

A Corporate View of Housing and Community in a Company Town: Copper Cliff, 1886–1920

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Company housing in Canada has traditionally been the means by which companies attracted and socially controlled their workers,¹ but the fact that companies have also hoped to profit from their investment in housing has not been widely investigated.² This article demonstrates a company's view of housing as both an investment and a tool for controlling workers in the company town of Copper Cliff in northeastern Ontario.

Copper Cliff was one of many towns owned by individuals, industrial concerns, or government agencies that have been a feature of Canadian life since the earliest days of resource exploitation. These settlements, most of which depend on mining, smelting, pulp and paper, lumber, or hydro-electricity, have had two things in common: isolation and company housing. By providing houses, water and sewers, stores, entertainment, churches, schools, and medical services in a primitive, remote environment, these towns were a pragmatic corporate means of attracting workers and keeping them.³ A number of company towns were established among the plentiful natural resources of the Laurentian Shield,⁴ and some, like Copper Cliff, which depended upon the mining and primary processing of minerals, were built on the Nickel Belt, which surrounds the Sudbury Basin.⁵

Copper Cliff, a mining, smelting, and administrative centre, was a company town from 1886 until 1973, when it became part of the City of Sudbury. Copper had been discovered near Sudbury in 1883, and in 1886 the American-owned Canadian Copper Company (CCC) was formed;⁶ that spring it began mining at the Copper Cliff Mine, five miles west of Sudbury. The company's engineers and administrative employees lived in Sudbury and travelled daily by train to the mine, while the production crews lived at the work site, where a typical mining camp, complete with shacks, shanties, and a predominantly male, immigrant population, developed south of the mine. Throughout the spring and summer the camp expanded, as French and English Canadians, and American, Finnish, and British immigrants joined the work force living in Shantytown, the name applied to the camp. A creek flowing through the site, augmented later by shallow wells, provided water; and habitations were

constructed along a wagon road. A boarding house, built by the company, catered to English Canadians, Americans, and Britons,⁷ who for want of a better term will hereafter be referred to as Anglo-Saxons.

The social gulf between Anglo-Saxons and other employees was emphasized by the spatial segregation, introduced in the fall of 1886, which separated Anglo-Saxons from non-Anglo-Saxons. In August, in preparation for the separation, the company engineer began "running out some street lines and lots around the laboratory," at the intersection of the northern extension of the wagon road (Granite Street) and an east-west road (Serpentine Street) newly surveyed north of the Copper Cliff Mine⁸ (see Figure 1). The axis was the central point of the new Copper Cliff settlement, the delineated company town, where the company initially constructed boarding houses and semi-detached houses for the Anglo-Saxon miners, carpenters, and rockhouse workers, all of whom the company was anxious to retain.⁹ Non-Anglo-Saxons, most of whom worked sporadically as labourers and were expendable, were expected to provide their own accommodation in Shantytown, on land leased from the company.

In 1886, and for many years afterwards, company policy was to provide housing only for Anglo-Saxons, and to restrict private building in the Copper Cliff settlement to that group.¹⁰ Ground rents on leased land in both the Copper Cliff settlement and Shantytown and in all later CCC settlements were a modest twenty-five cents a month, and remained at that rate until long after 1920. The non-registerable, cancellable leases forbade the sale of liquor and gave the company the right to approve the purchaser when privately owned buildings were sold.¹¹ Land leases and house rentals thus became powerful tools with which the company enforced social control over those living on its property. Although the threat of eviction was used to restrain non-conforming or undesirable elements, very few people were actually evicted before the formation of INCO. In 1899 the company paid a convicted bootlegger "to quit the works and give up the house,"¹² and in 1890 the company purchased the store of a suspected bootlegger, "anxious to dispose of his building."¹³ But in spite of having violated their leases, neither party was formally evicted.

By making lots available to non-Anglo-Saxons, the company retained more control of its workers and deviated from normal company-town practice, which was to prohibit the growth of non-Anglo-Saxon, labouring communities on property owned by the company. Such settlements, called fringe developments, usually existed on adjoining privately owned land, away from direct company control, and their hallmarks were indiscriminate, haphazard building, a lack of services, and an absence of company control.¹⁴ Some of these features were present in Shantytown, which became a fringe-like community by virtue of the lack of attention it received from the company, but local officials blamed the inhabitants of Shantytown for the unsanitary conditions and disease that prevailed there. The relegation of people to a segregated area led to ghettoization.

In the fall of 1886 another small settlement developed at the Evans Mine, south of the Copper Cliff Mine,¹⁵ and two years later the company established a fourth

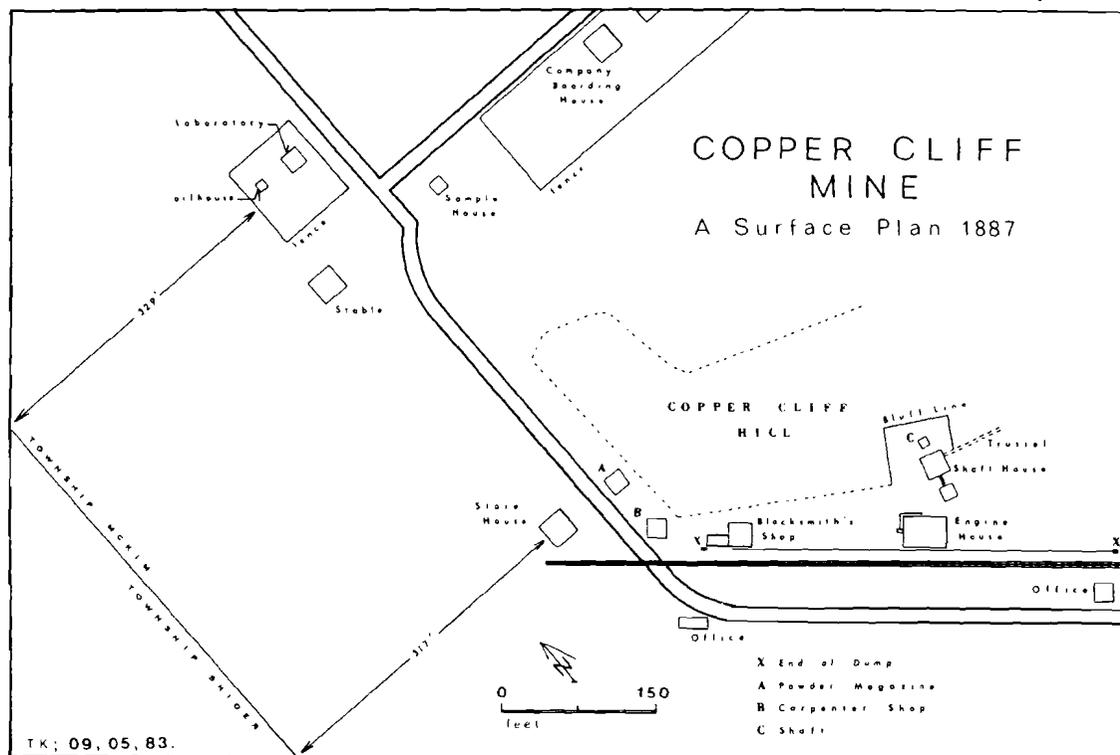


Figure 1. Copper Cliff, 1887. The Granite Street-Serpentine Street axis and the beginning of the Copper Cliff Settlement are shown in the upper part of the map. Shantytown would have been south of and farther east on the east-west road shown in the lower part of the map. (From an original held in the Inco Archives)

settlement beside an ore reduction plant being built at the eastern edge of the company's property. This primary processing operation, which included an extensive roast yard where the ore was cooked to release its sulphur and a smelter where the roasted ore was reduced to matte, provided a stability, albeit precarious, that had not existed earlier, and attracted families to the area. The company built boarding houses, semi-detached houses, and single-family houses in the East Smelter settlement.¹⁶ As with earlier company housing, none was provided for the French Canadians and immigrants, who predominated at the smelter and roast yard,¹⁷ and who were expected to lease land and build their own houses. To facilitate this building, the company sold construction materials and allowed leaseholders to pay for their purchases in monthly instalments. The privilege was also extended to workers employed by the private contractors who operated the roast yard.¹⁸ In this way, even non-company workers were discouraged from moving beyond company control into the fringe community developing on privately owned land beside the eastern boundary of company property, near the East Smelter (see Figure 4).

