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Résumé de l'article

Le développement de Flin Flon, véritable localité mono-industrielle, repose dans une grande mesure sur la politique de La Compagnie minière et métallurgique de la Baie d'Hudson Limitée. À l'époque de son établissement, La Compagnie se chargeait de l'expansion industrielle et de la communauté mais, au gré des circonstances, elle parvint à se défaire de tous projets visant la collectivité. En effet, lorsque Flin Flon fut constitué en corporation de ville en 1946, la Compagnie ne s'intégrait plus directement aux activités de la communauté. La Compagnie minière et métallurgique de la Baie d'Hudson Limitée était d'autant plus portée à envisager comme distincts l'un de l'autre les intérêts de la communauté et du commerce que cette dissociation allait de paire avec l'offre de travail. Il en ressort que la participation de la Compagnie au développement de la communauté était fonction de la main-d'oeuvre, à un point tel que, lorsqu'elle put finalement s'assurer une population active, La Compagnie minière et métallurgique de la Baie d'Hudson Limitée se retira des activités communautaires.

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Robert S. Robson

Résumé/Abstract

Le développement de Flin Flon, véritable localité mono-industrielle, repose dans une grande mesure sur la politique de La Compagnie minière et métallurgique de la Baie d'Hudson Limitée. À l'époque de son établissement, La Compagnie se chargeait de l'expansion industrielle et de la communauté mais, au gré des circonstances, elle parvint à se défaire de tous projets visant la collectivité. En effet, lorsque Flin Flon fut constitué en corporation de ville en 1946, la Compagnie ne s'intégrait plus directement aux activités de la communauté. La Compagnie minière et métallurgique de la Baie d'Hudson Limitée était d'autant plus portée à envisager comme distincts l'un de l'autre les intérêts de la communauté et du commerce que cette dissociation allait de paire avec l'offre de travail. Il en ressort que la participation de la Compagnie au développement de la communauté était fonction de la main-d'oeuvre, à un point tel que, lorsqu'elle put finalement s'assurer une population active, La Compagnie minière et métallurgique de la Baie d'Hudson Limitée se retira des activités communautaires.

Defined as a single enterprise community, Flin Flon's development was largely dictated by the policy of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Ltd. In its formative stage, the H.B.M.&S. assumed responsibility for both industrial and community expansion, but as the opportunity arose, the Company divested itself of community oriented projects. By 1946, when Flin Flon was granted town status, the Company has largely removed itself from direct involvement in community affairs. This evolving tendency on the part of the H.B.M.&S. to separate industrial and community interest corresponded to the fulfillment of labour needs. Essentially, Company participation in community development was directly related to labour supply, so much so, that when H.B.M.&S finally perceived a guaranteed labour force, it withdrew from community affairs.

INTRODUCTION

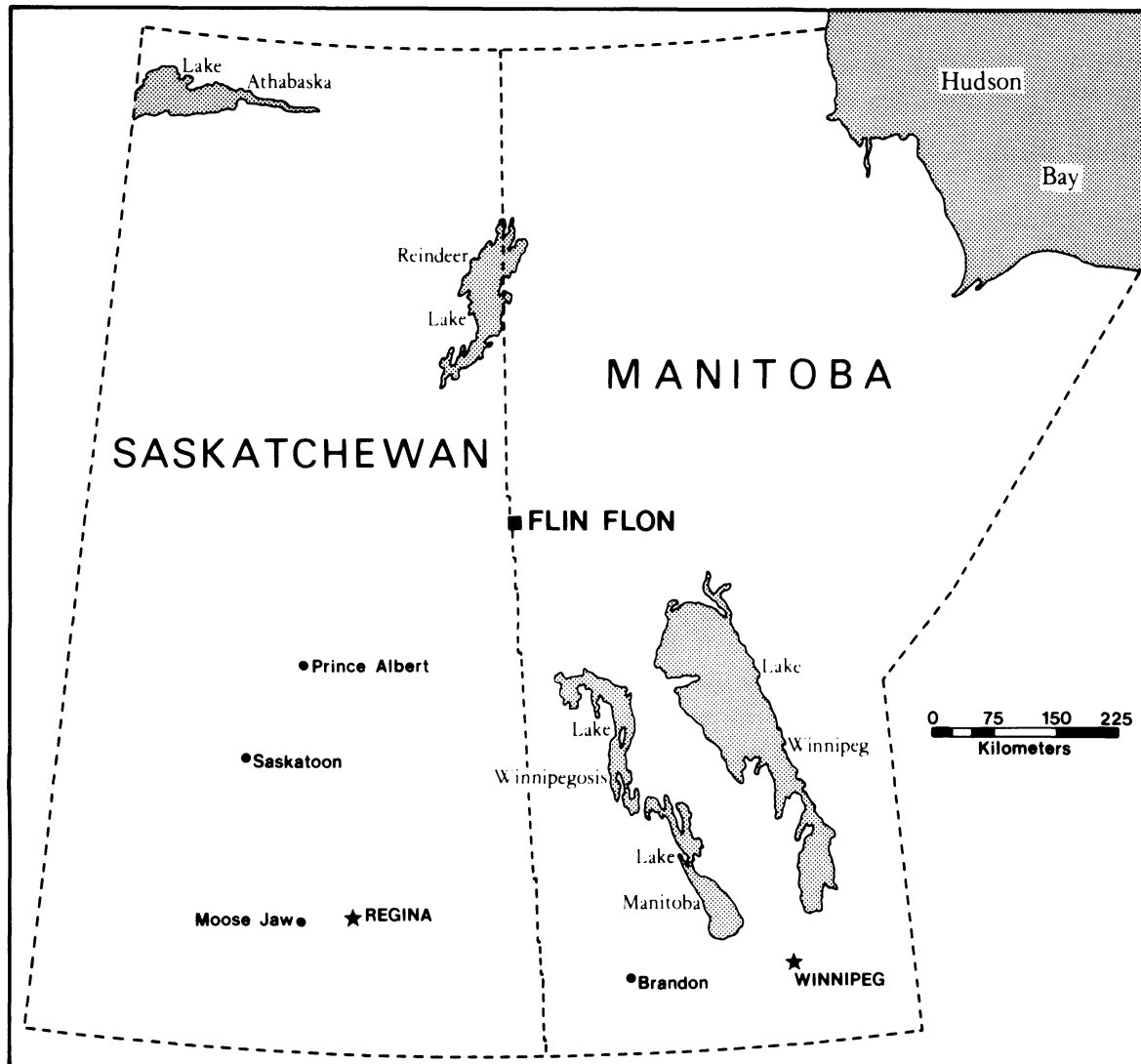
Flin Flon during the period of 1927–1946, is an example of the Canadian single enterprise community phenomenon.¹ It was a resource dependent, industrially co-ordinated frontier community whose livelihood was closely related to the extractive process of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company (H.B.M.&S).² The mineral wealth of the Flin Flon region had encouraged the Company to pursue the development of ore treatment facilities which, through its course, encouraged the development of the community.³ From the

outset, the Company's involvement in community expansion was directly proportional to the mines productivity. In essence, Flin Flon was a viable community only because it provided the labour force essential to the working of the mine and treatment facilities.

The single enterprise nature of Flin Flon suggests a dominant industrial activity initiated and controlled by a single industrial corporation. By the end of the 1927–1946 period Flin Flon had approximately seventy per cent of its labour force employed by the H.B.M.&S.⁴ When consideration is given to H.B.M.&S. subsidiary companies such as the Hudson Bay Air Transport Company or the Churchill River Power Company, the H.B.M.&S. labour force comes close to meeting the seventy-five per cent figure recommended by Rex Lucas as the main criterion of the single enterprise classification.⁵ Largely related to factors of location and resource type, Flin Flon developed under the auspices of the single enterprise.⁶

*Acknowledgements: I would like to thank J.E. Rea, J.G. Snell and G.A. Stelter for their advice and comments on various stages of the Flin Flon project.

