript{37} This must have been galling especially in boom times when local newspapers gave glowing reports and predictions of the wealth contained in the mines. For even when surrounded by all that wealth the miner had no more chance of becoming independently wealthy than did a factory worker in New York or Philadelphia.

In response some miners practiced high grading, smuggling the highest grade ores out of the mines and selling them for themselves. The losses to high graders seem to have been considerable. Mine owners in Cripple Creek, Colorado for instance, claimed losses over $1 million per year. Stiff measures were therefore instituted to combat this practice. Under the guise of providing a warm, dry place to change from sweat-soaked work clothes, change houses provided a chance for a close look at miners retiring for the day. In some cases they became the sites of degrading strip searches as managers sought out high

\textsuperscript{36} Wyman, 1979, p.32.
\textsuperscript{37} The wages a miner earned depended on the prevalent economic conditions and could range anywhere up to about $6.00 per day during boom times. The usual standard in western mining was $3.00 to $3.50 per day. This was higher than the wages paid in many other jobs, especially those in the east, in Missouri, for example, miners made about $2.00 per day. But expenses in the west were also higher. Estimates for costs of living range from two to five times more than in the east. Wyman, 1979, p.35,54; R. Brown, \textit{Hard Rock Miners: The Intermontain West, 1860-1920}, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1979) p.163.
graders. Underground, supervisors and foremen monitored the work place and sometimes detectives and spies were hired to pose as miners in order to report any ore thieves, in addition to any malcontents or malingerers.38

Faced with the deskilling of their trade, the constant threat to their health, the complete alienation from the products of their labour, and the constant fight to get a fair wage, miners began to organize. Not surprisingly the first miners' union was formed at Virginia City, on the Comstock Lode in 1863.39 The unions provided a great deal to their members; burial funds, aid to needy members, recreation halls and hospitals and, perhaps most importantly, a point of attachment for many lonely men isolated by social and physical distance.40 These unions were often small, wielded little power and, though spirited strikes occurred, were often defeated in their efforts against the owners.

After a particularly violent and bitter confrontation in the Coeur D'Alene in 1892, the miners became convinced that the powers of state and capital were firmly allied against them.41 A western cordilleran-wide miners' union,

41. During this strike, which began when the owners tried to lock out the miners in an attempt to reduce wages, martial law was declared and federal troops were sent in to restore
the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), was organized in Butte in 1893. The WFM has often been portrayed as having a radical and syndicalistic bent. The original intentions of the founders, however, were far from radical or violent. Instead they hoped to promote a positive relationship between the miners and their employees.\textsuperscript{42} But by 1902 the WFM had tired of the constant intransigence and continued refusal of mine owners to recognize the union, and of the persistent lack of support for miners from all levels of government. In addition, the collapse of populism, growing disillusionment with the American Federation of Labour, and several devastating union defeats helped convince the leaders of the WFM to embrace radical socialism.\textsuperscript{43}

Furthermore, the WFM was very influential in the formation of the International Workers of the World (IWW), an industrial union which was even more radically inclined.

In many cases the mining frontier, like other frontier settings, has been portrayed as a time and place where social hierarchies were leveled out and where there were increased opportunities for upward social mobility. These ideas emanate from the writings of Frederick Jackson Turner, who postulated that access to land and resources required the peace. Hundreds of miners were arrested and detained in 'bullpens.' See Wyman, 1979, Lingenfelter, 1974 for more details

\textsuperscript{42} C. Schwantes, \textit{Radical Heritage: Labour, Socialism, and Reform in Washington and British Columbia, 1885-1917}, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979) p.113,

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, p.129; see also Wyman, 1979, and Lingenfelter, 1974.
that social development begin over again.\textsuperscript{44} In his own words, "...these free lands promoted individualism, economic equality, freedom to rise, democracy".\textsuperscript{45} Richard Peterson suggests that there is some justification for the application of Turner's theories to the mining frontier. He bases this argument on a study of the social origins of 50 successful mining entrepreneurs, 50\% of whom held less than a high school education and 80\% of whom came from "middle or lower class" background.\textsuperscript{46} But can the successes of 50 men be reconciled with the experience of the thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, who participated in western cordilleran mining?

The early days of a placer or lode mining camp appeared to offer occasion to improve one's social standing. A prospector could uncover a rich find; certainly the slim chance of finding gold was enough to keep many people prospecting. A shop keeper or businessperson who had been established early in the camp's history could become both successful and influential in the community. Opportunities also arose for those providing services to miners, such as lawyers, doctors, or teamsters. Some argue that there was a lack of rigidity in the social structure of early mining towns. Thus, lawyers, doctors, and bankers held no social

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{44} Carter, 1972, p.6.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid, pp. 64,66.
\end{quote}
advantage over saloon keepers, mining speculators, and miners who had made strikes. But it would be a mistake to assume there was no social structure at all. Rather, it was simplified. In these rough settings there was no use for social niceties and the relative accessibility of resources such as land and the perceived availability of gold smoothed out certain social differences.

In any event, the opportunities for social mobility associated with the early days of a mining camp did not last long. In the placer camps, deposits were quickly depleted. Individual miners working for themselves were replaced by companies extracting gold by river mining or hydraulic mining. In a promising lode mining camp, transportation routes and a developing mining technology were quickly established. A miner might become a foreman, but his skills probably would not take him much further. If a camp boomed, property became excessively expensive and even a drafty dark room in a jerry-built boarding house could stretch a labourer's budget. Once a town was established opportunities were closed off for other professionals and businesspersons as well who, unless dealing in a new commodity or service, would have to compete with those already established. Peterson's notion of social mobility,

therefore, should be re-examined from the other side, from the perspective of the untold numbers who gave up the search or died without staking a claim, or whose businesses failed with the depletion of gold. Various accounts of gold rushes show that countless prospectors and fortune seekers were disappointed in following the rushes from place to place. In most towns, therefore, it usually did not take long for established social patterns typical of capitalist societies to be reproduced.

The social tapestry of the successful mining town took on a familiar weave as it developed. There was an elite made up of mine managers (though not necessarily the owners), and established doctors, lawyers, other professionals and businesspersons. Below them lay a group made up of shop keepers and artisans, among others. The next strata consisted of labourers, among whom a majority were miners. Then there were groups who existed outside of society, the prostitutes, the Chinese, and the vagrants, whom, for various reasons, were ostracized. This social order became reflected in the geography of the typical mining town. Residential areas became segregated by status and/or ethnicity which often overlapped.49 Various clubs which selected their membership carefully would be founded. Different churches catered to different portions of the population. "...[B]it and two bit saloons" both reflected

the status of their clienteles.\textsuperscript{50} In Tin Cup, Nevada, even the cemeteries were segregated, one each for Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews and criminals.\textsuperscript{51}

The mining frontier was both similar to and different from Turner's conception of the frontier. It did require that society work itself out from simplified beginnings. Unlike an agricultural frontier the mining frontier developed in small pockets. The social institutions reproduced in the towns did not extend very far beyond their outer limits. Thus, while new strikes were being made and new camps were being founded, the western cordillera continued to be a frontier and opportunities to escape a lifetime of wage employment still existed. Apparently, faith in finding gold remained strong. As Mark Wyman relates, many men quit their company jobs at the news of a distant strike.\textsuperscript{52} Success, nonetheless, seemed to depend on luck and timing rather than skill.

The mining frontier raises another interesting issue, namely the origins of labour radicalism and militancy. Some authors have argued that the WFM and other western unions were more likely to embrace socialism and radicalism than their eastern counterparts. The reasons given for this are

\textsuperscript{50} D.A. Smith, \textit{Rocky Mountain Mining Camps: The Urban Frontier}, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967) p.190
\textsuperscript{51} Lingeman, 1985, p.209.
\textsuperscript{52} Wyman, 1979, p.151.
and the lingering but fading dreams of striking it rich.53 Others have argued the opposite, that the western unions were no more inclined to socialism and radicalism than the eastern unions. It may be that the actions of the unions in the west were thrown into sharper relief by their physical isolation, but it seems that there was a good deal of labour unrest across the continent. Nor should this be surprising as labouring people throughout North America were coming to terms with spreading industrialization and mechanization.54 In Canada there is ample evidence that labour unrest and recourse to socialism and radicalism were a national phenomena. The complaints of Canadian workers levied between 1846 and 1919, in fact, bear remarkable resemblance to those issued by the western miners: "unemployment, low wages, long hours, unsafe and unsanitary working conditions, ...employer black lists, non-recognition of unions, [and the] refusal of collective bargaining."55 The responses were also similar:

strikes were a common option, but deeper, more philosophical questions of social reform were also addressed.56

Western cordilleran lode mining was, then, an extension of the California gold rush. Not long after the placer mining areas of California were established, miners began to explore the possibilities of following the veins of ore underground. This, however, proved beyond the inclinations and means of most prospectors. Individual miners gave way to large corporations who used their access to capital to transform mining into a mechanized, industrial activity. Once the new technology became readily accessible it was quickly introduced into new mining regions. With new equipment, work in the mines became specialized, largely deskill ed, and ethnically segregated. The effect of this was that opportunities for social mobility and social leveling were not long lived, particularly in lode mining towns. Urban institutions were rapidly reproduced, one of the first a social hierarchy stratified along class lines. Another consequence was that the miners, like workers across the

56. Strikes were a very common recourse in the period under consideration. Between 1891 and 1910 there were over 2000 strikes called in Canada the greatest proportion of which were called in Ontario. Cruikshank and Kealey, 1987, pp.86,90. By the end of the nineteenth century socialism and radicalism were both well established in central Canada. Toronto has been referred to as the leading centre of Canadian radical opinion. G.H. Homel, "Fading Beams of the Nineteenth Century; Radicalism and Early Socialism in Canada's 1890s," Labour/Le Travailleur, v.5, Spring, 1980, p.9.
continent, began to organize to protect themselves and to seek reforms.
From Bar to Board Room and other Stories

The discovery of rich gold ores on Red Mountain in the Kootenay region of south-eastern British Columbia resulted in the founding of the city of Rossland (Maps 2 & 3). For a number of years around the turn of the century, Rossland flourished with the outputs of its mines. The British Columbian wilderness was rapidly transformed by a well tried system of mining, headed by experienced mining entrepreneurs. A bustling town and two railways hugged the mountain slopes where only a short time before the only human presence had been the seasonal occupation of local natives.¹ For a time Rossland was almost synonymous with gold, but it was not long before the time of gaining easy riches had passed. Lode mining around Rossland quickly became too expensive for most miners. The ores were difficult and expensive to extract and mining equipment too costly to obtain. This chapter describes the economic

¹ These bands were probably part of the Southern Okanagan or more specifically the Lake-Colville Inchilium. Rossland Historical Association, _Rossland Historical Guide Map and Story of Rossland_, 1974, p.4; M.D. Kincade, W. Suttles, R.M. Galois, and S.P. Robinson, "New Caledonia and Columbia," _Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume I: From the Beginning to 1800_, R.C. Harris, Ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, pl.66.)
geography of this burgeoning city from the discovery of the first ores in 1887 to 1902 by which time Rossland was a mature mining town. Since most of this material is generally known, some that is interesting and relevant is only briefly considered or passed by entirely. (For example the role preformed by the Dominion Government in events in Rossland and the bitter competition between the rival railway companies are only hinted at.) The main purpose of this chapter is to build a portrait of Rossland as a rapidly maturing city based upon increasingly mechanized mines.

* 

A series of events beginning in the 1850s began to attract the attention of prospectors and other mining men to the Kootenay Region of British Columbia. Small gold rushes at Fort Colville in Washington State (1855), at Wild Horse Creek (1864), and at Big Bend (1865) drew initial interest to the area and hinted at potential mineralization. Routes of ingress, both from the south and the west (the Dewdney Trail) were created and small settlements established. In 1879 gold quartz was successfully mined in Coeur D'Alene, Idaho. In the same year a smelter was erected and blown in at Butte, Montana. By 1883 the Northern Pacific Railway had been completed to Tacoma, Washington on the Pacific coast. Within a few years (by 1887) Spokane had become the hub of a rail network which had transformed the claims of Coeur
D'Alene into producing mines.\(^2\) To the north the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed to the coast in 1885.

By the late 1880s there was considerable reason to believe that there were metal ores in the south-east corner of British Columbia. There was by that time also considerably improved access to the area, but also an industrial mining infrastructure immediately to the south. Aided by the knowledge that the mineral riches of Idaho and Montana probably extended into British Columbia, and induced by improved transportation networks, first prospectors then experienced mining interests began to turn their attention towards the Kootenay. The first important strikes were both made in 1887, at Ainsworth and at Toad Mountain (where the city of Nelson would be founded) (Map 2).\(^3\)

As news of the discoveries of ore at Ainsworth and Toad Mountain filtered through the mining community, prospectors

---


Map 2

began to search elsewhere for similar deposits. One of the routes of entry into the Kootenay was along the old Dewdney Trail which wound down beside Trail Creek as it descended out of the Monashee Mountains into the Columbia River Valley. It may have been from some vantage point along the trail that in 1887 George Bowerman noticed outcroppings of ore on Deer Park Mountain and Red Mountain. Bowerman staked two claims, one on each peak, although neither claim amounted to much and both were soon abandoned. In 1889 the claim on Deer Park Mountain was rediscovered and christened the Lily May.4

The following year the owners of the claim hired a miner, Joe Moris, to do the assessment work on the claim; the annual minimum required by the provincial government. While working on the claim, Moris was attracted by stains of mineralization on the sides of Red Mountain. Later that year, Moris returned to Red Mountain with a partner, Joe Bourgeois, and together they staked five claims: the Centre Star, and on its extension, the LeWise, the War Eagle, the Idaho, and the Virginia. They went to Nelson and had some samples assayed. The results were disappointing: of ten samples only four showed any traces of metals.5 Yet Moris

5. There are many accounts of the finding of the first important Rossland mines. This one, written by Joe Moris, can be found in; L. Whittaker, Ed., Rossland: The Golden City, (Rossland: Rossland Miner Limited, 1949) pp.1-2.
and Bourgeois recorded their claims, although they were prevented from recording all five because provincial law prohibited one person from staking more than two. Bourgeois suggested that instead of spending their own money they offer one claim to Eugene Topping, the Deputy Recorder, in return for paying the recording fee on all of them.6

After examining the claim, Topping accepted the offer of the Le Wise and renamed it the Le Roi. He did some preliminary exploratory work and, realizing he lacked the means to work the claim himself, he took samples to Spokane where he bonded 16/30 of the claim to a syndicate of Spokane businessmen. These men did further sampling work which returned as much as sixty dollars per ton. A shaft was started and weekly samples (assaying up to $472 per ton) were sent to Marcus, Washington. In the spring of 1891 ten tons of hand picked ore were sent to Butte for smelting, returning a value of $84.40 per ton. Although transportation costs ate up much of the profits, the bond was taken up, the rest of Topping's shares were purchased, and the Le Roi Gold Mining Company was formed.7

6. Whittaker, 1942, p.2. This is another example of the varying accounts of these events. Another account suggests that this law prohibited one person from staking more than one claim per lead. J. Mouat, Mining in the Settler Dominions: A Comparative Study of the Industry in Three Communities from the 1880s the First World War, Unpublished Ph.d. Thesis, (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1988) p.36.
This activity on Red Mountain caused a stir among Kootenay prospectors. A minor rush there in 1890 overwhelmed the inaugural run of the steamboat service connecting the CPR mainline at Revelstoke with the Northern Pacific at Spokane, via the Spokane Falls and Northern. In 1891 there were 30 men about the camp and a small settlement grew up along the trail leading to the mines. Yet interest in the new camp waned during the last half of 1892. Work continued on the Le Roi and some of the other claims, but there was little of the excitement often associated with new mineral discoveries. Table 1 shows the number of claims staked in the Trail Creek district. This table, which can be used to gauge interest in the new camp, shows that between 1891 and 1893 there was an annual decline in the number of claims staked, with a low of 33 in 1893.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Claims Staked</th>
<th>Tons of Ore Produced</th>
<th>Total Value of Ore Produced($)</th>
<th>Value of Ore Produced Per Ton($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1,856</td>
<td>75,510</td>
<td>40.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1,997</td>
<td>19,693</td>
<td>702,459</td>
<td>35.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>2,588</td>
<td>38,075</td>
<td>1,243,360</td>
<td>32.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>68,804</td>
<td>2,097,280</td>
<td>30.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


these reports will be cited as Annual Report of the Minister of Mines.
The cost of transporting the ores may have been a factor in this decline. At this time the ores were taken by packhorse to the Columbia River where they were loaded on a steamboat and taken to Little Dalles, and later to Northport, from where they were shipped by rail to smelters at Tacoma or Everett, Washington, or West Helena or Butte, Montana. In 1892 the manager of the Le Roi mine built, by private subscription, a wagon road constructed to Northport and the following year West Kootenay Gold Commissioner Napoleon Fitzstubbs had another road built down to Trail Creek Landing. These roads offered some relief from transportation problems, but they were not a permanent solution. In times of inclement weather they became impassable and restricted shipments from the mines. In addition, though there was very rich ore being extracted, large quantities of lower grade ores were also being uncovered. In order to exploit these ores better transportation facilities would have to be obtained.