The fringe development – the Johnson Extension – grew quickly when the owner of the private lot involved, disgruntled at the CCC's refusal to purchase his land, subdivided it, and sold lots to smelter and roast yard workers. The original French-Canadian inhabitants were later joined by Ukrainian immigrants. However, after the opening of the West Smelter in 1899 and the demolition of the East Smelter in 1903, the French Canadians left, and the Extension then became a Ukrainian ghetto. The local company officials considered the non-Anglo-Saxons to be heavy-drinking, socialist bootleggers, and they were worried by the presence near the smelter of a non-Anglo-Saxon community, not controlled by the company.

Socialism did attract Finnish and Ukrainian immigrants, and by 1912 a local of the Socialist Party of Canada had been established in Copper Cliff, with its office in the Johnson Extension. The socialist presence did not, however, lead to the formation of labour unions, for unionization efforts were hindered by the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the CCC workforce as well as the company's opposition. Owing to this lack of organization among the workers, labour disputes and work stoppages in Copper Cliff were both infrequent and unsuccessful, and an attempt in 1913 by the Western Federation of Miners to unionize mine workers in the Sudbury area was short-lived. The CCC co-operated with other local mining companies to exclude union sympathizers from the employment rosters. The men so excluded left the district, and the remaining workforce, profiting from the example, avoided union organization until the 1940s.¹⁹

The evolution of Copper Cliff from a collection of camps to an industrial village was hastened by the arrival of families, and in 1890, with the establishment of a post office, the name Copper Cliff was applied to the four settlements which then existed. Each settlement was expanded by the influx of settlers, and the company's house-building program was extended to three of them, but no company housing was built in Shantytown. Town planning, which was rudimentary, exemplified the haphazard

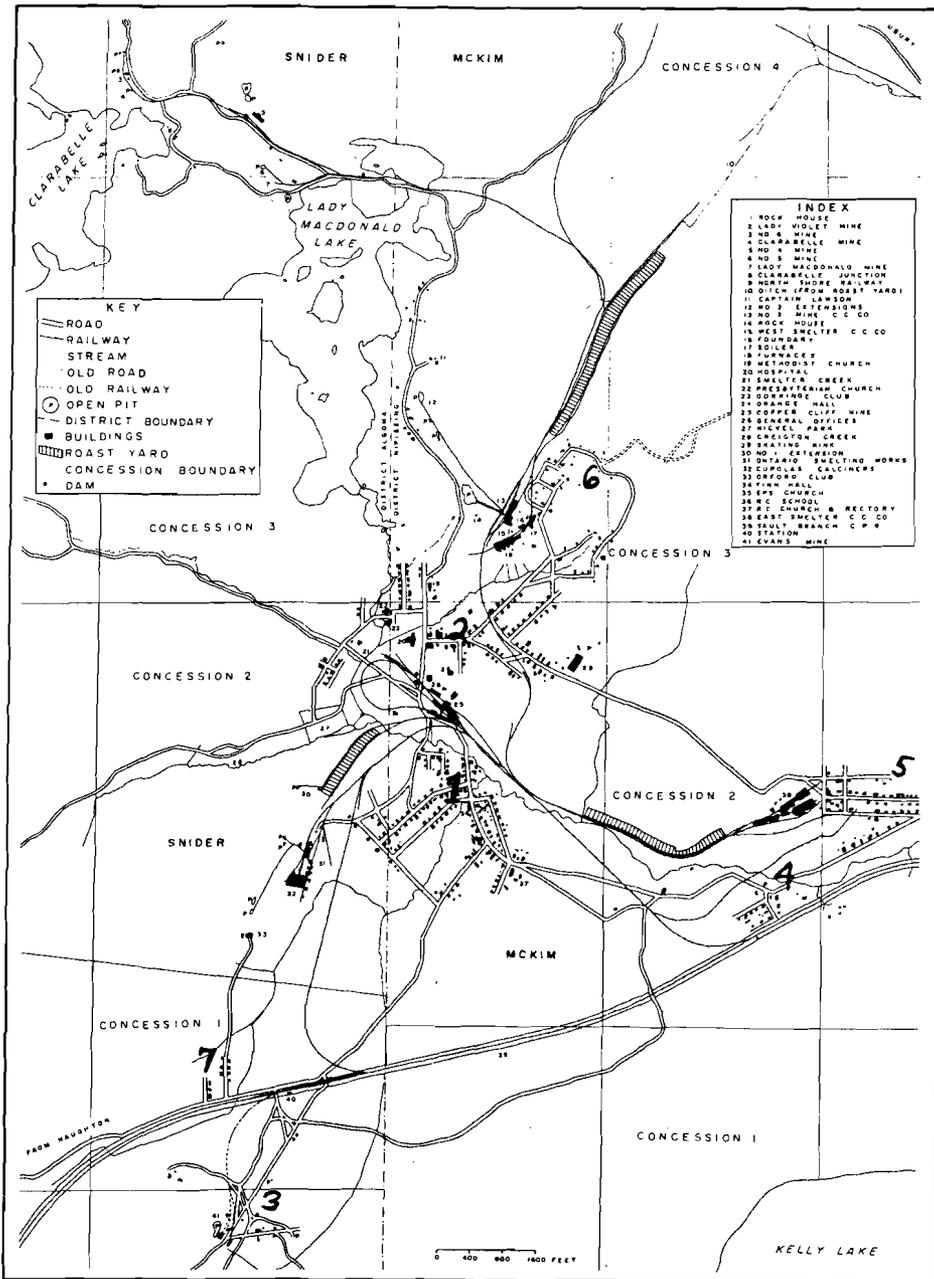


Figure 2. Copper Cliff, 1904. The settlements are indicated by large numbers: 1, Shantytown; 2, Copper Cliff settlement; 3, Evans Mine settlement; 4, East Smelter settlement; 5, Johnson Extension; 6, Crows Nest and the beginning of Little Italy; 7, The Orford settlement. (Map redrawn from Maps 824 and 825 of the Geological Survey of Canada Report, 1904, Part II, originally prepared by Alfred E. Barlow)

process described by L. D. McCann and the laissez faire philosophy attributed by G. A. Stelter and A. F. J. Artibise to this period.²⁰ Although the company provided larger, more elaborate houses for skilled employees, these were not segregated from those occupied by the unskilled.

The CCC constructed single-family dwellings, semi-detached houses, and four-unit terraces. Although they cost less to build than other dwellings, the terraces were unpopular with the company's local officials because a fire in one unit usually destroyed all four, with the result that four families immediately required new accommodation. Most housing was of the one-and-a-half-storey type, of log or frame construction, and built on a wooden foundation with no basement.²¹ It was cheap, hastily erected, and required repairs within two or three years.²² The company, however, did little maintenance and made repairs only when the houses ceased to be habitable. In 1890, the general manager complained to the Cleveland office about the poor quality of six houses built two years earlier, asking permission to replace the roofs and noting that they had been constructed "in the cheapest and flimsiest manner possible."²³ He assured his superiors, "Only those in the worst shape and vacated on that account will be repaired."²⁴

The company built no housing until the building costs and expected returns had been calculated, and the correspondence indicates quite clearly that profit was a motivating factor in the provision of housing and that the return was not uniform. Small houses paid a higher return than larger, more expensively built dwellings. In 1889



Figure 3. The first company-owned boarding house in Copper Cliff was built in Shantytown in 1886 and managed by Thomas Johnson, the person wearing the apron. Some diners were fastidious – note the wash basins on the bench to the left of the closed door.