MAP 1 The Location of Flin Flon



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As an example of Canadian resource town development, Flin Flon chronologically fits into what L.D. McCann has termed the “holistic planning” period or, what G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise have called the “interwar years” of resource town expansion.⁷ Occurring in the twenty year period from 1920–1940, this era is characterized by a growing co-operation between government and industry towards the development of carefully planned resource communities.⁸ Flin Flon can be identified as a “late bloomer” in terms of carefully planned or government-industry co-operation. This was due, in large part, to the uncertainty of provincial government involvement in resource management, as well as to the conflict between the federal Department of Railways and Canals, who were authorized to develop the original townsite and the H.B.M.&S.⁹ The eventual establishment of the holistic period in Flin Flon occurred in 1931 when the provincial government of John Bracken proposed the implementation of the Flin Flon Town Planning Scheme.¹⁰ The

Planning Scheme set aside both residential and business areas within a three mile square townsite that was to be administered by the Community Development Company (C.D.C.). The C.D.C., in keeping with the theme of co-operation, was to be representative of government, industry and community interests. In reality, however, the provincial government feeling that it was adequately represented by the Provincial Town Planning Commission opted out of the Board of Directors and as a result, it became a Company dominated apparatus.¹¹ Regardless of the participants in its directorship, the C.D.C. employed the zoning and land separation principles referred to by McCann as characteristic of the resource community of this period.¹²

The course of Flin Flon’s development in the nineteen year period 1927–1946, can be divided into four basic phases; construction, organization, reaction and maturation.¹³ Each phase is characterized by the changing perception of the

Company's role within the community. This phenomenon can be illustrated through the analysis of Company involvement in town planning, housing, retail outlets, recreation, community institutions, protective services and the provision of utilities.¹⁴ Concentrating on the study of community and government records, as well as other local sources, and, to a limited extent Company records, Flin Flon's development is discussed as a product of H.B.M.&S. policy.¹⁵

BACKGROUND

The extent to which the H.B.M.&S. participated in the growth and maintenance of the community varied considerably during the 1927–1946 period. In December of 1927 when the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company obtained a government charter to develop the Flin Flon orebody its position as central authority within the region was guaranteed by government sanction.¹⁶ This role was modified through time by both the revision of H.B.M.&S. policy as well as the growing impact of non-Company factors. Eventually by 1946 when Flin Flon achieved town status, the Company's direct involvement in community affairs was of a limited nature. The H.B.M.&S.'s success at isolating itself from community projects was in part due to its success at obtaining a constant labour supply as well as in part, to a response to the demands of the Board of Trade, the Ratepayer's Association, the municipal and town councils, the Mine Workers Union of Canada and the Employee's Welfare Board.

The construction phase of community development lasted from the granting of the 1927 charter until the beginning of production in 1930. During this period, the Company's prime concern was with the development of the facilities necessary for the ore-treatment process. Steps taken to establish community features at this stage of expansion were intended only as temporary arrangements. The temporary townsite for example, as conceived by the Company, was strictly a non-permanent method of housing the approximately 1,000 men involved in the building phase.

With production beginning in 1930, it was necessary for the Company to establish order in the townsite. This, the organizational phase of development, found the H.B.M.&S. actively attempting to structure life within the community.¹⁷ In the absence of an effective political authority and as a result of the problems surrounding the nature of the temporary townsite, the H.B.M.&S. attempted to realign the community towards a more ordered society.

The culmination of the organizational phase of growth was the strike of 1934.¹⁸ The labour dispute was primarily a reaction to the dominating role of the H.B.M.&S. within the community. Worker dissatisfaction was registered through both employment and community oriented demands.

The two major employment issues were recognition of the Mine Workers' Union of Canada and the reinstatement of a 1932 wage decrease,¹⁹ while from the community perspective, workers' concern was voiced over high utility rates, inadequate sewage disposal and nauseating smelter fumes.²⁰ The employment-community orientation of the conflict suggests a growing disparity between the Company and its employees.

The month long strike, lasting from June 9th until July 14th, concluded with minor concessions granted to the employees in the way of a 50 per cent reduction in the wage cut, a reduction in light charges and a twice monthly pay cycle.²¹ The most innovative concession was the establishment by the Company of the Employee's Welfare Board.²² This agency, which was intended to act as a bargaining committee on behalf of H.B.M.&S. employees, functioned as a type of buffer between workers' needs and Company policy.²³ The Welfare Board allowed the enterprise to insulate itself from worker, as well as, community demands. The Company, therefore, with the establishment of the intermediary agency minimized its obligations within the community.

The post-strike period from 1934–1946 was a period of maturation for Flin Flon. During this phase the H.B.M.&S. tended to transfer its community responsibilities to community established organizations. In this manner the Company concentrated on its industrial position while allowing the community to assume townsite development. H.B.M.&S. participation in community affairs had, therefore, shifted from a pre-strike directive role to a post-strike supportive position.

The community's situation in relation to the four stages of growth is illustrative of its developing independence. The construction phase, which witnessed a large influx of a predominantly male population and was highlighted by large turnover rates, is best described as the sleep camp period. Beyond rudimentary arrangements for housing this period did little to facilitate community growth. The organizational phase of community expansion while giving rise to the Board of Trade in 1929–1930, the Ratepayer's Association in 1932 and the municipal council in 1933, was still a period of Company dominance. Unsure of its position in relation to the H.B.M.&S., the community tentatively attempted to establish itself within the parameters outlined by Company policy. With the notable exception of the Ratepayer's Association which challenged the H.B.M.&S. over water or garbage rates, the organizational phase was one of caution. The strike or the reaction phase was a frightening experience from the community perspective. As represented by the municipal council and the *Flin Flon Miner*, community opinion passed from bewilderment to sympathy and finally, to outrage.²⁴ It is of some significance, however, that community feelings were largely pro-strike until the H.B.M.&S. initiated an anti-communist crusade against the strikers.²⁵ In the final period or the maturation stage, the community sought and obtained

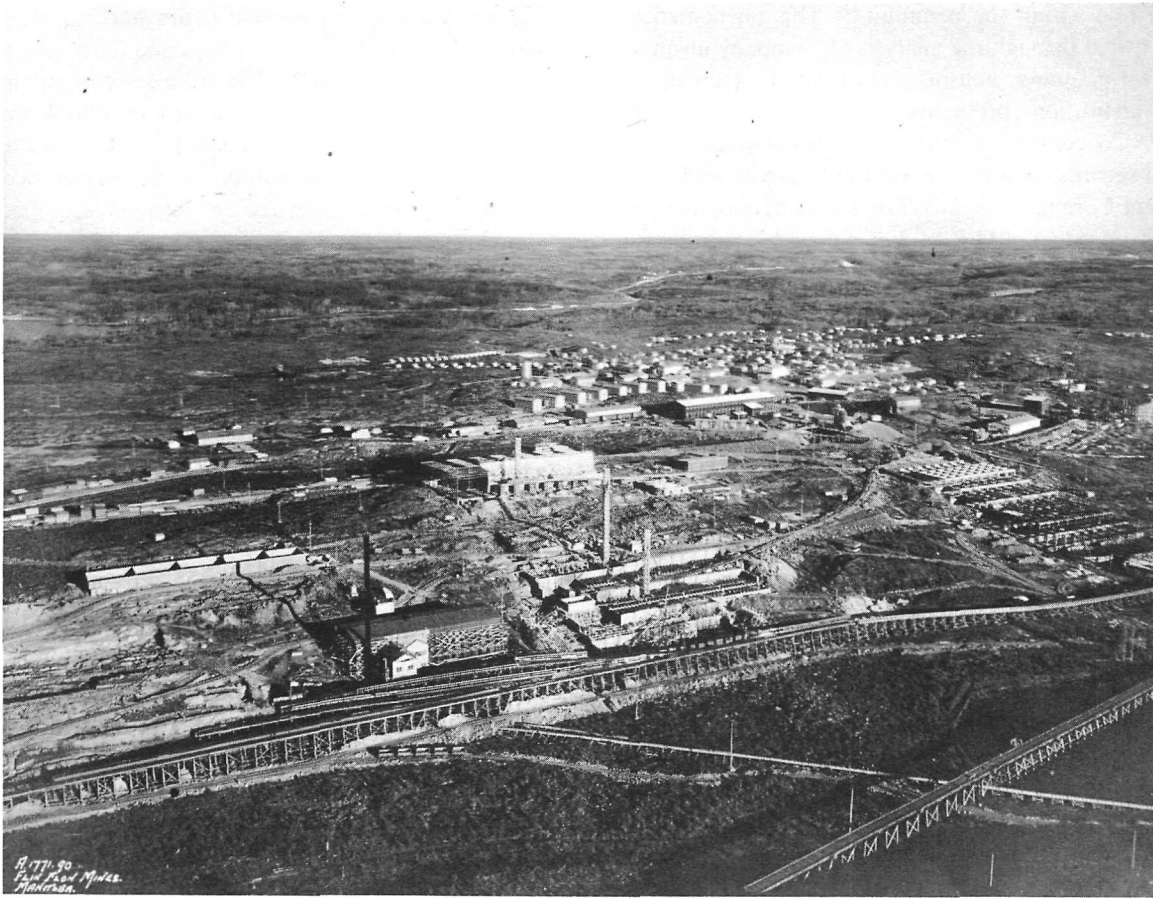


FIGURE 1. Flin Flon, Manitoba, c. 1935. A view of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting operation.