Other factors outside the immediate region also affected interest in the Trail Creek Mines. In 1891 rich silver ores were discovered in the Slocan Valley.

10. Carlyle, 1896, p.17; The first shipments of ore from Nelson were by similar means and cost about $57.00 a ton to transport to the smelter. It is likely that costs from Rossland were also in this range. Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1889, p.298.
Prospectors who had been working at Rossland were drawn away by a perception that the Slocan mines had greater potential to deliver wealth. A mining commentator describing the Trail Creek mines recalled the perception of their limited possibilities:

After the so called iron croppings of Red Mountain were found several years ago they were prospected in a desultory and halfhearted fashion. Prospectors and practical mining men of long experience in the Rocky Mountain camps and many reputable experts, actually condemned the discoveries. In other sections, notably in Colorado, these pyritic materials were barren, and no one having had any previous trial with like propositions held out the slightest hope for Trail Creek.

A world wide recession in 1893 rattled the confidence of mining interests, further flagging interest in the Trail Creek mines. All of the mines were forced to shut down for at least part of the year although the Le Roi was able to sell enough ore from its dump to be able to resume operations. They sent 250 tons of ore from the dump to Tacoma. The results of this work were not released, but they must have been encouraging because new mining machinery, 30 more employees, and three teams of horses were sent to the mine.

14. Correspondence from The Post Intelligencer, The British Columbia Mining Record, v.1, n.2, November, 1895, p.15. Hereafter this journal will be cited as BCMR.
15. The ore shipped from the Le Roi was hand sorted. The dump was where lower grade ores were discarded.
Eventually there was a resurgence of interest in the Trail Creek mines. In 1893 the price of silver crashed.\textsuperscript{17} As a result the lode mining for silver became:

...so poor an investment that it actually compelled money usually used in this industry to seek the only other alternative -- gold mining for ore, from which it could be profitably extracted, no matter how small the margin.\textsuperscript{18}

Events at Rossland also contributed to greater appeal of the mines. At the Le Roi more machinery was added, new discoveries of ore were made, and the company paid its first dividend. At the War Eagle, where $10,000 in development work had gone unrewarded in 1894, new management and a change in the direction of mining resulted in the discovery of an ore body eight feet wide, almost identical to those in the Le Roi. A contract was signed with a smelter in Butte to ship 10,000 tons of ore per month and in 1895 the company paid its first dividends.

\textsuperscript{17} The crash of the price of silver is far too complex an issue to be dealt with in this thesis. One important factor involved the end of bimetallism. Legal bimetallism in the United States ended in 1873 through an oversight by the Congress. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which had been enacted in 1890 as one of a series of steps to help silver producers since bimetallism had ended, mandated that the treasury buy 4.5 million ounces of silver per month, an amount which covered almost all of the output of American silver mines. It was repealed in 1893 throwing the silver market into a panic. For more detail see: R.W. Jastram, \textit{Silver, the Restless Metal}, (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, 1981) pp. 69-78.

Response to these events was almost immediate. Prospectors poured into the camp. The number of claims can again be used to gauge the interest in the camp (see Table 1). From the low of 33 in 1893 the number climbed to 1997 in 1895 and 2588 in 1896. The year 1895 saw the camp swell to about 3000 inhabitants and become the site of frantic activity. The landscape on and around Red Mountain was dramatically transformed. Heavily wooded mountain slopes were cleared, burned off to ease prospecting, or cut for construction. Bald Red Mountain was "...honeycombed by mole-like holes, and studded with new made shaft houses and cabins...." 19

Through the boom years of 1895, 1896, and 1897 some mines continued to expand their operations. In 1896 one hundred men were working in the Le Roi at depths up to 450 feet. In the same year the company installed more new machinery including: a new hoisting plant; a huge 40 drill air compressor powered by three 125 HP boilers; an Edison dynamo to light the mines and power an electric diamond drill; nine new machine drills; and a station pump. Other mines were also expanding their operations and some were becoming producing mines. Between 1894 and 1895 the number of men employed in Rossland mines jumped from 40 to 500. The production of ore also increased dramatically, going from

1856 tons worth $75,510 in 1894 to 68,804 tons worth $2,097,280 in 1897 (Table 1).²⁰

There were, of course, mines that did not produce well. The Annual Report of the Minister of Mines for 1897 noted that several claims lay idle because the owners required more capital to work their properties. Although there was a great deal of prospecting and exploratory work being done, the ores of Red Mountain were not easily extracted. A visiting mining engineer related most of the claims were capped with tough iron deposits that had to be pierced, making tunneling difficult and expensive.²¹ In addition, the bedrock of Red Mountain was faulted, dislocating the veins from their courses. For example, in the Cliff mine a four foot wide body of ore was shifted twenty feet to the northwest by a fault in the ground.²² Once a vein was lost, expensive and non-productive development work was required to relocate it. There were very few properties in the Rossland camp, then, that would pay for themselves. Even the Le Roi and War Eagle, the most productive mines, had required a lot of development money to reach paying ore. The recorder for the district in his report noted:

²⁰ Carlyle's report for 1896 gives detailed descriptions of some of the larger claims. He reports that there were five compressors already in use with six more waiting to be installed. In all he estimated there had been a total investment of $175,000 in machinery in the camp. Carlyle, 1896, p.13. ²¹ Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1895, p.688; 1897, p.536. ²² BCMR, v.2, n.4, May, 1896, p.20. ²² Carlyle, 1896, p.25.
...it is useless to attempt mining in this camp with limited capital, as mining costs are high, and calculations as to the amount of work necessary may prove altogether too low, and work have to cease by funds being exhausted, just when the prospecting should be pushed ahead for all its worth.\textsuperscript{23}

Much of the early development capital for Rossland's mines was American. There are a number of reasons why this was so. First, the Trail Creek mines were a natural extension of the American lode mining complex which had been working northward. This being so, the Kootenay region was within easy reach of experienced American mining men who would not turn their backs on new investment possibilities. Second, other sources of capital were not easily interested. John Church, in a thesis on capital formation in Kootenay mines, speculates that Canada was still in the early stages of industrialization. There were, therefore, few citizens with enough capital to purchase or finance a mine. Those, on the other hand, who were able to afford such an investment were not inclined to invest in risky mining ventures in an area about which was little known.\textsuperscript{24} Britain was a more likely source of capital. But the British already enjoyed world wide investment opportunities and though they invested a large part of their domestic income overseas it was rarely invested in speculative ventures.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{23} Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1897, p.537.
\textsuperscript{24} J.S. Church, Mining Companies in the West Kootenay District of British Columbia, 1890-1900, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, (Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 1961) p.19.
investors were repeatedly encouraged to participate in the development of the Kootenays, but their response was slow.26 The editor of The British Columbia Mining Record offered this comparison of American versus Canadian and British investment strategies

The American goes at a new district like a hungry dog at a bone. He exults, he triumphs in the idea of resisting and overcoming obstacles. The Canadian and the Englishman are like timid bathers, they try the water gingerly at first. Once in, they swim manfully, but they do not take the plunge as rapidly as the American.27

One factor which made Canadian and British investors apprehensive of the Rossland mines was the financial abuses associated with speculating in mining properties. Evidence for speculative activity can be found in the rate at which companies were formed. In 1895 there were 50 companies registered or incorporated to work the Kootenay and Boundary country. This total was surpassed in the first half of 1896 when there were 61 incorporations and registrations. In each of the last two quarters of 1896 this total continued to be surpassed as there were 76 and 135 registrations and incorporations respectively. The trend continued in 1897, in February and March there were 245 registrations and incorporations and by May the number had reached 422.28 While many of these companies were undoubtedly viable concerns, many others were more concerned with selling

26. For an example of a plea for Canadian and British investment see: BCMR, v.1, n.1, October, 1895, p.2.  
27. BCMR, v.7, n.10, October, 1900, p.370  
shares than with working a mine. In these cases perpetrators would buy small claims, or in some cases would just take options out on claims. They would then issue a prospectus and, drawing upon fact and rumour, promote these claims as future great producers. The over-capitalization of mining companies is another type of financial manipulation practiced by unscrupulous mining promoters. This practice invited further speculation and stock gambling in addition to keeping the value of stock down.29 Examples of both types of speculative practices can be demonstrated in the formation of a Spokane company which bought a fractional claim for $150 with a projected value of perhaps five times that amount, but incorporated it with $500,000 capital.30

The editor of The British Columbia Mining Record regularly castigated those involved in mine speculating, warning them that such activities might have short term benefits, but in the long run would certainly be detrimental to mining in the province. The cool reception of eastern Canadian and English capital to Rossland promotion would seem to indicate that he was correct. Rossland's mines did suffer from financial abuses and developed a reputation for being poor investments. The Engineering and Mining Journal of New York warned that while British Columbian mines were a good investment, care would have to be taken to avoid unscrupulous mining promoters, and an article in the Toronto

29. Ibid, p.112.
Telegram suggested that money put into Rossland mines was as good as lost.\(^{31}\)  

* 

As the mines developed, existing transportation facilities became inadequate. The wagons and sleighs used to carry the ore away from Rossland were unable to handle the increased tonnages produced in the mines and roads were often impassable. In addition, more supplies, building materials, and mining machinery were coming into the camp also requiring more efficient transportation. What was clearly needed to cut production costs, every one associated with the mines knew, was railway access and a nearby smelter.

The CPR was very interested in building a line into Rossland. They were the first to survey a line from the Columbia River and purchased portions of several blocks near Columbia Avenue on which to build a passenger and freight depot.\(^{32}\) The CPR, however, never did build a line into Rossland. This project was taken up instead by two Americans, Fritz Augustus Heinze and Daniel C. Corbin.

31. *The Engineering and Mining Journal of New York* cited in *BCMR*, v.3, n.1, January, 1897, p.16; The reference to the article in the *Toronto Telegram* was found in *The Rossland Weekly Miner*, March 18, 1897. In response the editor admitted that there had been "...unfortunately more than one instance of overcapitalization in Rossland, but [he argued] where in all Canada is there so gigantic an instance of overcapitalization as the case of the CPR."

Heinze was the first to complete a railway link to Rossland. In 1895, hearing of the renewed activity at Rossland, Heinze sent two of his employees to scout the town and its prospects. Upon receiving a favourable report Heinze began to act. He made a number of deals, acquiring the rights from another entrepreneur to build a smelter and a tramway. Heinze also concluded an agreement with the owners of the Le Roi, stipulating that they supply 37,500 tons of ore, to be paid for after the shipment and sampling of each lot and after the deduction of eleven dollars for freight and shipment charges. When this deal was complete the mine would ship another 37,500 tons of ore to the smelter which would be shipped and treated at the lowest rate available on the open market. Finally, he received a bonus of one dollar from the Dominion Government for each ton of ore treated at his smelter.\(^{33}\)

The ore would be carried to the smelter on the narrow gauge Columbia and Western Railway. The Columbia and Western was only part of Heinze's plans which included a railway from the Kootenay to Penticton. To promote his railway Heinze stoked the imaginations of the members of the Provincial government with pictures of a refining industry in Vancouver treating Slocan ores and matte from the Trail smelter.\(^{34}\) Heinze received his charter and a large land grant. The first stage of the railway, the narrow gauge

\(^{33}\) Carlyle, 1896, p.16.
\(^{34}\) Fahey, 1965, p.154.
between Rossland and Trail, was in service by June, 1896. The line was of light construction, which restricted speeds and loads, and required thirteen miles of track to cover the seven miles and 2000 vertical feet between Rossland and Trail. Despite this the Columbia and Western did remarkable business. During the first six months of operation the profits were $20,000 per month and, by the end of the first fiscal year, profits totaled $103,486.35 In 1897 Heinze completed the first part of his standard gauge charter, building from Trail to a point on the Columbia just west of Robson, which was the western terminus of the Columbia and Kootenay, a CPR line, and an important steamboat landing (Maps 2 &3).

Corbin was well known to the people of Rossland even before he built a railway to the camp. Corbin had earlier been responsible for a successful rail network in the Coeur D'Alene region of Idaho, and with the discoveries of ore in the Kootenay he envisioned expanding this network into Canada. Although opposed by the Canadian government, Corbin had acquired a charter to build the Nelson & Fort Sheppard Railway from a British Columbian syndicate after they had successfully petitioned the provincial government for a landgrant. In 1893 Corbin used part of this grant to select 4,600 acres of land just north of the Rossland townsite (Map 4). In 1895 he became embroiled in a law suit with the

Map 3
Rossland and Vicinity

Source: Canada, Department of National Defense Army Survey Establishment, Rossland-Trail, Sheets, 82 F/4 West, 82 F/4 East, 1951.
owners of the Paris Belle mineral claim, whose claim overlapped the railway land grant, over the potentially valuable surface rights. In 1896 Corbin became involved in another law suit. This time with squatters he wanted evicted from his land grant.36

With Rossland booming Corbin decided to extend a line from Northport to Rossland. He applied for and received a charter, but did not receive a subsidy because of CPR intervention. Corbin's line, the Red Mountain Railway, also followed an arduous route into the city. It climbed 1300 feet from Northport and over fifty percent of its length was made up of curves, some of which the railway inspector considered too severe for a standard gauge line.37 When the railway opened for business in December of 1896 there were over one hundred car loads of freight waiting in Northport for shipment to Rossland, clearly demonstrating the need for a more efficient manner of transportation.38

The importance of the coming of the railways to Rossland can not be overstated, especially in terms of the benefits to the mines. The most crucial factor lay in the ability of railroads to carry large amounts of freight efficiently. When the mines started to produce large quantities of ore the old transportation systems were

37. Ibid, p.162.
overwhelmed. The railways offered a means of transportation that was able to accommodate these increased outputs. Table 1 shows that the amount of ore shipped from the Trail Creek mines more than doubled in the year the railways were completed into Rossland. Perhaps most importantly the relative efficiency of the railway lowered the overall costs of mining, shipping, and treating ores. This meant that ores, which had little or no value before the construction of the railways, could be profitably extracted. Table 1 also shows that the value per ton of ore shipped from Rossland also dropped, illustrating to some degree that lower-grade ores were being shipped at a reasonable profit. The railway also allowed machinery to be shipped into the camp at much lower rates and in much larger sizes and quantities. It is perhaps no coincidence that in 1896 mines such as the Le Roi were adding the large amounts of machinery as mentioned above. The construction of the railways stirred up unbridled optimism among those interested in the Rossland mines, and predictions of forty mines connected by rail to concentrating plants and the outside world were confidently made. 39

* 

Some authors have argued that the border between British Columbia, in particular the Kootenay, and the United

States was of little significance.\textsuperscript{40} It is true that most of the prospectors, most of the early development capital, and most supplies came from the United States. It is also true that both the Dominion and Provincial governments had ambiguous attitudes towards the boundary. As had been the case with Rossland, American entrepreneurs captured a large part of the rail traffic to and from Kootenay centres. Perhaps believing that any rail development was better than none at all, neither government presented significant obstacles to Americans wishing to build into Canada. In fact, prohibitory measures were leveled by Ottawa against American railway builders only three times during the entire Kootenay and Boundary mining booms, but these had little effect beyond delaying charters.\textsuperscript{41}

In other ways the federal government made its presence felt early in the Rossland camp. In 1893, when the first ores were shipped from the district, customs offices were established at Trail Creek Landing and Waneta. In 1895 another was put at Paterson on the road to Northport.\textsuperscript{42} These border crossing were closely patrolled as demonstrated by the following:

\textsuperscript{40} C. Schwantes, \textit{Radical Heritage: Labour, Socialism, and Reform in Washington and British Columbia, 1885-1917}, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979) p.116. This is also a constant theme in Fahey, 1965.
\textsuperscript{42} Fahey, 1965, p.147.
American horses are allowed to bring freight into Canada without duty being charged on the horses but they are not allowed to carry freight out unless duty has been paid on them. The odd spectacle of a waggon (sic) load of ore going out from the War Eagle mine was seen this week which had two horses in the shafts and two led behind. The two led behind were citizens of the U.S. Those doing the work were Canadians.43

Duties and tariffs on imported goods such as mining machinery were a sore spot, not only with British Columbian mining interests, but throughout the western provinces. All felt the National Policy placed too large a burden on the west.44 The tariff posed two problems for British Columbian mining interests: one, Canadian manufacturers were adding the protected amount to the price of their goods; and two, some customs officers interpreted the law stating that duty be applied to that machinery which was of a type already made in Canada, to mean any machinery which Canadian manufactures were capable of producing.45 The result was that mining equipment became almost prohibitively expensive. There was hope for relief with the election of the Liberals and their free-trade policies in 1897, but these hopes were dashed when a tariff of twenty five percent was placed on lode mining machinery. Adding insult to this obvious affront was that coal mining equipment was added to the free list. To western mining interests it was no coincidence that the

43. The Rossland Miner, March 16, 1895.
45. BCMR, v.2, n.5, May 1896, p.7; v.3, n.4, April 1897, pp.11-12.
minister responsible for this aberration was from a part of the Maritimes where coal mining was important.46

While tempers simmered over tariffs, another storm concerning federal policy began to brew. The Americans passed an Alien Labour Law in 1885 which prevented all non-Americans from procuring employment in the United States. By 1897 the matter had come before the Dominion Government. The editor of the Rossland Miner suggested that a similar law be passed in Canada which would see all American miners deported, and which would put a stop to American ownership of British Columbian resource extraction activities.47 Later that same year the Canadian Government reluctantly adopted such a stance. But such a law was considered "...inappropriate for an enlightened country."48 Thus the Alien Labour Act, as it was enacted, applied mainly to the east, and would be imposed only if and when the Americans enforced their version of this law.49 A few weeks later, after perhaps mulling over the consequences of his earlier suggestion, the editor of the Rossland Miner also came to the conclusion that an exclusionary law would do more harm than good. Instead he proffered that if retaliatory action

47. The Rossland Weekly Miner, February 4, 1897
49. Ibid. p.4.
were to be taken at all, it had best be of an entirely
different nature, for, he argued.