E. J. Peters, the general manager at Copper Cliff, stated that the company was receiving 20 per cent interest on the small houses then being built.²⁵ In 1890, after the company had bought a privately built store and subsequently rented it, the general manager remarked that 37 per cent interest was not a bad investment.²⁶ Unfortunately, he did not explain his statement.

Although the company constructed housing to retain workmen who had particular skills, it rarely anticipated the need, and did not build houses to attract a work force. Houses were built only if the need was well demonstrated, after an expansion of the work force. In August 1888, the company's engineer was preparing plans for "semi-detached houses, one of which is for Mr. McArthur," the smelter superintendent, and a family man.²⁷ In 1899 the general manager stated that "certain invaluable workmen" would not remain unless housing was provided,²⁸ and in the spring of 1892 a new general manager informed the Cleveland office that family men refused to move to Copper Cliff until decent accommodation was provided for them. The obvious colonial status of the town vis-à-vis Cleveland exemplifies J. M. S. Careless's description of the metropolitan relationship as a feudal chain of vassalage.²⁹

In 1889-90, the CCC moved its Sudbury personnel and offices to Copper Cliff, which became the administrative centre for all local company operations. To house the management, clerical, professional, and technical employees, the company built a residential club house; and to provide office space it renovated the laboratory. The club house, dubbed the Yellow Club, was on the northeast corner of Serpentine and Granite Streets. It also served as a hotel for visiting company officials and other dignitaries. The delineated company town became the heart of the village, where the company encouraged the growth of a business district by building and leasing stores and allowing private businesses to build on company land.³⁰ The post office and most stores were on Serpentine Street, the commercial centre of the village, although some retail businesses operated in the ghettos, where owners and clientele were non-Anglo-Saxons.

The term clubhouse was used in Copper Cliff to describe buildings that provided room and board for non-labouring Anglo-Saxons, and when more were built, they were operated as the Yellow Club had been, directly from the company's general offices, which bought provisions, hired housekeepers, and deducted room and board from the wages of those who lived there. Although most boarding houses in the village belonged to the company, they were not administered like the clubhouses. Rather, they were rented to managers, who submitted their room and board accounts to the company for collection. The money was deducted from the wages of the employees concerned and transferred to the boarding house proprietors after the company had deducted rents and other amounts owed to it by the managers.³¹ Thus, the company controlled its financial arrangements with the operators. Private boarding houses in the non-Anglo-Saxon sections were smaller than those built by the company and catered to people of the same ethnic background as the owner, since most immigrants chose to live in establishments that appeared to be extensions of the old world culture.³²

In 1890 the company's control was extended even farther with the construction of

a building designed to serve as a school, church, and meeting hall. Known as the Copper Cliff Schoolhouse, it was erected on the corner of Balsam Street and Evans Road to be convenient to each of the settlements. The company, although willing to build the schoolhouse, was not willing to spend money on its operation, and requested that McKim Township Council, the body politically responsible for the village, establish a school section. In April 1899, three CCC officials were elected to the new Copper Cliff School Board,³³ which met only once before being dissolved – the victim of a controversy concerning whether the school should be public or separate.³⁴ The question was decided on financial rather than philosophical grounds.

Nineteenth-century Ontario school law provided for the formation of both types of school. The establishment of a public school required fifty potential students aged five to twenty-one, but religion was not a factor in the financial support of, nor attendance at, these schools. The establishment of a separate school, however, required only that five Roman Catholic families be willing to support the institution. Only Roman Catholic ratepayers could be taxed for separate school support, and normally such schools were open only to Roman Catholic children. Industrial assessment was usually allocated to public schools, whereas residential assessment was directed as the occupant wished. For that reason the smaller industrial tax base available to separate

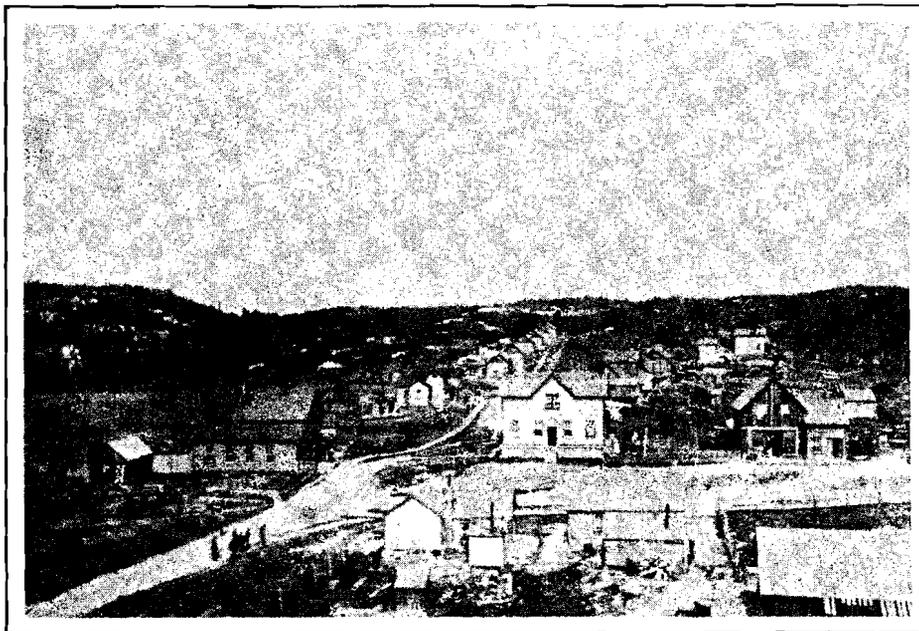


Figure 4. The Granite Street-Serpentine Street axis in 1892. The large, light-coloured building facing the camera is the Yellow Club, and the building to the left of that is the general office. The building to the right of the Yellow Club is a store with the Copper Cliff Post Office attached at the right. The houses meandering up the hill (Clarabelle Road) are the log cabins with the defective roofs.

schools placed a heavier financial burden on residential taxation.³⁵ The local company officials realized that if a separate school were established in Copper Cliff, a public school would also have to be provided, thereby raising the company's taxes.

Company correspondence indicates that a large proportion of the Copper Cliff population was Roman Catholic and French-Canadian. Local officials feared that French Canadians and other Roman Catholics in Copper Cliff would co-operate with influential French Canadians in Sudbury to elect a separate school board. Jesuit priests from Sudbury added to that fear by informing Copper Cliff Roman Catholics of their electoral power. CCC officials were aware that Roman Catholics "had controlling power as voters," and "if there was an election of school trustees at the present time, the business would fall into their hands." Election results satisfactory to the company would not be realized until, as one company official stated, it "could have this matter righted however at the next assessment."³⁶ The influencing of the township assessor to achieve the desired result is indicative of the CCC's determination to use any means to realize its purpose.³⁷ When the school opened in May 1890, an election for school trustees had not yet been held, and from then until October, when three Anglo-Saxon public school trustees were elected, the school operated as a "private school on the Public School principle."³⁸ This ploy permitted all denominations to attend. A separate school was never built in Copper Cliff.

The 1891 Canadian census, which confirms the presence of a large number of Roman Catholics in the area, offers no information concerning French Canadians. Because this census combined the populations of Blezard, Broder, and McKim Townships, valid statistics for Copper Cliff are not available. Most of the population lived in McKim and was divided between Copper Cliff and Sudbury.³⁹ (See Table 1.)