SOURCE: Manitoba Archives

a limited amount of self-determination but always with deference to the Company. By 1946 the community had secured an informal partnership with the H.B.M.&S. which in part, was characterized by the sharing of community responsibility.

THE COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVE

Town Planning

Town Planning as a characteristic of the holistically planned single enterprise community suggests an evolutionary pattern which demonstrates the shifting of town planning authority from company control to a subsidiary holding company's domain and then, eventually, to the community itself.²⁶ In the case of Flin Flon, planning was the prerogative of the H.B.M.&S. until it was passed to the Community Development Company in 1931. In 1934, after the establishment of the municipal council, the duties of the C.D.C. including planning were assumed by the council. The common denominator throughout the 1927–1946 era, however,

was the participation of the H.B.M.&S. Whether directly or indirectly, the Company continued to provide planning assistance to the community throughout the nineteen year period. The situation, therefore, remained a quasi-partnership between the Company and the community until 1946.

The direct role of the H.B.M.&S. in town planning centred around the temporary townsite and the problems encountered therein. Developed primarily for expediency, the temporary townsite was conceived specifically to accommodate the men involved in the construction phase of expansion.²⁷ Established by the Company and designated as a temporary arrangement, this initial effort of community planning was a primitive “hodge-podge” of bunkhouses intended to fulfill the immediate needs of the industry. The temporary townsite initially consisted of several log structures huddled around the mining facilities of the H.B.M.&S. All but one of the buildings were Company owned, the majority of which were used to house the men involved in the construction of the ore-treatment plant. By 1928 the H.B.M.&S. had begun to appreciate the problems associated with community development adjacent to mining

facilities and the process of relocation began.²⁸ It was, however, not completely accomplished until after July 1931 when the Flin Flon Town Planning Scheme was initiated to establish a permanent townsite.

Beyond the overcrowded unsanitary living conditions, the major problem associated with the temporary townsite was its permanence.²⁹ Once constructed and later augmented by further additions, it took on an air of permanence. As a result, what was intended to be a short term sleep camp became the nucleus of a permanent community. This was further compounded by the conflict between the H.B.M.&S. and government officials on the issue of final location of the permanent townsite. Consequently, the temporary townsite extended its usefulness over approximately four years until the overcrowding of its limited facilities forced its dissolution.

The resource transfer issue by which the provincial government assumed control of resource management, although finalized in May of 1929, had few immediate consequences for Flin Flon. Indeed, the provincial government adopted a stance similar to that of the federal government's Department of Railways and Canals, in its dealings with the H.B.M.&S. The proposed townsite as suggested by the province in 1929 was the same scheme presented by the federal government in 1928.³⁰ Due largely to the fact that the provincial government and the H.B.M.&S. could not reach agreement on the method of lot sale nor on the arrangement of the townsite, the Company retained its position within the temporary townsite.

The H.B.M.&S.'s limited success in controlling community development in the pre-1931 period was due to its overriding authority in the mining camp. Based upon the twenty-one year lease that Company had acquired for the property, facilities were developed in conjunction with H.B.M.&S. objectives. This meant that the construction of bunkhouses or the rental of property to individuals for construction purposes, all fell within its jurisdiction. Hence, if the Company felt that a particular building obstructed its right of way to a workable orebody, the removal of the building was perceived to be its authorized right.³¹ In the same sense, the dislocation of an undesirable individual was also perceived as its authorized right.³²

As a response to the deteriorating conditions within the community, the H.B.M.&S. became more receptive to possible solutions to the temporary townsite problem. The winter of 1931 for example, witnessed the Company approaching the community for suggestions or comments on townsite settlement.³³ Finally, in the summer of 1931, the H.B.M.&S. accepted the provincial government's proposal for the Town Planning Scheme and the authorization of the Community Development Company (C.D.C.) as the responsible author-

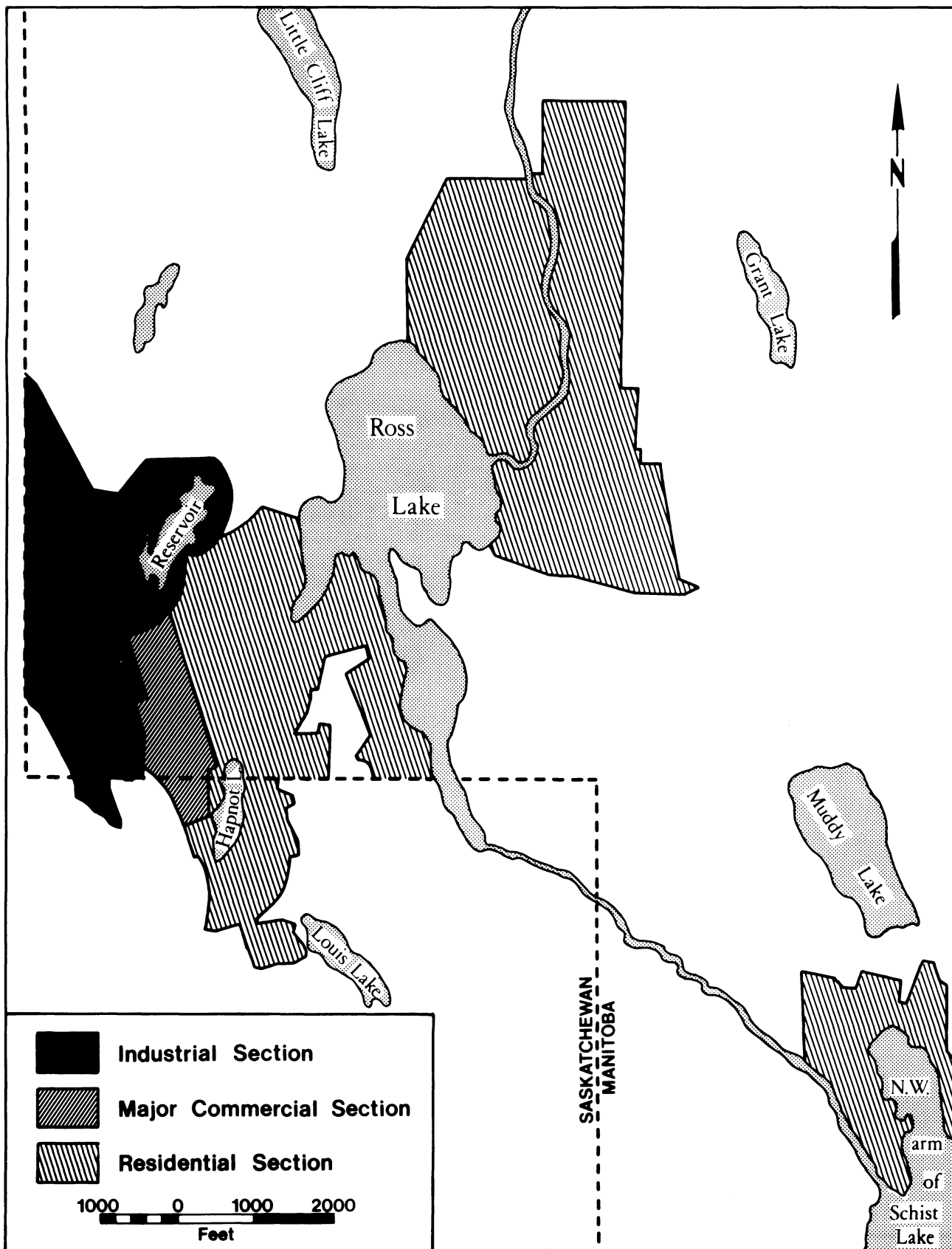
ity for community affairs.³⁴ Initially representative of H.B.M.&S. policy, the C.D.C. was primarily a holding company that filled the gap between H.B.M.&S. control and community control of townsite affairs.