We want both American labour and American capital in
Canada, especially in the west, and there is mighty
little sense in cutting off your nose to spite your
face. There are other directions in which Canada can
retaliate to better advantage.\footnote{50}

Little did he know that this law would become prominent in
the events of the coming decade.

\*\*

In the July, 1897 issue of the \textit{British Columbia Mining
Record} it was reported:

During the past few weeks a change of tone has
become evident over the whole camp. Real estate and
rents have steadied or are dropping; the stock market
is practically dead; the days of the boom, when
everything went just because it happened at Rossland
are past....\footnote{51}

There are two interdependent explanations for the sudden
demise of interest at Rossland. The first involves the 1897
passing of The Companies Act by the Provincial Government.
This law was intended to discourage speculative investment.
It stipulated that companies, regardless of the country of
ownership, would have to operate under British Columbian
law, thus standardizing operating procedures. It also
provided some protection for investors by stiffening
regulations for what information could be included in a
prospectus. This legislation seems to have had the desired

\footnote{50. \textit{The Rossland Weekly Miner}, February 25, 1897.}
\footnote{51. \textit{BCMR}, v.3, n.7, July, 1897, p.14.}
effect on speculative financing. One measure of its effectiveness is that registrations and incorporations fell off dramatically after the speculative frenzy of the first half of 1897. After the law was passed in May, only 85 companies were registered or incorporated and of these 41 were reregistrations or reincorporations (this contrasted sharply with the 922 registrations and incorporations from January to May). Another measure of the effectiveness of the Companies Act to control speculative activity is the number of bills of sale and transfers of Trail Creek mining properties. Table 2 shows that the number of transactions of Trail Creek mining properties dropped off markedly after 1897.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Claims Staked</th>
<th>Tons of Ore Produced</th>
<th>Value of Ore Produced ($)</th>
<th>Value of Ore Produced per Ton ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1110</td>
<td>116,367</td>
<td>2,210,000</td>
<td>18.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>180,300</td>
<td>3,211,400</td>
<td>17.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>217,636</td>
<td>2,333,725</td>
<td>10.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>283,307</td>
<td>4,621,299</td>
<td>16.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>329,534</td>
<td>4,893,395</td>
<td>14.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The other factor that contributed to the lagging appeal of Rossland's mines was the realization that the potential for easy wealth had passed. Table 3 shows that the number of claims staked began to drop after the peak years of 1895 and 1896. The Companies Act may partially explain this decline.
as the market for claims for speculative manipulation was constricted. Another factor was the discovery of gold in the Klondyke. A Rossland journalist relates that Rossland prospectors were being drawn away: "The late lucky strikes in the Eureka Camp have caused no little stir in this place, the rush for the Klondyke has not left it scatheless...."

But other statistics reveal that there was a general decline in mining activity around Rossland. Table 3 also shows a drop in the number of certificates of work issued. These certificates were issued after assessment had shown that the minimum amount of work required by the provincial government to hold the claim had been done (an option to pay in lieu of doing the work also existed). The owners of some of the small claims recognized that a limited supply of capital was not going to be sufficient to extract the ores from their claims.

### TABLE 3
Rossland Mining Business Statistics 1895-1902

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Certificates of Work</th>
<th>Money in lieu of Work</th>
<th>Transfers and Bills of Sale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>1,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1,211</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1,110</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


52. BCMR, v.3, n.9, September, 1897, p.25.
Detractors of the Rossland mines gloated in the lapse of the excitement claiming that, as they had predicted, the bottom of Rossland had fallen out. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that the Rossland mines were entering the latter half of a boom-bust cycle. Others hailed the changes. For them the change that had come over Rossland signaled the end of speculative ventures in mining properties. Optimism still ran unbounded, but its nature had changed. The opportunity for a prospector to make a rich find had perhaps passed, but some of the big companies had been hugely successful. Mining interests hoped that there would be, in the not too distant future, as many as a dozen mines producing on par with the Le Roi.\textsuperscript{53} The Rossland Weekly Miner issued similar claims and included articles from other Kootenay newspapers to corroborate its views:

The shipments of ore from the adjacent mines are steadily increasing, and that is the only basis on which to judge the future of a mining town. Rossland is growing and will continue to do so as long as the output of its mines continues to increase.\textsuperscript{54}

Perhaps coincidentally, the year after the excitement at Rossland died down, the ownership of the large mines changed from predominantly American to British and Canadian owners. This trend had begun with the purchase of the War Eagle mine by the Gooderham and Blackstock syndicate of

\textsuperscript{53} BCMR, v.3, n.8, August, 1897, p.15.
\textsuperscript{54} The Rossland Weekly Miner, July 1, 1897, citing the Nelson Tribute, no date available.
Toronto in 1897. Gooderham and Blackstock continued to add to their Kootenay holdings, acquiring the Centre Star Mine in 1898 and the St. Eugene in the East Kootenay in 1899. In 1898 Hienze sold his smelter, his railway, and the remaining portion of his charter to the CPR. Finally, also in 1898, an English firm, the British America Corporation (BAC) acquired a number of Rossland mines, including the Le Roi.

Many explanations have been offered to explain the turnover in the ownership of Rossland mines. One of the most pervasive has been the railway thesis. The premise is that there was a connection between the completion of the Crowsnest Railway and the attraction of British and Canadian capital to the Kootenay mines. In other words, the Crowsnest Railway provided a direct link between the Kootenay and the rest of Canada, thereby integrating it into the national economy. In turn this link was supposed to have stimulated patriotic feelings in central and eastern Canadian and in British investors who then sought to 'rescue' the Kootenay from the clutches of American investors.\(^55\) The Crowsnest Railway was certainly a defensive action on the part of the Dominion, though whether it was an impetus to Canadian and British investment in the Kootenay mines is another question.\(^56\)

\(^56\) Meyer, 1970, pp.31-35.
Other factors also played a role in the sale of Rossland mines to Canadian and British investors. The attraction for the CPR is obvious. The acquisition of Hienze's railway, charter, and smelter gave them better means to combat the flow of ore and other goods across the boundary. The interest of other Canadian and British investors is also not difficult to comprehend. In terms of the *British Columbia Mining Record* editor's swimming analogy the waters became much more appealing. The performance of some of the mines had been tremendous and reports deemed their potential limitless. In addition, speculative financing had become restricted, making British Columbian mines a much safer investment. But why were the Americans willing to sell their mines which were good producers and paid regular dividends? There have also been a number of explanations formulated for this. One author suggests that the Americans were daunted by various campaigns against their presence as mine owners, or more likely, that they were shrewd enough to get out at a time when the mines were reaching their peak values.57 Another author suggests that most of the American owners of the large mines were financially overextended despite the production of the mines.58 Whatever the reasons, many of the Rossland mines

passed into the hands of Canadian and British investors, a state of affairs which had long been desired.

The new ownership of the Rossland mines was heralded as a new beginning for the mines. Both the BAC and Gooderham and Blackstock mining companies were lauded for performing work in a "businesslike and intelligent manner." In the aftermath of all the speculative activity of the previous year and a half, it was widely hoped that these companies and the new atmosphere of the camp would restore the confidence of investors in the Rossland area.

The CPR, often criticized in the past, was hailed for its efforts. The segment of the Columbia and Western between Rossland and Trail was changed from narrow gauge to a modified standard gauge to accommodate the anticipated increase in output from the mines. This change also reduced transportation costs as the break of bulk at Trail was no longer necessary (between the narrow gauge and standard gauge tracks). With the new equipment in place ore could be shipped to the smelter and supplies, as well as coal from the newly opened Crowsnest and Lethbridge coal fields, could be delivered to the smelter and mines much more efficiently and inexpensively.

59. BCMR, v.4, n.7, July, 1898, p.19; v.4, n.9, September 1898, p.11.
60. Nicol relates that the Hall smelter at Nelson purchased Crowsnest coal for 36% less than it had previously paid for coal from Comox. The savings at the Trail smelter were likely similar. Nicol, 1971, p.59.
The Rossland mines also benefitted from the CPR ownership of the smelter. Thomas Shaughnessy, in outlining the purpose behind acquiring the smelter, related that "...the CPR was not going into the smelting business to make money from it." Rather their goal was to generate traffic on their lines between the mines and the smelter. Treatment at the smelter would therefore be done at cost and the total cost for carriage and treatment dropped from $11.00 per ton to $7.50 down to $7.00 per ton if more than 175 tons per day were shipped. These declining smelting and transport rates made it possible to ship lower-grade ore profitability and sparked even greater expectations for Rossland and its mines.

On appearances the mines prospered under the changes of 1897-1898. Outputs continued to rise, as did the total value of the ore produced (Table 2). The large mines continued to expand and become more mechanized. By 1900 the Le Roi employed over 650 men, the War Eagle 166, and Centre Star 240. In 1900, at the Le Roi alone, $378,207 worth of improvements were made to the plant and the surface works. The noise and activity in and around Rossland signified the

62. Some commentators argued that the smelter would still be making money as smelting costs were calculated at 95% of the assay value, and often better results could be obtained. BCMR, v.4, n.3, March, 1898, p.13; v.4, n.4, April 1898, p.15; v.5, n.2, p.16.
health of the town. A local correspondent for the British Columbia Mining Record wrote:

Allusion has been made to the music of the Robin and his associates. This is indeed acceptable to the denizens of Rossland, but far more acceptable is the harsh and discordant notes which come from ton tram cars as the ore is unceremoniously dumped into the bunkers of the War Eagle, Le Roi and Iron Mask and thence into railway cars.  

But there were problems. Although outputs had been increasing every year, few dividends were issued by the companies operating the large mines: the Le Roi, the Centre Star and the War Eagle (the War Eagle and Centre Star were run by the same management, but as two companies). All of these mines had been saddled with large purchase costs (the Le Roi, about $3,000,000, the Centre Star, about $2,000,000, and the War Eagle $750,000) and faced with falling ore values (Table 2) were not able to earn a profit. The Le Roi, in fact, had been operating at a loss of about $2.50 per ton. To combat these problems the management of the mines hired new general managers to run the properties. But the actions of the new managers were curious. Both tried to break the Miners' Union whose existence was seen as a

64. BCMR, v.5, n.5, May, 1899, p.15.
65. B. MacDonald, "Hoisting and Haulage in Mining Operations, A Description of the Le Roi Mine, Rossland, B.C.," The Journal of the Institute of Canadian Miners, v.5, 1902, p.312, 320. MacDonald's paper dealt with much more than just the hoisting machinery at the Le Roi. He also discusses many of the problems that plagued the mine.
66. There is speculation that MacDonald was hired specifically by Whittaker Wright, the financial agent who put the BAC together, to help cover up a network of international frauds, which also included the Le Roi Company. For more detail, see Wells, 1976.
threat to profits. The consequence of their actions led to a bitter strike which began in July, 1901 and was never officially called off (issues surrounding the union and the strike will be dealt with at greater length in the next chapter). Both were also accused of mismanagement. An investigation into the Le Roi Company by one of the Company's minority directors uncovered that the accounting had been juggled to hide involvement in international frauds. In his report to the Board of Directors the investigator also reported that the new manager had been outfitting the Le Roi mine with the very best equipment, but that "...it was out of all proportion to the capacity of the mine." The manager of the Centre Star and War Eagle mines also had a reputation for mismanagement. An interview with George Gooderham indicated that the directors of the company which owned the War Eagle and the Centre Star mines were still not happy with the performance of the mines. Kirby blamed the miners. It was apparently well known, however, that thousands of dollars were being spent on useless work. Though the years between 1899 and 1902 were characterized by turmoil, outputs and the total annual values of shipped ore continued to rise.

This, then, has been an overview of the economic geography of Rossland between 1887 and 1902. It should be apparent from this chapter that the period of easy and

68. The Industrial World, September 1, 1900.
instant wealth came to an early close. Topping realized as early as 1891 that he did not have the resources to successfully mine the Le Roi. The eventual success of the Le Roi and the War Eagle drew a rush of prospectors during 1895 and 1896. But records show that after only a few years, prospecting, assessment work, and transactions all began a rapid decline. Several contributing factors can be identified: ores which were difficult to extract and faulted bedrock meant that mining was beyond the skills and capital of most individuals; legislation cut off a speculative market for mining claims; and federal tariff policies made mining equipment expensive to obtain. All of this, however, cannot hide the fact that there was a limited supply of high-grade ore. The predictions of as many as forty, or even a dozen mines, producing on par with the Le Roi were never realized. By 1902 there were only ten shipping mines with only eight shipping more than 100 tons. Of those that shipped 100 tons or more only four were shipped large amounts of ore and all four of these were under the control of large corporations. Mining in Rossland had become, for the most part, a mechanized industrial activity. The rapid transformation from a boom town to a mature mining city had important ramifications for Rossland’s social structure. These are explored in the next chapter.
The two previous chapters outlined events in and around Rossland between the late 1880s and 1902. The perspective was broad, often reaching such places as the Klondyke, and even London. Questions concerning the social geography of Rossland, however, are yet to be addressed. There is no doubt that Rossland was a frontier town. At the time of the first Kootenay gold rushes in the mid 1860s the area was only occasionally used by Natives and little known to Europeans. If a period of social leveling and opportunity for upward social mobility existed, it did not last long. As the second chapter demonstrates, extracting ore from the Rossland mines required corporate backing and mechanized equipment. This in turn meant that the mines became industrial work places and that varying access to capital and the means of production created a stratified social structure. Very quickly one's occupation determined one's standard of living; one's gender ordained what opportunities were available and what roles were played in inter-gender relationships; and ethnicity determined one's occupation and
social opportunities. This chapter will look at an evolving Rossland society and how issues of social standing, gender, and ethnicity, became important.

Two complementary data sources were used to explore Rossland's social structure. The first was the 1901 manuscript census. In using this source for Rossland a number of caveats must be taken into consideration. First, some of the information it could provide is still covered under federal privacy laws. This, unfortunately, makes any detailed mapping of the data impossible. Second, Rossland was a vibrant mining town which underwent considerable transformation in a relatively short time. Yet the 1901 manuscript census is the only such data source available at this time. Thus, data gleaned from this source is nothing more than a snapshot of a fluid social structure. Third, the timing of the census (April, 1901) coincided with a lengthy labour dispute between miners and mine management which would culminate in a strike call in July of 1901. This has special ramifications for the census data. The mine management had been recruiting non-union labour, often newly arrived immigrants, to replace union miners. Some miners

1. The names of the individuals surveyed are still covered under the Federal Privacy Act and household addresses are not recorded in the census. In addition a second schedule linking the data in the census to property information was never recorded or has long since been lost. Thus there was little possibility of directly linking the census data to locations or using it in tandem with other data sources such as tax assessments. Directories were of little use. Lists of names are recorded, but complete addresses were given for very few residents.
left the camp at the onset of the labour dispute in 1899 and may not have come back while the unrest continued. Both of these factors should become visible in the census, perhaps rendering the data collected from it a less than perfect representation of Rossland's social structure than it might have been. It should, however, still be useful in exploring some of the social relationships which emerged. There is still a lot of useful material in the manuscript census: data describing occupations, wages, relationships in families, ethnic background, and the sexual division of labour can be distilled from it.