TABLE I
Religious Affiliation in
Blezard, Broder, and McKim Townships, 1891

Total	Angl.	Bapt.	Jew.	Luth.	Meth.	Presb.	Rom. Cath.	Other
2,354	270	41	11	63	221	405	1,335	8

SOURCE: *Census of Canada, 1891*

Copper Cliff grew rapidly during the late 1890s with the opening of new mines, the building of smelters, and the establishment of more roast yards, all of which counteracted the closing of the Evans Mine in 1899 and the gradual elimination of the East Smelter. A small housing program associated with the Ontario Smelting Works (OSW), southwest of the Copper Cliff Mine, became known as the Orford settlement, and a larger development began at the Crows Nest, northeast of the Copper Cliff Mine.⁴⁰ The Crows Nest, between the Number Two Mine and the West Smelter, was

originally settled by employees working at the mine and was expanded to accommodate smelter and roast yard workers. The CCC built family housing and boarding houses for its Anglo-Saxon employees, while others, including French Canadians and Italian immigrants built their own houses on leased land.⁴¹ The Crows Nest and the Orford settlement are shown in Figure 2.

The ethnic mix of Copper Cliff can be described more knowledgeably for the later 1890s than for earlier years. Poles, Italians, and Ukrainians, attracted to Copper Cliff by the industrial expansions, had begun to alter the social landscape. The Crows Nest expanded to accommodate the Italian immigrants, the Ukrainians moved into the Johnson Extension, and the Poles joined the Finns and French Canadians in Shantytown.⁴² The political-geographic definition of nationality used by Canadian census authorities renders the Polish, Ukrainian, and Finnish populations invisible in the report. Although the designation Polish appears in the 1901 census, there are no data concerning the Poles who lived in Copper Cliff, most of whom had originated from provinces annexed by Germany and who were therefore classified as German. Their numbers constitute a large percentage of the 167 Germans identified as living in Copper Cliff.⁴³ The same type of reasoning accounts for the classification of Finns and Ukrainians in the census. Because Finland had been a Russian province since the early nineteenth century, census enumerators considered Copper Cliff Finns to be Russians, except the few included with the Scandinavians. It is even more difficult to find Ukrainians, who were classified as either Austrian or Russian, depending on whether they had come from the Ukrainian provinces that belonged to Austria or from those held by Russia. A better explanation for Ukrainians being called Russians was the Anglo-Saxon misconception that *Rus*, the word used by Ukrainians to refer to their homeland, was a diminutive of the word Russia.⁴⁴ (See Table 2.)

The population increases of the 1890s enabled the Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Anglican congregations to erect churches, and the Finnish Lutherans to organize a congregation. The Presbyterian and Methodist churches were built in the Anglo-Saxon settlement, and the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches in

TABLE 2
Main Nationalities in Copper Cliff and Sudbury, 1901

	Total	Brit.	Fren.	Aust.	Germ.	Ital.	Russ.	Scand.	Other
McKim ^a	3,669	1,633	1,007	12	170	328	401	25	126 ^b
Sudbury ^c	2,027	1,139	702	1	38	48	1	14	84

^a Includes Snider and Waters Townships.

^b Includes 100 Indians.

^c Incorporated as a town in 1892.

NOTE: The village of Copper Cliff accounted for most of the population of McKim, Snider, and Waters Townships.

SOURCE: *Census of Canada, 1901*.

Shantytown. The Anglican church was the only Anglo-Saxon church to be built in Shantytown, an anomaly that resulted from a disagreement between church and company officials over land leases.⁴⁵ The problems had been resolved by 1909, when the Anglicans built a church on Granite Street near the hospital, within the old Copper Cliff settlement.⁴⁶

The industrial expansion of the late 1890s was followed by an ambitious house-building program, which included both private and company construction. In a six-month period one hundred houses and twelve stores were built. The houses built by the company were of frame construction and included semi-detached, five- and seven-room houses, two-storey, eight-room, single-family houses, and four-, five-, six-, and seven-room bungalows. Electric lighting was installed, at the occupant's expense, in the Copper Cliff settlement, and customers were charged for electricity on the basis of the number of light bulb receptacles.⁴⁷ A school was built on Union Street to augment the Balsam Street School, with senior students attending the new school while junior students were taught at the Balsam Street School.⁴⁸ No attempt was made to segregate the students by their ethnic origin, since to do so would have grouped Roman Catholic children in one school and been met with agitation for a separate school.

The most notable structure built by the CCC during this period was the Gorringe Club, a recreational clubhouse on Park Street West, across from the Presbyterian church, where executive homes were being clustered. The three-storey frame structure, which was faced with granite, brick, and shingles, contained a barber shop, billiard room, bathing facilities, lavatories, parlours, reading rooms, a library, and a lecture hall. It was the first substantial recreational facility provided by the company and was the only village structure to be faced with anything other than wood. The clubhouse was a male preserve to which women were permitted access at specific times; membership was open to company employees and the business and professional men of the village. The company centralized outdoor recreational activities for Anglo-Saxons at the club, where it terraced and grassed the grounds and built tennis courts and a croquet lawn.⁴⁹ Use of facilities was limited to club members and their guests, and the clubhouse was not open to non-Anglo-Saxons.⁵⁰

In 1901, in a pragmatic act that removed Copper Cliff from the taxing powers of the Township of McKim and united the four thriving and two declining settlements and the Johnson Extension, the CCC had the village incorporated as the Town of Copper Cliff.⁵¹ Property owners in the fringe development had allowed their land to be included in the company's petition for incorporation. The incorporation movement, which had begun among local officials, had been suggested to the Cleveland office in 1900 by A. P. Turner, the assistant general manager, who stated that the "better citizens of Copper Cliff would like the incorporation in order that we might have better control of the village in everything." Turner's frequent use of the word control is revealing. He believed incorporation "would give the town better control of sanitary affairs, keep cattle out of the streets, give us better streets," and allow

townspeople to "do something toward fire protection." The McKim Township Council, although dominated by Copper Cliff, where most of the population lived, had not addressed these problems and had provided few benefits for the village, where the increasing population taxed the capacity of the area to provide uncontaminated water and to process wastes. Finally, Turner pointed out that after incorporation, inquests into CCC accidents, always a matter of concern for the company, would be held in Copper Cliff, not in Sudbury, before juries selected from among Copper Cliff residents⁵² and controlled by the CCC.

However, the petition for incorporation required the signatures of fifty freeholders, and there were not fifty freeholders in Copper Cliff, where the company owned all the land. Local officials presented several schemes to circumvent the requirement. One of them was the appointment of "a friendly census taker," while another involved the company's qualifying fifty people "for the time being by giving each a foot of land." Turner proposed that the company temporarily assign to fifty employees the lots on which they lived, "keeping all the papers ourselves and then deeding the lots back to ourselves again."⁵³ The acceptance of his suggestion makes it clear that when the company wanted to pursue a particular course of action, it was willing to bend the law. On April 15, 1901, *An Act to Incorporate the Town of Copper Cliff* was given royal assent,⁵⁴ and an elected mayor and council, all Anglo-Saxons, took office on January 1, 1902. This was one of the very few elections held in Copper Cliff; most subsequent councils were acclaimed to office.⁵⁵

The new town was stark and ugly. The vegetation had earlier been devastated by sulphur fumes, and the general squalor was accentuated by the small, unpainted frame and log houses and the outdoor privies which had been located for convenience, not drainage. Pigs, cows, and dogs roamed freely through the town, adding their ordure to the dusty streets, garbage-strewn yards, and contaminated creeks and wells. As might be expected, disease, especially typhoid fever, was ever present.⁵⁶ But the improvements that began almost immediately to the delineated company town were not extended to the ghettos.