With the implementation of the Town Planning Scheme in 1931, the temporary townsite was abandoned and the permanent townsite was established. The administration of the Planning Scheme was allocated to the C.D.C. and the process of realignment commenced. It was the responsibility of the C.D.C. to oversee the surveying of lots, the setting of prices and the provision of adequate utilities. The major task confronting the development company, however, was community realignment. As many as ninety per cent of the buildings within the community had to be moved in compliance with the Planning Scheme survey.³⁵ In some cases, particularly in the unauthorized business districts, the C.D.C. was forced to completely remove structures, while in others, buildings were only required to be moved a matter of feet.³⁶ Essentially, by April of 1932 the C.D.C. had accomplished much of its task and its remaining tenure in the area of planning was to coordinate community expansion as outlined by the Planning Scheme.

The indenture signed in 1931, with regard to the formation of the C.D.C. stated that when the community included a population of seventy free holders or that number with their lots paid for, it could then petition the provincial government for incorporation as a municipal district.³⁷ The petition was submitted in 1933 and as of 31 October 1934, Flin Flon was recognized as a municipal district.³⁸ The concurrent change in responsible authority for townsite administration saw the establishment of a municipal council in 1933 and the eventual takeover of C.D.C. administration in 1934-1935.³⁹

The municipal council's efforts in community planning followed the lead of the C.D.C. While the Community Development Company had established business, warehouse and residential districts, the council finalized zoning concepts with municipal legislation.⁴⁰ Like the C.D.C., the municipal council's planning attitude largely corresponded to local demand for increased services and residential development. Within the guidelines established by the 1931 Planning Scheme, the council continued the process of townsite development according to the demands of the population and in compliance with the physical geography of the area. The combination of these factors produced a somewhat divided community that continued to grow without an overall development plan.⁴¹ Largely as a result of rock outcropping and water barriers, as well as the uncertainty of local responsibility, Flin Flon grew in an *ad hoc* manner. The Town Planning Scheme of 1931 and its minor revisions of 1937 provided the means for growth but not a comprehensive plan for growth.

MAP 2 The Townsite of Flin Flon (c.1960)



SOURCE: Adapted from Manitoba, Highway Department, as cited in J.Warkentin and R. Ruggles, Historical Atlas of Manitoba

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TABLE 1
Population of the Municipal District of Flin Flon
1931–1946

Year	Male	Female	Total
1931	1,622	752	2,374
1936	2,772	1,934	4,706
1941	3,684	3,176	6,860
1946	3,954	3,641	7,595

SOURCE: *Census of Canada, 1931*;
Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1936;
Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1946.

The important distinctions that must be made between the town planning policy of the H.B.M.&S., the C.D.C. and the municipal council, centres on the issues of responsibility. Community planning policy of both the 1927–1931 and the 1931–1934 period can be characterized by the direct involvement of H.B.M.&S. officials in policy formulation. In that sense, both the H.B.M.&S. and the C.D.C. eras of planning reflect the policy wishes of the mining company. Conversely, the 1934–1946 period is one of electoral responsibility. The municipal council had essentially replaced Company responsibility with community responsibility but the underlying theme of municipal planning remained community-Company co-operation.

Housing

Company-owned housing has been cited as “the universal hallmark of the single enterprise community.”⁴² In either single or family dwellings, company-owned housing reflects the level of company involvement within the community. Generally, the position of the company in the single enterprise community varies in direct proportion to the amount of company-owned housing. In this sense, and particularly in terms of family dwellings, a large degree of company

ownership suggests an equally high level of company participation in community affairs.⁴³

Single men’s dwellings were visible in Flin Flon throughout the 1927–1946 period. Bunkhouse housing, which was established by the H.B.M.&S. during the construction phase of community development, remained in affect long after 1946. Reflecting the immediate need for employee accommodation, the bunkhouse was the most feasible method of housing the men involved in the H.B.M.&S. project.⁴⁴ As a result and largely due to its overall acceptance as the norm in single enterprise community housing, the bunkhouse style of accommodation does not necessarily represent a true measure of Company policy.⁴⁵ In this sense, while “ten spacious bunkhouses” accommodating sixty men each and a large bunkhouse single staff house appropriate for forty-eight single male management personnel were provided by the Company, it is more indicative of practical considerations than of Company housing policy.⁴⁶ The impetus for the provision of single men’s dwellings was the maintenance of a labour force not the creation of community.

Family housing, while like single dwellings is illustrative of the need to maintain a labour force, is also indicative of community development. Essentially, the decision to provide company-owned family housing is a commitment to community permanence. Accompanying family housing arises the need for school facilities, medical services, recreational programmes and even retailing outlets geared towards the family market. The encouragement of a family or united community is, therefore, an attempt to stabilize a fluctuating population and to guarantee a committed labour force.

Evidence of Company-owned family dwellings in Flin Flon is sparse, suggesting a general tendency on the part of the H.B.M.&S. to promote owner-occupied housing. Beyond the provision of “nine, four roomed cottages” for the use of H.B.M.&S. officials and their families, the Company did not maintain Company-owned family dwellings.⁴⁷ On one



FIGURE 2. Machine shop and bunkhouses, Flin Flon, c. 1920.

SOURCE: Manitoba Archives



FIGURE 3. Company cottages being built for H.B.M.&S. staff and employees, c. 1929.

SOURCE: Manitoba Archives

other occasion, the H.B.M.&S. financed the construction of a post-war housing project but the homes were sold at cost to returning veterans and were not retained as Company housing.⁴⁸ Contrary to the company housing approach, the H.B.M.&S. offered for an extremely low monthly rental payment, property within the townsite enabling employees and their families to construct their own housing facilities.⁴⁹

Private ownership of housing was the pattern of family accommodation in Flin Flon. Corresponding to what S.H. Dietze has suggested as typical of the Canadian resource town housing situation, after the initial “start up” period, the H.B.M.&S. withdrew from building operations.⁵⁰ In this manner, attempting to socialize their costs, the Company minimized its housing obligations within the community through the promotion of owner-occupied facilities. While maintaining single men’s accommodations, the H.B.M.&S. retired from the provision and maintenance of family dwellings.

Retail Outlets

Retailing in Flin Flon, like housing, came under the auspices of private enterprise. The community avoided the “company store” phenomenon so prevalent in isolated single enterprise communities.⁵¹ Indeed, retail enterprises were capitalizing on the growth of the mining community even before the incorporation of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company. Jack Hone’s general merchandise store established in 1926 was one of the first to take advantage of the Flin Flon market.⁵² Hone was closely followed by the Northland Drug Company, the Royal Bank of Canada and others. By 1930 Flin Flon had a business section two blocks long.⁵³

The private enterprise activity in Flin Flon was the result of the nature of the northern frontier and the policy of the H.B.M.&S. The method of northern expansion or the extension of the northern frontier was characteristic of the

metropolitan method of urban growth.⁵⁴ Flin Flon’s development was dramatically orchestrated by The Pas, some eighty-three miles to the south (see location map). Fulfilling the role of supply centre and supplementing the amenities of life, The Pas functioned as the sub-metropolis of Winnipeg, funneling goods and services into the mining community.

Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company participation in the expansion of the private business sector of the community, indicates a desire on the part of the Company to develop a traditional, private enterprise oriented business section. In the community’s formative stage, the H.B.M.&S. allowed the growth of private business within the temporary townsite. As the population grew and shifted to the permanent townsite, business sections were laid out along Main Street in a district that was strictly reserved for commercial enterprise. Populating this downtown section was both encouraged and controlled by the Company. Issuing building licenses to prospective operators of commercial establishments allowed the H.B.M.&S., through the C.D.C., to screen applicants and restrict occupancy to those deemed acceptable.⁵⁵ At the same time, the reasonable monthly rates for property rental and the provision of utilities were attractive incentives to many potential store owners.