In addition to the manuscript census, several other sources, namely contemporary records such as newspapers, journals, and interviews, were consulted. These provide a counter to the hard "facts" of the census data and let the people of the past speak for themselves. Though value-laden, such sources provide insights into social relationships.

During the first number of years after the discovery of gold there were few people living on or around Red Mountain. In 1891 there were thirty men living and working in the camp.\(^2\) Some may have been prospectors, but others were employees of the Le Roi Gold Mining Company. In 1892 the town site was staked out and a lot cost about thirty

dollars.\textsuperscript{3} By the beginning of 1895, some fifty building, cabins, and shacks provided accommodation for about two hundred people, and a lot on Columbia Avenue went for about two hundred dollars.\textsuperscript{4}

The successes of the Le Roi and the War Eagle during 1894 and 1895 drew a rush of gold seekers to Red Mountain. Prospectors poured into the camp, followed by lawyers, stock promoters, merchants, and others of more dubious occupations. Boisterous activity focused on Sourdough Alley, where a collection of hastily constructed buildings lined the trail which led to the mines. By the end of the year the population had swollen to 3,000. Creature comforts often took second place to the quest for gold:

As to the town itself, it may be called pretty by some, but people at present have no time for sentiment, they get the fever as soon as they arrive here, and all are intent on becoming rich. The town is full of people—very full, and a number of people are full also. There are about eight hotels running, six restaurants, and four large hotels under construction.... All the hostelries are crowded, there is scarcely sleeping room on the floors. The writer considers himself in great luck to get a chance to sleep in a tent between two fat men...all within the space of four feet. We slept, or tried to sleep, spoon fashion, and it was an impossibility to turn over. Cedar boughs formed a mattress with one blanket. Still we were happy. It goes to prove what a greed men have for the stuff.\textsuperscript{5}

Rossland became a destination for settlers. People began to migrate to Rossland, not because they sought gold,

4. The Rossland Miner, March 2, 1895.
but because they saw opportunities for a better life in the thriving town. The real estate market boomed. Headlines suggested that perhaps speculators had turned their attentions from mines to lots as those on Columbia Avenue began to sell for $1,000, then $6,000. In March, 1897 The Rossland Miner reported that there were over 1,000 men at work in the town engaged in construction. Some of the local business people spoke of erecting stone or brick business blocks, an eventuality eagerly anticipated by their peers.

If the people of Rossland enjoyed a period when upward social mobility was eased, this was the time. But such an assertion must be made carefully. The precedent for corporate-controlled, heavily mechanized mining was being established before the boom reached its height. During the boom years the number employed in the mines jumped from forty to five hundred. The miners organized to protect themselves from becoming voiceless operatives in the company mines, forming the first Canadian local of the WFM. By the middle of 1897 the boom had faded and Rossland was becoming established as an industrial mining town. The editor of The Rossland Miner warned those with few skills or little capital that there were no opportunities for them in Rossland:

Both men and women who are out of money had better keep out of Rossland at present. More people have been coming here in search of work than the country can give

6. The Rossland Miner, November 6, 1896.
7. The Rossland Miner, March 25, 1897.
employment to.... To all such men the Miner would say, do not come to Rossland.8

By 1901 Rossland was a mature mining city. The population had declined after the boom days, but still numbered 6,156. The outputs of the large mines were increasing annually and, although many promising claims had failed, optimism still ran high. If the right combination of capital and equipment could be found these mines would produce. The prospectors trickled away, their scattered cabins and shanties replaced by "...cosy (sic) homes and fine residences...."9 The stone and brick business blocks anticipated in 1897 had been built. The streets were straightened and graded, sidewalks were built, and bridges and viaducts helped tame the sharp relief. The focus of the town had shifted away from Sourdough Alley, which was straightened and renamed First Avenue, to Columbia Avenue, which was a stately one hundred feet wide. In the words of the local correspondent to The British Columbia Mining Record "...the mining camp on the steep slopes is becoming a dangerous rival...to the coast cities of Victoria and Vancouver."10

* *

There was little to Rossland's economic base beyond mining. A large part of the population was directly or indirectly involved with the mines. There were of course.

8. The Rossland Miner, March 4, 1897.
many miners, but also a variety of assayers, managers, engineers, and administrators. All of these people and the families they brought with them created a market for those who could supply support services or any of a variety of goods, such as: lawyers, merchants and shopkeepers, white collar employees, labourers of all descriptions, and a variety of agents and brokers. Rossland's labour force was, therefore, stratified in a number of ways: some were self employed and may have had a few employees, others were employees; some held jobs where there was some autonomy, others were closely monitored; and some were highly skilled, while others were considered unskilled.

The 1901 manuscript census can provide a snapshot of Rossland's labour force. There are, however, problems with organizing census data, not least among them defining the occupational groups and where the boundaries between them should lie.\(^{11}\) For this inquiry an adaptation of the occupational classification system outlined by Olivier Zunz for a study of Detroit will be used.\(^{12}\) Six occupational groups were defined: (1) professional, high-income white collar workers and capitalists; (2) other white-collar workers; (3) non-retail proprietors, retail proprietors, and

12. See Appendix A for definitions of the occupational groups and which occupations fall into each.
self-employed craftsmen; (4) skilled and semi-skilled wage earners and service workers; (5) unskilled wage and service labourers; and (6) other. A sample including every employed person in Rossland was taken for analysis. Tables 4 and 5 describe the occupational structure of Rossland in 1901.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Manuscript Census, 1901. By permission of the National Archives of Canada.

One pattern becomes obvious from these tables. Not surprisingly, the distribution of employed persons is skewed towards the skilled and semi-skilled wage and service

13. Hereafter in the text these occupational groups will be referred by abbreviations: professional, high white-collar, and capitalist--prof./h.w.c./cap.; other white-collar workers--wh.col.; non-retail proprietors, retail proprietors, and self-employed craftsmen--s. emp.; skilled and semi-skilled wage earners and service workers--sk./semi. wage and ser.; unskilled wage and service labourers--unsk. wage and ser.; and other--oth.
positions. The employment pattern is obviously dominated by work in the mines. Of those males enumerated as skilled or semi-skilled workers, 1,374 (22% of the total population and 41% of employed males) claimed gold mining as their occupation. Professionals, again many associated with the mines (a variety of engineers and draftsmen), made up the greatest proportion of the first group. There were very few who could be classified as high-income white collar workers or capitalists; most of the mines were owned by

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Manuscript Census, 1901.

14. This figure must be regarded with some caution as there were a variety of specialized tasks within the mines. Some, like work at the rock face, required considerable skill, while others, like sorting ore, required less. In the census, however, there seems to be no distinction between the two.
corporations with head offices in distant cities. Rossland required a small number of public officials, such as a Chief of Police, and was home to a few minor government officials, such as the district Gold Commissioner. There was also a significant proportion of people who were self employed (s.emp.). Most of the labour force in Rossland, however, worked for someone else. Table 6 verifies this pattern.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to Employment</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working on own account</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>2811</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>2975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>94.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>83.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living on own means</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3320</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>3574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Some of those enumerated as working on own account must have been employers.
Source: Manuscript Census, 1901

It would not be unexpected for the occupational structure to be reflected in the residential pattern of Rossland, as different jobs have varying levels of status associated with them and offer vastly different wages.
Unfortunately, mapping the data is, as explained, impossible. If the census subdistricts can be assumed to be discrete areas some broad generalizations are possible. Table 7 shows the distribution of occupational groups through the census subdistricts. With a few notable exceptions the distribution seems quite even. Explanations for some of the anomalies can only be guessed at. In subdistrict H7 most occupational groups, with the exception of the sk./semi. wage and serv. group are underrepresented.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Subdistrict</th>
<th>Occupational Groups</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Manuscript Census, 1901.

This is because the company boarding houses for the miners were located in this district (this would place it in the
north-west section of town near the mines and a considerable distance from the business section on Columbia Avenue). In subdistrict H4 the prof./h.w.c./cap. group, the wh.col. group, and the s.emp. group were found in the highest concentrations. It may be that this was near the business district on Columbia Avenue. The same could be said of subdistrict H2 and H6. But this is simply conjecture. If the assumption of discrete census subdistricts can be accepted, a statistical measure of segregation can be applied. Testing confirms that there was a degree of segregation among occupational groups, but it was not large.15

* 

The experiences of both men and women were profoundly affected by the realities of life in a mining town. Employment opportunities, wages, and culture shaped the life chances of men and women and shaped the relationships between them. Some were purely economic, others had deeper associations; gender roles and relationships were determined in part by culture, in part by economic necessity.

15. The index of segregation for: the prof./h.w.c./cap. group was, 20.4; for the wh.col. group, 26.6; for the s.emp. group, 15.4; for the sk./semi. wage and ser. group, 21.2; and for the unsk. wage and ser. group, 10.9. The index of segregation refers to how many of a particular group would have to relocate to create an even distribution. A value of 25 is considered significant.
TABLE 8
Occupation and Wage Structure among Employed Males

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-500</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501-1000</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-1500</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1501-2000</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2500</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2501+</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source, Manuscript Census, 1901.

Mining was a predominantly male activity. Although the editor of The Rossland Miner warned unskilled people with no funds to stay away from Rossland, a male could probably find a job. Of a total of 4085 males enumerated in the census, 3336 (82%) stated an occupation. For women finding work was more difficult, but many, especially single women, had to work for wages. With few exceptions, employment opportunities for women conformed to the sexual division of labour of the time. Thus, women could anticipate finding
employment in: domestic work, hat or dressmaking, teaching, nursing, or waitressing. Many were self employed, selling the products of their own labour. Of 2048 females in Rossland in 1901, 258 (12.6%) were gainfully employed.16 But if a woman found work it typically did not pay well. Of employed women who reported an income in 1901 just over 85% made $750 or less per year and over 60% made $500 or less annually. (Table 9). Compared to what male workers in similar occupational groups earned, women worked for significantly lower wages (Tables 8 and 9).

Many warnings, like the one mentioned above, were published in The Rossland Miner suggesting that jobs for women were few. Despite these warnings the editor sadly noted that single women continued to arrive in Rossland with little money and few prospects of finding employment.17 In considering their chances of finding work the editor related what had happened in an American mining town where there were too many single women:

A few, a very few had the good fortune to get married, charitable people got hold of a few more and sent them back whence they came, of the rest the less said the better. We want no such misfortune to mar the fair name of Rossland.18

16. This figure is close to the national average. At the turn of the century women made up approximately 13% of the Canadian labour force. J. Sangster, "Canadian Working Women," Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working Class History, W.J.C. Cherwinski and Gregory S. Kealey Eds., (Toronto: Committee on Canadian Labour History and New Hogtown Press, 1985) p.60; Canada, Manuscript Census, 1901. 17. The Rossland Miner, March 4, 1897.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251-500</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501-750</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751-1000</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001+</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Manuscript Census, 1901.*

He was, of course, referring to women who turned to prostitution. There are any number of reasons why a woman would turn to a life of prostitution in a mining town: some arrived looking for jobs, but these were hard to come by, and poorly paid. In these contexts prostitution became a necessary solution to a desperate situation. Very little about these women in Rossland was recorded, save in police documents which do little more than provide some indication of their numbers.¹⁹ For whatever reason a woman became a

19. For example, from July 26-30 1897, 53 cases associated with prostitution appear in the Police Court Docket. RHMA
prostitute, whether for a lack of viable alternatives or because of a troubled past, she entered an extremely difficult life.\textsuperscript{20} A few undoubtedly worked in gaudy, but well-appointed bordellos. More likely most worked out of cribs, tiny buildings, sometimes no more than shacks, set shoulder to shoulder.\textsuperscript{21} Vulnerable to loneliness, destitution, and sexually transmitted disease, many women who turned to prostitution also turned to drugs, alcohol, and not just a few to suicide.\textsuperscript{22}

A report published in a Toronto newspaper proclaimed that there were potential husbands to be found in Rossland and in the Kootenay. The editor of the Rossland Miner responded by stating that while it were true that there were many single men in the region, this did not automatically make them available for marriage.\textsuperscript{23} Marriage was not impossible in Rossland, but it was difficult. In 1901 there were 1280 married men, 977 married women, and 1393 families.

files. Not surprisingly there were no prostitutes enumerated in the census, but there was an unusually high number of women employed as dressmakers.
21. Some of this information is taken from romanticized accounts of western frontier prostitution, but the Rossland Daily Police Reports vouch for the presence of cribs. There was also a Red Light District. \textit{Rossland Daily Police Reports} June 4, 1901. J. MacDonald, Interview, February, 1990.
In some cases the feasibility of marriage depended on the ability of a man to make a family wage, that is a high enough wage to support a family. In 1899 the Slocan Miners' Unions argued that a wage of $1,000 per year was required to support a family of three.24 Rossland was larger than the Slocan Valley mining towns and prices may have been a little lower, but costs were probably somewhere in the same range. According to the 1901 manuscript census, few men earned $1,000 per year. Among labourers (skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled) and wh.col. employees only 9.3% made over the stated minimum to support a family. Yet 32.5% were married. Among those who were in the prof./h.w.c./cap. group, and among those in the s.emp. group, 59.5% made over $1,000 per year and 58.8% were married.

Despite the fact that few employees earned a sufficient income to maintain a family, few married women worked. Culture dictated that a working married woman reflected badly on the masculinity of her husband.25 Of the 977 married women enumerated in the 1901 census only 61 reported being gainfully employed. This is not to say that married women were idle. A woman whose husband's income permitted it could hire a domestic and be freed from domestic duties.26

26. It is tempting to say that such women were instrumental in civic reforms. This was apparently common in mining towns. Brown, 1974, p.30. There is, however, no evidence to
For most women, though, circumstances demanded that they work at home. To them fell the task of stretching an inadequate income to provide for the family. Clothes could be made and repaired. Baked goods could be prepared in the home. An animal or a garden could be kept if space allowed. Shopping, when required, could be done with an eye to thriftiness. A common strategy was to take in boarders, but this required space to provide a room as well as sufficient income to provide bedding and food. Thus, those who could have benefited most from such a strategy found it beyond their means. The responsibility of balancing a household budget must have been a source of pride to many women, but also a source of despair.

There were alternatives. In 1901 the numbers of married men, married women and families indicates that there were numerous couples who lived apart. Sometimes wives and families were left in other cities while the husband worked support such a claim in Rossland during the period, up to 1901.

27. The ability and desire to take in boarders was related to the occupational standing of the head of the household. Among families where head of the household belonged to the prof./h.w.c./cap. group 30% took in boarders; among families headed by wh.col. workers, 31%; among families headed by a s.emp. member, 36%; among families headed by a sk./semi. wage and ser. worker, 23%; and among families headed by an unsk. wage and ser. worker, 24%.

in Rossland remitting what he could to his family. But Rossland was one of the larger Kootenay cities and it appears that some men left their families in Rossland while they sought employment elsewhere. The manuscript census confirms this as it shows that a number of married women lived alone with their children. This pattern was exacerbated by the labour troubles which were coming to a head in the census year. Documents indicate that many striking miners had already left Rossland by April to seek employment elsewhere. For the wife left behind in Rossland there was probably little alternative but to find employment since her husband would likely be able to contribute little to the household. Among women who reported an income in 1901, only 2.5% made more than $1,000 per year. One can only imagine that life for these women was extremely difficult, for the brunt of providing an income as well as tending to domestic needs and dealing with everyday emergencies fell directly on their shoulders.

* 

The classification of occupations into groups, though providing an interesting and useful starting point, does not wholly describe Rossland's social structure. Such a

29. The Industrial World, July 14, 1900. By November there were only a couple of hundred striking miners left in Rossland, The Labour Gazette, v.2, n.6, December 1901, p.364.