In 1902, soon after the first meeting of the Copper Cliff Town Council, the CCC and several other companies interested in the production of nickel merged to form the International Nickel Company (INCO), an American holding company with headquarters in New York City. The CCC became a subsidiary of INCO, and the Copper Cliff offices the Canadian headquarters. A. P. Turner, appointed president of the CCC, immediately became involved in the direction of town, as well as company, affairs. More than any previous administrator, Turner moulded Copper Cliff, and under his guidance, control by the company became all pervasive.⁵⁷ Within a year the company had begun a program of industrial expansion, which included a modern, electrically operated smelter east of the West Smelter to replace that facility and the OSW.⁵⁸ As a construction project and later as an operating industry, the smelter attracted an influx of Italian immigrants, who settled at the Crows Nest expanding it eastward toward the new smelter. The extension, known as Little Italy, became a

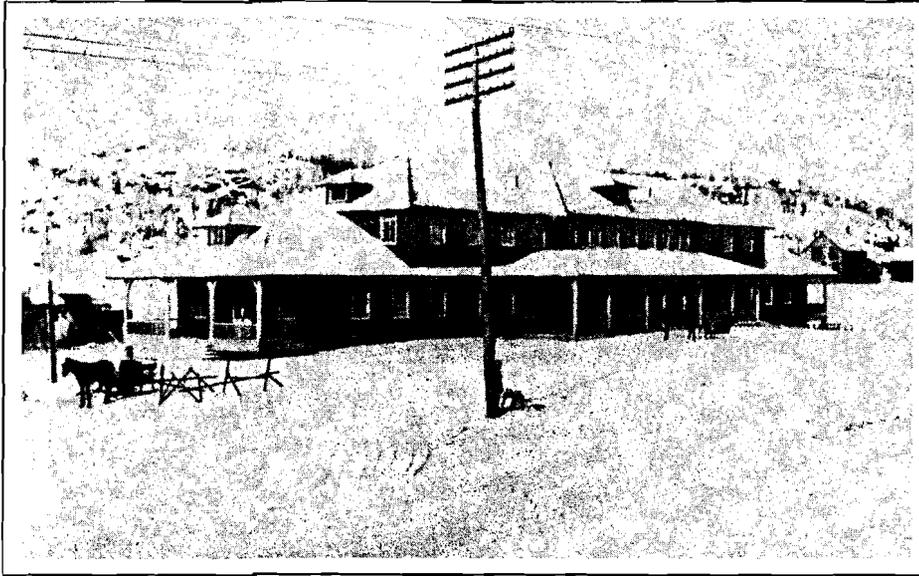


Figure 5. The first Copper Cliff hospital, built in 1902 and destroyed by fire in 1912, was the most impressive building in the town.

ghetto for the Italian community,⁵⁹ and the ghettoization was reinforced in 1913 by the construction of an Italian Roman Catholic Church in the settlement. Italian-language stores and services made it unnecessary for people to frequent the non-Italian sections of Copper Cliff.⁶⁰

One of Turner's first town projects was a hospital, complete with typhoid fever wards, which was built in 1902-03 at the intersection of Serpentine and Granite Streets, formerly the site of the General Offices building. The hospital, which burned down in 1912, was a two-storey frame structure, heated from an external steam plant that also generated heat for the Gorringer and the Yellow Clubs and several executive homes. Although the CCC ostensibly built, furnished, and operated the hospital, in fact it used a \$16,000 surplus from the employees' medical fund to assist with the building costs.⁶¹ The fund, generated from a monthly levy on all employees, defrayed the cost of medical services for employees and their families. Although the company did not contribute, it administered and controlled the fund and, by judiciously spending only 90 per cent of the monthly contributions, had accumulated a large surplus.⁶²

During Turner's tenure, tenants were evicted regularly and leases cancelled to maintain strict social control; in 1905 he used both to ensure that the town council became, and remained, an agent of the company. When a dry goods merchant and smelter foreman successfully opposed the CCC candidate for the position of mayor, Turner withdrew the company's patronage from the mayor's store, dismissed him from his job, cancelled his lease, and gave him four months to leave town. Turner believed that since the company paid seven-tenths of the town taxes, it was entitled to



Figure 6. Looking west on Serpentine Street towards the first hospital, 1910. The stores on the right and the boarding houses on the left proclaim Serpentine Street the commercial district. (Courtesy Inco Archives)

seven-tenths of the representation on council and had the right to control municipal affairs in the town.⁶³ Thereafter company slates were acclaimed to office.

Copper Cliff had entered a new, more sophisticated phase of its existence; the company had removed its property from the taxing powers of McKim Township and its taxes were reduced by provincial government grants payable to incorporated municipalities. The town council, through which the company extended its control to the Johnson Extension, had become an agent of the company. By its control of the assessor, appointed by the council, the company managed the assessment and taxation of its property to its own advantage. Since all CCC industrial property, including smelters, rockhouses, mine buildings, and mineral lands, was subject to municipal assessment and subsequent taxation, control of the assessor was crucial to the management of taxation.⁶⁴ In 1903 the assessor who, being the public school principal, depended on the company for his house and his teaching position, agreed to Turner's demand that the CCC assessment be lowered. Turner gloatingly reported to the New York office that despite having "completed the hospital, office, oil house and sundry construction at the Ontario and West Smelters," the company's assessment had been reduced from \$145,000 to \$140,000. Privately owned buildings, however, were assessed \$100,000 of the total \$240,000 assessment.⁶⁵ After 1913 members of the company's newly formed real estate department replaced the spate of school teachers who had succeeded the first assessor.

A population increase during the first decades of the twentieth century included Anglo-Saxons, Finns, Italians, and Ukrainians. These groups can be found in the 1911 census if it is remembered that most "Russians" would really have been Finns and most "Austrians" would have been Ukrainians. Copper Cliff appears as a distinct

TABLE 3
Main Nationalities in Copper Cliff and Sudbury, 1911

	Total	Brit.	Fren.	Aust.	Germ.	Ital.	Pol.	Russ.	Scand.	Other
Copper Cliff	3,082	1,168	251	260	72	620	126	537	22	30
Sudbury	4,150	2,218	1,518	22	52	78	14	6	14	228

SOURCE: *Census of Canada, 1911.*

place for the first time in this census. (See Table 3, which includes Sudbury for comparative purposes.) As a result of the increase among the Finns and Ukrainians, a Finnish Lutheran church and a Ukrainian Greek Catholic church were built on Poplar Street in Shantytown. The company kept non-Anglo-Saxon institutions out of the Copper Cliff settlement.

Turner, who supervised all private building and remodelling, objected to what he considered to be the architectural excesses of the Greek Catholic church. Believing that the builders intended to place "a large ball on the top of the spire," he suggested that they "finish the spire flat at the point it has now reached."⁶⁶ Since the type of architecture to which Turner objected is more usually associated with the Greek Orthodox than with the Greek Catholic Church, he may have been misinformed about "the large ball"; his response to the builders' explanation reinforces the belief: "What your sketch shows is quite different from what I had understood was going to be erected."⁶⁷ Nevertheless, if an onion dome had been in the original plans, the builders would have been obliged to alter those plans to agree with Turner's ideas of architectural propriety.