The control of the business section of the community was a feature that was subtly maintained by the H.B.M.&S. It was through the Community Development Company and the process of issuing business licenses, that the Company regulated the Flin Flon commercial district. The objective of the H.B.M.&S. appears to have been the development of a functional commercial community independent of the H.B.M.&S., but at the same time regulated by the H.B.M.&S.

Recreation

A dominant feature of the single enterprise community is the company’s high level of participation in recreational activity.⁵⁶ Intent on maintaining a healthy, content commu-

nity, the company encouraged the pursuit of leisure time activity.⁵⁷ This is particularly true in the case of the newly formed community, wherein recreational services provided the needed social interchange that develops a community-wide feeling of belonging. Recreation, therefore, becomes an agent of community solidarity which is fostered and encouraged by the company in order to satisfy the need of a displaced population.⁵⁸

Sport received the greatest amount of attention in Flin Flon leisure time activity. The Flin Flon Skating and Hockey Club was the first organized effort to provide for H.B.M.&S. employees' recreational activity. Initiated by employees in 1927, the Club's activity was funded largely by Company donations.⁵⁹ Upon its reorganization in 1928 into the Flin Flon Athletic Association, the H.B.M.&S. provided the financing necessary for its revitalization. Its further reorganization into the Flin Flon Community Club is illustrative of the effort of the H.B.M.&S. to coordinate recreational activity into a single organization. The H.B.M.&S. provided the organizational structure as well as the club house while the Board of Directors, consisting of both employees and management personnel, provided programmes that were designed to meet the needs of the community.⁶⁰

The most intriguing example of Company involvement in Flin Flon recreational activity was its role in the development of the Phantom Lake resort area.⁶¹ Designed primarily to provide a recreational outlet for the summertime activity of H.B.M.&S. employees, Phantom Lake became a vacation haven for Company workers. Open to all community members on a day to day basis, the resort and camping facilities were restricted to H.B.M.&S. employees. The value of the Company sponsored resort was assessed by the 1939 H.B.M.&S. *Annual Report* as positively aiding the "health and happiness" of the community. Essentially, the recreational value of Phantom Lake helped to reinforce the sense of employee satisfaction and, therefore, further aided in the maintenance of the H.B.M.&S. work force.

The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company's participation in the provision of recreational facilities was a major factor in Flin Flon's leisure activity. Its role, as demonstrated by the 1939 development of Phantom Lake, actually increased with time. Perhaps the most paternalistic feature of Company community recreation relations, that is, employee satisfaction through recreational activity, helped to guarantee the H.B.M.&S. a viable source of labour.⁶²

Community Institutions

Community institutions such as schools, churches, hospitals and libraries are essential elements of a permanent, stable community. In the single enterprise community they, like recreational facilities, help to ensure a contented population.⁶³ This is the case particularly in the isolated resource-based community where an individual's association with a

school or church group might be his/her only activity beyond the immediate sphere of company influence. The perception of adequate community institutions further aids in the development of a community sentiment as well as the promise of a stable labour force.

The contribution of the H.B.M.&S. to educational facilities was a large factor in the quality of Flin Flon schooling. Its earliest contribution consisted of *ad hoc* funding and the provision of school room space. As the community grew, so did the input of the H.B.M.&S., eventually settling upon a yearly figure of twenty-five per cent of the total educational cases.⁶⁴ The Company's role did not, however, stop with this legal obligation. Indeed, the H.B.M.&S. continued to provide materials and other services to update Flin Flon's educational facilities. Like many single enterprise communities, Flin Flon's quality of education exceeded that of similar sized multi-industry communities.⁶⁵ This was primarily the result of H.B.M.&S. financing, as on top of the twenty-five per cent contribution, much of an annual \$25,000 donation from the Company to the municipality went to maintaining the quality of schooling in the community.⁶⁶

The H.B.M.&S. took little or no direct action in the promotion of religious activity within the community. Aside from providing temporary sites for church services, the Company remained aloof from church affairs. This conforms to the norm in the Canadian single enterprise community.⁶⁷ Church affiliation and/or the lack of it, was apparently a non-issue.

The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company perceived the need for medical care within the community as early as 1927.⁶⁸ The hospital, like the provision of housing and schools, was considered an essential feature of the community. As in most company hospital schemes, a dual system of medical care was established for employees and non-employees. The cheaper rates offered to employees reflected the concern that was expressed by the H.B.M.&S. to provide adequate services for its workers and their families.

The history of the Company hospital is indicative of the changes that occurred in the relationship between the H.B.M.&S. and its employees. Initially cited as among "the finest and most up to date institution(s) of its size in the west,"⁶⁹ the Company hospital by 1930 reflects the H.B.M.&S.'s genuine concern for health care facilities. As the community grew and other hospitals appeared in Flin Flon, the Company hospital was no longer expected to keep pace with the increase in population. Ideally, the fourteen to twenty bed Company facility operating in 1930 and expanded in 1935 served H.B.M.&S. needs well into 1946. While the Company enlarged the medical care schemes and facilities for its employees, it also attempted to absolve itself of the direct control of the health programme. An example of this phenomenon was the allocating of Company hospital directorship to the management of the Employee's Welfare Board in 1944.⁷⁰

H.B.M.&S. health care policy witnessed the establishment of an essential service, which was maintained but which was eventually removed from the direct control of the Company. The H.B.M.&S. relieved itself of the management burden of health care as soon as it was feasible to do so. In this sense, the Company realized the significance of health care services but not necessarily Company operated services.

Flin Flon's library history is dominated by the activity of the local citizenry. The only apparent connection to the H.B.M.&S. was through the Company supported Community Club. The first library and reading room was established in the Community Club shortly after its completion in 1929. Donations of books and magazines were "invited" from the community and user fees of fifty cents for club members and two dollars for non-members constituted library funding.⁷¹

Totally independent of H.B.M.&S. influence was the growth of "private" library facilities.⁷² These were the result of the formation of interest groups concerned with the availability of reading material within the community. The private libraries like the Community Club library were dominated by individual rather than Company activity.

The provision or maintenance of community institutions demonstrates the Company's overriding concern with community stability. In matters of education and medical care specifically, the H.B.M.&S. attempted to maintain a basic level of quality service. In areas where it could divest itself of management responsibility, it did so, but always in deference to the quality of service. Essentially, the H.B.M.&S. regarded community institutions as major components in maintaining the labour force necessary to operate its mining facilities.

Protective Services

Adequate fire and police protection are significant features of the single enterprise community. Both help to ensure the continued existence of the community as well as increasing its attractiveness. In one sense fire and police protection oversee the orderly development of the community, while in another the image of a secure, crime free community helps to maintain a relatively stable work force.

Fire protection in Flin Flon was provided by the H.B.M.&S. as early as 1927. Largely to protect its own interests, the Company had constructed a fire barrier, recruited a volunteer fire fighting force from among its employees and supplied fire fighting equipment for both the mine and community. From its incorporation in 1927 until a municipal force was formed in 1933, the H.B.M.&S. voluntarily coordinated fire protective services in Flin Flon.

With the incorporation of the municipality in 1933-1934 a decision was made by the elected officials to promote a municipal fire brigade. As of October 1933, the community

seemingly had the benefit of two fire fighting forces whose independence from one-another was coloured by considerable equipment and manpower sharing. The cooperative arrangement is illustrated in one instance by the municipal council's refusal to consider the purchase of fire protection equipment simply because they had "access to the Company hose."⁷³

As the community continued to increase in size, its two fighting services became more and more independent. In time, the municipality accepted a far greater role in the provision of a fire fighting force. With the 1937 donation by the Rotarians of a "brand new fire truck" and the ensuing erection of Flin Flon's first "fire hall," the municipality largely took over the maintenance of fire protection within the community.⁷⁴ This, however, was not a strict arrangement whereby the H.B.M.&S. could not aid the community in fire fighting, but rather, a situation wherein the municipality with the blessing of the Company accepted more responsibility.

The policing of Flin Flon like the majority of single enterprise communities came to be the responsibility of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.⁷⁵ It took time and the impact of the 1934 labour dispute to develop this dependence. Essentially, the role played by the Manitoba Provincial Police and the meager municipal force in policing the community helped to retard the movement towards the R.C.M.P., while the labour conflict of 1934 acted as the major catalyst.