30. The manuscript census shows that many working married women lived separately from their husbands.
gradational approach may reflect the social hierarchy of the city, but it would be a mistake to assume that such arbitrary constructions can adequately reflect the perceptions and actions of those who actually participated in Rossland's social relationships. An alternative is to try determine how the people of Rossland saw themselves in relationship to their work and to others. That there was a class structure is a given, with the exploitive relations generated by capital intensive mining it could not have been otherwise. Identifying the various elements in a social structure beyond pigeonholing occupations is another matter. A number of authors have suggested, in slightly different ways, that classes can be identified by a disposition to act as a class. "An attempt will be made in the following paragraphs to unravel the social relationships constituted in Rossland.

The logical place to begin is with the labouring people because they dominate Rossland's labour force.

Identification as a labourer, whether a miner, a barber, a painter, or a carpenter, went beyond the individual and the work place. The social relationships of work carried over into leisure activities. Fellow employees may have been friends or frequented the same social circles; if their trade or occupation was organized they almost certainly met at union functions. Unions in particular were important in the socialization of labourers. The home was also crucial to socialization, not only among men, but among women and children as well. Matters relating to the conditions at work and tight budgets were likely discussed in the homes and among friends. No member of a family was more aware of an insufficient income than a wife and mother. Associations like these are important for "...[s]uch off work socializing...reinforces the effect of the occupation in influencing norms and values." In other words contact with people in similar occupations and with similar views about work and society reinforced those which may have been formulated by individuals through their own experience of work. Socialization, then, took place not only at work, but

32. Several groups of workers in Rossland were unionized including: miners, newsboys, typographers, tailors, painters, brewerymen, barbers, cooks and waiters, carpenters, mechanics, and labourers. The Evening World, July 15, 1901.

33. As mentioned in the first chapter North America was undergoing a second wave of industrialization. Reaction against it was strong, often taking the shape of socialism or radicalism. Unions often supplied literature and other materials explaining the exploitive relationship labours were engaged in with capital.

in the home, in the community, and in the union hall in the context of reference groups where values and norms were shared, sanctioned, and articulated.

There is also evidence which suggests that there was a wider working class consciousness in Rossland. This should not be surprising, for as mentioned in the first chapter there was growing awareness of class issues across North America. This wider awareness made itself manifest in labour organizations. In 1897 a Trades and Labour Council was formed with a Miners' Union representative as president.35 They also strove to protect one another's interests. A sharp eye was kept open for those who openly disregarded labour's cause. The support given the Rossland miners by many of the labour organizations during the miners' strike of 1901-02 is a good example of working class solidarity. As another example, in September, 1901 a restaurant was identified as employing non-union cooks. The owner was sent replacements by the union, but he turned them away. A boycott was called and all union men were advised not to patronize the establishment. After only a matter of days the owner complied, for as he noted it was impossible to "...stay outside the fold."36 As the editor of The Evening World wrote there was real power in a united working class:

It is a matter of surprise to the world that any man in business would choose to defy the wishes of those from whom he secures his business. There can be but one

36. The Evening World, September 1, 5, 1901.

97
result, loss of business and ultimate failure. No one in this day can employ whom he pleases at whatever rate he can get them for and retain the business of those who are opposed to such policy.37

There is, then, much to suggest that Rossland's labouring people had a disposition to act in a class way. It is also important to note that these were not spontaneous individual reactions to industrialization or capital, but a collage of complaints and grievances which were reinforced and sanctioned in group settings. As individuals, workers were essentially powerless, but unified into organized bodies they wielded some power.

Class identification among the rest of Rossland's population is more difficult to penetrate. Perhaps most problematic is that Rossland's social structure seems truncated. Few mine owners, high ranking officials, large-scale proprietors, or large-scale employers lived in the city. There were, in fact, few who were set apart from the rest of the population by wealth and power. The 1901 manuscript census shows that, among those who reported an income, less than 12% of the population made over a standard wage (about $1,100 per year) and less than 2% earned greater than $1,500 per year. Considered among the Rossland elite were prominent professionals, successful merchants, and the management of the mines, and later the officials of West Kootenay Power and Light, and Cominco.

37. The Evening World, September 1, 1901.
Yet it would be a mistake to assume that this group was united in their values. They may have held similar views of the merits and inadequacies of the working class, but there was a fundamental divide in the primary concerns of the members of this group. The mine management were principally committed to the continued functioning of the mining companies they represented. Often, especially in the case of the big mines, they had been sent on the bequest of parent corporations. Thus, their jobs were relatively secure, independent of the longevity of the actual mines in Rossland, and therefore there may have been no real attachment to the city. The other members of this elite were also concerned with the mines, but they also had a vital interest in the continued future of their city because they had made financial investments in, and had formed emotional attachments to Rossland. Thus, it is not hard to imagine the consternation of these people at the mysterious dealings of MacDonald and Kirby (this will be dealt with further below).

There was another portion of the population who identified with neither the small elite nor the large working class. This component of the population was made up of less influential professionals and businesspersons, craftsmen, proprietors, and some white collar workers. They may have seen the labouring people as a class and perhaps

even the small elite in such terms, but there is little to indicate that they saw themselves in class terms. One explanation lies in the wide range of experiences of this group. Some were employers, though many ran small operations where they worked alongside their employees (s. emp.). Others were employees, but may have had considerable autonomy in their jobs (accountants, engineers). Furthermore there was no all-inclusive organization like the Rossland Labour Union to unite this group under a common rhetoric. Instead there were numerous clubs and organizations such as lodges, like the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, and the Fraternal Order of Eagles, and various athletic clubs catering to individual tastes and needs.39

One bond which unified many of those who settled in Rossland centred on concern for their city. Many had a stake in the well-being of Rossland; perhaps a property or business investment which created a desire to change the reputation Rossland held of being a wild and boisterous frontier town. Efforts to improve Rossland's reputation had begun early. Organizations such as the Rossland Board of Trade, the Rossland Progressive Association, and the Rossland Boosters Club were created to bolster the image of Rossland as a vibrant and vital town.40 Sanitation laws began to be rigourously enforced in mid 1896 and the

39. A file of Rossland's clubs and organizations can be found in the RHMA files.
40. These clubs are also listed in the RHMA files.
Map 4
Rossland Townsite, 1897

Source: Chas. E. Goad, Rossland Fire Insurance Maps, 1897
Used by permission of the British Map Library.

Scale: 1 inch = 500 feet.
Map 5
Rossland: First Avenue and Lincoln Street, 1897.

Source: Chas. E. Goad, Rossland Fire Insurance Maps, 1897
Used by permission of the British Map Library.

Scale: 1 inch = 50 feet.
slaughterhouse and pigsties were legislated beyond city limits.41 The pell mell organization of the camp, fire protection, and other civic matters also came under scrutiny. The solutions to these problems, however, were beyond the means of those willing to contribute to their correction.42 A decision was made, among concerned citizens, that the only route was to seek incorporation of Rossland as a city. In July, 1897 Rossland was incorporated as a city. This had important financial benefits. As a city Rossland was entitled to borrow $50,000 and had the right to levy and collect taxes, thus providing two sources of income for the new city. With the passing of the bill and the election of the first council the $50,000 loan was successfully applied for, street improvements were begun, a contract for a sewer system given out, and a Police Magistrate and a Licence and Police Commissioner appointed.43 Then, in 1898, in a continuing effort to improve the Town's reputation Rossland voted for prohibition in the town by a narrow margin.44

41. The Rossland Miner, August 28, 1896; The Rossland Weekly Miner, October 23, 30, 1896.
42. The funding for these and other necessary projects was supposed to have come from the provincial government, although the opinion in Rossland was that they were seriously shirking their duties. The misrepresentation of Rossland taxpayers became a constant theme in The Rossland Miner, the editor claiming that they did not get back one-tenth of what they paid into provincial coffers. The Rossland Miner, March 30 1895; January 25, 1896; November 25, 1896.
43. Whittaker, 1949, p.34; Rossland Miner Historical Edition, October 11, 1938, University of British Columbia, The Library, Special Collections, Western Federation of Miners, Mine Mill Papers, Box 150 - File 16. Hereafter this collection will be cited as MMP Box-File.
44. Mouat, 1988, p.46.
The fire insurance maps of Rossland for 1897 provide a remarkable snapshot of the physical transition from camp to town. Drafted in July of 1897, this series of maps shows the layout of the town in considerable detail, illustrating that while most of the buildings conformed to the street plan there were still others whose location and placement appeared to be made without thought to order (Maps 4 and 5).

Such attempts at physical and social improvements, though seemingly inoffensive, did have class-based ramifications that bring up larger questions of where social power in Rossland lay. The restriction on keeping pigs inside city limits meant that a valuable source of food and income was lost to many working-class families. The imposition of a grid pattern and a system of regularized lots meant that squatting was no longer possible, lots in the town site would have to be purchased (Map 4). This put a private residence beyond the means of most labourers and relegated them to boarding houses, other rental units, or beyond city limits. Prohibition may have been part of a movement to improve the image of the town, but it had deeper ramifications. For many miners, and probably a

45. Keeping a pig was one survival strategy for families trying to get by on an inadequate income. Pigs took up less room and required less care than a cow. Bettina Bradbury describes pigs as "...a poor man's cow." Bradbury, 1984, p.14.

46. Francis Couvares argues that actions such as prohibition, were part of an attempt to reform the working class. By the control of the worker's leisure time it was hoped that his/her moral standards might also be raised. F.
significant portion of other labourers, the closure of the saloons was cause for alarm. A mining town without a saloon was thought to offer little but monotony.\textsuperscript{47} The saloon was not only a place where one could get a drink, it was also a place to socialize. For many labourers, often alone and with only a small room in a boarding house as an alternative, an evening in the saloon among friends was an important source of companionship and entertainment. A common pattern emerges: social and physical improvements were seemingly carried out without consulting Rossland's labouring people. In fact, the simple act of incorporation had defined who would have a voice in civic issues as the provincial Municipal Act dictated that only property holders were allowed to vote in civic matters.\textsuperscript{48} The costs of buying a plot of land with a house on it and the responsibility of paying taxes on them excluded many labouring people from voting in civic elections. For their part, and despite their numbers and interests, many labourers found themselves powerless to confront these reforms.

\*\*\*

Couvares, "The Triumph of Commerce: Class Culture and Mass Culture in Pittsburgh," \textit{Working Class America}, M. Frisch and D. Walkowtiz, Eds., (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983). In 1908 the spokesman for the movement to restrict gambling and drinking demonstrates that such a motive was present at that time: "I think...that you will see that it will be a benefit to the working men of this town if the law is enforced." \textit{The Rossland Miner}, May 23, 1908.
47. Schwantes, 1979, p.127.
It seems only appropriate to take a closer look at the miners in Rossland. They and their families represented a large portion of the population. Much of what was said about the labouring people of Rossland is also true of the miners. Socialization took place in a number of places: at work, at home, at social functions, and at the union hall. But because miners made up such a large part of the town the circumstances which affected the miners affected the whole town. This was especially true during the strike.

Employment in the mines was difficult. It was done in shifts which required ten hours of labour. Most miners worked in mechanized mines and faced many of the hazards of work outlined in the first chapter. A number of fatalities in the Rossland mines led to the appointment of a Provincial Inspector of mines.49 When a favourable report on the Rossland mines was turned in several miners complained that the conditions in the Le Roi should have led to the mine being condemned as an unsafe work environment.50 Letters to the British Columbia Mining Record also indicate that several miners found the conditions in the Rossland mine less than adequate. Most complaints focused on the Le Roi mine. Some complained that there was no synchronized system of blasting. Others were appalled at having to climb 675 feet up from the workings on ladders, because there were no

50. BCMR, v.4, n.4, April, 1898, p.42.
cages or elevators and riding the ore cars was not allowed.\textsuperscript{51}

The most common grievance was that many mining companies required their employees to board at company rooming houses. One correspondent estimated that fifty percent of the miners at Rossland were staying in such places. He also argued that the profits earned from boarding miners were jealously guarded. He backed up his assertion by pointing out that 14 married miners had been let go and replaced by single men who had been compelled to stay in company lodgings. These lodgings were offered at a premium, $6.50-$7.00 per week, though they were not very good. Apparently the best hotels in town offered a better deal. There is also some indication that miners were required to shop in a company store.\textsuperscript{52} In 1898 the Kelly Truck Act was enacted to curb the abuses associated with company boarding houses and stores. Mining companies, however, avoided this legislation by running their establishments under a third party.

Work in the mines was irregular. The 1901 census shows that most miners were employed for 10 months in the year. But an article in the \textit{British Columbia Mining Record} suggested that miners were laid off for as many as ten days

\textsuperscript{51} BCMR, v.4, n.3, March, 1898, p.41.  
\textsuperscript{52} BCMR, v.4, n.4, April, 1898, p.42.
a month not including Sundays. Thus, even though miners earned a higher wage than most labourers could expect, their annual earnings were very similar. Only 6.4% of those enumerated as gold miners earned more than $1,000 in 1901.

Faced with uncertain work, low earnings, and high living expenses, miners had a difficult time making ends meet. This was particularly true if the miner were married. A commentator noted:

Should the unfortunate be married his case becomes that of a slave, for he will never will have enough money in hand to be ahead with the world and purchase in cash from his own choice of store.

Rossland miners became organized once the mines began to produce substantial amounts of ore. In 1895 they established the first Canadian local of the WFM, but the union did not have a strong beginning. For example, they were criticized for their non-participation in the passing of the Kelly Truck Act. Yet the union was an important institution for its members, often it was the only source of social attachment for miners. As the union gained members and strength the Rossland Miners’ Union would take on provincial and federal governments in its efforts to protect its members.

In 1899 the Rossland Miners' Union was instrumental in creating an eight hour work day for British Columbia.

54. BCMR, v.4, n.5, May, 1898, pp.18-19.
55. BCMR, v.4, n.6, June, 1898.
miners. Response was immediate. In the Slocan Valley the miners went on strike when the owners refused to pay the same wage for eight hours work as they had for ten. In Rossland the mine managers, in light of the financial difficulties they faced, decided to keep the mines operating and complied with the new legislation. At the meetings of the Canadian Mining Institute in 1899, the secretary assessed the situation at Rossland:

Rossland has held her head so high, she has been above the "Labour Troubles," but she has had to stand upon her tip toes to do it. Whether she will get tired of this unnatural pose remains to be seen.

It was not long before Rossland began to fall headlong into a protracted labour dispute.

After a short time it became apparent to the management that compliance with the Eight Hour Law had raised production costs by $.72 per ton. The mines were closed down, ostensibly for repairs, but when they reopened the miners were told they would have to accept a contract system of payment. A federal mediator was petitioned to adjudicate the dispute, but he could find no reason for the miners not to accept the offer. Within a week of negotiations, under pressure from the Government and with little public support,

56. For a detailed account of the role of the Rossland Miners' Union in the passing of the Eight Hour Law and the ensuing labour trouble and strike, see Mouat, 1988.
58. MacDonald, 1902, p.319.
the Union had little choice but to comply and to at least try the contract system.\textsuperscript{59}

In July, 1901 the Miners' Union of Rossland went on strike. In a statement circulated in the local newspapers and posted as a bulletin the union outlined its reasons for striking: to protest the practice of spying on and blacklisting union members; to protest the revocation of the privilege of canvassing for members on company property; to protest the use of clandestine employment agencies to artificially overcrowd the labour market; and finally to show sympathy for the striking smelter workers at Northport.\textsuperscript{60} In addition they were striking to bring the mucker's wage up from to $2.50 to $3.00 per day.

A key issue in the strike was the access of both the miners and the management to the legal means to achieve their ends. Shortly after the strike was called the mine management began to recruit strikebreakers, often European immigrants, to replace the striking miners.\textsuperscript{61} The Union went

\textsuperscript{59} The mines had remained closed for 66 days. Mouat, 1988; BCMR, v.7, n.4, April, 1900, p.30; F. Woodside. "History of the Rossland Trouble," The Miners' Magazine, August 20, 1901, p.3. A copy of this manuscript can be found at: University of British Columbia, The Library, Special Collections Division, Angus McInnis Collection, Box 34-File 8.

\textsuperscript{60} The bulletin was addressed to the Citizens and Business Men of Rossland and Vicinity and to the General Public and was titled: A Plain Statement: The Facts of the Case Presented by the Executive Committee of the Rossland Miners' Union No.38, WFM, July 12, 1901. MMP 150-2. It also appeared in The Rossland Miner July 13, 1901.

\textsuperscript{61} The favoured sources of strikebreakers were: Minnesota, where there a large number of immigrant mine workers whom
to great lengths to circulate news of the strike in the popular recruitment areas and to create effective barriers to those who arrived in Rossland to work in the mines. By these means many were deterred from becoming strikebreakers. But despite the efforts of the union the Le Roi was able to hire enough employees to resume operation in September.