There is evidence of a change in company policy concerning the location of housing before 1912. The construction, in 1907, of the Park Club, a two-and-a-half-storey, eleven-room, frame structure on Park Street East for smelter and office workers, adhered to the older practice of clustering all occupational levels near the work place. The construction in 1910 of one-and-a-half-storey, five-room houses on Power Street, for foremen employed at various work sites, is indicative of the newer policy that grouped the residents by occupation. The company house-building program of 1912-14 firmly established spatial segregation by occupation in the delineated company town. One of the first instances of planned occupational segregation in an Ontario company town, it altered the social landscape by imposing a visible occupational hierarchy, which was perpetuated in later house building.⁶⁸

During the 1912-14 program the company installed water mains and sewers for managers but not for machinists, carpenters, or labourers, and not in the non-Anglo-Saxon ghettos. The water and sewers, which were owned by the company, were an important element in the policy of occupational segregation. The company anticipated a profit from the housing, and one official noted that some houses would "return 11% on the investment." In 1913 the New York office directed that a uniform return of 6

per cent or more be realized on all houses. Until then, those who occupied the poorer houses had contributed disproportionately more to the company's housing profit than those living in better housing. The dwellings were all of frame construction, but the size and quality depended on the occupational level for which the houses were intended. Three basic categories were built: single-family houses, semi-detached houses, and small cottages. The variations in each category are described in Table 4.⁶⁹

The houses built for particular occupational categories were clustered on particular streets, and this, plus the rents charged, is indicated in Table 5, which is based on the alpha code used in Table 4. The houses that had tar-paper roofs and lacked foundations, basements, and plumbing were on streets bordering the old Shantytown and were allocated to the occupations lowest in the hierarchy.

The Copper Cliff Club, a new recreational clubhouse built in 1916 on Creighton Road, was, like the Gorringer Club, a significant structure in the town (see Figure 8). It contained a swimming pool, a bowling alley, a billiard hall, meeting rooms, a gymnasium, parlours, and a kitchen. Membership was restricted to Anglo-Saxons, and non-Anglo-Saxons were not allowed to use the facilities even as guests.⁷⁰ The removal of

TABLE 4
Classification of Houses Built by the Canadian Copper Company,
1912, 1913, 1914

Code	Style	Size	No. of Rooms	Foundation	Basement	Roof	Plumbing
<i>Detached Houses</i>							
A	2-storey	35 x 45 30 x 34	6-8	stone	yes	shingle	yes
B	1½-storey	34 x 28 24 x 26	6-8	stone	yes	shingle	yes
C	1½-storey	22 x 12	6	timber	no	tar-paper	no
<i>Semi-detached Houses</i> (2 units to each building)							
D	2-storey	44 x 23 ^a	5 per unit	cement brick	yes	shingle	yes
E	1½-storey	43 x 23 ^a	6 per unit	timber	no	tar-paper	no
F	1-storey	20 x 40 ^a	4 per unit	timber	no	tar-paper	no
<i>Cottages</i>							
G	1-storey	20 x 30	6	timber	no	tar-paper	no
H	1-storey	20 x 20	4	timber	no	tar-paper	no

^a Combined dimensions of both halves.

SOURCE: Compiled from correspondence, work orders, requisitions, progress reports, and the Copper Cliff rental records, all in the INCO archives in Sudbury.

small, non-executive houses from the area, to provide space for the club, added to the exclusivity of what had become the executive enclave.⁷¹ As part of the program a new school was built on School Street, and a new hospital was built on the site of the one that had burned down earlier.⁷²

When INCO's operations were shut down from 1921 to 1923 during the post-war recession, the population of Copper Cliff shrank rapidly. The Ukrainian community was decimated, its church was sold, and the Johnson Extension was emptied. Many former Copper Cliff residents moved into Sudbury, where the growth of the Italian, Finnish, and Ukrainian communities in that town date from this time. Table 6 is based on the 1921 Census, which included for the first time the designations Finnish and Ukrainian. A comparison of Tables 3 and 6 shows the decline in population.

The company town of Copper Cliff, a colonial outpost of American cities, was shaped according to a corporate philosophy whose fundamental precepts included maximization of profits, social control, and spatial segregation. In Copper Cliff the

TABLE 5
Location, Rent and Tenants of Houses Built by the
Canadian Copper Company, 1912, 1913, 1914

Code	Location	Monthly Rent	Tenants
A	Creighton Rd.	\$40.00	Company officials
	Park St. W.	\$40.00	Company officials
B	Park St. E.	\$12.50-\$15.00	Clerical, semi-skilled, superintendents, engineers, mid-level supervisors
	School St.	\$20.00-\$25.00	
	Cobalt St.	\$12.50-\$15.00	
C	Power St.	\$9.00	Electricians, semi-skilled, stationary engineers, clerical
D	Jones St.	\$10.00	Semi-skilled, clerical
E	Balsam St.	\$7.00-\$9.00	Machinists, semi-skilled, clerical
	Orford St.	\$8.00-\$9.00	
F	Orford St.	\$6.50-\$7.50	Railroad workers, painters, carpenters
	Peter St.	\$6.00	Railroad workers, painters, carpenters
	Church St.	\$6.00	Railroad workers, carpenters
G	Power St.	\$8.00	Electricians, semi-skilled, clerical
H	Finland St.	\$5.00	Machinists, carpenters
	Nickel St.	\$5.00	Machinists, carpenters

SOURCE: See source to Table 4.

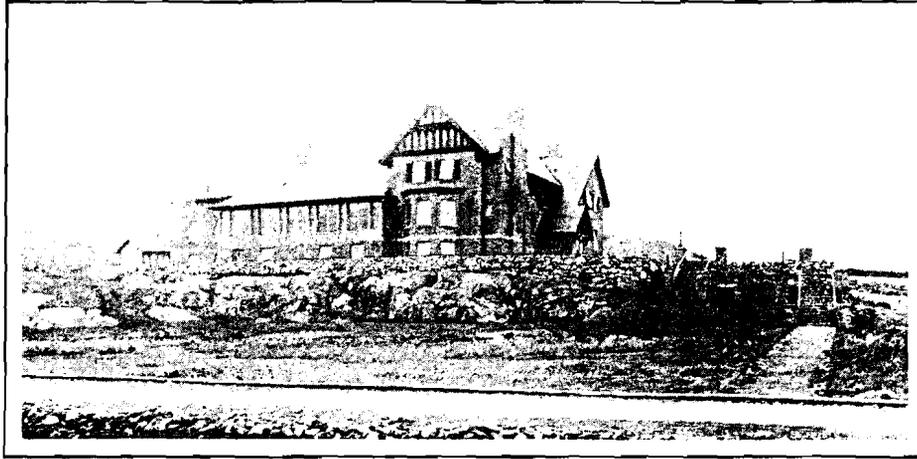


Figure 7. The Copper Cliff Club, built in 1916 on Creighton Road, resembles a castle overlooking a barren, rocky wasteland. (Courtesy Inco Archives)

power of the company extended beyond the workplace into the non-working hours of employees, through company houses and lot leases. Although both the Cleveland and New York offices considered housing to be an investment that would return a respectable profit, local officials regarded it as a tool for controlling the work force and shaping the social landscape. The moulding of Copper Cliff produced an intensely visible and structured hierarchy with the local executive at the apex, other Anglo-Saxons in the middle, and the labouring non-Anglo-Saxons at the base. The presence of non-Anglo-Saxons in Copper Cliff and the company's segregation of that group resulted in the growth of unkempt, fringe-like ghettos at the edge of the true company town. The ghettos did not benefit from the houses, recreational facilities, electricity, and town services that were a part of the delineated company town. The company pursued its objectives in Copper Cliff oblivious to the rights of residents and with a Machiavellian attitude toward the law of the land.