The Manitoba Provincial Police department was responsible for the policing of the district until its demise in April of 1932. Authority then passed to the R.C.M.P. who totally assumed policing responsibility for the area until 1933 when the municipal council established a municipal force. The Flin Flon force consisted of a Police Chief who had the power to enlist deputies as the need arose. The R.C.M.P. combined with the superficial assistance of the municipal force to provide the community with police protection from 1933 onward.

The official position of the R.C.M.P. within the community was solidified in April of 1935 when the municipal council formalized an agreement providing for the policing of the community by R.C.M.P. forces. The tradition of maintaining a central police agency in the isolated single enterprise community was a feature that Flin Flon pioneered.⁷⁶

Even with the involvement of the R.C.M.P. in the community, the municipality still retained the services of its "assistant Police Chief." His job, while largely a catch-all position, illustrated the sincerity of the municipality in its attempt to maintain a crime free community. The H.B.M.&S. on the other hand, played a very minor role in the provision of police services. Indeed, outside of incorporating their own makeshift watch force and the pressure they brought to bear on the R.C.M.P. during the strike of 1934,



FIGURE 4. Picketing of H.B.M.&S. employees during the 1934 labour dispute.

SOURCE: Manitoba Archives

they contributed very little to Flin Flon's crime protection. Policing services were the one area of community affairs that Company officials relegated to an outside authority.

Utilities

The role of the enterprise in the development and continued operation of services such as street maintenance, sewage treatment facilities, waste provision and electrical power supply is illustrative of the extent of Company involvement in community affairs. Essentially, utility services represent the day to day operation of the community and mirror the controlling interest in community affairs.

Street maintenance became an issue in Flin Flon after the establishment of the Community Development Company and the consequent move to the permanent townsite in 1931–1932.⁷⁷ The C.D.C. then assumed the responsibility for street work, and it established plans for draining and ditching as well as laying out of a street network corresponding to the official Town Planning Scheme. The monies retained from lot sales were intended to provide the funding for the street projects while the H.B.M.&S. voluntarily supplied the man power. The Company also provided at cost equipment, the blasting or clearing of rock, gravel for roadways and a rather primitive street lighting system. This

cooperative street maintenance arrangement between the C.D.C. and the H.B.M.&S. was further cultivated by both the municipal and town council when responsibility for street projects became their prerogative. The H.B.M.&S., however, had been legally absolved of all road maintenance responsibility in 1931. Its continuance in road work was done for a cost and with no legal obligation to provide such services at the request of the responsible authority. The role of the H.B.M.&S. in the street maintenance programme evolved as a type of beneficiary arrangement, offset by a nominal fee and maintained by a moral obligation. The integral ingredient of the moral obligation from the Company perspective was an orderly well maintained community that would favourably support the mining facilities labour force.

Sewage disposal was a feature that developed with the expansion of the community. Initially, the Company's facilities developed to treat industrial wastes were applied to the treatment of community wastes. This service was maintained by the H.B.M.&S. from 1934–1937. As was the case of street maintenance, with the incorporation of the C.D.C. in 1931, the responsibility for the regulation of the sewage disposal system fell within its jurisdiction. So, while the H.B.M.&S. provided the treatment facilities, the C.D.C. managed the sewage disposal scheme. The Company continued to offer its treatment service through the C.D.C. and

later the municipal council, until such time as the population had exceeded the capacity of the treatment plant. The community was then encouraged to accept the responsibility for its own sewage treatment facilities. This was clearly perceived by council when in a 1934 statement it was claimed

... that while the [H.B.M.&S.] would continue to handle sewage from the town, they would only do so on the understanding that the Ross Lake District Plant would be in operation before June 31, 1937, as at that date this service to the town would be discontinued.⁷⁸

The community was, therefore, aware of the Company's effort to encourage community sponsored sewage treatment facilities. The process of minimizing H.B.M.&S. community responsibility in the case of sewage treatment corresponded with the provision of adequate community services.

Water supply like sewage disposal was characterized by the adoption of industrial facilities to meet residential or community needs. Through the course of the 1930–1946 period the water source tapped to serve the ore-treatment facilities was also geared to community demands. Originally, the H.B.M.&S. accepted full responsibility for community water supply but with the appearance of the C.D.C., then the municipal and later the town council, authority for the dispersal of water was transferred. The Company, however, retained control of the mechanism to provide water while the responsible authority within the community arranged for its distribution.

As was the case with sewage treatment and water supply, electric power that was developed for industrial purposes was adapted to meet the needs of the community. Initially, the H.B.M.&S. supplied the community with electricity through its industrial generators that were active in the camp throughout the construction phase. By April of 1930, the Company had successfully harnessed a source of hydro-electric power at Island Falls, some seventy-two miles north on the Churchill River. Island Falls power, carried into the community via transmission line, was shortly thereafter applied as a source for local electricity.⁷⁹ In 1931, with the incorporation of the C.D.C., the responsibility of overseeing the distribution of Island Falls power passed from the H.B.M.&S. to the newly created responsible authority. This was further revised in 1934 when the municipal council displaced the C.D.C. and, still further in 1937 when the H.B.M.&S. created the Northern Manitoba Power Company to control the distribution of electrical power within the community. In any case, regardless of the distributor, from 1935 onward the H.B.M.&S. met the electrical needs of the community free of charge. This service, beyond and above the legal obligation of the Company, covered costs ranging from \$6,000–8,000 on a yearly basis.⁸⁰ Essentially and very much typical of the single enterprise community

phenomenon, post 1935 electricity was supplied to Flin Flon "free of charge."

TABLE 2
H.B.M. & S. Company Employees 1928–1946

Year	Employees	Year	Employees
1928	180	1938	1,577
1929	1,035	1939	1,731
1930	1,325	1940	—
1931	1,000	1941	2,005
1932	—	1942	2,069
1933	1,250	1943	2,217
1934	1,300	1944	2,074
1935	—	1945	1,971
1936	1,600	1946	2,174
1937	1,650		

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

CONCLUSION

The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Ltd. constructed the necessary facilities, including a rudimentary community, to allow for the profitable exploitation of the Flin Flon mineral find. The period from 1927–1930 was typically characterized by the erection of a processing plant and the temporary townsite. The evolution of the community on the temporary townsite property adjacent to the mine created a situation that forced the Company in the 1930–1934 period to reorganize townsite affairs. This gave rise to the subsidiary holding company, the Community Development Company, which operated as the responsible authority within the community. In 1933–1934 with the creation of the municipal council, the C.D.C.'s responsibilities in townsite management were assumed by the elected body.

The labour dispute of 1934 represents a major watershed in Flin Flon's development. The strike was primarily a reaction to the dominance of the H.B.M.&S. in both the industrial and the community affairs to the townsite. It resulted in the accentuation of the tendency on the part of the Company to isolate itself from community affairs. The Employees Welfare Board, established as a concession to the workers, aided in this withdrawal by accepting the former responsibilities of the Company in its dealings with the community. The Welfare Board came to represent an intermediary between the community and the Company. It essentially acted as a buffer enabling the Company to concentrate on industrial development rather than community affairs.

The period from 1934–1946, with the expansion of the community, witnessed the continuing isolation of the H.B.M.&S. This withdrawal forced the municipality to accept responsibility for its own affairs and allowed the H.B.M.&S. the best of both worlds; a labour force without the problems of maintaining it. While the Company continued to offer support to the municipality, it did so with the understanding that it was no longer principally responsible for community affairs. During the course of the previous nineteen years, the H.B.M.&S. had established the basis of community in order to secure sufficient manpower for its industrial operations. By 1946, secure with an adequate labour force, the Company virtually retired from community affairs.

In summation, it would appear that H.B.M.&S. involvement in the growth or regulation of the community was at most times reluctantly undertaken.⁸¹ From the beginning, the Company accepted responsibility for community affairs only as a last resort and largely to guarantee a viable work force. When it became possible for the H.B.M.&S. to rid itself of this responsibility it did so through the C.D.C., the municipal council, the Employees Welfare Board and eventually the town council. The labour dispute of 1934, however, is the point from which Company policy became solidly committed to a greater degree of isolation from community affairs.