The Union appealed to Ottawa to have these illegally imported miners deported, even though a similar appeal by the Slocan Valley Miners' Unions had been made in vain. A number of individual convictions were laid, but the full deportation of strikebreakers the Union had hoped for never occurred. A petition was sent to Ottawa requesting that the Assistant Minister of Labour, W.L. MacKenzie King, come to Rossland and investigate the violations of the Alien Labour Act. When King arrived in Rossland he was given hundreds of affidavits describing the violations of the Act. Yet King's report to the Minister of Labour makes no

management thought would be willing to work despite the strike; and Missouri, a source of strike breakers in many mining disputes throughout the western cordillera. Woodside, 1901, p.7, *Angus McInnis Collection*, 34-8; Wyman, 1979, p.54.

62 Woodside to Shilland, July 26, 1901, MMP 152-4. Other union records show that names and descriptions of known scabs were circulated among the union locals. Background checks on potential members were also carried out. Woodside wrote to Andrew Shilland, secretary of the Sandon local, informing him that: "...we have the camp pickted (sic) for 2 miles round and good committees alround (sic) so it is impossible for men to get in without seeing them...." Woodside to Shilland, July 28, 1901, MMP 152-1.


mention of these or the presence of illegally imported miners. Instead it goes into considerable detail describing alleged irregularities in the Union's strike vote. \(^{66}\)

The management of the mines was seemingly able to make more effective use of the legal system. Although a request to the federal government for a special police squad was turned down, such a squad was supplied by the municipal government. Sworn statements by hired deputies reveal that a number of men were hired by the city and put under the supervision of the mine managers, Kirby and MacDonald. \(^{67}\) In October, 1901, injunctions were laid against the union ordering them away from any of the mines and the grounds around them, the railway stations, the residences of strikebreakers, or even those of someone considering taking employment there. \(^{68}\) When these injunctions were obtained they severely hampered the union's ability to intercept potential strike breakers and may have played a part in the union's decision to call in King. \(^{69}\) Also in October the union received another blow as the major mines served them with a lawsuit to recover income lost while the strike was

\(^{66}\) King's full report can be found in, *The Labour Gazette*, v.2, n.6, December, 1902, pp.362-365.
\(^{67}\) These statements also reveal that these specials were well armed. Sworn Statements by Edward Irving and Edward Pavier, Notarized by C.O. Lalonde, Mayor, July 29, 1901, *MMP* 150-2.
\(^{68}\) Woodside to Shilland, October 25, 1901, *MMP* 152-7; *Rossland Miner*, January 8, 1902.
\(^{69}\) Mouat, 1988, p.89.
in effect. While the case did not go to court immediately, its threat hung over the union.\textsuperscript{70}

It appears, then, that the miners and the management had varying access to the legal system. But the Union's recourse to the Alien Labour Act may have been ill-fated from the start. It is questionable whether there was any intention of enforcing it in Rossland at all, despite any evidence the union may have supplied.\textsuperscript{71} There was a legal justification to the reluctance of the government to enforce the Act en masse. As a representative of the Office of the Minister of Justice explained:

...that [a large scale enforcement of the Alien Labour Act] is precisely what we have been asked to do in British Columbia, and what we cannot do without discrediting the administration of justice, and subjecting the country to lasting reproach.\textsuperscript{72}

Besides offering legal justifications, there were, as hinted at in the quotation above, political motives as well. As events in Rossland were unfolding, the Dominion government was involved in a dispute with the Americans over the boundary between British Columbia and Alaska and had no wish to threaten the completion of the negotiations, especially

\textsuperscript{70} This lawsuit was based upon successful legal action taken by the Taff Vale railway company of England against its striking employees. Ibid, p.95.

\textsuperscript{71} A diary entry made by King more than a month before he arrived in Rossland relates that "...the government does not wish to enforce any such law [the Alien Labour Act]." Mouat, 1988, p.90 citing Mackenzie King Diary, October 2, 1901.

\textsuperscript{72} David Mills, Office of the Minister of Justice, Ottawa to Alfred Parr, Secretary of District 6 WFM, November 2, 1901, \textit{MMP} 152-8.
enforcing an law which was meant to be applied in retaliation to similar action by the Americans.\textsuperscript{73} Thus, the inability of the union to invoke justice may not have lain in their ability to access the legal system, but in their choice of legal apparatus. Other legal recourse by the union proved more successful. Their co-operation in an appeal to the London office of the Le Roi Company contributed to the eventual arrest and conviction of Whittaker Wright, the financier who had put together the BAC and the Le Roi company, and also led to a settlement with that company.\textsuperscript{74}

In January, 1902 union miners began to go back to work at the Le Roi. The strike, however, remained in effect at the War Eagle and Centre Star mines, both of which had resumed operations by that time.\textsuperscript{75} In February a disheartened union secretary wrote another union official, his words vividly describing the final moments of the strike:

...our men are wandering off to work where they can get it. Last Monday we were $6,000 in debt and nothing in sight. We had to cut off relief for that day and about 6 men went to work at the War Eagle mine. It was impossible for us to cut them off and then not allow them to do anything. It can't hurt us as the scabs are

\textsuperscript{73} The dispute over the Alaska-British Columbia boundary came to a head with the beginning of the Klondyke gold rush. It was settled by arbitration in 1903. Wells, 1976, p.4; E. McInnis, \textit{Canada: A Political and Social History}, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1982) pp.464-468.

\textsuperscript{74} James Wilkes, a district official, and Frank Woodside, the Rossland local's secretary also sent cables and letters to the company's London offices outlining the union's view of the situation. Wells, 1984, p.20; Wilkes to Shilland, August 15, 1901, \textit{MMP} 152-5.

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{The Evening World}, January 25, 1902.
getting (sic) to work at the other mines as fast as they get laid off at the Le Roi. There is (sic) men coming from the outside and going to work. At our regular meeting on Wednesday there was no action taken to call off the strike nearly all our men oppose calling off the strike but they did not put the men on the scab list that went to work.\textsuperscript{76}

The strike was never called off, but faded into ignominious defeat for the union.

\textsuperscript{*}

It would not have been unexpected for the labour trouble and strike to have thrown social stratification into sharper relief. The labouring people of Rossland rallied to support the union. Representatives of most of the city's unions turned out in support of the miners at the parade and picnic held a few days after the strike was called. Other union employees, such as carpenters and joiners, also walked off their jobs in the mines in a sympathy strike. Even the newsboys refused to carry or sell \textit{The Rossland Miner}.\textsuperscript{77} A cooperative store was opened which allowed miners and their families to obtain necessities on credit for the duration of the strike.\textsuperscript{78}

The small remainder (about 20\%) of the population stood between the miners and the mine managers. In the dispute over the Eight Hour Law there had been public pressure for the miners to accept the offer of contract wages. But during the strike it is much less clear where the sympathies of the population lay.

\textsuperscript{76} Woodside to Parr, February, 14, 1902; \textit{MMP} 152-11.
\textsuperscript{77} \textit{The Evening World}, July 15, 16, 1901.
\textsuperscript{78} \textit{The Evening World}, July 11, 1901.
non-labouring population lay. Both sides actively canvassed for support among this remainder. The Rossland Miner ran editorials critiquing the union and the "agitators" who ran it. The editor of The Evening World, on the other hand, went to great lengths to inform those who did not know that the union had been pushed unwillingly into the strike.

The success of either side to win support is disputable as various contemporary records give conflicting reports. The Rossland Miner claimed that the public backed the management. This was particularly true when the business candidate won the 1902 civic election.\(^79\) Mackenzie King, revealing an interesting bias, apparently found little public support for the union. He wrote to his superior in Ottawa:

As for public sympathy with the men, I am unable to find any traces of it. I asked the miners' committee to give me the names of half a dozen reputable citizens who would say they were right in their demands and their present attitude, but they were unable to give them.\(^80\)

Perhaps most significantly, a circular issued by the Rossland local also proffers that there was scant public

\(^79\) The contention that the election result accurately reflected public opinion is open to debate. Unfortunately for the supporters of the Municipal Labour League the eligibility of the wives of property owners was overlooked. The election was won by a margin of only 62 votes. The Rossland Miner October 18, 1901, January 16, 1902; The Evening World, January 17, 1902.

\(^80\) P. Craven, 'An Impartial Umpire: Industrial Relations and the Canadian State 1900-1911. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980) p.244 citing King Correspondence-King to Mulock, November 18, 1901.
backing for the union. The circular notes that the union was "...opposed to the bitterest extremity (sic) by...a majority of the business and professional men of the camp."\textsuperscript{81}

Yet support for the management was not as complete as the editor of \textit{The Rossland Miner} would have liked. As a result he regularly castigated those who supported the union or remained undecided.\textsuperscript{82} But he was sympathetic to some who apparently backed the union, for as he claimed some businessmen and proprietors had been "...terrorized into according them [the union] support and sympathy."\textsuperscript{83}

There is evidence that there was support among those who were not labourers. A Rossland resident suggested that there was considerable generosity directed towards the striking miners:

...during the strike things were in a deplorable condition. Foods were short and it was a scarcity trying to make a living for all us children. It was an impossibility without the help of the local merchants such as the Hunter Bros. [a prominent Rossland store] who came to the direct relief of a lot of these people. They fed a lot of people who would have otherwise gone hungry.\textsuperscript{84}

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{81}. To Officers and Members of the Local Unions, District No.6, WFM from the Rossland Miners Union No.38, April 15, 1903, \textit{MMP} 150-15.
\textsuperscript{82}. \textit{The Rossland Miner}, December 28, 1901; January 9, 1902.
\textsuperscript{83}. The threat of union boycott was apparently enough to keep most businesspersons from openly opposing the striking miners. \textit{The Rossland Miner}, July 9, 10, 1901.
The editor of *The Evening World* also made claims of public endorsement. In fact, he claimed that as the details of the dispute became known, opinion would rest firmly behind the union cause.85

What both editors realized was that a majority of the population was concerned, first and foremost, with the reputation of their city. Local business people criticized the miners for the few instances of violence which they seem to have instigated. One businessman was quoted as saying: "We cannot afford, in a literal sense, to have it become known that such gross breaches of the law and decency are permitted or that they go unpunished."86 On the other hand, even among the Rossland elite, criticism of the mine managers was not withheld. Some placed the blame for the strike squarely on the shoulders of MacDonald and Kirby: "[t]he present strike in the Rossland camp is due largely to the desire of men managing overcapitalized properties to make the labour unions the scapegoats for their own sins."87 Thus, both newspapers concentrated on illustrating how the other side was damaging the reputation of their city.

* 

The period of labour trouble in Rossland brings up another interesting question, namely that of ethnic

relationships. In the early days of the camp it had been mostly American but, by 1901 Rossland's population had become a patchwork of peoples and cultures. Many of the European immigrants arrived in Rossland as part of the mine management's attempts to break the union. This being the case it would not have been unexpected if there had been some tension between the various ethnic groups. But these tensions were tempered by class affiliation. For most European immigrants, ethnic and class experiences overlapped, alleviating some of the differences between the various groups. Another ethnic group was marginalized. There was a substantial Chinese population in Rossland, but for these people their experience of Rossland was in large part defined by a hostile host society. The experiences of European ethnic groups and the Chinese were highly varied and therefore will be dealt with separately.

The manuscript returns for the 1901 census can again be used to provide a snapshot or cross section of the ethnic complexion of Rossland's population. Of those recorded a majority were North American born, roughly a third each in Canada (33%) and the United States (30%). Of these most were of United Kingdom background, but there were also significant numbers of those with French (mainly from Quebec) and German backgrounds. The rest of the population was an amalgam of Swedes, Finns, Russians, Italians, and
Chinese among others. Table 10 shows the distribution of the more numerous groups.

Two trends based on this distribution emerge. The first trend suggests that those of British background were generally distributed evenly throughout the six census subdistricts. But there were at least two areas of Rossland known to be dominated primarily by those of United Kingdom backgrounds: a Cornish enclave, centered around Cook Avenue and Davis Street, and a portion of town on the Nickel Plate flats known as Fish Alley was dominated by Newfoundlanders (Map 6). The second trend shows that some groups, the Italians, Germans, Russians, Scandinavians, and Asians (almost the entire Asian population was Chinese) tended to concentrate in ethnic communities.

Part of the reason for the formation of these communities was external; those of Canadian, American, and

88. RHMA, Interview of Warren Crowe, 1967; Crowe's insights into the distribution of ethnic groups was supplemented by the recollections of Harry Lefevre and Jack MacDonald who are both associated with the RHMA, February 1990.
89. If the assumption of discrete census subdistricts can again be accepted an index of segregation can be calculated for the different groups. This index yielded the following results for the major ethnic groups in Rossland: English (23.6), Irish (24.9), Scots (20.3), Russian (49.6), Italian (42.0), German (39.1), French (30.5), Finns (49.5), Swedes (27.6), and Chinese (50.9). Thus among those of U.K. and most north-western European backgrounds there is only marginal segregation. Among those of eastern and central European, and Chinese backgrounds there is significant segregation.
### TABLE 10

Distribution of Ethnic Backgrounds by Census Subdivision

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Subdivision</th>
<th>British Isles</th>
<th>North-Western Europe*</th>
<th>Central and Eastern Europe*</th>
<th>Asia**</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H5</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H6</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H7</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,280</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes Swedes, Germans, French, Finns, Dutch, Danes, Norse, Flemish, and Icelandics.
* Includes Russians, Italians, Hungarians, Swiss, Spaniards, Poles, and Austrians.
** Includes Chinese and Japanese.
Source: Manuscript Census, 1901.

British backgrounds mistrusted and despised the 'new immigrants'.

90. A Rossland resident remembered:

90. The Scots, Irish and Germans had made up a first great wave of immigration to North America in the early to mid 19th century while those from south and central Europe were of a second wave in the late 19th century. Thus the concepts of 'old' and the 'new' immigrants were developed. D. Ward, Poverty, Ethnicity, and the American City, 1840-1925: Changing Conceptions of the Slum and the Ghetto, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) p.195.
When the various nationalities came in and settled around in the town, there seemed to be quite a resentment of one nation towards the other. An Englishman who came out to this country had never seen an Italian before he landed here and, of course, it was only human nature that they would feel a little bit superior and hold a bit of resentment.91

This statement mirrors the North American perception of the 'new immigrants'—the Russians, Italians, and others from south and central Europe. It was thought that they were poverty stricken; were unlikely to make significant contributions to the economic growth of the United States or Canada; and were unable and unwilling to assimilate to North American society and standards.92 To the labouring people these immigrants represented a greater threat, namely that they would undercut wages and gradually dominate the labour force. Even worse, 'new immigrants' were perceived to be docile in the hands of capital, prepared to work for low wages and aid in breaking strikes.93 These perceptions were often reinforced by ethnic participation in the labour force. Few central or eastern European immigrants came to North America with capital or relevant skills and they were, therefore, compelled to take poorly paid blue collar jobs. Discrimination may have kept them in these jobs and may have led to some internal cohesiveness among the ethnic groups.

defined as 'new immigrants.' The combination of ethnic prejudice and concentration in wage and service work might help explain the residential pattern among the various ethnic groups. Most 'new immigrants' groups found themselves in less desirable areas of the city, near the noise and activity of the mines, railway lines and station (Map 6).

But there were other reasons for ethnic solidarity. It was thought that much of the immigration to North America resulted from the efforts of labour contractors, but recent research has shown networks created by family and friends also played a significant role. The success of a family member or neighbour would stimulate further immigration in the immediate family, other relatives, and neighbours. In North American settings these familial and village based relationships were reproduced as connections were stretched between old and new world locations. Other new immigrants sought aid among concentrated groups of countrymen. Between them some traditions were maintained, others blended and adapted, and others disappeared entirely. Thus, in North America, regional and village loyalties were superseded by new generalized national identities, partly foisted upon immigrants by their hosts, and partly created by a mixture

94. See for example Ward, 1989, p.191.
of old-world regional identities. This pattern was observed by a Rossland resident who noted:

We always had our different clans. They would seem to get together. If they didn't come from the same place in the old country, they knew they were from old country anyway. They felt as though they had something in common.97

Most ethnic communities in Rossland had some sort of club or organization where native languages could be spoken and cultural traditions observed.98 The traditions that survived played an important role in the ethnic community. They represented, not only a carry over from the old world, but a point of attachment, a manageable, controllable facet of lives which were unfolding in new, uncertain paths.99

One of the means by which an immigrant could meet his or her material needs was through ethnic affiliation.100 For newcomers in particular, the ethnic community provided a buffer between past experience and new realities and was an

98. The Italian community had their own club, complete with brass band, the Finns had a society which met in their own hall, and the Scots, Irish, and others of various Scandinavian descents also had their own organizations. RHMA files of Rossland Clubs and Organizations; Interview with Harry Lefevre February, 1990; The Rossland Record September 6, 1899; The Rossland Miner, February 11, 1897.
99. See Bodnar, 1985, Chapter 8; Ward argues the same point from a slightly different angle, suggesting that surviving ethnic traditions were adaptations to, or even examples of, resistance to industry and capitalism not only in North America, but in their homelands as well. Ward, 1989, p.182.
100. Other means by which an immigrant could satisfy basic needs were through assimilation or class action. D. Hiebert, Class, Ethnicity and Residential Structure: The Social Geography of Winnipeg, 1901-1921, Journal of Historical Geography, In Press.
important source of aid in finding shelter and employment. Often the first contact with a new society was through an ethnic community where shelter might be provided. In Rossland it was no coincidence that many boarding and rooming houses catered to a single ethnic group. Contact with an ethnic group also could lead to employment opportunities. The crucial point is that most immigrants were already part of, or immediately inserted into, ethnic networks of support and information. This had important consequences. Among the various ethnic groups, ethnic bonds and patterns of residential and occupational segregation were reinforced. Among the rest of the population, perceptions of the 'new immigrant's' inability to make significant economic contributions and unassimilability were also reinforced.