TABLE 6
Main Nationalities in Copper Cliff and Sudbury, 1921

	Total	Brit.	Fren.	Aust.	Fin.	Germ.	Ital.	Pol.	Russ.	Scand.	Ukr.	Other
Copper Cliff	2,957	1,402	179	29	267	68	541	48	4	22	13	24
Sudbury	8,621	4,331	3,091	125	206	58	281	50	42	31	13	393

SOURCE: *Census of Canada, 1921.*

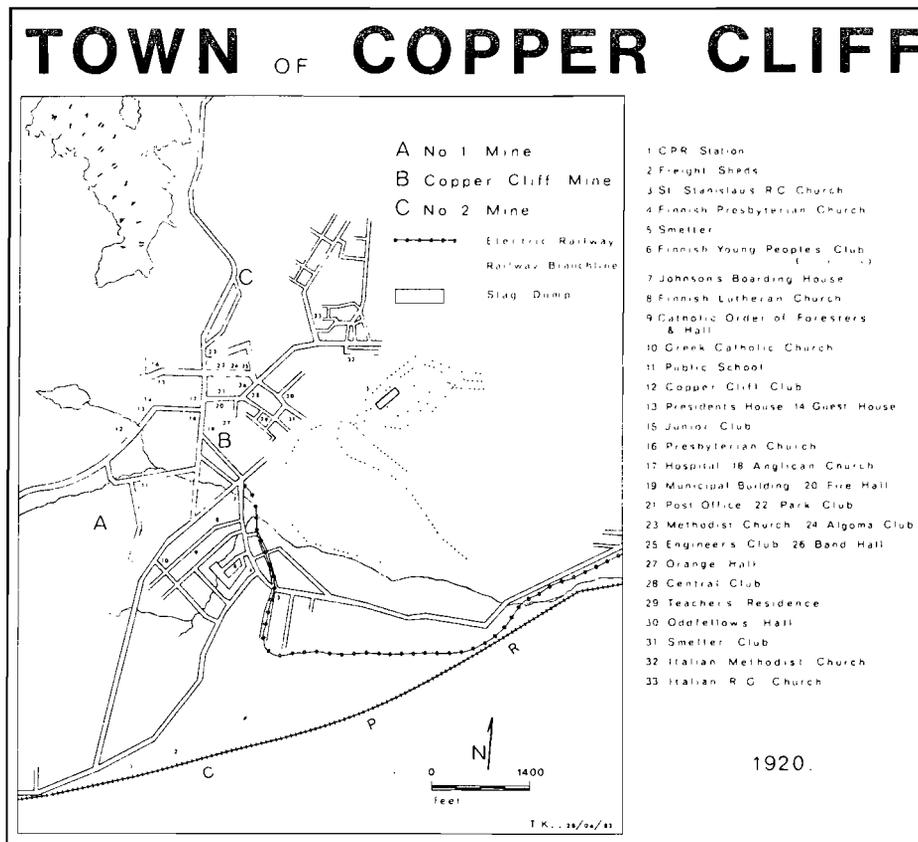


Figure 8. By 1920 the Evans Mine and Orford settlements had disappeared, the Crows Nest had become Little Italy, and few houses remained at the East Smelter settlement or at the Johnson Extension, where the company had begun to dump slag. The delineated company town had begun to expand along Power Street, southwest from Granite Street. The Junior Club (15 on the map) is the old Goringe Club. It was being used by Boy Scouts and similar youth groups.

The International Nickel Company has generously given the author access to its archives, a unique, invaluable collection of correspondence, work orders, diaries, accounts, and rental and property records that date from 1882.

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- "Towards an Alternative Theory of Resource-Based Town Development in Canada," *Economic Geography*, 55 (April 1979), 154, 155, 161.
- 2 See, however, J. Alexander Walker, "Planning of Company Towns in Canada," *The Canadian Engineer*, 5 (1927), 147-48; and Sidney Pollard, in *The Genesis of Modern Management: A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain* (London, 1965), 197, 202, one of many British writers who argue that companies expected to make a profit from housing.
 - 3 James B. Allen, *The Company Town in the American West* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1967), 7; Queen's University, *Single Enterprise Communities in Canada*, 13; and Ira M. Robinson, *New Industrial Towns*, 4.
 - 4 Queen's University, *Single-Enterprise Communities in Canada*, 1, 2, 6, 13; Rex Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown*, 17; and Ira M. Robinson, *New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier*.
 - 5 For a description of company towns in the Sudbury area, see Gilbert A. Stelter, "Community Development in Toronto's Commercial Empire: The Industrial Towns of the Nickel Belt, 1883-1931," *Laurentian University Review*, 6 (June, 1974), 3-53. For a description of the Nickel Belt, see Alex Gray, "The Nickel-Copper Industry of Ontario - II," *The Mining World*, 33 (May 21, 1910), 1020.
 - 6 For a fuller explanation of the development of mining in the Sudbury area, see Eileen Goltz, "Copper Cliff: The Pioneer Period," in [F. A. Peake, ed.], *Industrial Communities of the Sudbury Basin: Copper Cliff, Victoria Mines, Mond and Coniston* (Sudbury: 1986, Sudbury and District Historical Society), 1-21.
 - 7 INCO Archives [hereafter IA], John D. Evans Diaries [hereafter Evans Diaries], May 17, 19, 24-27, 1886; Recollections of the former Kate Ashmun (Mrs. A. H. Hibbard), daughter of Lewis H. Ashmun, general manager of the Canadian Copper Company, 1886-88 2-3; H. P. McIntosh, treasurer of the CCC, quoted in Ontario, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Mineral Resources of Ontario and the Measures for Their Development* (Toronto, 1890), 103; M. F. Andrews, a mining captain, quoted in *Report on the Mineral Resources of Ontario*, 104; Mauri A. Jalava, "The Finnish Community in Copper Cliff, 1885-1915," paper presented to the Sudbury and District Historical Society (1980), 6; and *INCO Triangle*, Feb. 1945, 4-5, and Jan. 1966, 16.
 - 8 IA, Evans Diaries, Aug. 30, 1886.
 - 9 IA, Evans Diaries, Oct. 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 26, 27, 1886; and INCO rental records.
 - 10 INCO rental records, Copper Cliff.
 - 11 IA, Box 086-44, LB1, L. S. Woodbury, Copper Cliff, to H. P. McIntosh, Cleveland, Aug. 1, 1890, 365-66; IA, Box 090-38, LB1, H. B. Paull to Thomas Smiles, Nov. 4, 1890, 323; and IA, Box C01-39, Divestment Correspondence, January to June 1971, internal office memo, Dec. 2, 1970, re: Divestment of residential properties.
 - 12 IA, Z07-789, Cash Books and Ledgers, Cash Book B, 094-26-1, Feb. 15, 1889, 117; Feb. 27, 1889, 118; Apr. 1, 1889, 125; Apr. 15, 1889, 130; and Evans Diaries, Apr. 6, 1889.
 - 13 IA, Box 064-44, LB1, John D. Evans to H. P. McIntosh, July 22, 1890, 583-84.
 - 14 See S. D. Clark, "The Position of the French-Speaking Population in the Northern Industrial Community," in R. J. Ossenberg (ed.), *Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change and Conflict* (Scarborough, Ont., 1971), 69-71; Eileen Goltz, "Espanola: The History of a Pulp and Paper Town," *Laurentian University Review*, 7 (June 1974), 99-100; and William C. Wonders, "Parasite Communities of Newfoundland," *Community Planning Review*, 3 (no. 1, 1953), 27-29.
 - 15 IA, Box 090-38, LB1, G. A. Land to E. D. Peters, Jan. 20, 1890, p. 166; Box