NOTES

1. For a more detailed discussion of the Flin Flon experience see; Robert S. Robson, "Flin Flon: A Single Enterprise Community, 1927-1946" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1980).
2. A partial list of contemporary literature that deals with the single industry of the single enterprise community would include: Hilary Archer, "A Classification and Definition of Single Enterprise Communities" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969); John Bradbury, "Instant Resource Town Planning in British Columbia, 1965-1972," *Plan Canada* 20 (March 1980): 19-38; S.H. Dietze, *The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns* (Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1968); P. Keilhofer and J.W. Parlour, *New Towns: The Canadian Experience* (Ottawa: Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, 1972); Rex Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); L.D. McCann, "Canadian Resource Towns: A Heartland-Hinterland Perspective," in *Essays on Canadian Urban Process and Form*, ed. Richard Preston and Lorne Russwurm (Waterloo: University of Waterloo, Department of Geography Publication, Series No. 15, 1980); L.D. McCann, "The Changing Internal Structure of Canadian Resource Towns," *Plan Canada* 18 (March 1978): 46-59; V.J. Parker, *The Planned Non-Permanent Community: An Approach to the Development of New Towns Based in Mining Activity* (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Coordination and Research Center, 1963); N.E.P. Pressman, *Planning New Communities in Canada* (Ottawa: Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, 1975); Ira Robinson, "New Industrial Towns of Canada's Resource Frontier" (Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 73, 1962); L.B. Siemens, "Single Enterprise Communities on Canada's Resource Frontier," *Contact* 8 (August 1976): 277-297; G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise, "Canadian Resource Towns in Historical Perspective," *Plan Canada* 18 (March 1978): 7-16; Harry W. Walker, *Single Enterprise*

Communities in Canada (Kingston: Institute of Local Government, Queen's University, 1953).

3. The Flin Flon orebody was composed of pyrite, sphalerite and chalcopyrite. Gold and silver were associated with the pyrite while native copper was found in leaf form in the upper sulphide zone. For further details on the composition of the orebody see George Cole, *Flin Flon Mine* (Ottawa: Department of Mines, 1983), 5.
4. This information is provided by both the *Census of Canada, 1951*, and Manitoba, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, *Annual Report, 1952*. The years 1951 and 1952 were chosen to illustrate the point because the respective returns represent the most accurate measure of labour force size in the post 1946 period.
5. Various other percentages or qualifying factors have been suggested in a number of studies. See for example; Hilary Archer, "Single Enterprise Communities," 62-76; Anonymous, "Single Industry Communities" (Ottawa: Department of Regional Economic Expansion, Occasional Papers, 1977), 29; or J.W. Maxwell, "Functional Structure of Canadian Cities, A Classification of Cities," *Geographical Bulletin* VII, 2 (1965): 79-104. Lucas' seventy-five per cent has been accepted as the most stringent and as a result, a community qualifying by his standards would also qualify by most other standards. See; Rex Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown*, 16.
6. In terms of location, Harry W. Walker, *Single Enterprise Communities*, 14, cites isolation as "one of the most important reasons for the 'company town' aspect of the single enterprise community." The resource itself as a determining factor for the type of community developed is discussed by Rex Lucas when he suggests that the single enterprise community's "existence depends upon an advanced technology" and perhaps more pointedly by James Allen when he claims that "Since low-grade mining tends to demand large-scale operations a few copper communities have become company towns of unusual size." Rex Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown*, 20 and James B. Allen, *The Company Town in the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 35.
7. See; L.D. McCann, "The Changing Internal Structure of Canadian Resource Towns," 47-48, and G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise, "Canadian Resource Towns in Historical Perspective," 12-13. S.H. Dietze in *The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns*, 1, also makes reference to this stage of resource town expansion. Dietze's "second post war stage" would roughly correspond to the McCann or Stelter period.
8. A useful discussion of the rise of this phenomenon is O.W. Saarinen's "The Influence of Thomas Adams and the British New Towns Movement in the Planning of Canadian Resource Communities," in *The Usable Urban Past*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise and G.A. Stelter (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979), 268-292.
9. The uncertainty of the provincial government relates to the fact that it did not receive the right to resource management until May 30, 1929. For details of the provincial-federal government settlement see; Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Transfer of the Natural Resource of Manitoba*, 1929. It is interesting to note that while Manitoba was having difficulty determining resource policy, other provinces, such as British Columbia, were seemingly just as uncertain of the question of development procedures. See for example, J.H. Bradbury, "New Settlement Policy in British Columbia," *Urban History Review* VIII (October 1979): 47-76.
10. *Minutes of the Responsible Authority for the Flin Flon Town Planning Scheme*, 1932.
11. The C.D.C. directorship was to consist of nine individuals; three representatives of each the provincial government, the H.B.M.&S. and the community. When the provincial government decided not to participate on the Board of Directors, the Company appointed two more representatives. The working C.D.C. therefore was composed of five H.B.M.&S. appointees and three from the community.
12. These characteristics have also been referred to in terms of the era of transplanting southern planning techniques into the northern communities. See for example, S.H. Dietze, *The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns*, 1 or N.E.P. Pressman and K. Lauder,