Tables 11 and 12 confirm that the Rossland labour force was ethnically segmented. Among male employees those of British and German backgrounds are distributed throughout the occupational structure, but are generally over represented in the prof./h.w.c./cap., and wh.col. groups, underrepresented in the sk./semi. wage and serv. and unsk. wage and serv. groups, and vary in the s.emp. group. The evidence for this is obtained from the 1901 manuscript census. Hiebert, In Press. The occupational structure among those of German background is interesting in that it is considerably different than that of other continental European communities. German immigrants were part of the first wave of European immigration to North America. Many had also come
### TABLE 11
Distribution of Ethnic Groups in the Labour Force (Male)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scots</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedes</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finns</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>141</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Manuscript Census, 1901.

Among the males of continental European heritage almost the opposite is true. Most are underrepresented in the with a little capital to get started on new lives. Ward, 1989, pp.193-194. Most arrived in Rossland from the United States where some may have already established themselves in certain occupations.
TABLE 12
Distribution of Ethnic Groups in the Labour Force (Female)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scots</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedes</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Manuscript Census, 1901.

prof./h.w.c./cap., wh.col., and s.emp. groups and overrepresented in the sk./semi. wage and serv. and unsk. wage and serv. groups. Among women the pattern is similar, although among some ethnic groups female participation in the labour force is so small it defeats comparison. Some of the ethnic groups are noteworthy because no females appear as employed (the Finns, Italians, and Chinese). In some cases, this is not surprising. For example, there were no
Chinese women enumerated in Rossland during the 1901 census. Married women of all ethnic groups tended not to work.\footnote{104}

But there were single women of central and eastern European backgrounds who also were not working. It may be that there was a cultural bias against female employment, but this may also hint at ethnic prejudice in the female labour force.

There were few jobs for women in Rossland and apparently many women eager for work. There would be no need, therefore, to hire a woman who, for any reason was not deemed suitable.\footnote{105} The index of segregation measuring ethnic participation in the labour force confirms that it was ethnically segregated, particularly for those defined as 'new immigrants.' The values for combined male and female participation in the labour force were: English (22.1), Scots (24.7), Irish (22.6), Swedes (32.9), Russians (27.5), Italians (34.7), Germans (12.7), French (12.6), Finns (31.9).\footnote{106}

\footnote{104} The manuscript census reveals that there were several 'new immigrant' families in Rossland. In most cases married women did not report an occupation.

\footnote{105} In 1896 the editor of The Rossland Miner wrote "A mining camp provides little honest labour for women and there are plenty of honest women in the Kootenay to such work as there is..." The Rossland Miner, November 6, 1896. It likely that things hadn't changed much by 1901.

\footnote{106} In this case the index of segregation refers to the percentage of individuals who would have to move to create an even distribution across the occupational structure for each group. For example among the English, 22.1% would have to change to another occupational group in order for there to be an even distribution of English across all the occupational groups.
Tension between ethnic groups came to a head during the labour troubles of 1901. The working miners feared that the mines were being flooded with Italian labourers who were undercutting their wages and gradually forcing them out of employment.107 The editor of The Industrial World had a clear opinion on the role these labourers played:

The question naturally arises: why are Italians given the preference...? The real reason may be found in the fact that these Italians have no votes nor are they likely to have; they are more content to be working than they are to concern themselves as to what they are getting; that they have not the gumption to organize for their own protection and, therefore, will be willing tools in the hands of the swell headed managers to make Rossland a cheap labour camp.108

No doubt these opinions also extended to the Russians, Austrians, and Scandinavians who were also beginning to appear in the city as labour troubles began to intensify.

But ethnic tensions were quickly diluted among the miners. The non-British labourers, along with all the other workers, refused to report for work in the mines when the strike was called. Moreover, those imported during the strike were quick to take up the union cause when they became aware of the labour dispute. As Frank Woodside, secretary for the Union, explained:

An Austrian or an Italian takes to Unionism like a newly hatched duck to a pond of water. Thirty five Austrians joined this union in one week...they exposed

107. The Rossland Miner, February 19, 1901.
108. The Industrial World, July 7, 1900.
the whole infamous scheme to flood and overcrowd the labour market.\textsuperscript{109}

There are a number of explanations for the willingness of these immigrant miners to take up the union cause. Partially the explanation lies in the efforts of WFM which sought to include all European immigrant miners and thus printed union material in a number of languages.\textsuperscript{110} Factors which contributed to this approach include: the sheer numbers of immigrant miners in the western cordilleran camps; a lack of tradition excluding white ethnic groups from the union; and the refusal of the Europeans who arrived to act as cheap labour and strike breakers.\textsuperscript{111} The last factor may be the most important. Most of the immigrants from south and central Europe had already met and had their lives transformed by capitalism in Europe and many had been engaged in collective action against it.\textsuperscript{112} In the new world they continued to resist capitalism. For example, one of the earliest recorded strikes in Rossland was called by Italian railway workers, who armed themselves and walked off the job. The strike was, however, short lived. Most of the strikers, including the instigators, were back at work the same day.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{109} Woodside, 1901, p.7, \textit{Angus McInnis Collection}, 34-8.
\textsuperscript{110} Avery, 1979, p.56.
\textsuperscript{111} Wyman, 1979, p.46.
\textsuperscript{112} Ward, 1989, p.208; Avery, 1979, pp.48-49; Bodnar, 1985, p.212.
\textsuperscript{113} \textit{The Rossland Miner}, July 31, 1896.
Another facet in the dilution of ethnic tension among miners and the broader working class involves the relationship between ethnicity and the experiences of everyday life. For many of the 'new immigrants' there was little to distinguish between ethnic and class forms of stratification, both translated into material hardship. Again, off-work socialization is important. The home and the ethnic institutions became places where the relationships between the conditions at work and the hardships of everyday life were shared and articulated. In other words, a class-based vernacular penetrated into ethnic settings. Thus, there was one common bond between European immigrant workers and a wider working class: the exploitation and difficulties associated with work under industrial capitalism. These bonds were expressed through inclusivist organizations such as the WFM and likely through the city's other unions. This is not to argue that there was no inter-ethnic hostility. The Daily Police Reports and Court Dockets reveal that there were such incidents, but these were mostly drunken scuffles. The point is that among the working class ethnic tensions were alleviated by common occupational and everyday experiences.\(^{114}\)

The experience of the Chinese population in Rossland was radically different. That there was a Chinese population at all in Rossland is remarkable in light of precedents set

---

\(^{114}\) Avery, 1979, p. 52.
in other mining towns in both the United States and Canada. For instance in Sandon, another Kootenay mining town, the Chinese cook for the CPR train crew would not leave the car for fear of his life.\footnote{Harris, 1985, p.322, note 15.} There was, however, a substantial Chinese population in Rossland. In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to show that the Chinese experience in Rossland was largely defined by a hostile host society.

Perhaps the best place to begin a discussion of the Chinese in Rossland is with the historical perspective of things Oriental. By the turn of the twentieth century a regularized set of associations with the term Orient had developed. Derived by "innumerable scholars" these associations were so strong that the mere use of the word would conjure up a variety of images of the Orient such as "...its sensuality, its tendency to despotism, it aberrant mentality, its habits of inaccuracy, [and] its backwardness..."\footnote{E. Said, Orientalism, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978) pp.203, 205.}

In turn-of-the-century British Columbia ideas of white superiority also found expression. Use of the term "white" in these contexts refers to all those of European stock. This is not to imply that this was a cohesive body; the sections above have shown that there were fundamental divisions based on class. But as a writer for the Saturday...
Sunset argued, even the lowliest European immigrant was considered preferable to those from China:

The white man, even the riff raff of the white race that Europe sends can be boiled down into a decent Canadian citizen in a couple of generations at least, but an Oriental does not change.\textsuperscript{117}

Though the population of British Columbia seemed united in anti-Oriental sentiment there was considerable variance in their emphasis and magnitude. These ideas were, perhaps, exacerbated by the newness of the place. Canada was still less than half a century old, and British Columbia, with its small and scattered population, even less than that. In this context the province's white population perceived a danger of being overrun by Orientals who would force out white labour and discourage white immigration.\textsuperscript{118} The editor of The Rossland Miner mirrored the sentiments of most "white" British Columbians when he commented on an upcoming Royal Commission report on Oriental immigration:

An Ottawa despatch (sic) reports that the commission which has been inquiring into the matter of Oriental immigration will recommend the exclusion of the Chinese and the placing of restrictions on the influx of Japanese. British Columbians will fervently hope that the report is correct and the verdict of the commission will in such case be given full weight.... We have simply to choose between a white and yellow occupation of this province... If white labour is to be


\textsuperscript{118} For more detail on how the Chinese were seen to effect European participation in various sectors of the economy see, "Conclusion," Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration, Sessional Paper 54, (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1902).
supplemented by yellow it will only be a matter of time when the majority of the population will undergo the same change of tint.¹¹⁹

As early as the 1890s agitation over these concerns prompted the provincial government to pass bills which severely curtailed opportunities for the Chinese or excluded them altogether.¹²⁰ During the 1870s the right to vote in provincial and municipal elections was withdrawn, other bills excluded Orientals from public works, and yet others prohibited their entry into the province.¹²¹ The exclusionary bills were, however, disallowed by the Dominion Government because such matters trespassed into federal jurisdiction.¹²² Agitation from British Columbia prompted the aforementioned Royal Commission and eventually the levy of a fifty dollar Head Tax on Chinese immigration in 1885, which was later raised to $500.

Many of the immigrants who left China for North America came from rural regions suffering from poverty, overcrowding, and political instability.¹²³ A remarkable number had come from the same area of China, most from four counties in a single province. This was largely due to the

¹¹⁹. The Rossland Miner, July 14, 1901.
same processes which accounted for much European immigration, namely word of mouth supplied by friends and relatives. Such networks seem to have been effective as streams of Chinese people immigrated from specific villages in China to specific North American destinations.\textsuperscript{124} Most, especially after the Head Tax was raised to five hundred dollars, arrived saddled with debts. Although wages in British Columbia were markedly higher than in China it still took many years to pay these off. After paying off debts most Chinese immigrants had two goals, to earn and save as much as possible and then to return to China. The Chinese who finally arrived in British Columbia had done so in two waves, the first with the pre-confederation gold rushes and the second with the building of the CPR.\textsuperscript{125}

Combined with deep seated beliefs in the inferiority of Asians, these ambitions (to save their money and eventually return to China) did little to endear them to their hosts. Because of their desire to save, most lived frugally, sending as much as possible back to China. Since many came in search of short-term economic gain they accepted low paying menial jobs, or accepted wages lower than those

\textsuperscript{124} Lai, 1988, p.43; A 1908 Royal Commission reporting on the inducements to Chinese immigration found that a majority of 34 randomly question Chinese immigrants had been sponsored and/or been provided with information by family members. Canada, \textit{Report of the Royal Commission Appointer to Inquire into the Methods by which Oriental Labourers have been Induced to come to Canada}, (Ottawa: Government Printing House, 1908) pp.72-73.

\textsuperscript{125} Lai, 1988, p.20.
acceptable to whites. The combination of these traits had unfortunate consequences. For one, the frugal lifestyle of the Chinese, which involved a very simple diet and often a crowded living arrangement, was interpreted as a sign of moral and sanitary inferiority and reinforced negative stereotypes. A second and more serious consequence was that the Chinese were seen as a direct economic threat to the white population. It was widely believed that the Chinese held an unfair advantage when it came to wages, especially for unskilled jobs. In the conclusion to the 1901 Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese immigration, the author noted:

In all these [lumber mills, shingle mills, or as surface worker in the mines] and other occupations where unskilled labour is employed he finds the Chinese working at a wage that bars him out.

It is difficult to say very much about the Chinese in Rossland. Because there are no known surviving documents outlining how the Chinese felt about their place or opportunities in Rossland, such questions are moot. Instead there are only the value-laden assessments of the host community upon which to depend.

The Chinese appeared early in Rossland's history. There is mention of a resident family negotiating for a

129. Canada, 1902, p.276.
Chinese cook in May of 1895. By 1901 the Chinese community had grown. The manuscript census enumerates a substantial group of 238, all of whom were male. Though there were Chinese residents in every census subdistrict, most resided in a Chinatown. The Chinatown consisted of some 10-15 stores owned by Chinese proprietors who catered to both the Chinese and "white" populations, and a Masonic hall (Map 6).

There are a number of reasons for the formation of a clustered community in Rossland. Perhaps most important, although it can not be proven, is that most of Rossland's Chinese population emigrated from the same village or local area in China. It would only be natural, therefore, for these people to group together for support and mutual aid. This pattern was likely enhanced by the practice of sojourning. As a temporary resident the Chinese immigrant probably felt no compulsion to adopt western diet, language, clothing styles, and habits, thus keeping barriers established by language and culture firmly entrenched.

131. There may have been more Chinese living outside of the town boundaries. Other estimates of the size of their population reach 400. Canada, 1902, p.43. The only mention of a Chinese female was found in The Rossland Miner, September 4, 1904.
132. The index of segregation for the Chinese in Rossland, again assuming the census subdistricts were discrete units, was 50.9, a highly significant value.
There were also external factors which contributed to the formation of a Chinatown in Rossland. Kay Anderson has argued that Chinatown is a social construct based on negative attitudes and perceptions of the host society.\textsuperscript{135} That the prevailing attitude towards the Chinese in Rossland was hostile is not hard to divine. Although the surviving Daily Police Reports and Court Dockets do not record a disproportionate degree of violence towards the Chinese, interviews with two long time Rossland residents confirm that the inhabitants of Rossland "...were more trouble to them than they were to us...."\textsuperscript{136} Much of the time prejudice was subtle, no more than the teasing by children.\textsuperscript{137} Other times it was less so, taking on the form of destruction of property and assault.\textsuperscript{138} In one case when the eight year old son of a white prostitute murdered a Chinese man, public sympathy was with the child.\textsuperscript{139} Legislation also limited the residential choices of the Chinese. In 1896 as part of an effort to clean up the camp, Chinese laundries were banned from operating in the town site.\textsuperscript{140} The location of the Chinatown is consistent with

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{135} Anderson, 1986, p.24. \\
\textsuperscript{137} For examples see; RHMA, Interview with Ike Glover, 1967, p.6; The Rossland Miner, October 19, 1904. \\
\textsuperscript{138} Instances of assault and property damage appear in the Daily Police Reports and the Court Dockets. \\
\textsuperscript{139} Rossland Court Docket, October 1, 1902; January 28, 1902; July 15, 1905; October 17, 1905; Roy, 1989, p.20 citing Nelson Daily Miner, October 24, 1900. \\
\textsuperscript{140} The Rossland Miner, August 28, 1896.
\end{flushleft}
the economic, social, and legal marginalization encountered by the Chinese: it was beyond the city limits, near the Columbia and Western Railway station and was shared with the city's prostitutes.\textsuperscript{141}

There were few occupational opportunities open to the Chinese. Table 9 shows that the Chinese were overrepresented in the self employed group and the unskilled labour groups, but underrepresented in all the other occupational groups. The index of segregation for Chinese participation in the labour force was 50.9, the greatest among all ethnic groups measured. The mines were off limits to the Chinese; legislation in British Columbia prohibited the employment of Chinese underground.\textsuperscript{142} Many of the Chinese ran or worked in laundries, others owned or laboured in market gardens, others were cooks, domestics, or wood choppers, and yet others provided Chinese goods and necessary services to their community, such as lodging houses and restaurants. None of these occupations paid very well.\textsuperscript{143} In performing some of these functions the Chinese provided convenient services that led to a token acceptance of their presence. In the early days of a mining camp few men would forgo

\textsuperscript{141} Interview with Jack MacDonald and Harry Lefevre, February, 1990.
\textsuperscript{142} Wyman, 1979, p.39; Roy, 1989, pp.148-149.
\textsuperscript{143} Unfortunately the Chinese enumerated in the census did not report any income figures. There is one example of what a Chinese labourer could earn. A sawyer could expect to earn somewhere between $.25 and $1.00 to cut 20 cords of wood, which could take anywhere from 10 to 20 days. RHMA, Interview with Ike Glover, 1967, p.5.
prospecting or mining to run a laundry or grow vegetables. After a time the white population became accustomed to the Chinese in these roles.