- 086-44, LB1, E. D. Peters to H. P. McIntosh, Nov. 29, 1889, 165-68, and Jan. 10, 1890, 265; Royal Ontario Nickel Commission *Report* (1917), 38, 39; "Annual Report, Ontario Bureau of Mines, 1892," in Ontario, *Sessional Papers*, 1893, Paper no. 85, 445; Alfred Ernest Barlow, "Report on the Origin, Geological Relations and Composition of the Nickel and Copper Deposits of the Sudbury Mining District," in *Canadian Geological Survey Report*, no. 961 (1907), 26; and A. P. Coleman, "The Sudbury Nickel Field," in Ontario, *Report of the Bureau of Mines*, 14, Part III (1905), 137.
- 16 IA, Evans Diaries, June 27, 28, 30, July 3, 5, 6, Aug. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 24, 25, Sept. 6, 10, Nov. 3, 20, Dec. 2, 22, 1888. For descriptions of roast yards, please consult Ontario, *Report of the Royal Commission on Mineral Resources*, 378-79; Alfred Ernest Barlow, 187, 190, 192, 193; Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, *Report*, 430, 432; and D. H. Browne, quoted in D. M. LeBourdais, *Sudbury Basin: The Story of Nickel* (Toronto 1953), 53.
- 17 IA, Box 086-44, LB1, E. D. Peters to H. P. McIntosh, Dec. 1, 1899, 167-70, 177.
- 18 IA, Box 086-44, LB2, John D. Evans to H. P. McIntosh, Aug. 5, 1892, 823; Box 090-30, LB1, J. N. Glidden to Luc Morin, Herman Goschie, and D. L. McKinnon, Sept. 10, 1892, 806-08; "Annual Report, Ontario Bureau of Mines, 1902," in Ontario, *Sessional Papers*, 1903, Paper No. 5, 280; and *INCO Triangle*, Jan. 1953, 4.
- 19 IA, Box 086-44, LB1, E. D. Peters to H. P. McIntosh, Oct. 18, 1889, 5; John D. Evans to H. P. McIntosh, May 30, 1890, 543-54; Box 086-44, LB2, John D. Evans to H. P. McIntosh, Apr. 21, 1891, 60; Box 092-42, LB5, A. P. Turner to H. P. McIntosh, Oct. 1, 1900, 547-48; Box 090-42, LB3, A. P. Turner to E. F. Wood, May 9, 1903, 843; May 14, 1903, 864; Box 090-40, LB2, John Lawson to W. A. Bostwick, Mar. 20, 1913, 198; Box 092-42, LB6, A. D. Miles to W. A. Bostwick, Oct. 9, 1913, 593-95; James I. Ashley Nov. 28, 1913, 731; C. V. Corless Dec. 23, 1913, 744; Mauri A. Jalava, "The Finnish Community," 9-16; Royal Ontario Nickel Commission, *Report*, 64; and Plan M-15, Plan of part of the Village of Copper Cliff, being a subdivision of part of the N-½ of Lot 10, Concession II, Township of McKim, Nipissing, registered 1899. Godfrey Johnson, owner. Town of Copper Cliff assessment records.
- 20 L. D. McCann, "The Changing Internal Structure of Canadian Resource Towns," 62; and Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise, "Canadian Resource Towns in Historical Perspective," 9.
- 21 IA, rental records, Copper Cliff.
- 22 IA, Evans Diaries, Dec. 5, 1889.
- 23 IA, Box 086-44, LB1, John D. Evans to H. P. McIntosh, June 8, 1890, 509.
- 24 IA, Box 086-44, LB1, John D. Evans to H. P. McIntosh, June 9, 1890, 512.
- 25 IA, Box 086-44, LB1, Dr. E. D. Peters, Jr. to H. P. McIntosh, Oct. 18, 1889, 4.
- 26 IA, Box 086-44, LB1, John D. Evans to H. P. McIntosh, Sept. 5, 1890, 650-51.
- 27 IA, Evans Diaries, Aug. 8, 11, 1880.
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- 29 IA, Box 086-44, LB1, John D. Evans to H. P. McIntosh, Apr. 4, 1892, 632-33; Apr. 11, 1892, 64; Apr. 15, 1892, 654; Apr. 16, 1892, 655; and J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review*, 34 (no. 1, March 1954), 17.
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- 31 IA, Box 090-38, LB3, R. Kirkwood, Copper Cliff to C. A. Durken, Sept. 24, 1907, 432; IA, Box 086-44, LB1, John D. Evans to H. P. McIntosh, Sept. 18, 1890, 674; IA, Box 090-38, LB1, G. A. Land to E. D. Peters, Nov. 18, 1889, 19; J. N. Glidden to D. L. McKinnon, Dec. 2, 1892, 885; J. N. Glidden to J. S. Walker, Dec. 24, 1892, 898; and Evans Diaries, Mar. 8, 17, 1896.
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- 34 Copper Cliff School Board Minutes, Apr. 10, 29, 1889.
- 35 *Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1887*, c. 27, ss. 51, 52.
- 36 IA, Box 086-44, LB1, E. D. Peters to H. P. McIntosh, Oct. 22, 1889, 20, and Nov. 6, 1889, 84; and John D. Evans to H. P. McIntosh, Nov. 6, 1889, 92, and May 15, 1890, 442.
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- 41 Town of Copper Cliff Assessment Rolls; and INCO Rental Records, Copper Cliff.
- 42 IA, Box 086-44, LB1, E. D. Peters to H. P. McIntosh, Dec. 1, 1889, p. 165-76. Jozef Samulski, *Pamiętnik Emigranta Polskiego w Kanadzie* (Warsaw: Akademia Nauk, 1978) (kindly translated for me by Dr. Henry Radecki), p. 165-76; and Henry Radecki, "Polish Immigrants in Sudbury, Ontario," paper presented at the International Conference on the History of Polish Immigration to North America, "Poles in North America" (Toronto, 1980), 2, 10. The *Sudbury Journal*, Oct. 29, 1896, describes a Polish wedding. The groom had been living in Copper Cliff, the bride had recently arrived from Poland, and the wedding was attended by seventy-five Poles from the Sudbury area and from the Barry's Bay-Wilno area.
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- by Dr. Henry Radecki, Feb. 2, 1980 (tapes in the author's possession; and Henry Radecki and Benedykt Heydekorn, *A Member of a Distinguished Family: The Polish Group in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 3.
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- 46 *Sudbury Journal*, July 14, 1910; June 22, July 20, Nov. 30, 1911.
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- 48 Town of Copper Cliff, Council Minutes, May 23, Dec. 1, 1913; Town of Copper Cliff, Debenture Register, p. 2, bylaw 18, 1900 (Township of McKim Bylaws); Copper Cliff School Board Minutes, June 3, 1900; Sept. 2, 1901; Apr. 19, 1902; May 5, 1903; and *Sudbury Journal*, June 3, 1897; Apr. 25, May 16, Oct. 3, 24, 31, 1901; May 5, July 2, 1902; May 11, 1905.
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- 67 IA, Box 090-42, LB2, A. P. Turner to Andrew Ostroski, July 3, 1908, 712.
- 68 IA, Box 090-42, LB3, A. P. Turner to E. F. Wood, May 14, 1903, 861. IA, Box 090-42, LB3, A. P. Turner to James W. Beard, Mar. 17, year?, 618; IA, Box 090-42, LB3, A. P. Turner to A. Monell, Feb. 6, 1903, 485; INCO Rental Records, the Copper Cliff Assessment Rolls, Vernon's *Sudbury and Copper Cliff Directories*; IA, Box 090-42, LB6, A. D. Miles to A. P. Turner, Feb. 18, 1913, 465; and A. D. Miles to W. A. Bostwick, Apr. 21, 1913, 503-04.
- 69 IA, Box 090-40, LB2, A. D. Miles to James W. Beard, May 13, 1913, 687; John Lawson to W. A. Bostwick, Apr. 3, 1913, 329-33. IA, Box 092-40, LB1, B. G. Slaughter to Chipman and Powers, Oct. 22, 1913, 200; and IA, Box 093-42, LB1, A. D. Miles to W. A. Bostwick, July 6, 1915, 127.
- 70 This fact was brought to my attention by a number of long-time Copper Cliff residents.
- 71 INCO rental records; Copper Cliff assessment rolls.
- 72 *Sudbury Star*, Mar. 15, 1913; Jan. 3, 1914; and Apr. 15, 1914.