- "Resource Towns as New Towns," *Urban History Review* VII (June 1978): 94.
13. To one extent or another it would appear that all resource towns pass through stages of development. Rex Lucas in *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown*, 22-112, has portrayed it with four stages; construction, recruitment, transition and maturity. The four stages outlined for Flin Flon, construction, organization, reaction and maturation, are with minor differences similar to Lucas' findings.
 14. These characteristics while originally suggested in the Walker study of 1953, have come to form the basis of single enterprise community analysis.
 15. Unfortunately, access to Company records included only *Annual Reports* and the limited amount of published material.
 16. The charter granted in December gave the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Ltd. surface rights to some sixty thousand acres of land through a twenty-one year renewable lease.
 17. The Company's legal authority to administer the townsite is somewhat suspect. Its charter granted the Company surface rights for the property on which the townsite developed but it did not grant administrative control.
 18. The strike took place during the summer of 1934, June 9th to July 14th.
 19. See the seven employment issues as paraphrased in the *Flin Flon Miner*, 9 June 1934.
 20. See the community issues as paraphrased in the *Flin Flon Miner*, 14 June 1934 and *The Northern Mail*, 23 June 1934.
 21. The *Flin Flon Miner*, 26 July 1934.
 22. The Employees Welfare Board was established in July of 1934. It was proposed by the Company to represent the men in "collective bargaining with the management." In essence, it was a company dominated union.
 23. The Welfare Board actually appeared to be designed for the best interests of the H.B.M. & S. See for example the nomination procedures in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, John Bracken Papers, Flin Flon Strike File, Number 807.
 24. The *Flin Flon Miner's* role during the labour dispute appeared, perhaps surprisingly, almost totally independent of either Company or union influence. Edited by Lois A. Schell, the policy of the *Miner* reflected the sentiments of its editor without catering to either party involved in the strike.
 25. The H.B.M. & S. attack on the workers' organization centred upon a perceived connection between the union and communist activities. The Mine Workers Union of Canada and its association with the Workers Unity League gave Company officials what they viewed to be concrete evidence of "Red" involvement in the labour dispute.
 26. See the similarities between Flin Flon and both Espanola and Sherridon in Eileen Goltz, "Espanola, The History of a Pulp and Paper Town," *Laurentian University Review* 6 (June 1974): 75-104; and C.R. Neely, "Managing the Town of Sherridon," *Precambrian XIII* (March 1940): 17.
 27. Ira Robinson, G.A. Stelter and N.E. Pressman have all termed the "temporary townsite," perhaps more appropriately, "sleep camps." See; Ira Robinson, "New Industrial Towns," 4; G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise, "Canadian Resource Towns," 10; and N.E.P. Pressman and K. Lauder, "Resource Towns," 88.
 28. *The Pas Herald and Mining News*, 1 February 1929.
 29. See the discussion of problems associated with the temporary townsite in Ira Robinson, "New Industrial Towns," 118 and Leifur Magnusson, "Company Housing in the Bituminous Coal Fields," *Monthly Labour Review* X (April 1920): 215-216.
 30. Valerie Hedman, Loretta Yauck and Joyce Henderson, *Flin Flon* (Altona: Flin Flon Historical Society, 1974), 77.
 31. The Royal Bank for example was moved by Lynn tractor to a new site because it stood in the way of a shaft sinking project in 1928.
 32. Valerie Hedman, *et. al.*, *Flin Flon*, 64.
 33. The H.B.M. & S. solicited suggestions through a series of interviews conducted with community representatives. See; *Flin Flon Miner*, 2 April 1931.
 34. Premier Bracken presented this suggestion to the community during a summer visit. See; *The Flin Flon Miner*, 9 July 1931.
 35. *The Flin Flon Miner*, 22 October 1931.
 36. See the complete removal of buildings in *Flin Flon Miner*, 25 February 1932 and the minor relocations in *Flin Flon Miner*, 5 November 1931.
 37. A copy of the charter was located at the Flin Flon Town Hall.
 38. Two petitions were actually submitted to the provincial government. One was presented by the C.D.C. and the other by the Flin Flon Ratepayers' Association. See; Manitoba, *Sessional Paper No. 37*, "Copies of Petitions and Correspondence . . . Relative to the Incorporation of Flin Flon as a Municipal District," 17 March 1933.
 39. The municipal council consisted of six councillors and the mayor.
 40. See for example; *Municipal District of Flin Flon By-Laws*, By-Law No. 6, 13 December 1933, which deals with the industrial district.
 41. "Town of Flin Flon Urban Renewal Study," Reid, Crowthers and Partners Ltd., Winnipeg, 1966-1967, 32.
 42. Harry W. Walker, *Single Enterprise Communities*, 3.
 43. Harry W. Walker, "Company Characteristics: A Look at the Progress and Future of Company Towns," *Financial Post* 49 (15 October 1955), 32.
 44. The bunkhouse, while perhaps most practical from a housing standpoint, was also most practical from a company control position. Doug Baldwin for example, in "The Life of the Silver Miner in Northern Ontario," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 2 (1977): 83, claims that "the erection of bunkhouses allowed the mining companies to exert greater control over the extra-curricular activities of its employees."
 45. On the question of the bunkhouse style of accommodation as the norm in the single enterprise community, Andy de Otter in "Social Life of a Mining Community: The Coal Branch," *Alberta Historical Review* 17 (Autumn 1969): 5-6, alludes to the fact that the bunkhouse was but the first stage in the housing of bachelors. He suggests that it was replaced when possible, with the hotel or boarding house.
 46. *The Northern Mail*, 18 January 1930.
 47. *Ibid.*
 48. *The Flin Flon Miner*, 9 August 1945.
 49. Only one reference to the amount of rent paid for the use of Company property was located and that set the figure at fifty cents per month. See; *Flin Flon Miner*, 3 September 1931.
 50. S.H. Dietze, *The Physical Development of Remote Resource Towns*, 80.
 51. It is interesting to note that the company store phenomenon has not been an overly dominant characteristic of the Canadian single enterprise community. In some communities the company store has developed but it has not been representative of the company domination that characterizes the United States experience. See the discussion of the Canadian company store phenomenon in Harry W. Walker, *Single Enterprise Communities*, 147-163, or in Ira Robinson, "New Industrial Towns," 41. See an example of the Canadian company store in Eileen Goltz, "Espanola," 90-97. See the American company store phenomenon in James B. Allen, *The Company Town*, 128-139; and "Industrial and Labour Conditions," *Monthly Labour Review* 41 (July 1935): 45-49. See an example of the American Company Store in Leifur Magnusson, "Housing and Welfare Work: A Modern Copper Town," *Monthly Labour Review* 7 (September 1918): 278-283.
 52. Valerie Hedman, *et. al.*, *Flin Flon*, 72.
 53. *Ibid.*, 76.
 54. See; J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* XXXV (March 1954): 1-21; and Careless, "Metropolis and Region: The Interplay Between City and Region in Canadian History Before 1914," *Urban History Review* VII (February 1978): 99-118. L.D. McCann's "The Myth of the Metropolis: The Role of the City in Canadian Regionalism," *Urban History Review* IX (February 1981): 52-58, might also be consulted.
 55. See licensing procedure in *Flin Flon Miner*, 5 March 1931. Attached to the license issued prospective businessmen was a copy of the rules and regulations of the townsite as well as a reminder that the Com-

- pany reserved the right to eject those who engaged in undesirable activities.
56. See; Harry W. Walker, "Company Characteristics: A Look at the Progress and Future of Company Towns," 35; Leonard Marsh, *Communities in Canada: Selected Sources* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970), 23; and Ira Robinson, "New Industrial Towns," 87-89.
 57. Harry W. Walker, "Canadian New Towns," *Community Planning Review* 4 (1954): 84.
 58. Not only does recreation satisfy the needs of a displaced population but it can also be viewed as reinforcing the themes of "honesty, thrift, hard work and obedience to authority." See; Doug Baldwin, "The Life of the Silver Miner," 100.
 59. *Minutes of the Flin Flon Community Club*, 1 October 1930.
 60. Four of the seven original directors were H.B.M.&S. employees; ranging in title from Assistant Mine Superintendent to Foreman. The other men were described as a bank manager, a clerk and an agent.
 61. The Phantom Lake area is located approximately one and a half miles south of Flin Flon. The property was taken over by the H.B.M.&S. in 1939 and developed as a recreational area.
 62. An interesting case is cited in Kirk Lambrecht, "Regional Development and Social Strife: Early Coal Mining in Alberta," *Prairie Forum*, 4 (Fall 1979): 268, which suggests that labour radicalism was in part the result of a lack of leisure activity in the company town.
 63. G.A. Stelter in "The Origins of a Company Town," *Laurentian University Review* 3 (February 1971): 11, discusses this phenomenon in terms of the "strenuous efforts [that] were made to keep up the social institutions residents had known in other places."
 64. The agreement requiring the H.B.M.&S. to contribute the yearly 25 per cent was the 1931 Town Planning Scheme. The indenture which saw the H.B.M.&S. relinquish all surface rights on townsite property also removed the majority of H.B.M.&S. facilities from local taxation. The 25 per cent figure was applied in lieu of taxation.
 65. See; Harry W. Walker, "Company Characteristics: A Look at the Progress and Future of Company Towns," 32.
 66. The \$25,000 annual donation was apparently the result of Company generosity. While under no legal obligation, the donation was provided to the community from the late 1930s into the 1940s. It reached a high of \$37,000 in 1942. For details see; *The Flin Flon Miner*, 5 February 1942.
 67. Harry W. Walker, *Single Enterprise Communities*, 191.
 68. *The Northern Mail*, 18 January 1930.
 69. *Ibid.*
 70. Manitoba, Department of Health and Public Welfare, *Annual Report*, 1944.
 71. Valerie Hedman, *et. al.*, *Flin Flon*, 208.
 72. The two libraries were opened in the 1930s, one in the Rex Theatre and the other at Mile 87. See for details; Valerie Hedman, *et. al.*, *Flin Flon*, 208.
 73. *Minutes of Council*, 17 October 1933.
 74. *The Flin Flon Miner*, 17 July 1937.
 75. There are dramatic exceptions to this rule; the most obvious being the coal towns of Nova Scotia. See for example; David Frank, "Company Town/Labour Town: Local Government in the Cape Breton Coal Towns, 1917-1926," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, XIV (May 1981): 177-196.
 76. In December of 1935 Flin Flon became the first municipality in Canada to be policed by the R.C.M.P. See the letter from S.W. Horrall, R.C.M.P. historian, dated 12 April 1972, in the Flin Flon Archives.
 77. *The Flin Flon Miner*, 10 September 1931.
 78. *Ibid.*, 22 May 1937.
 79. There is some question as to the exact date when electricity was introduced to Flin Flon from Island Falls. The date of April 1930 is based on a report by W.A. Green, General Superintendent for H.B.M.&S. entitled "Construction Work at Flin Flon." Green further suggests that on 12 June 1930 all the operations of Flin Flon were working on Island Falls power. For details see; "Construction Work at Flin Flon" and "History of Development and Organization at the Flin Flon Mine," in George Cole, *Flin Flon Mine*.
 80. The first evidence of the H.B.M.&S. paying the community's electrical bill was located for the year 1935. The practise was thereafter continued on a yearly basis. For details see; *Minutes of Council*, 5 February 1936.
 81. D. Harvey in "Labour Capital and Class Struggle around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies," *Politics and Society* 6, 3 (1976): 265-296, maintains that the reluctance towards company involvement in community affairs was a North American response to labour militancy.