But if the Chinese were accepted as laundrymen, cooks, gardeners and domestics they were not tolerated as a "race." While this sentiment was pervasive across Rossland's white population, it varied markedly in intensity along class lines. There is little doubt that among the upper strata of Rossland society, the Chinese were disdained as a race. The testimony of Bernard MacDonald, manager of the BAC mines, to the 1901 Royal Commission probably speaks for most of Rossland's elite:

It would make no difference to us if no more Chinese came in.... I do not regard the Chinese as a class of people desirable to form the basis of the citizenry of the country.... I do not see why we cannot get along without these people. 144

But despite such a pointed statement many Rossland citizens did avail themselves of Chinese help. The Chinese posed no economic threat to the elite and middle class; they would lose neither employees nor markets if Chinese immigration were stopped. Instead, the Chinese were valued for doing menial jobs for little pay.

Among labourers racial sentiments were heightened by economic concerns. The Chinese were thought to both directly and indirectly affect their livelihoods. As Frank

Woodside, secretary of the Miners' Union, argued before the Royal Commission:

The Chinese and Japanese labour employed by railways indirectly affects the muckers in the mine. These men [who had been replaced on the railway] come in here and are employed as muckers and finally they work themselves into being miners and work themselves into competition with the machine men and the timber men and replace them. They affect the surface men along the same line. they affect the ore sorters as they affect everyone earning a livelihood in the mine.¹⁴⁵

Working people of Rossland jealously guarded their jobs. For example, restaurant owners who hired Chinese cooks were hounded into letting them go (note 16). Despite their protests many Rossland residents continued to employ Chinese cooks and gardeners, and to patronize Chinese laundries and market gardens. The editor of the Industrial World found this appalling, particularly when businessmen complained of dull times. He reasoned:

One often hears businessmen complain as to business being quiet about ten days after the monthly pay day, while at the same time those merchants who can afford it, have a Chinaman cut their wood, do their laundry work, supply their vegetables and do their housework besides other things. Then when union men start an agitation requesting them not to patronize these Chinese scum of the Orient, they throw up their hands and tell you that they cannot see how they can possibly get along without the "Chink". Its just as easy as living on two meals a day if you know you have to do so—it simply requires an effort, that's all.¹⁴⁶

The Chinese, though a significant fraction of the population, were scorned by all, tolerated by a few, but openly opposed by a majority. In Rossland, as in the rest

¹⁴⁶. The Industrial World, September 29, 1900.
of British Columbia, the experience of the Chinese immigrants was largely defined by the host community. They were marginalized socially, economically, and spatially by means that were often legitimized by various levels of government. In many ways such marginalization limited the opportunities open to the Chinese and further reinforced the negative stereotypes held by "white" society.

As Rossland's mines grew larger and became heavily mechanized the population of the city became fundamentally stratified. Class, gender, and ethnicity became crucial in determining the opportunities and experiences a resident could have. These three social divides were dealt with separately, but it should be apparent that they were inexorably linked.

Class was the most pervasive. The population was stratified by relationship to the means of production. Class consciousness was greatest among the working people; common experiences at work and home uniting them. Often they organized into unions to protect themselves from exploitation. The best example of this is the Miners' Union. In the face of constant intransigence on the part of the mine management a bitter strike ensued for higher wages and union recognition. Among the small remainder of the population there was less disposition to act as a class.
although action based on concern for their investments in Rossland did have class ramifications. Class differences played an important part in determining gender roles and how inter-gender relationships functioned. Single men and women both had to be employed to survive. Married men also had to work and were required, by cultural dictate, to earn a family wage. Married women were generally not employed, but working class wives had to work hard in the home to make ends meet. Class differences were also crucial in inter-ethnic relationships. The Chinese and those defined as 'new immigrants' were held in low esteem among most of the population. Among the working class, however, there was an added economic imperative, these people were seen as threats to their livelihoods. Many of the 'new immigrants' were accepted, at least among the working class, because of the common experiences of exploitation and hardship they shared. For example, the willingness of immigrant labourers to participate in the miners' strike helped alleviate ethnic tensions. But the Chinese represented an alien factor to Europeans. Prejudice and discrimination, legitimized by all levels of government, prevented them from gaining resident status. They were looked down upon as cultural inferiors by the upper strata and despised and feared as economic threats by the working class.

The formulations of Hägerstrand, Giddens, and Pred should have also been apparent in this chapter. The
residents of Rossland did not confront economic and social structures in a vacuum. Class, gender, and ethnicity were part of the fabric of everyday life. Individual perceptions of work and society were formulated, not only through interaction with work and capitalism, but also in the home, the community, and other institutions such as ethnic organizations. Through daily interaction with the people associated with these places, attitudes towards work and society were sanctioned and articulated; shelter and employment could be found; and hopes and fears could be shared.
Map 6
Ethnic Neighbourhoods in Rossland approx. 1902

Source: Chas. E. Goad, Fire Insurance Maps, 1897 Used by permission of the British Map Library; Interviews with Jake MacDonald and Henry Lefevre, February, 1990.

Scale: 1 inch = 500 feet
Conclusion

In the introduction the diorama was touted as a useful approach in an inquiry such as the one undertaken in this thesis. The choice of a diorama, it was argued, allowed Rossland, its economic geography, and its residents to be viewed as a complete entity and as part of a wider world. The format for this thesis, consequently, approximates a diorama.

The first chapter supplied the broad context or background. It began with the discovery of gold in California and then traced the development of lode mining through the western cordillera. It also introduced some of the technical advances in lode mining and their social ramifications. It is useful to be aware of this material. Much of it related to what was happening at Rossland. By the time Gold was discovered on Red Mountain many of the difficulties of lode mining in the western cordillera had been worked out. Thus, a mining infrastructure of mechanized mines, railways, and smelters, under the guidance of shrewd mining entrepreneurs, was quickly established. Rossland also
played a role in the continued unfolding of the larger picture of western cordilleran lode mining. The defeat of the union in the strike of 1901-1902, along with other factors, led to the WFM's embrace of socialism.

The second chapter narrowed the focus. It introduced and described the economic geography of Rossland between 1887 and 1902. Rossland began as a small tent camp on the trail leading from the Columbia River to the mines on Red Mountain. These mines, however, initially created little excitement. Within a couple of years fortunes changed and Rossland boomed. But the boom passed quickly, by the middle of 1897 the time of easy wealth was over. By 1898 many of the large mines had been taken over by large Canadian and British corporations. Turn-of-the-century Rossland was a mature, thriving mining town with its fortunes based on the output of a small number of highly mechanized mines. Again, a wide perspective was useful. For example, legislation passed by the provincial government and news of the new gold rush to the Klondyke both contributed to the end of the Rossland boom.

In the third chapter the perspective was narrowed again, focusing on the social geography of Rossland. The primary argument of this thesis was that there was a relationship between the level of capital investment in the mines and social structure. It appears that this was borne
out. Varying access to the means of production created a stratified social structure, effected gender and ethnic relationships, and segregated residential patterns and the labour force. An important facet of this argument was that issues of class, gender, and ethnicity were realities inextricably linked to everyday life. Interaction with structures and people in a variety of settings helped formulate, shape, and articulate values and ideologies. Though it would be tempting to tie social structure to the places and conditions of work it seems that the home and community were also crucially important in the socialization process. The realities of work were, for the most part, easily translated into the home and community.

The diorama approach, then, offers a way to set human interaction in time and space. It allows such interaction to be viewed in terms of the very big, such as economic and social structures, but also in terms of the small, such as individual relationships with other people and tools, among other things. As Hägerstrand contends, daily life was made up of involvement in paths, projects, and activity bundles such as, work in the mines, caring for the family home, or attending social functions. But it should be evident that the interaction which occurred in these places is also important. Everyday interaction with people, places, and structures were instrumental in informing decisions and actions.
Bibliography

Books and Articles


Bercuson, D.J. "Labour Radicalism and the Western Industrial Frontier." Canadian Historical Review. v.58. n.2. 1977. pp. 154-175.


"Industry and the Good Life Around Idaho Peak." Canadian Historical Review. v. 56. n.3. pp. 315-343.


Moore, E.S. American Influence in Canadian Mining. University of Toronto Press. Toronto. 1941.


**Government Publications**


-----. Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Methods by which Oriental Labourers have been Induced to come to Canada. Government Printing House. Ottawa. 1908.


Unpublished Materials


Contemporary Journals

The British Columbia Mining Record.

The Industrial World/Evening World.

The Labour Gazette.

The Miners' Magazine.

The Rossland Miner.

The Rossland Record.
The Rossland Weekly Miner.

Pamphlets and Other Materials


Rossland Daily Police Reports. 1901.

Rossland Court Docket. May 8, 1897-October 8, 1897.


----- Interview with Warren Crowe: Recollection of the Chinese who lived in Rossland, 1967.


Manuscript Collections


Woodside, F. "History of the Rossland Trouble." The Miners' Magazine. August 20, 1901. p.3. A copy of this manuscript can be found at: University of British Columbia. The Library. Special Collections Division. Angus McInnis Collection. Box 34-File 8.
APPENDIX A

OCCUPATIONAL CODES—ROSSLAND 1901 CENSUS*

1. Professionals, High White Collar, and Capitalists.

PROFESSIONALS—traditional professions (medicine, law, religion) and professions such as engineering, architecture, and accounting when the person is employed by a firm specializing in that service.

- accountant
- architect
- barrister
- c. engineer
- captain of Salvation Army
- chemist
- civil engineer
- dentist
- draughtsman
- druggist
- electrical engineer
- geological engineer
- lawyer
- mechanical draftsman
- mechanical engineer
- mine engineer
- mining expert
- minister
- nurse
- physician
- professional nurse
- professor of music
- solicitor
- veterinary surgeon

HIGH WHITE COLLAR AND CAPITALISTS—corporate officers and major government officials, owners of large firms requiring large investment of capital.

- bank manager
- capitalist
- chief of fire department
- chief of police
- colonial agent
- com. of teachers
- general manager of mine
- gold commissioner
- mine owner
- news editor
- U.S. consulate agent

2. **WHITE COLLAR**—employees of all types of firms whose jobs do not involve manual production or who do not render services with their hands (inspectors, salespeople, clerks, cashiers, buyers, agents, teachers, real estate agents).

accountant  meat market manager
assayer  messenger service clerk
asstistant post master  messenger service manager
bank clerk  mine manager
banker  mine office
boarding house manager  mine superintendent
book clerk  mining agent
bookkeeper  mission
building superintendant  mt student
car inspector  night clerk
city assessor  office clerk
clerk  office manager
clothing store clerk  pay master
collector of customs  pollster
com. agent  post master
com. traveller  post office assistant
confectionary clerk  post office clerk
customs officer  purchasing agent
dry goods clerk  railway agent
dry goods salesman  railway broker
excise officer  railway time keeper
express agent  registrar of county court
candy goods clerk  registrar of town
feed barn manager  salesman
feed store manager  sanitary inspector
fruit store clerk  secretary of miner's union
general manager  shoe store clerk
general store clerk  skating rink manager
genral store manager  stenographer
government clerk  store keeper
grocery clerk  store manager
hardware clerk  superintendent of hospital
hotel clerk  tea taster
dealer clerk  teacher
insurance clerk  telegraph office
jewelry clerk  telephone clerk
jewelry company manager  telephone company manager
journalist  time keeper
land agent
law student
lawyer's office clerk
liquor store clerk
loan agent
lumber manager
manager
manufacturers agent
3. Non-Retail Proprietors, Retail Proprietors, and Craftsmen.

NON-RETAIL PROPRIETORS—persons self-employed or employing others in non-retail enterprises (including service enterprises such as hotels and boarding houses) that do not obviously require large capital investment.

agent
assayer
barber
billiard hall
broker
builder
building contractor
chemist
customs broker
expressman
gardener
hairdresser
horse trainer
hotel keeper
insurance agent
keeper of a roman bath
labour buyer
laundryman(ess)
livery barns
liveryman
lodginghouse keeper

messenger service
mine speculator
mining broker
music teacher
painter
photographer
plasterer
real estate broker
real estate
restaurant and rooms
restauranter
sign painter
speculator
stock broker
stock broker
teamster
undertaker
upholsterer
wash house

RETAIL PROPRIETORS—persons self employed or employing others in an enterprise likely to carry on the sale of goods at a regular interval at a permanent location.

baker
bikes
book seller
boots & shoes
brewer
butcher
cigar maker
clothing merchant
com. produce
confectioner
dressmaker
dry goods merchant
electric goods merchant
fancy goods merchant
feed store
fruit merchant
furniture distributor
general merchant
grocer

ice merchant
hardware merchant
jeweller
liquor merchant
lumber merchant
merchant
milk merchant
millinery store
music and paintings
news agent
produce merchant
saloon keeper
sawmill proprietor
seamstress
stationary and news
stationer
tailor
tobacconist
watchmaker
CRAFTSMEN—people self employed whose occupation is among traditional trades.

blacksmith  plasterer
cabinet maker  plumber
carpenter  printer
harness maker  shoemaker
machinist  tanner

4. Skilled and Semi-skilled wage and service workers.

SKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED WAGE LABOUR--persons involved in producing with their hands, or by directly supervising or operating machinery, a material good from the sales of which the employees derive wages—included here are skilled railway/streetcar workers.

apprentice  machinist's apprentice
baker  master mechanic
blacksmith  mechanic
boilermaker  milliner
book binder  millwrite
brewer  mine operator
brick layer  mining foreman
brick mason  plasterer
builder  plumber
butcher  pressman
carpenter  printer
carpet layer  printer's apprentice
cigar maker  pugilist
cooper  railway foreman
diamond drill setter  sampler of ore
diamond driller  section foreman
dressmaker  shift boss
druggist  staty. engineer
druggist's apprentice  steam engineer
electrician  stone cutter
engineer  stone cutter's apprentice
farrier  stone mason
foreman  superintendent of mining
gold miner  tailor
gun smith  tanner
harness maker  telephone lineman
hoistman  timberman
lather  tinsmith
lineman  typewriter
locomotive engineer
lumberforeman
machinist
SKILLED AND SEMI SKILLED SERVICE WORKERS—Persons deriving wages from a service performed with their hands—when these services do not render a product, and whose job requires a degree of training and experience.

actor(ress)  photographer
barber  pianist
bartender  police sergeant
fireman  policeman
horse trainer  scales
jockey  sheriff
musician  surveyor
p.l. surveyor  theater
painter

5. Unskilled Wage and Service Labour.

UNSKILLED WAGE LABOUR—persons paid for rendering menial work for a manufacturing firm of some kind—does not include sweepers, truck drivers, etc.

bottler  pork packer
b.s. helper  quarry labourer
brakeman  railway labourer
building labourer  ropeman
city labourer  railway yardman
dairy worker  sawyer
express labourer  street labourer
freightman  switchtender
gardener  teamster
labourer  trainman
lumberman  water works labourer
mine labourer  wood chopper
ore sorter
UNSKILLED SERVICE LABOUR—a person paid for rendering menial services with their hands (domestics, porters, stevedores, and sweepers, regardless of employer).

asst. steward  ironer
baggageman  jailer
bank collector  janitor
bank messenger  laundryman
bell boy  messenger
car cleaner  milkman
caretaker  newsboy
chambermaid  porter
cloth cleaner  servant
collector  steward of club
cook  telephone messenger
delivery boy  telephone operator
dishwasher  waiter
domestic  waitress
driver  washwoman
express messenger  watchman

6. Others—includes farmers and those employed in occupations which defy classification.

FARMERS

chicken rancher
dairy farmer
poultryman

MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS

edimologist
gambler
prospector